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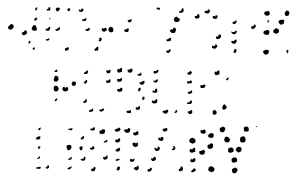
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THE

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ARTICLE I.—THE ENGLISH PULPIT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

The seventeenth century was a marked and significant period in the life of the English nation. It was, indeed, a century crowded with unusual phenomena, and marked by the number, variety, and extent of those revolutions in human thought and policy which affect all lands, and modify the currents of all history; but England was the special theatre where the most thrilling portions of the historic drama were openly acted. It was a time of intense activity, of unsettling old foundations, of fierce strifes between antagonistic men and measures, of earnest struggles for the mastery between the ancient order and the untried forces which demanded change and gave the pledge of progress. The records of the time are ample, and are at length approached in a spirit which makes them susceptible of an interpretation that various parties of readers are coming gradually to accept.

* Besides the works of the English divines themselves, and the well-known histories of the period passing under review, the author of this article freely acknowledges his obligations to "Chamber's Cyclopædia of English Literature," to the "New American Cyclopædia," published by the Appletons of New York, and especially to a work in four volumes, entitled, "Our Christian Classics," edited by Dr. James Hamilton, of London, and re-published a few years since by the Carters, of New York.

The literature of that period is especially voluminous. It sometimes appears as though the awakened mind of the Eastern continent were bent on making an atonement for its long sleep and its small contribution to the treasury of letters, by its intense activity every where, and by its multiplication of massive folios, whose size and number are still a wonder in the midst of our own prolific era. But the sermons of that time are especially abundant. It was an era of preachers. The pulpit was a recognized power, and its occupants were frequently men who arrested the attention of all observers as they marched by, leading or giving impressiveness to the majestic procession of events. Many of them still occupy the foreground in the historic pictures which represent the period; and whoever would walk among the departed magnates of the pulpit, turns always to find the great and crowded gallery where Richard Hooker and Philip Doddridge are seen standing at the opposite doors. We shall be in a better state to study the English pulpit of the seventeenth century, a little in detail, if we first look at some of the general and specific characteristics of the period, and make ourselves familiar with the condition of the English nation, and the qualities of English life.

The political experiences and revolutions of this century constitute memorable epochs in English history. In 1603, at the very opening of the century, Queen Elizabeth died, after having exercised her sovereignty for nearly fifty years. She had witnessed and aided in the elevation of English nationality among the European powers, and, though capricious in her temper, intolerant in her policy, weak in her jealousies, often harsh in her measures, and always imperious in her exactions, and obstinate in her will, she had bound her subjects to herself and to the throne as with bands of steel, and left the government an object of pride at home and of respect and fear abroad. Sagacious, politic and resolute, she had conciliated or managed or controlled the civil and religious antagonisms of the time,—so that, in spite of her bigoted devotion to prelacy, she had largely won and retained the esteem of both Papists and Puritans.

She was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland, who is better known as James I. of England,—a prince of no mean abilities

and attainments, and whose accession was hailed with great hope and satisfaction by one portion of his subjects, and acquiesced in by another portion with unexpected quietude and generous trust. Educated a Presbyterian, and making an open merit of being a Scotch Calvinist, the Puritanic and Non-conforming parties in England counted with confidence upon a deliverance from Prelatical rigor,—a policy in which even the bishops were more or less prepared to silently acquiesce. But the air of London and the flatteries of the court spoiled his better qualities, changed him into an egotistic monarch, whose popularity lessened as his power grew, and made him the haughty and blundering head of the Establishment which he only mismanaged in attempting to lift it to dignity. He only widened the breaches which he undertook to heal, deepened the discontents which he attempted to smother, intensified the party quarrels which he determined to allay, and was defeated by the opposition which he set himself to crush. He inherited, in 1603, a strong government and a well united people. He died in 1625, leaving a throne which was already shaking beneath portentous throes, and a nation ready to be rent with factions.

Of his successor, Charles I., of the twenty-four years over which his misrule extended, and of the mournful tragedy with which it closed, there is need of saying only a few words. He had culture, ability and experience; he was not wholly destitute of energy, merit and conscientiousness; but it seemed his constant misfortune to be rigid where he should have been lenient, and yielding where he was required to be resolute; to be intent on reaching what was impossible, and blind to the practicability and value of what it would have been his privilege and glory to secure; to refuse justice till it had been extorted from him, and to be excessive in his grants and offers only where they were sure to be spurned with contempt, or made the occasion of larger exactions on the next day of settlement. He quarrelled with his parliaments, betrayed his subjects, lied to his ministers, and trifled with his own oaths, till indignation took the place of patience, and abhorrence swallowed up respect; and then he was borne from his throne to the scaffold, and yielded his life to the blow of the executioner, in 1649.

Then came the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the downfall of Monarchy and Prelacy, the exile of the Papacy, the triumph of the Commonwealth and of Independency; when the "Saints" took the kingdom, turned the churches into conventicles, the army into a camp meeting, and filled Whitehall and Westminster with the sonorous music of Sternhold and Hopkin's version of the Psalms,—giving special emphasis to the nasal melody in such a stanza as this :

" Why dost withdraw thy hand aback,
 And hide it in thy lap?
 O pluck it out and be not slack,
 To give thy foes a rap !"

Eight years did this man of iron nerve and almost Titanic force rule over England; and, in spite of Puritanic excesses, of autocratic assumptions, and intolerable ambition and pride, with which he and his rule have been so freely charged, the English nation has rarely if ever gained in the same length of time so much of vitality, vigor and character.

His amiable and inefficient son, Richard, followed him in a career of a few brief months, when he abandoned the trusts, which he found too onerous, and yielded to the demand for the return of exiled royalty; and, after a brief and not very bloody struggle, in 1660, Charles II. came back from his wanderings and took the crown amid acclamations that rose almost to the height of a national jubilee. Prelacy was now in its holiday, whence it went to the halls of judgment to mete out revenge, rather than justice, to Puritanism. Charles was an easy monarch,—somewhat cultivated, but without noble aims or instincts, hating labor and loving good cheer, amiable but weak, without religion enough to declare for Protestantism or Papacy, but having just enough to endorse the persecutions which his flatterers carried on against every dissenter and non-conformist. The reaction was radical and fearful. Piety was openly ridiculed, the court professed no faith in real virtue, and the open contempt of it occasioned no scandal. The monarch loved wit, wine and women, and so these abounded; he detested work, wisdom and worship, and these were practically put under ban.

Piety in sackcloth went out into the wilderness to wait and weep; pleasure in satin fluttered and flaunted in the light of royal eyes. The frivolous king ended his career in 1685, muttering some words of confession to an ignorant friar, whom some papal attendant had smuggled into his death chamber; then turned to the watching company, saddened and solemn at last, to say in his old, genial and bantering way, "that he had been a most unconscionable time dying, but he hoped they would excuse it;" and so yielded up his breath.

James II. succeeded him; a bigoted Papist, morose in temper, unprincipled in policy, destitute of sympathy with the people, and only intent on being himself an absolute monarch and of delivering the religious establishments over to the Pope. In defiance of history and of honor, he was bent on overthrowing all the constitutional safeguards which the English people had secured for their liberties at such an expense of time and treasure and blood, and he even attempted to subvert the public liberties themselves by arbitrary measures and the coöperation of a standing army. The Catholic party alone stood by him, aided by a handful of radical dissenters, whom he had bought over by promises to assist in crushing the great church party. His career was soon ended. William, Prince of Orange, husband of James's daughter, and an earnest Protestant, was invited from Holland to assume the government. He came with an army, which swelled as he marched onward to London. James, abandoned by his subjects and by his own daughter, was allowed to flee to France, and William and Mary became sovereigns of England in 1688.

Such were the political revolutions of the century. They indicate an intense mental activity, a general interest in public affairs, a jealousy of personal rights, a decay of blind reverence for the kingship, great strength and intensity of religious conviction, and a dissatisfaction with the ancient *regime*; while they suggest that natures cradled amid revolutions, rocked by the hand of storms, and inhaling an atmosphere so charged with electrical forces, would be likely to exhibit in the pulpit, as well as elsewhere, no ordinary measure of courage and vigor.

The century was also marked by the occurrence of events that have contributed no small influence to the life of succeeding years. Under the direction of James I., our present version of the English Bible was prepared and published,—a work of sufficient skill, fidelity, value and importance to reflect great credit on any projector, and dignify the reign of any monarch. The time selected was most opportune. It was at the beginning of his reign, while nearly all ecclesiastical parties in England were waiting to see what religious policy the sovereign would adopt, and each specially hopeful of royal favor and alliance. Making all allowance for imperfections now discoverable in the translation and execution of the work, it is a noble monument of learning and of scholarly and Christian fidelity. Twenty years later it would have been the work of an intense religious party,—itself complacent and presumptuous, while its labors would have provoked jealousy and aroused opposition. Twenty-five years earlier there would have been less of the requisite scholarship, and the maiden Queen would probably have insisted upon sitting at the head of the table where the translators wrought, and of giving the work her final revision; or, failing to get consent, she would very likely have sent them, in a spasm of impatience, to their homes.

The Westminster Confession of Faith was also framed during this century, and Scotch Presbyterianism was defined and legalized by Parliament. The same century witnessed the abolition of the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission, and the consequent establishment of the Habeas Corpus Act on a solid and permanent foundation. The final struggle between the Catholic and Protestant parties for political and ecclesiastical supremacy was also ended when James II. went into exile, and thus terminated the Stuart dynasty. More significant than all to us is the fact that the seventeenth century witnessed the beginning and the chief work of settling colonies in America by English emigrants under charters granted by the sovereigns of the father-land. Jamestown became a home for the exiles in 1607, and Plymouth in 1620; and at these two points germinated the diverse forms of civilization which are now engaged in a death-struggle for permanent mastery on the Western continent.

The century was also adorned by many names which have won the very highest place in the various departments of literature and science. There was EDMUND SPENSER, whose "Faery Queene" is still read with delight and wonder, and which marked an era in the development and use of the English language,—and who, dying in 1599, left his large literary legacy to the century whose birth he had almost lived to witness; and WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, who was born in 1564, and most of whose works were first published during the earlier part of the following century, which he lived to enrich with the wondrous wealth of his universal genius; and FRANCIS BACON, who also carried both his great fame and his still greater talents over into the same chronological territory, gave to English thought his inductive system of inquiry which has almost revolutionized the methods of study, sent abroad his essays, and wrought out his magnificent *Organum*; and JOHN MILTON, who was born in 1608, and lived beyond the time of the Restoration,—filling his capacious mind with ancient and modern learning,—pleading for the acceptance of principles which the world is yet hardly wise enough to appreciate,—and "soaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing robes about him,"—persecuted in his own age, and freshly canonized by every generation which has succeeded him, and whom Keats has thus apostrophized:

" Chief of organic numbers !
Old scholar of the spheres !
Thy spirit never slumbers,
But rolls about our ears
Forever, and forever ;"

and JOHN DRYDEN, who was only prevented from being ranked first among poets because Shakspeare and Milton had already lived and written; and RALPH CUDWORTH, whose "Intellectual System of the Universe" struck down the philosophic atheism of his time, and set God on the throne before the eyes of unbelieving England; and WILLIAM PENN, who united to his Quaker creed and character a rare culture, a broad statesmanship, and an enduring fame in the new world; and SIR MATTHEW HALE, whose vast legal learning and lucid decisions make him still an authority in the courts of justice, and whose ermine was the

symbol of incorruptibleness; and JOHN LOCKE, whose "Essay on the Human Understanding" is still the text-book of philosophers; and ROBERT BOYLE, whose attainments in practical and experimental philosophy were as distinguished as his devotion to religious truth; and ISAAC NEWTON, whose name is the synonym of whatever is original in methods of thought, comprehensive in generalization, and beautiful in Christian humility;—and many others whose works follow them, and whose names the world will not soon let die. In an age when such distinguished authorship was appearing in every other sphere, it might be presumed that the pulpit would have its eminent occupants, and that the intellectual vigor which wrought out poems and scientific treatises would not be wanting in the sermon.

The pulpit literature of that century was more or less modified by other circumstances. During the reign of Elizabeth, an attempt was made to discourage preaching; or, at least, to press it into a very subordinate position. Determined to crush out non-conformity, she put under ban the preaching of those who would not wear the Episcopal vestments and use the liturgy. The service at the altar thus became the principal thing. The preaching of the Puritans was in her eyes the attractive and dangerous element; she sought, therefore, to abolish the sermon, that she might take away whatever withdrew attention and interest from the liturgy. As a result, the Establishment had but few eminent preachers during the latter part of her reign and the earlier portion of her successor's. The pulpit talent was then chiefly exhibited in the Puritan assemblies, where the sermon was made the chief thing. The persecuted preachers had many grievances to state, many principles to discuss, many protests to utter, many exhortations to give, many Scriptural incidents and promises to apply; and, besides, the more Episcopacy sought to thrive by disparaging the sermon, so much the more Puritanism was bent on exalting it. The attack of the Queen on their preaching indicated to them that their power and salvation lay in preaching. "It must be," they reasoned, "an important fortification; else why should our enemies be so intent on its overthrow?" To

preach, therefore, became their ambition and their glory; and their long and strong sermons became a feature of English non-conformity, which was transferred in all its prominence to the new world.

At a later period, the clergy of the Establishment, finding that the sermon was a steady and growing power, changed their policy, and, instead of disregarding the sermon, entered the lists with the Puritan preachers. The pulpit became the chief point of interest in the church, as well as in the conventicle; and the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century witnessed the culmination of pulpit power in England. It is not very easy to decide whether the Church clergy or the Dissenting preachers really bore off the palm; since both have made contributions to our pulpit literature abundant in quantity and choice in quality. As preachers, addressing living men, and producing immediate effects upon the audience, the Dissenters were vastly superior; for they spoke from surcharged hearts, and with the unction of men terribly in earnest; while not a few of the great preachers in the Establishment wrote the sermon for the few cultivated ears, and sometimes wrote it only for the reader's eye. In affluent learning, rich imagery, forcible style and breadth of view, the pulpit literature of the Establishment excels; while in fervor, adaptation, directness and vital force, the Dissenters' sermons are generally far superior. The contrast between Jeremy Taylor and Richard Baxter is so great as to be hardly describable.

The political condition of the realm also colored the preaching. The sermon did not carefully ignore the revolutions which were going on in society, but often discussed and sought to direct them. The language of the pulpit was not always sweet-tempered, and the charity exercised did not always cover a multitude of sins. Puritanism was sometimes ridiculed in the church, and Prelacy was now and then cursed in the meeting-house. The Court preacher denounced the stubbornness of the Parliament, and the zealous Dissenter likened the king and his ministers to the High Priest and Sanhedrim before which Christ was given over to crucifixion. South cursed the memory of Cromwell, and Bunyan used no dainty epithets when descanting upon

the shameless profligacy of Charles. Besides, the position of the different ecclesiastical parties was constantly changing. On the accession of James I., the Puritans were elated; soon afterward the High Church party rose to power and dealt out censure and persecution to both Popery and Nonconformity for nearly half a century. During the Protectorate, the Independents were masters, and they used the power which they had gained, with more rigidity than generosity. On the restoration of Charles II., the Puritans were ridiculed and outraged, while the Catholics were leniently treated; and in the reign of James II., Papists rose suddenly to supremacy, and began to talk openly of the Inquisition as a school for Prelatists, while a few rabid and soured Independents echoed the suggestion. The pulpit literature of the century is by no means free from the impress of these successive triumphs and disasters; and not a few of the most striking and effective passages were inspired by a party victory, or rendered keen by the humiliation of a defeat or the pain of some real or fancied wrong. The preachers did not forget the audiences before which they spoke, and were not always free from the fault of complying with their well known wishes, of flattering their pride, or of catering to their prejudices. The Court preachers especially echoed the King's thought as often as they plainly unfolded the word of the Lord.

The method and style of the sermon, especially among the clergy of the Establishment, during the first half of the century, were faulty in the extreme. The preachers were pedantic, fond of displaying their logical and rhetorical ingenuity, discarding simplicity and straining after quaint conceits and verbal antitheses, and apparently taking more pains to parade their own skill in the plan and their own learning in the embellishment of the discourse, than to unfold the Scriptures or to save their hearers. It is true that this disease of pedantry and perverted taste prevailed among literary men generally, and was greatly fostered by the king, who prided himself on his scholarship; and yet one cannot but wonder how educated and earnest Christian men could have carried the matter to such excessive lengths in preaching the gospel. As specimens of this vicious and pedantic mode of sermonizing, take the following from

Dr. Donne, founded on Matt. xix. 17; and which Coleridge is said to have greatly admired.

“In the words and by occasion of them, we consider the text, the context, and the pretext: not as three equal parts of the building, but the context, as the situation and prospect of the house, the pretext, as the access and entrance into the house; and then the text itself, as the house itself, as the body of the building: in a word, in the text, the words; in the context, the occasion of the words; in the pretext, the purpose, the disposition of him who gave the occasion.”

Here is another on the Parable of the Unjust Steward,—Luke xvi. 1—9. The author, Rev Abraham Wright, having announced his text thus commences:

“The parable presents to your view the reckoning, or bill of accounts, of the unjust steward, and my text is the *summa totalis* of that bill, or the moral to this parable; in which our Saviour taught them then, and doth us now, how we should provide against the great audit—the day of judgment. As for this unjust steward—whether he were St. Paul before his conversion, as Theophylact would have him, or the Jews, as Tertullian; whether he be only the rich man, or only the statesman, or only the churchman, or rather every man to whom any charge is committed by God (as the doctors have severally given in their opinions), I will not dispute, as being not much to our purpose. Sure I am, he was bad enough; yet not so bad neither but our Saviour picks good out of him, as your physical confectioner, the apothecary, extracts treacle from the viper, and the most cordial of antidotes from the deadliest poison. . . . Therefore learn of him: What to do? ‘To make you friends.’ How? ‘of the unrighteous mammon.’ Why? ‘That when ye fail, they may receive you,’ which three queries will direct us to these general parts for our division. The first is the *quid*, the *matter*—to provide for ourselves by making us friends. The second, the *cujus* the *manner*—to use the best means to get them. The third, the *cui bono*, the *end*—‘That when ye fail,’ &c., of which in their order.”

These specimens are no caricatures, but selections from the sermons published and still extant; and they are by no means the worst examples which offer themselves. Rich in thought and instructive in matter as these old preachers were, the manner could hardly have been worse than it often is. And

yet such was the prevailing style in the Establishment, and more or less so among Dissenters, for at least half the century.

In the latter part of this period the vicious modes gave way to something more simple, rational, and effective. To South and Tillotson must be awarded no small share of the credit of affecting the change ; though the public taste of the period helped in the reform, and the general characteristics of the literature which was being multiplied, silently protested against the prevailing vice of the pulpit. In contrast with the examples already quoted, the following are admirable for comprehensiveness and simplicity.

Acts. i. 3. "These words comprehend in short the whole evidence of our Saviour's resurrection, which may be referred to these four heads," &c.—*Tillotson*. Isa. v. 20. "These words contain in them two things : 1. A woe denounced ; and 2. The sin for which it is denounced,—to wit, the calling of evil good, and good evil."—*South*. Ps. cxix. 59. "The two great causes of the ruin of men are infidelity, and the want of consideration."—*Tillotson*. Matt. x. 33. "As the great comprehensive gospel—duty is the denial of self, so the grand gospel—sin that confronts it is the denial of Christ."—*South*.

This healthier and truer taste became generally prevalent before the close of the century ; but this was followed by the loss of pulpit fervor and religious earnestness ; a finical taste supplanted enthusiasm ; a vital faith almost disappeared before the middle of the eighteenth century ; religion came to signify little else than wordly prudence ; an infidel philosophy took the place of evangelical preaching ; and the eternal verities of the gospel were rarely insisted on amid the lifeless and polished essays which passed under the name of sermons.

Having thus presented the general characteristics of the century and the preaching, it may be a matter of some interest to specify some of the leading preachers of the period, study them a little in detail, ascertain their personal qualities, and put ourselves in the attitude of listeners while they deliver to us some of the choicer extracts of their more memorable sermons. For the sake of variety and fraternity they shall be allowed to mount the pulpit in turn, Churchmen and Dissenters following

each other without regard to prestige or former relations. Their personal warfare is over, and we will not revive it. We know them now only as preachers of the gospel, who, being dead, yet speak to us their memorable words. They dwell together in our literature which they combined to ennoble, preaching to us from the pages of the same volume; and we forget their feuds in our gratitude over their companionship and instruction. A great company stands waiting in the ante-room, many of whom we can introduce only by name, but some of them shall be heard.

A few preachers connected with the latter portion of the preceding century deserve at least a simple mention, both in view of their eminence, and on account of their relation as pioneers preparing the way for that brilliant procession which marched over the next hundred years. There was HUGH LATIMER,—“a yeoman in canonicals,”—with his uncompromising Protestant heart, and his familiarity and drollery of style, rendering him both powerful and popular as a preacher; who would neither accept preferments under Papal rule, nor subscribe the articles of recantation, nor avail himself of an opportunity to escape arrest when the door had been purposely left open; but who died at the stake in Oxford, in 1555, saying to his fellow-martyr, Ridley, as the flames curled around him,—“Be of good comfort, Doctor Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.” There was JEWEL, who went from the bench to the pulpit, and whose dissection of Popery, in his sermon preached at Court, has never been excelled; and HENRY SMITH, recognized as the most fervid and eloquent preacher of the Elizabethan age, and who was silenced by Whitgift for his fidelity and envied for his power; and THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the renowned leader of the Puritans when they organized for the sake of a purer church, and the father of English Presbyterianism. Then there was RICHARD HOOKER, whose affluent learning, liberal spirit, sweeping course of thought and magnificent diction have rendered his “Ecclesiastical Polity” the admiration of all cultivated and elevated minds, and whose picture of law, which “has its seat in the

bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the worlds," would itself assure its author of immortality.

BISHOP ANDREWS. 1565—1626.

The first name among the list of preachers properly belonging to our period, is that of Lancelot Andrews,—the favorite preacher of King James,—the Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester,—master of fifteen languages, and one of the translators of the Bible. His sermons are among the worst specimens of affectation and pedantry in their place, while his style is overloaded with imagery, and half his paragraphs are disfigured with labored ingenuities and witty conceits. Nevertheless, he was a man of devout spirit, a writer of great power, and a preacher of high popularity and controlling influence. One of his sermons so pleased his royal master that he is said to have carried it about with him for some time by day, and to have frequently slept with it under his pillow. No proper justice can be done him save by a longer extract than we can insert.

JOHN DONNE. 1573—1631.

Dr. Donne,—who, being intended for the law, entered the pulpit at forty-two, and became Dean of St. Paul's, under James I.,—deserves a mention. He was a sort of metaphysical poet, as well as a favorite and popular preacher. He figures as, perhaps, the chiefest of the heroes in Walton's *Lives*, and is painted by his genial and generous biographer as one of the noblest of men and the purest of saints. Thus he is described as he preached at Whitehall in response to the summons of the king:

“ Though much was expected from him, both by his majesty and others, yet he was so happy—which few are—as to satisfy and exceed their expectations: preaching the word so, as showed that his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he labored to distil into others; a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to

make it ugly to those who practiced it ; and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those who loved it not ; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness."

That is hearty and honest praise, however it may sound like flattery ; but it may be properly remembered that good Dr. Donne and affectionate Izaak Walton were very intimate and dear friends. The following passage from a sermon on the text,—"*Hast thou found honey ?*"—(Prov. xxvi. 16) will illustrate Dr. Donne's spirit and style :

"Pliny names Aristomachus Solensis, that spent three years in the contemplation of bees ; our whole time for this exercise is but three-score minutes, and therefore we say no more of this but *vade ad opem*, practice the sedulity of the bee, labor in thy calling ; and the community of the bee, believe that thou art called to assist others ; and the secrecy of the bee, that the greatest and most authorized spy see it not, and supplant it ; and the purity of the bee, that never settleth upon any foul thing, that thou never take a foul way to a fair end ; and the fruit of thy labor shall be honey ; God shall give thee the sweetness of this world, honor, and ease, and plenty, and He shall give thee the honey-comb with thy honey, that which preserves the honey to thee, that is, a religious knowledge that all this is but honey."

Thus also he writes of "the Pure Heart :"

"A house is not clean, though all the dust be swept together, if it lie still in a corner within doors ; a conscience is not clean, by having recollected all her sins in the memory, for they may fester there, and gangrene even to desperation, till she have emptied them in the bottomless sea of the blood of Christ Jesus, and the mercy of his Father, by the way of confession. But a house is not clean neither, though the dust be thrown out, if there hang cobwebs about the walls, in how dark corners soever. A conscience is not clean, though the sins brought to our memory by this examination be cast upon God's mercy, and the merits of his Son, by confession, if there remain in me but a cobweb,—a little, but a sinful delight in the memory of those sins which I had formerly committed. How many men sin over the sins of their youth again, by a sinful delight in remembering those sins, and a sinful desire that their bodies were not past them ! How easily could I overthrow such a wasteful young man, and compass his land, if I had but money to feed his humors !"

RICHARD SIBBS. (1557—1635.)

Richard Sibbs deserves mention in view of his merits as a preacher, on account of his continued eminence as Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, notwithstanding his decided and well known Puritanism, and from the fact that his "Bruised Reed" was acknowledged to be the chief instrument in the conversion of Baxter. He was a prolific and varied writer, distinguished for solidity, richness, simplicity, and the depth of the spiritual life which he exhibited. Here are a few passages,—mere "specimen bricks," as most of these selections must be,—which are both characteristic and admirable. They are taken from his "Meditations:"

"True zeal for God's glory is joined with true love to man ; therefore, all that are violent, injurious, and insolent, need never talk of glorifying God, as long as they despise the meanest of men.

"A child of God is the greatest freeman, and the best servant, even as Christ himself was the best servant, yet none so free ; and the greater portion any man hath of Christ's spirit, the freer disposition he hath, for Christ's sake, to serve every one in love.

"Sight is the noblest sense. It is quick—we can look from earth to heaven in a moment ; it is large—we can see the hemisphere of the heavens at one view ; it is sure and certain—in hearing we may be deceived ; and lastly, it is the most affecting sense. Even so, faith is the quickest, the largest, the most certain, the most affecting grace ; like an eagle in the clouds, at one view it sees Christ in heaven, and looks down upon the world ; it looks backwards and forwards, it sees things past, present, and to come ; therefore, this grace is said to behold things unseen and eternal."

THOMAS JACKSON. (1579—1640.)

Another brilliant light appeared in the pulpit of the established church early in the century, in the person of Dr. Thomas Jackson. His early experience as a pupil at Oxford was full of future promise, and his later career justified expectation. For many years he busied himself in amassing all sorts of knowledge, wooed the Muses, and wrote a magnificent commentary on the Apostles' Creed. As Vicar of Newcastle, he won the reverence of the intelligent by his great abilities, and the heart of the poor by his generous kindness and cheerful sociability. A

walk along the street drew all the beggars after him, who were sure to exhaust his pocket of pence. Afterwards he was chosen to the Presidency of the College in which he had been a student, and died Dean of Peterborough. Southey calls him "the most valuable of all the English divines," and Bishop Horne freely accepted him as master and model. His theology was decidedly Arminian; and his writings often present a mosaic,—sometimes a medley,—of anecdotes, quotations, and fancies, original and selected, ancient and modern, scholastic and popular, patristic and pagan, both rare and wonderful, bewildering and attractive. These qualities of his style may have rendered him less generally known than many others, but his admirers are enthusiastic in his praise. His mental wealth was wonderful, and his heart-felt devotion to his Master undoubted and all-pervading. Such a writer must be read by the hour to be fully known and appreciated; and so, as we cannot crowd his capacious mind within the limits of any extract for which we have room, we bow ourselves out of his presence without waiting for his Cyclopædial speech.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH. (1602—1644.)

The name of Chillingworth is a familiar one. A single sentence from one of his great masterpieces of reasoning has magnetized Protestant Christendom, and is repeated everywhere even till now: "The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." In early manhood he was drawn by an ingenious Jesuit into intellectual sympathy with Popery, but his acute mind was kept busy till he had discovered the metaphysical fallacies of the system, and the study issued in his masterly and almost unequalled controversial treatise in defence of Protestantism. Writing to a Catholic in reply to some strictures upon his theological changes, he employs these words:

"I knew a man that from a moderate Protestant turned a Papist, and the day that he did so was convicted in conscience that his yesterday's opinion was an error. The same man afterwards, upon better consideration, became a doubting Papist, and from a doubting Papist a confirmed Protestant. And yet this man thinks himself no more to blame for all these changes than a traveller, who, using all

diligence to find the right way to some remote city, did yet mistake it, and after, find his error and amend it."

He was accused of Socinianism, and for a time refused preferment on condition of subscribing the thirty-nine articles; but his scruples were at length overcome, and he was promoted to the Chancellorship of Salisbury. He was a zealous royalist, adhering to the fortunes of Charles against Cromwell and the Parliament, and acted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester, in the year preceding his decease. A few brief extracts from his great work will exhibit the vigor of his logical mind, and the straight-forwardness of his expression:

"I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age. . . . In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of Scripture only for any considering man to build upon. . . . Propose me anything out of this book, and require whether I believe or no, and seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonstration can be stronger than this,—God hath said so, therefore it is true. . . . But you that would not have men follow their reason, what would you have them follow? their passions, or pluck out their eyes and go blindfold? No, you say; you would have them follow authority. In God's name let them; we also would have them follow authority; for it is upon the authority of universal tradition that we would have them believe Scripture. But then as for the authority which you would have them follow, you will let them see reason why they should follow it. And is not this to go a little about,—to leave reason for a short turn, and then come to it again, and to do that which you condemn in others? It being, indeed, a plain impossibility for any man to submit his reason but to reason; for he that doth yield it to authority, must of necessity think himself to have greater reason to believe that authority."

JOSEPH HALL. (1574—1656.)

Bishop Hall is about the earliest of the old divines whose works are generally popular in our day. The pithy and sententious qualities of his style have purchased for him the sobri-

quet of "the English Seneca." His life was long and busy, his writings numerous and varied, his experience fluctuating, his dignities many, and his influence great. He was made Bishop of Norwich, and suffered with others from persecution during the ascendancy of the dissenters. He is a poet, a scholar, a wit, a satirist, an animated narrator, and a fervid and impressive preacher, all in one. He was feeble in no department of literature. Fuller says of him very justly, "He was not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations." He was not wholly guiltless of worthless conceits, and he sometimes approached buffoonery. He was a genial and cheerful, though studious, man, sometimes majestic, but always friendly. Hamilton closes his description of him in this admirable way: "Taylor's proper habitat is an academic cloister, or a minster with stained windows, and angels hovering above the organ. Of Hall we conceive as in a parsonage. His study is very quiet, and very cosy, and awfully inviolable; but in the next room his daughter is playing on the virginals, and although there are colored panes in the window, the casement is open, and neither 'divine Ambrose' nor 'heavenly Augustine' can prevent the scholar from watching the suspicious manœuvres of George and Robert, whose kite has got curiously entangled in the ripest branch of their father's golden pippin; and it is with an air of affectionate confidence, as well as reverence, that yonder old parishioner is coming up the pathway toward the open door."

It is hard to begin making selections from such a man; and it will be harder to stop after beginning. He must be allowed to exhibit some of the varieties of his character and abilities. And, first of all, a stanza or two from one of his satires upon an incompetent translator of his favorite Virgil, may be recited:

"The nimble dactyles, striving to outgo
The drawling spondees, pacing it below:
The lingering spondees laboring to delay
The breathless dactyles with a sudden stay.

"Whoever saw a colt, wanton and wild
Yoked with a slow-foot ox on fallow field,
Can right aread how handsomely besets
Dull spondees with the English dactilets."

In his *Meditations* he writes thus :

“ With God there is no free man but his servant, though in the galleys ; no slave but the sinner, though in a palace ; none noble but the virtuous, if never so basely descended ; none rich but he that possesseth God, even in rags ; none wise but he that is a fool to himself and the world ; none happy but he whom the world pities. Let me be free, noble, rich, wise, happy to God ; I pass not what I am to the world.

“ As Christ was both a lamb and a lion, so is every Christian ; a lamb for patience in suffering and innocence of life ; a lion for boldness in his innocency. I would so order my courage and mildness that I may neither be lion-like in my conversation, nor sheepish in the defence of a good cause.”

In his “ *Characters of Virtues and Vices*,” which are more or less a sequel to his satires, written in prose, he thus paints “ the hypocrite,” and afterward portrays the valiant man :

“ The hypocrite at church will ever sit where he may be seen best, and in the midst of the sermon pulls out his tables in haste, as if he feared to lose that note, where he writes either his forgotten errand or nothing. Then he turns his Bible with a noise, to seek an omitted quotation, and folds the leaf as if he had found it ; and asks aloud the name of the preacher, and repeats it, whom he publicly salutes, thanks, praises, invites, entertains with tedious good counsel. When a rhymers reads a poem to him, he persuades the puss. There is nothing that in presence he dislikes, that in absence he censures not. . . . Whom he dares not openly backbite, nor wound with a direct censure, he strikes smoothly with an over-cold praise. He is an enemy of God’s favors if they fall beside himself ; a man of the worst diet, for he consumes himself ; a thorn hedge covered with nettles, a peevish interpreter of good things ; and no other than a lean and pale carcase quickened with a fiend.”

THE VALIANT MAN. “ He undertakes without rashness and performs without fear. He seeks not for dangers, but when they find him, he bears them over with courage, with success. He is the master of himself, and subdues his passions to reason ; and by this inward victory works his own peace. He is afraid of nothing but the displeasure of the Highest, and runs away from nothing but sin. No man is more mild to a relenting or vanquished adversary, or more hates to set his foot on a carcase. He had rather smother an inquiry

than revenge himself of the impotent; and I know not whether he more detests cowardliness or cruelty. He talks little and brags less. He is so balanced with wisdom, that he floats steadily in the midst of all tempests. Deliberate in his purposes, firm in resolution, bold in enterprising, unwearied in achieving; and howsoever happy in success, if ever he be overcome, his heart yields last."

One of the most fervid passages from his "Passion Sermon" shall close our extracts:

"O, beloved, is it not enough that he died once for us. Are those pains so light that we should every day redouble them. . . . Every one of our sins is a thorn, and nail, and spear to Him. While thou pourest down thy drunken carouses, thou givest thy Saviour a potion of gall: while thou despisest His poor servants, thou spittest on His face: while thou puttest on thy proud dresses, and liftest up thy heart with vain conceits, thou settest a crown of thorns on His head; while thou wringest and oppressest His poor children, thou scourgest Him, and drawest blood from His hands and feet. . . . Hear Him who saith, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Saul strikes at Damascus; Christ suffers in heaven. Thou striketh; Christ Jesus smarteth, and will revenge. These are 'what remains' of Christ's sufferings. In Himself it is finished, in His members it is not. We must toil, and groan, and bleed, that we may reign. This is our warfare; this is the region of our sorrow and death. Now are we set upon the sandy pavement of our theatre, and are matched with all sorts of evils—evil men, evil spirits, evil accidents, and, which is worst, our own evil hearts; temptations, crosses, persecutions, sicknesses, wants, infamies, death; all these must, in our courses, be encountered by the law of our profession. . . . But God and his angels sit upon the scaffolds of heaven and behold us. Our crown is ready; our day of deliverance shall come; yea, our redemption is near, when all tears shall be wiped from our eyes, and we that have sown in tears, shall reap in joy."

JOHN ARROWSMITH. (1602—1659.)

One of the most eminent masters of Trinity College, distinguished especially for his learning, his clearness of thought, and his large abilities as a systematic thinker and sound theologian, was Dr. John Arrowsmith. He was a member of the famous assembly which fashioned the Westminster Confession of Faith, and is said to have had a prominent part in the work of framing its

catechisms. The accounts of his life are somewhat meagre, but his two chief works that have come down to us, the "*Armilla Catechetica*" and the "*Theanthropos*," are full of strong thought, beautiful fancies, devotional feeling and eloquent expression. The position which he occupied indicates the estimation in which he was held, and his writings that remain justify this esteem. A few brief selections will exhibit the peculiarities of his mind and style :

"The person offered in sacrifice was God as well as man. This is a ground whereupon a believer may challenge Satan to say his worst, and do his worst. Let him present God as terrible: let him present me as abominable in the sight of God by reason of my sins: let him aggravate the height of God's displeasure, and the height and depth, and length and breadth of my sins. I grant all. And against all this I oppose this infinite satisfaction of Christ. Though the justice of God cannot be bribed, yet it may be satisfied. Here is a proportionable satisfaction: here is God answering God."

In his sermon entitled, "How we know that there is a God," there occurs this opening statement, which indicates the method of discussion, and in spite of the Latin terms employed, is simple, lucid and comprehensive. He says :

"There are six several acts which every man of understanding is able to exert in a way of contemplation: He may *respicere*, *prospicere*, *susplicere*, *despicere*, *inspicere*, and *circumspicere*. Whosoever shall advisedly exercise any of these will undoubtedly meet with some demonstrations of a Deity; much more if he be industriously conversant in them all."

These several terms thus used by the preacher signify respectively to look backward, to look forward, to look upward, to look downward, to look within, and to look around; and in this order of inquiry he proceeds to speak of the evidences of God's presence and work in these various spheres of Divine action.

In a sermon on the "Insufficiency of worldly Science," occurs this striking and admirable passage, which exhibits both his accuracy of thought and expression, and his skill in the use of the language of Scripture.

“Wherefore bethink thyself at length, O deluded world, and write over all thy school-doors, ‘Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom ;’ over all thy court-gates, ‘Let not the mighty man glory in his might ;’ over all thy exchanges and banks, ‘Let not the rich man glory in his riches ;’ write upon thy looking-glasses that of Bathsheba, ‘Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain ;’ upon thy mews and artillery-yards that of the Psalmist, ‘God delighteth not in the strength of a horse, he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man ;’ upon thy taverns, inns, and ale-houses, that of Solomon, ‘Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise ;’ upon thy magazines and wardrobes, that of our Saviour, ‘Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and thieves break through and steal.’ Write upon thy counting-houses that of Habakkuk, ‘Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his, and to him that ladeth himself with thick clay ;’ upon thy play-houses that of Paul, ‘Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God ;’ upon thy banqueting-houses that of the same holy apostle, ‘Meats for the belly and the belly for meats, but God shall destroy both them and it ;’ yea, upon all thine accommodations that of the Preacher, ‘All is vanity and vexation of spirit.’”

RICHARD BAXTER. (1615—1691.)

In the long and noble list of preachers among the English nonconformists, the name of Richard Baxter has been, by almost universal consent, assigned the first position. His long life, of more than seventy-five years, covered nearly every prominent change which the century brought to the English Government. He was in the midst of his days and his activity when Charles I. went to the scaffold, he lived through the period of the Commonwealth, witnessed the Restoration, suffered under the succeeding proscription, and in his old age heard the acclamations with which the nation welcomed William as Deliverer and King. He spent his youth in a neighborhood where frivolity and irreligion prevailed, and was more or less drawn into the downward current ; but was, in comparatively early life, brought to a trust in Christ, and to a consecration of his powers chiefly to divinity and preaching. His twenty years' labor at Kidderminster wrought a transformation in the moral and spiritual character of the people that was wonderful and radical. From the very commencement of his ministry to the close of his life he was

an invalid,—often given over to die by his successive physicians. His apparent nearness to death doubtless did something to give the peculiar depth and earnestness which distinguished his appeals. He says of himself:—

“ Still thinking I had little time to live,
My fervent heart to win men’s souls did strive ;
I preached as never sure to preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men.”

And yet powerful, direct, laborious, constant, and effective as he was in his preaching, he preferred the study to the pulpit, and gave the chief strength of his mind to writing and to pamphleteering controversies. The Act of Uniformity in 1662 mostly sealed his lips in the pulpit for a time, but this only increased the activity of his pen. He was tried for sedition before the infamous Jeffreys, but his heart was undaunted. The whole number of his publications is one hundred and sixty-eight,—equal to forty thousand closely printed octavo pages. Many of these works have no great permanent value, having been called out by the utterance of false opinions, by the men of his time, which he seemed to feel himself called on to encounter and refute whenever they appeared, and of whatever sort they were.

Baxter’s mind was eminently logical and metaphysical, well adapted to discussion, and rendered increasingly chaste and critical by his abundant controversies. His apprehension of truth was clear, and his presentation of it direct and forcible. Pungency and fervor mark every paragraph of the two works by which he will be longest and most widely known,—his “*Call to the Unconverted*,” and his “*Saints’ Everlasting Rest*,”—one of them pressing the unsaved soul by argument, reproof, exhortation, appeal and entreaty to Christ, and the other making the future life glow with such sacred lustre and draw with such holy magnetism, as may well fill the most weary pilgrim with gladness, and stir the most stupid heart to self-purification and longing. This last mentioned work was the first which he wrote, and is also the best. It was mainly composed after a severe bleeding, when he had been given over by his physicians to die, though in subsequent periods of severe illness and suf-

fering he added to it, both to soothe his own pains, and preserve the thoughts which his meditation upon heaven had awakened. The volume entitled "Life and Times," is a copious miscellany; but the most interesting portions of it are those in which he compares, at length and in detail, his younger and his older self.

He had made very respectable attainments in the various departments of learning, wrote Latin with very great facility, had read the great fathers of the church with attention, had furnished himself with much theological erudition and many scholastic appliances; and, better than all, he had imbued his heart most thoroughly with the teachings of the Bible and the yearning spirit of Christ. He enjoyed much of the highest kind of popularity, —the roughest and most savage miners at Dudley on the one hand, and the noble and *elite* audience thronging St. Paul's, on the other, hung on his words with solemn silence or profound enthusiasm, and few ever forgot the emotions which were awakened by his sacred and peculiar oratory, or by his impassioned tenderness, which so reminded them of Him who once gave his life for human salvation. Multitudes owned him, while he was yet living, as God's honored agent in their redemption; and his works are still lifting other multitudes of souls heavenward in almost every land.

It is not easy to select from so voluminous an author; and the two principal works, already referred to, are too well known to require or justify extracts. A few sentences of an "Old Man's Retrospect," taken from his "Life and Times," may, however, not be out of place:

"I was once wont to meditate most on my own heart, and to dwell all at home, and look little higher. I was still poring either on my sins or wants, or examining my sincerity; but now, though I am greatly convinced of the need of heart acquaintance and employment, yet I see more need of a higher work; and that I should look oftener upon Christ, and God, and heaven, than upon my own heart. At home I can find distempers to trouble me, and some evidence of my peace; but it is above that I must find matter of delight, and joy, and love, and peace itself. Therefore, I would have one thought at home upon myself and sins, and many thoughts above upon the high and amiable and beatifying objects.

“Heretofore I knew much less than now, and yet was not half so much acquainted with my ignorance. I had a great delight in the daily new discoveries which I made, and of the light which shined in upon me. But I little knew how little I understood those very points whose discovery so much delighted me, nor how much might be said against them; nor how many things I was yet a stranger to. But now I find far greater darkness upon all things, and perceive how very little it is that we know in comparison of that which we are ignorant of; and have far meaner thoughts of my own understanding, though I must needs know that it is better furnished than it was then. .

“Accordingly, I had then a far higher opinion of learned persons and books than I have now; for what I wanted myself I thought every reverend divine had attained, and was familiarly acquainted with; and what books I understood not by reason of the strangeness of the terms or the matter, I the more admired and thought that others understood their worth. But now experience hath constrained me, against my will, to know that reverend learned men are imperfect, and know but little, as well as I, especially those that think themselves the wisest; and the better I am acquainted with them, the more I perceive that we are all yet in the dark; and the more I am acquainted with holy men that are all for heaven, and pretend not much to subtilities, the more I value and honor them. And when I have studied hard to understand some abstruse and admired book, I have but attained the knowledge of human imperfection, and to see that the author is but a man, as well as I.”

JOHN OWEN. (1616—1683.)

Resembling Baxter in his studiousness, in his industry, his tendency to religious discussion, in his non-conformity, and in his voluminous authorship, Dr. Owen, in most other respects, presents the most marked contrasts in his cast of mind, in his style of expression, and in his experiences. He studied for a short time at Oxford for the Church of England, but, aroused by strong religious convictions, to his own spiritual wants, and startled by the semi papistical spirit and requirements of Archbishop Laud, he abandoned his position in that ancient seat of learning, and prosecuted his educational career elsewhere. He passed to Presbyterianism, and then to Independency. His abilities soon attracted public attention, he arose steadily in esteem, influence and position, was frequently called to preach

before the Parliament, which was now controlled by the Puritans, was selected by Cromwell to accompany him in his expedition to Ireland, was set to resuscitate and reorganize Trinity College, Dublin, was made Dean of Christ Church in 1651, and in the following year Vice Chancellor of the very Oxford whence he had been driven in his youth. Magnanimous where others would have been vindictive, he appointed both Presbyterians and Prelatists to important positions for which they had superior qualifications, and would not use his power to molest the liturgical meetings of his Episcopal neighbors. He infused a new life into the University, and attracted some of the most eminent minds of the kingdom,—both Churchmen and Dissenters,—to the libraries, and halls, and lecture rooms of the venerable seat of learning. The Restoration drove him into retirement, and he only escaped imprisonment by leading for a time the life of a fugitive.

He was a diligent collector and a hard student of books, yet a man of engaging manners, genial sociability, and great practical shrewdness and skill. He wrote much and preached freely; and his books are full of strong thought and comprehensive generalizations, while his sermons are said to have drawn large audiences, and to have been attended with great interest. And yet his writings are seldom attractive, and the reading of his published discourses is generally a wearisome task. The chief reason for this is found in his taxing prolixity, and in his involved, and frequently in his slovenly and slipshod style. It is often hard, dry, repulsive and provoking. He neither did nor would seek to perfect his composition. He either scorned, or affected to scorn, all careful attention to the drapery of his thoughts; for in one of his prefaces he has thus written: "Know, reader, that you have to do with a person who, provided his words but clearly express the sentiments of his mind, entertains a fixed and absolute disregard of all elegance and ornaments of speech." Speaking to a friend, Robert Hall said of Owen: "I can't think how you like Dr. Owen; I can't read him with any patience; I never read a page of him without finding some confusion in his thoughts,—either a truism or a contradiction in terms. Sir, he is a double Dutchman, floundering in

a continent of mud." Hamilton says that, "on the table-land of his controversial treatises sentence follows sentence like a file of Ironsides, in buff and rusty steel,—a sturdy procession but a dingy uniform; and it is only here and there, where a son of Anak outpeers his comrades, that you are arrested by a thought of uncommon vigor or grandeur." And yet, if one will but study Owen with patience and sympathy, his breadth and profundity and power will never fail to get an impressive and grateful recognition. A brief extract from one of his more practical treatises on "Temptation" must suffice for a specimen of his best and happiest style, though even here the faults are not wholly hidden:

"There are advantages for temptations lying oftentimes in men's natural tempers and constitutions. Some are naturally gentle, facile, easy to be entreated, pliable, which, though it be the noblest temper of nature, and the best and choicest ground, when well broken up and fallowed, for grace to grow in, yet if not watched over, will be a means of innumerable surprisals and entanglements in temptation. Others are earthly, froward, morose, so that envy, malice, selfishness, peevishness, harsh thoughts of others, repinings, lie at the very door of their natures, and they can scarce step out but they are in the snare of one or other of them. Others are passionate and the like. Now he that would watch that he enter not into temptation, had need be acquainted with his own natural temper, that he may watch over the treacheries that lie in it continually. Take heed lest you have a Jehu in you, that shall make you drive furiously; or a Jonah in you, that will make you ready to repine; or a David, that will make you hasty in your determinations. . . . Labor, then, to know thine own frame and temper, what spirit thou art of; what associates in thine heart Satan hath, where corruption is strong, where grace is weak; what stronghold lust hath in thy natural constitution and the like. . . . Be acquainted then with thine own heart; though it be deep, search it; though it be dark, inquire into it; though it give all its distempers other names than what are their due, believe it not. Were not men utter strangers to themselves, did they not give flattering titles to their natural distempers, did they not strive rather to justify, palliate, or excuse the evils of their hearts, that are suited to their natural tempers and constitutions, than to destroy them, and by these means keep themselves off from taking a clear and distinct view of them, it were impossible that they should all their days hang in the same briars without attempt for deliverance."

JOHN BUNYAN. (1628—1688.)

What shall be said of John Bunyan? It is hard to speak of him without using too many words or too few. The "Pilgrim's Progress" has made his name a household word in all lands and circles, and yet any detailed account of his life, inward and outward, and any proper and adequate history of his works, and characterization of his qualities as an author, would require no little space and care. We prefer to err by attempting too little than too much. His "Grace Abounding" is one of the most vivid portraits of an intense inward life that can be found in the whole compass of biographical literature; and however extravagant the experiences may seem to others, they were the completest realities to him; and however full of exaggeration his language may seem to a morally stupid critic, it always falls below the facts in his estimation.

He was the son of a tinker in Bedfordshire, and himself followed the ancestral occupation. He was profane and vicious in early life, and, though poor, was popular among his associates. He was the subject of serious impressions, which at length developed into the keenest sense of sin and danger, and his mental struggles were as varied as they were fierce, both before and after his conversion. He seems to have been the subject of almost every form of temptation, and to have grappled successively with almost every species of evil that has power over or allies in the heart. This explains his marvellous and complete analysis of the spiritual conflict in his works. His preaching, always heartfelt, faithful and earnest, grew gradually in breadth of thought, in unction, impressiveness and power. After the passage of the new Act of Uniformity, which succeeded the Restoration, he was arrested while conducting a religious service, and the following indictment was served against him: "That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, laborer, being a person of such and such conditions, he hath since such a time devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service; and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this Kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord, the King," &c. Of course he

was convicted and went to prison in Bedford jail, which became one of the most honored pulpits that mortal ever filled; for there, with only the Bible and Fox's "Book of Martyrs" for companions, he wrote his immortal allegory, which has been the wonder of philosophers and the helpful companion of childhood for nearly two hundred years. Twelve years he remained in prison, winning gradually the confidence and sympathy of his keepers, so that he was at length favored with unusual liberties. In 1672 he obtained his liberty; when his friends built for him a large meeting house, where he continued to preach during the remainder of his life. His annual visits to London drew crowds wherever he preached,—while among his listeners were found the highest talent and the proudest nobility of the kingdom. Yet he would allow no notoriety and distinctions to elate him. One day, after concluding an impressive discourse, his friends passed around to thank him for his "sweet sermon," as they called it. "Ay," he answered, in his blunt and characteristic way, "you need not remind me of that; for the devil told me as much before I left the pulpit." His sudden death, at sixty years of age, was a heavy grief to his friends; though no one had then imagined what a priceless benefaction his life had yielded to the world.

At first only the favorite of the ignorant, and the "idol of the common people," he has at length extorted more and higher praise from the very pontiffs of taste and literature, than has been awarded to any other man of purely religious genius. Johnson, Franklin, Scott, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Montgomery, Mackintosh, and Macaulay, have sought to analyze his power, and confessed to the unequalled power of his spell. We need not multiply words over the problem, nor stop to throw any added contribution to the swelling current of his praises. He was a diligent student and an unquestioning believer of the Bible. He penetrated its letter, and never missed its spirit. He knew the human heart, through a most rigid introspection, and a most intense, profound and vivid personal experience. To him sin was a most loathsome leprosy, and Satan a most fearful foe. His intellect was robust, his understanding marked by downright common sense, and his logic

had the thoroughly Saxon directness. He saw truth as in a series of vivid pictures, and he had a wonderful power to reproduce with unequalled distinctness of outline, and fertility of illustration, the visions that crowded upon his inner eye. To his mind all great truths seemed to be embodied, and each spiritual force was pictured as an animated form. His style is vernacular, idiomatic and universal; varying with the subject,—sometimes seeming almost vulgar, frequently homely, now and then sparkling with raciness, and occasionally almost rhythmical in its unaffected dignity and poetic flow; but always the purest English, plain, strong and effective. Extracts from his writings would be an impertinence. His "Grace Abounding" photographs the man; his "Pilgrim's Progress" is the incarnation and proof of his power; while ten thousand souls, coming to the end of their pilgrimage at the gate of the Celestial City, triumphant through his aid, help to build his glorious monument. There we may leave him and his Christian fame.

JOHN FLAVEL. (1627—1691.)

John Flavel is another name which English Non-conformity sends down to us, fragrant as with sweet spices, and cherished as one might keep the gift of a dear friend, received as the spirit was putting on the robes of immortality. He was chosen minister at Dartmouth at an early age, and by his pleasant and sober manner, his faithfulness to his trusts, and his instructive and vivacious preaching, became eminently popular and useful. The episcopal edict silenced him after a ministry of six years, and he suffered deprivations and persecutions until King James' Indulgence allowed him and his non-conforming brethren to resume their labors. But while his tongue was silent, his pen was busy, and his works are precious legacies. He was a man of eminent faith, fervor, spirituality and devotion. In preaching he would be sometimes siezed with such an agony of earnestness, or elevated to such a pitch of rapture and thanksgiving, that his life appeared in peril. The tradition of his fervor, and the incidents which illustrate it, are still kept alive in his parish. His "Mystery of Providence," "Token for Mourners," "Saint Indeed," and his "Spiritual Husbandry," and "Spiritual

Navigation," have an enduring popularity and value. His books are full of incidents, anecdotes, narrative, illustrations, homely metaphors, and brief and striking allegories. He studied life with a view to obtain and impart spiritual instruction; and though his similes are sometimes far-fetched, his comparisons not always happy, his tendencies to spiritualize excessive enough to provoke a smile, and his type of Calvinism extremely high, still his works deserve all the testimonials which they have received, as being fully adapted to minister largely and healthily to the spiritual life. His peculiarities are such that a brief extract or two will exhibit him, if not fully, yet with fairness:

"Hearing a whole choir of birds chirping and twinkling together, it engaged my curiosity a little to enquire into the occasion of that convocation, which mine eye quickly informed me of; for I perceived a dead hawk in the bush about which they made such a noise, seeming to triumph at the death of their enemy; and I could not blame them to sing his knell, who, like a cannibal, was sent to feed upon their living bodies; tearing them limb from limb, and scaring them with his frightful appearance. This bird, which, living, was so formidable, being dead, the poorest wren or titmouse, fears not to hop or chirp over. This brings to my thoughts the base and ignoble ends of the greatest tyrants and greedy engrossers of the world, of whom, whilst living, men were more afraid than birds of a hawk; but, dead, become objects of contempt and scorn. The death of such tyrants is both inglorious and unlamented: 'when the wicked perish there is shouting.' For mine own part, I wish I may so order my conversation in the world, that I may live when I am dead, in the affections of the best, and leave an honorable testimony in the consciences of the worst. . . ."

"Observing a mole working industriously beneath the hill, and a bird watching very intently above, I made a stand to observe the issue; when in a little time the bird descends and seizes upon a worm, which I perceived was crawling apace from the enemy below that hunted her, but fell to the share of another from above which waited for her. My thoughts presently suggested these meditations from that occasion: methought this poor worm seemed to be the emblem of my poor soul, which is more endangered by its own lusts of pride and covetousness than this worm was by the the mole and bird: my pride, like the aspiring bird, watches for it above; my covetousness, like

this subterranean mole, digging for it beneath. Poor soul! what a sad dilemma art thou brought to! If thou go down to the caverns of this earth, then thou art a prey to thy covetousness that hunts thee; and if thou aspire or but creep upward, there thy pride waits to ensnare thee. Ascend thou mayst not by a vain elation, but by a heavenly conversation; besides which there is no way for thy preservation. 'The way of life is above to the wise.'

JOHN HOWE. (1630—1705.)

Still another John belongs to the period, and he is also a representative of that stalwart Nonconformity which did so much, even in its silence and persecutions, for English liberty and English Christianity. Howe was a student at both Cambridge and Oxford. He was settled as minister at Torrington as early as his twenty-third year, and, during the six years following his settlement, preached the courses of sermons which, published as treatises on the "Blessedness of the Righteous," and on "Delighting in God," have made so important and permanent a contribution to our best Christian literature. Visiting London, he was singled out by the discerning mind of Cromwell, and summoned to a chaplaincy. His influence over the Protector was large and nobly used. An Episcopal friend, seeking to induce him to submit to re-ordination after the passage of the Act of Uniformity, that he might still preach, asked, "What hurt is there in being re-ordained?" "*Hurt*, my lord!" exclaimed Howe, "it hurts my understanding; the very thought is shocking. It is an absurdity, since nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure I am a minister of Christ, and I am ready to debate that matter with your lordship if your lordship pleases; but I cannot begin again to be a minister." He went to Holland and remained for a time, and only returned when the expulsion of the Stuarts vocalized Independency in the long silent pulpits of England.

Robert Hall pronounces Howe "unquestionably the greatest of the Puritan Divines." He is distinguished by calmness, self-possession, majesty and comprehensiveness. His conceptions are both vivid and grand, and his emotions are fervid, but his power of expression fell far below his power of thought; and, hence, his style is sometimes heavy and cumbrous, and is al-

most wholly wanting in elegance, vivacity and grace. The following extract from his greatest work, "The Living Temple," will exhibit the massiveness of his mind, the grandeur of his conceptions, and the original boldness of his imagery.

"That God hath withdrawn Himself and left this His temple desolate, we have many sad and plain proofs before us. The stately ruins are visible to every eye that bear in their front, yet extant, this doleful inscription, 'Here God once dwelt.' Enough appears of the admirable frame and structure of the soul of man, to show the Divine presence did some time reside in it; more than enough of vicious deformity to proclaim, He is now retired and gone. The lamps are extinct, the altar overturned, the light and love are now vanished, which did the one shine with so heavenly brightness, the other burn with so pious fervor; the golden candlestick is displaced and thrown away as a useless thing, to make room for the throne of the prince of darkness; the sacred incense, which sent rolling up in clouds its rich perfumes, is exchanged for a poisonous, hellish vapor, and here is 'instead of a sweet savor a stench.' The comely order of this house is turned all into confusion; 'the beauties of holiness' into noisome impurities; 'the house of prayer into a den of thieves,' and that of the worst and most horrid kind; for every lust is a thief, and every theft sacrilege; continual rapine and robbery are committed upon holy things."

"Look upon the fragments of that curious sculpture which once adorned the palace of that great King; the relics of common notions; the lively prints of some undefaced truth; the fair ideas of things; the yet legible precepts that relate to practice. Behold, with what accuracy the broken pieces show these to have been engraven by the finger of God, and how they lie now torn and scattered, one in this dark corner, another in that, buried in heaps of dirt and rubbish! . . .

Some pieces agree and own one another; but how soon are our inquiries and endeavors to adjust them nonplussed and superceded! How many attempts have been made since that fearful fall and ruin of this fabric, to compose again the truths of so many several kinds into their distinct orders, and make up frames of science, or useful knowledge, and after so many ages nothing is finished in any one kind. Sometimes truths are misplaced, and what belongs to one kind is transferred to another where it will not fitly match; sometimes falsehood inserted, which shatters or disturbs the whole frame. And what is with much fruitless pains done by the one hand, is dashed in pieces by another; and it is the work of a following age to sweep away the

fine-spun cobwebs of another. . . . He that invites you to take a view of the soul of man, gives you but such another prospect of wide-spread ruin, and doth but say to you, 'Behold the desolation!'

But this pleasant and attractive visit among the English preachers must be some time ended, hard as it is to tear away from such genial and instructive companionship. There are many others of this goodly company, who must be met with only a nod of recognition and a word of courtesy. There is the erudite JAMES USHER, an authority in antiquities and chronology; and young, tender, earnest JOSEPH ALLEINE, so well known as the author of the "Alarm to the Unconverted;" and sound, honest, logical, and eloquent WILLIAM BATES, who left the preferments of the Church of England, to keep a good conscience, and gave a cheerful welcome to the reproaches which followed him into retirement, and who stood nobly forward as the friend of Baxter when Jeffreys was savagely brow-beating him and his counsel from the bench of justice; and studious, gentle and laborious WILLIAM BRIDGE, whose richly evangelical spirit was only equalled by his skill in simplifying and applying the teachings of Scripture; and quaint, pithy, shrewd and exhilarating THOMAS BROOKS, whose writings are full of keen proverbs and striking apothegms, so greatly admired and so liberally borrowed by Spurgeon; and the profound and metaphysical STEPHEN CHARNOCK, whose work on the "Divine Attributes" still holds the first rank among similar treatises; and good MATTHEW HENRY, whose Commentaries are yet unequalled in their wondrous opening of the wealth of Scripture; and estimable ISAAC WATTS, who, besides his eminence as a preacher, has made himself almost the royal Psalmist of the Christian church; and pious PHILIP DODDRIDGE, whose fervent and practical "Expositions," whose precious hymns so fraught with Christian experience, and whose well-known "Rise and Progress of Religion in the soul" keep him preaching even yet as he never preached at Northampton. All these, preachers within this century or immediate products of its culture, as well as others scarcely less worthy, must be passed by with only this slight reference. Even GILBERT BURNET, the sturdy Bishop and accomplished

Historian, must be forbidden to detain us with any paragraph from his "History of the Reformation," his "Pictures of his own Times," or his carefully elaborated Sermons; and EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, must preach his fifty discourses that still remain to us, to other audiences, or at other times, notwithstanding their high moral tone, their energy of style, and the large and accurate knowledge of men which they display; and JOHN TILLOTSON, Archbishop of Canterbury, as he was, must not detain us; though he was in his day one of the most solid and popular of preachers, with his robust understanding, his clearness and strength of thought, his catholicity of spirit and taste, his masculine though sometimes heedless style, his directness of appeal and his urgency in the application of truth to his hearers. His sermons were sold to the publisher for twenty-five hundred guineas, and for half a century after his death he was read more widely than any other divine of his age; but we leave the wealth to be unlocked on some other occasion.

There are, however, four names that remain to be more particularly specified, both in view of their eminence, and on account of the large resources which their works open to the reader and student. They have each their admirers, their peculiarities, and their special merits, and so deserve a more prominent mention and a fuller reference. These names are Fuller, Barrow, South and Taylor.

THOMAS FULLER. (1608—1661.)

Thomas Fuller was the son of a clergyman, and always adhered steadily, meekly, conscientiously and nobly to the Establishment, in spite of persecution, loss of place and library. After the Restoration he was reinstated, and in a little time received the appointment of Chaplain extraordinary to the King, but died soon after, almost in the very labor of preaching. He had a well-deserved reputation for learning, wit, quaintness and substantial orthodoxy. His memory was prodigious, and some of the feats ascribed to it by reliable witnesses seem well-nigh incredible. He overflowed with fun, which found perpetual expression in all places,—secular and sacred, festive and solemn.

A biographer says of him, "Even the tenderness of his heart, and the genuineness of his piety, could not quench his humor; but he would be drolling at a funeral, and punning in his prayers, and, with the tear in his eye, the *jeaux d'esprit* kept leaping from his tongue." But this facetiousness was spontaneous, and not manufactured, and was ever genial rather than morose, and inoffensive instead of being caustic. This tendency of mind was doubtless excessive, and sometimes hindered his usefulness; but he was greatly esteemed, and his works have the excellence of Christian wisdom as well as the lively flavor of jocularly. A few extracts will illustrate his spirit and style, and entertain the reader:

PURGATORY. "No wonder if the Papists fight for purgatory. 'Tis said of Sicily and Egypt, that they were anciently the barns and granaries of the city of Rome; but now-a-days, purgatory is the barn of the Romish court,—yea, the kitchen, hall, parlor, larder, cellar, chamber, every room of Rome. When Adonijah sued for Abishag the Shunamite, Solomon said to his mother, 'Ask for him the kingdom also.' But if once the Protestants could wring from the Papists their purgatory,—nay, then would they say, Ask the triple crown, cross-keys, St. Angelo, Peter's patrimony, and all. In a word, were purgatory taken away, the Pope himself would be in purgatory, as not knowing which way to maintain his expensiveness."

ABUSING RELIGION. "Fanatics have pleased their fancies these late years with turning and tossing and tumbling of religion, upward and downward, and backward and forward, they have cast and contrived it into a hundred antic postures of their own imagining. However it is now to be hoped that, after they have tired themselves out with doing of nothing, but only trying and tampering this and that way to no purpose, they may at last return and leave religion in the same condition wherein they found it."

EJACULATIONS. "Ejaculations take not up any room in the soul. They give liberty of callings, so that at the same instant one may follow his proper vocation. The husbandman may dart forth an ejaculation, and not make a balk the more. The seaman nevertheless steer his ship right in the darkest night. Yea, the soldier at the same time may shoot out his prayer to God, and aim his pistol at his enemy, the one better hitting the mark for the other.

"The field wherein bees feed is no whit the barer for their biting; when they have taken their full repast on flowers or grass, the ox

may feed, the sheep fat, on their reversions. The reason is because those little chemists distil only the refined part of the flower, leaving only the grosser substance thereof. So ejaculations bind not men to any bodily observance, only busy the spiritual half, which maketh them consistent with the prosecution of any other employment."

BAD APPETITE. Lord, I discover an arrant laziness in my soul. For when I am to read a chapter in the Bible, before I begin it, I look where it endeth. And if it endeth not on the same side, I cannot keep my hands from turning over the leaf, to measure the length thereof on the other side; if it swells to many verses, I begin to grudge. Surely, my heart is not rightly affected. Were I truly hungry after heavenly food, I would not complain of meat. Scourge, Lord, this laziness out of my soul; make the reading of thy Word not a penance, but a pleasure unto me; teach me, that as amongst many heaps of gold, all being equally pure, that is the best which is the biggest, so I may esteem that chapter in thy Word the best that is the longest."

UPWARDS. "How large houses do they build in London on little ground! revenging themselves on the narrowness of their room with stores of stories. Excellent arithmetic! from the root of one floor to multiply so many chambers. And though painful the climbing up, pleasant the staying there, the higher the healthfuller, with clearer light and sweeter air.

"Small are my means on earth. May I mount my soul the higher in heavenly meditations, relying on Divine providence. . . . Higher, my soul! higher! In bodily buildings, commonly the garrets are most empty; but, my mind, the higher mounted, will be the better furnished. Let perseverance to death be my uppermost chamber, the roof of which is grace, the pavement of glory."

ISAAC BARROW. (1630—1677.)

For massiveness of mind, variety of knowledge, breadth of thought, exhaustive analysis, comprehensive research, weighty argument, and calm, clear, strong statement, few men surpass Isaac Barrow. His early college days exhibited more of his fondness for fighting than of his love of books, or reverence for his teachers. This trait, however, at length, developed into mental intrepidity and moral courage. Finding little prospect of preferment and success in the church under the rule of Cromwell, he turned his attention to the various departments of science, and became an eminent mathematician and astrono-

mer. Subsequently he spent several years on the continent, holding fellowship with learned men, and studying the system of Mohammedanism, the works of Chrysostom, and others of the ancient Fathers. After holding important Professorships in London and Cambridge, in 1669, at about the age of forty, he resigned his chair to Sir Isaac Newton, and devoted himself to divinity. One of his most masterly works, left in manuscript, was his "Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy." Of this a critic has said, not without reason, though perhaps with excess of reverence: "He hath said enough to silence the controversy forever, and to deter all wise men, on both sides, from meddling any further with it." He died at forty-seven, and was honored by a burial in Westminster Abbey. Slovenly in his dress, fond of tobacco, and addicted to the use of opium, he was otherwise temperate and abstemious, and thought and wrote with such care and precision, that not a few of his discourses were transcribed three or four times before his rigid intellect and severe taste would be satisfied.

But few of his sermons that remain were addressed to an audience, or were written with such a design. When a topic was presented to his mind which he wished to discuss, he was wont to sit down and compose a sermon which should involve a thorough development of it. This will partly serve to explain their length, their portentous learning, and their philosophical style. He is reported to have preached one of his sermons which occupied three and a half hours in the delivery; and on another occasion, when preaching very lengthily in Westminster Abbey, the servants, who had got impatient for the fees awaiting them for showing the interior to the waiting visitors, "caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over playing till they had blowed him down."

More, perhaps, than any other man, Barrow gave to English theology its character for strong sense, solidity and completeness. His discussions seem thoroughly exhaustive, and all his argumentative battles appear, from the outset, to be certain to result in victory. Charles II. said of him, "that he was not a fair man—he left nothing to be said by any one who came after him." He is sometimes fervid and sweeping, but his vigi-

lant and royal intellect is still seen to be guiding the whole movement of his thought. He sometimes multiplies adjectives, epithets and synonyms with astonishing profusion, but every one has a meaning, and adds to what has gone before. His copious diction is always an accumulation of power in the thought, and not a crushing of it by loading it with words. It is especially difficult to exhibit such an author fairly by brief extracts, but a few specimens may be of value. Take, first, his description of wit, which, as a specimen of his command of fitting words, and his exhaustiveness of statement, can hardly be surpassed. Though it may not be new it is worth re-reading.

“It is indeed a thing so versatile and multiform, appearing in so many shapes, so many postures, so many garbs, so variously apprehended by several eyes and judgments, that it seemeth no less hard to settle a clear and certain notion thereof than to make a portrait of Proteus, or to define the figure of the fleeting air. Sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a well known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an opposite tale: sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound. Sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of humorous expression; sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude; sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a shrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting an objection: sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech, in a tart irony, in a lusty hyperbole, in a startling metaphor, in a plausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense; sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things, a counterfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture passeth for it: sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness, giveth it being: sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange; sometimes from a crafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose; often it consists in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable, being answerable to the numberless roving of fancy and windings of language,” &c., &c.

A single additional paragraph, taken from his sermon on “The Excellency of the Christian Religion,” must suffice for specimens, meagre as they are:

“Another peculiar advantage of Christianity, and which no other law or doctrine could ever pretend to, is, that as it clearly teaches and

strongly persuades us to so excellent a way of life, so it sufficiently enables us to practice it ; without which, such is the frailty of our nature, that all instruction, exhortation and encouragement would little avail. The Christian law is no dead letter, but hath a quickening spirit attending it. It sounds the ear and strikes the heart of him who sincerely embraces it. To all good men it is a sure guide, and safety from all evil. If our minds are dark and doubtful, it directs us to a faithful oracle, where we may receive counsel and information ; if our passions and appetites are unruly and outrageous, if temptations are violent and threaten to overbear us, it leads us to a full magazine, where we may supply ourselves with all proper arms to withstand and subdue them. If our condition is disconsolate or desperate, here we may apply for relief and assistance ; for on our earnest seeking and asking, it offers us the wisdom and power of God himself to direct, assist, support and comfort us in all exigencies. . . . As this is peculiar to our religion, so it is of considerable advantage. For what would the more perfect rule signify, without power to observe or knowledge to discern it ? and how can a creature so ignorant, impotent, and inconstant as man, who is so easily deluded by false appearances, and transported with disorderly passions, know how to conduct himself without some guide and assistance ; or how to prosecute what is good for him especially in cases of intricacy and difficulty ? how can such an one continue in a good state, or recover himself from a bad one, or attain any virtuous habit did he not apprehend such a friendly power, ready on all occasions to guard and defend him ? It is this consideration only that can nourish our hope, excite our courage, and quicken our endeavors in religious practice, as it assures us that there is no duty so hard, which, by God's grace, we may not perform, and no enemy so mighty, which, by His help, we cannot conquer ; for though we are not able to do anything of ourselves, yet 'we can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth us.'

ROBERT SOUTH. (1633—1716.)

South was the son of a London merchant, was early taught by Dr. Busby at Westminster School, whence he went as a promising and brilliant scholar to Oxford, a fellow-pupil of John Locke under the administration of Dr. Owen. The elements of his subsequent character appeared even here. He alternately flattered the Independents and Presbyterians, during the Protectorate, and, when Charles II. came to the throne, he at once

came out a radical, bitter, bigoted and uncompromising Prelatist,—ultra in his claims for royalty, and an unsparing reviler of all sectaries. His great talents and effective preaching arrested attention and procured distinctions, till he became the royal chaplain. He unfolds the beauty of meekness, and praises Christian dignity, in his sermons, but he was often audacious in his manners, and his preaching was sometimes disfigured by passionate invective against men whose memory is more fragrant than his own. His satire is often brilliant and sparkling, but his bitterness sometimes descends to slang. He has been called “the wittiest of English divines,” not without reason; but his polished shafts were not unfrequently poisoned, and he shot them from the bow of his fury. Preaching once at Court, and seeing the King, as well as others asleep, he stopped suddenly, and changing his voice, called out three times, “My Lord of Lauderdale!” and when the Earl awoke, added, “My Lord, I am sorry to interrupt your repose, but I must beg that you will not snore quite so loud, lest you should awaken his Majesty,” and then went on with his sermon. Alluding in a discourse preached at Whitehall, to the Independent ministers of Cromwell’s time;—many of whom were the noblest and purest men of their age,—he thus dips his tongue in gall:—“There were none of those reverend harpies who, by plunders and sequestrations, had scraped together three or four thousand a year, but, presently, according to the sanctified dialect of the times, they dubbed themselves God’s peculiar people and inheritance. So sure did those thriving regicides make of heaven, and so fully reckoned themselves in the high road thither, that they never so much as thought that some of their saintships were to take Tyburn on the way. . . . Whensoever you hear any of these sly, sanctified sycophants, with turned-up eye and shrug of shoulder, pleading conscience for or against anything or practice, you should forthwith ask them, what word of God they have to bottom that judgment of their conscience upon. And if they can produce no such thing, (as they never can,) then rest assured that they are arrant cheats and hypocrites,” &c., &c. That this is the vigorous denunciation of a man who has a pow-

erful nature and an effective vocabulary, is plain enough; but it is equally plain that it comes quite as much from bad blood as from a good conscience.

But South's merits must not be forgotten. His vicious moods were not always nor generally on him in his preaching. To him, in great measure, is owing that change in the style of sermonizing which left the pedantic conceits and affectations, the foppery and fustian, the scores of divisions and the mere decencies of etiquette, to be discarded and put under ban. He preached mostly without manuscript. He used plain and energetic English, in such a way as to destroy the taste for a more scholastic dialect. Never sacrificing culture, he spoke straight to the common understanding and heart. Really deficient in no vital quality of an orator, he used his powers with rare effect, and made his sermons throb with a mighty life, and many of them are still precious "mines of golden thought and sagacious aphorism." And now and then he rises to a strain of sacred oratory that thrills the reader, and, though the gracious and tender qualities are rarely found, there are paragraphs full of emotion. Montagu says, and without exaggeration, that "The English language affords no higher specimen of its richness and its strength than is to be found in his beautiful sermon," preached at St. Paul's, before he was thirty years of age, on "The Image of God in Man." Some extracts from this sermon, and a few other select and pithy sentences, must suffice for specimens. He is describing man in Paradise, and, though all may not be ready to accord to Adam such supereminence, they cannot but admire and reverence the ideal of primitive manhood.

"The Understanding was then sublime, clear, and aspiring, and, as it were, the soul's upper region, lofty and serene, free from the vapors and disturbances of the inferior affections. It was the leading, controlling faculty; all the passions wore the colors of reason; it did not so much persuade as command; it was not consul but dictator. Discourse was then almost as quick as intuition; it was nimble in proposing, firm in concluding; it could sooner determine than now it can dispute. Like the sun, it had both light and agility; it knew no rest but in motion; no quiet, but in activity. It did not so prop-

erly apprehend, as irradiate the object; not so much find, as make things intelligible. It did arbitrate upon the several reports of sense, and all the varieties of imagination; not like a drowsy judge, only hearing, but also directing their verdict. In sum, it was vegete, quick, and lively; open as the day, untainted as the morning, full of the innocence and sprightliness of youth; it gave the soul a bright and a full view into all things, and was not only a window, but itself the prospect. . . .

The will was then ductile, and pliant to all the motions of right reason; it met the dictates of a clarified understanding half way. And the active informations of the intellect, filling the passive reception of the will, like form closing with matter, grew actuate into a third and distinct perfection of practice. The understanding and will never disagreed, for the proposals of the one never thwarted the inclinations of the other. Yet neither did the will servilely attend upon the understanding, but as a favorite does upon his prince, where the service is privilege and preferment; or, as Solomon's servants waited upon him, it admired its wisdom, and heard in its prudent dictates and counsel both the direction and reward of its obedience. It is indeed the nature of this faculty to follow a superior guide,—to be drawn by the intellect; but then it was drawn as a triumphant chariot, which at the same time both follows and triumphs: while it obeyed this, it commanded the other faculties. It was subordinate, not enslaved, to the understanding; not as a servant to a master, but as a queen to her King—who both acknowledges a subjection, and yet retains a majesty. . . .

Joy—It was not that which now often usurps this name; that trivial, vanishing, superficial thing, that only gilds the apprehension, and plays upon the surface of the soul. It was not the mere crackling of thorns, a sudden blaze of the spirits, the exultation of a tickled fancy, or a pleased appetite. Joy was then a masculine and a severe thing; the recreation of the judgment, the jubilee of reason. It was the result of a real good, suitably applied. It commenced upon the solidities of truth, and the substance of fruition. It did not run out in voice, or indecent eruptions, but filled the soul, as God does the universe, silently and without noise. It was refreshing, but composed; like the pleasantness of youth tempered with the gravity of age; or the mirth of a festival managed with the silence of contemplation."

And here follow a few sentences describing the primitive man in his outward nature:

“His stature erect, and tending upward to his centre, his countenance majestic and comely, with the lustre of a native beauty that scorned the poor assistance of art or the attempts of imitation; his body of so much quickness and agility, that it could not only contain but also represent the soul. . . . It was a fit workhouse for sprightly, vivid faculties to exert themselves in; a fit tabernacle for an immortal soul, not only to dwell in, but to contemplate upon: where it might see the world without travel; it being a lesser scheme of the creation, nature contracted, a little cosmography or map of the universe. Neither was the body then subject to distempers—to die by piecemeal, and languish under coughs, catarrhs, or consumptions. Adam knew no disease, so long as temperance from the forbidden fruit secured him. Nature was his physician: and innocence and abstinence would have kept him healthful to immortality.”

A few pithy sentences may fittingly end the selections from our author:

“No man shall ever come to heaven himself, who has not sent his heart thither before him.”

“Virtue is that which must tip the preacher’s tongue and the ruler’s sceptre with authority.”

“So far as truth gets ground in the world, so far sin loses it. Christ saves the world by undeceiving it, and sanctifies the will by first enlightening the understanding.”

“A blind guide is certainly a great mischief, but a guide that blinds those whom he should lead is undoubtedly a much greater.”

“He that falls below pity, can fall no lower.”

“It has been seldom or never known that any great virtue or vice ever went alone, for greatness in everything will still be attended on.”

JEREMY TAYLOR. (1613—1667.)

In Jeremy Taylor we welcome the last of that noble brotherhood into our presence whose fellowship we are now to share. He has been appropriately called “The Poet of the Pulpit;” for his swelling periods and beautiful imagery need not the help of measure or rhyme to show how much of the Parnassian fire is beaming and burning in his soul. He studied for the church, was ordained before he was twenty-one, and went, in 1633, as lecturer to St. Paul’s, London, where his beautiful countenance and eloquent discourses produced a strong

and grateful impression upon his audience. His fame soon reached Lambeth, and he was summoned to preach before the primate, Laud, and was soon after appointed Chaplain to Charles I. He was a thorough royalist, followed the King's army in the civil wars, and was taken prisoner by the Parliament forces in 1644. After the execution of the King, he found a splendid asylum in the mansion of a friend, Lord Carbery, and here, at what was called "Golden Grove," he composed his "Life of Christ," his "Holy Living and Dying," and the greater portion of his published and famous sermons. He felt, at one time, the pressure of poverty, compelling him to resort to school-teaching; and was, for a brief period, the occupant of a prison, where Cromwell's officers sent him for reflecting severely upon those who had despoiled the churches of their ornaments, and silenced the solemn music of the liturgy. After the Restoration he was elevated to the place of Bishop, and chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. His domestic afflictions were severe, and seemed to hasten his own decease. He buried several children of promise while young; and his two sons, who grew up to early manhood, lived viciously, and died the victims of crime. Although possessing within his own stored mind, and the magnificent empire of his imagination, joys with which the stranger could not intermeddle, and of which no calamity could despoil him, yet a nature so averse to strife as his, could not help suffering amid the distractions of the state; and a soul so alive to all the workings of sympathy and affection, could not look upon the desolations of his home without sometimes writhing in agony.

Taylor was not accounted sound in his theology; and it must be confessed that the evangelical features of the Christian system do not prominently appear in his works. He venerated the antique, the classic and the grand; and so the poetry of Paganism won upon his heart, and the mediæval magnificence and cloistered piety of Romanism, captivated his imagination; while the stern and severe faith of the Puritans about him, repelled his taste and confirmed his devotion to whatever was majestic and beautiful. His "Liberty of Prophesying" is a noble plea for religious toleration, far in advance of his age; though

a longing for peace, and a disinclination to leave his poetic fancies for the sake of contending for the faith, may have done not a little to develop his liberality.

His merits are differently estimated. His admirers are enthusiastic in his praise, ascribing to him the highest order of mind, and the most marvellous combinations of power; while his cool and unimaginative critics call his eloquence Asiatic and declamatory, complain of his long and involved sentences, his circuitous movements to a doubtful conclusion, his excess of metaphor and simile, his ill-used learning, his redundant and bewildering imagery, the excessive play of his untamed fancy, and the lack of solidity in his understanding. Doubtless he is really faulty in these respects; and whoever should accept him as a model preacher would be guilty of great weakness. But his works, rightly apprehended and used, are among the greatest luxuries in a theologian's library. His quotations from the whole circle of literature, his detailed and picturesque descriptions, his reveries and musings in every pleasant nook and over every flower and ruin that may be found along the highway of his discourse, his piles of epithets and accumulation of rhetorical figures, his suggestive allusions and multiplying details, combine to render him a charming companion; and his page is as crowded with things ancient and modern, things rare and common, things beautiful and grotesque, things touching and awful, as the galleries and gardens of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

An American critic has very happily characterized his style in a few sentences, wherein he is compared,—or rather wherein he is contrasted,—with Barrow and Hooker. He says: "Barrow and Hooker are like streams—deep, full, sounding streams—rolling right onward to the sea. Taylor is a sunny river, that loves the meadows, and stretches forth its arms into the fields, and laughs while the little streams play into its bosom, and wanders where it will, while its hundred brothers hear the voice of the great deep and plunge into their home. The writings of Barrow and Hooker are like the measured strains of an organ, governed by an apparent skill. Taylor heeds not the rules or the proportions of music; but, like a great *Æolian*

harp, when you think that its strains are about to cease, the restless melodies of his soul break out in another strain, and still another, till you are absolutely wearied with delight."

In the following extracts the peculiar characteristics of Taylor's mind, are, perhaps, as well exhibited as they can be by such limited specimens. The most sublime,—sublime even to terribleness,—of all his sermons—that on "Christ's Advent to Judgment," must be passed over; because nothing save a longer passage than we have space for, could fairly represent it or the preacher. Here is a passage on "The Age of Reason and Discretion:"

"Some are called at age at fourteen, some at one-and-twenty, some never; but all men late enough; for the life of a man comes upon him slowly and insensibly. But, as when the sun approaching towards the gates of the morning, he first opens a little eye of heaven, and sends away the spirits of darkness, and gives light to a cock, and calls up the lark to matins, and by and by gilds the fringes of a cloud, and peeps over the eastern hills, thrusting out his golden horns like those which decked the brow of Moses, when he was forced to wear a veil because himself had seen the face of God; and still while a man tells the story, the sun gets up higher, till he shows a fair face and a full light, and then he shines one whole day under a cloud often, and sometimes weeping great and little showers, and sets quickly: so is a man's reason and his life. He first begins to perceive himself, to see or taste, making little reflections upon his actions of sense, and can discourse of dogs, shells and play, horses and liberty: but when he is strong enough to enter into arts and little institutions, he is at first entertained with trifles and impertinent things, not because he needs them, but because his understanding is no bigger, and little things are laid before him, like a cock-boat to a whale, only to play withal: but before a man comes to be wise, he is half dead with gout and consumption, with catarrhs and aches, with sore eyes and worn-out body. . . .

And now let us consider what that thing is which we call years of discretion. The young man is passed his tutors, and arrived at the bondage of a caitiff spirit; he is run from discipline and is let loose to passion. The man by this time hath wit enough to choose his vice, to act his lust, to court his mistress, to talk confidently, and ignorantly, and perpetually; to despise his betters, to deny nothing to his appetite, to do things that, when he is indeed a man, he must for-

ever be ashamed of ; for this is all the discretion that most men show in the first stage of their manhood. And by this time the young man hath contracted vicious habits, and is a beast in manners, and therefore it will not be fitting to reckon the beginning of his life ; he is a fool in his understanding, and that is a sad death."

This is what he says of death :

"Take away but the pomps of death, the disguises, and solemn bugbears, and the actings by candlelight, and proper and fantastic ceremonies, the minstrels and the noise-makers, the women and the weepers, the swoonings and the shriekings, the nurses and the physicians, the dark room and the ministers, the kindred and the watchers, and then to die is easy, ready, and quitted from its troublesome circumstances. It is the same harmless thing that a poor shepherd suffered yesterday, or a maid-servant to-day ; and at the same time in which you die, in that very night a thousand creatures die with you, some wise men and many fools ; and the wisdom of the first will not quit him, and the folly of the latter does not make him unable to die."

His passage on "Prayer without Wrath," is one of the best ; and, though often quoted, may well enough be quoted again, as the parting word of the good Bishop, whom we send away almost as reluctantly as he dismissed any one of the beautiful images that came trooping to his pen. It is somewhat long, but it would be difficult to wish it shorter :

"Prayer is an action of likeness to the Holy Ghost, the spirit of gentleness and dove-like simplicity ; an imitation of the holy Jesus, whose spirit is meek, up to the greatness of the biggest example ; and a conformity to God, whose anger is always just, and marches slowly, and is without transportation, and often hindered, and never hasty, and is full of mercy : prayer is the peace of our spirit, the stillness of our thoughts, the evenness of recollection, the seat of meditation, the rest of our cares, and the calm of our tempest : prayer is the issue of a quiet mind, of untroubled thoughts—it is the daughter of charity and the sister of meekness ; and he that prays to God with an angry, that is, with a troubled and discomposed spirit, is like him that retires into a battle to meditate, and sets up his closet in the out-quarters of an army, and chooses a frontier-garrison to be wise in. Anger is a perfect alienation of the mind from prayer, and, therefore, is contrary to that attention which presents our prayers in a right line to God.

For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass, and soaring upwards, singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven, and climb above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back with the long sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of his wings, till the little creature was forced to sit down and pant, and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing, as if it had learned music and motion of an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air about his ministries here below. So is the prayer of a good man: when his affairs have required business, and his business was matter of discipline, and his discipline was to pass upon a sinning person, or had a design of charity, his duty met with the infirmities of a man, and anger was its instrument, and the instrument became stronger than the prime agent, and raised a tempest, and overruled the man; and then his prayer was broken, and his thoughts were troubled, and his words went up towards a cloud; and his thoughts pulled them back again, and made them without intention; and the good man sighs for his infirmity, but must be content to lose that prayer, and he must recover it when his anger is removed, and his spirit is becalmed, made even like the brow of Jesus and smooth like the heart of God; and then it ascends to heaven upon the wings of the holy dove, and dwells with God, till it returns, like the useful bee, laden with a blessing and the dew of heaven."

This imperfect study of the English pulpit of the seventeenth century is quite sufficient to satisfy us that "there were giants in those days," and that the pulpit was not filled by pigmies. The ministry was accounted a sphere for the employment of the highest talent, the most varied learning, the rarest literary taste, and the most accomplished oratory. It is proper that the best gifts be thus laid on God's altar, and that the highest fruits of genius be garnered for the church. Though the sphere imparts more honor to the occupant than it can receive from him, yet there is a fitness in putting the highest types of manhood into a place so exalted; and, though the chief power of the preacher is from God, making the feeble instrument mighty for service, still the royal thinkers are weak enough for such tasks, and the Master can make far more of the well-trained servant than of the inexperienced offerer of toil, or of the heedless and egotistic idler. And no one can study this pulpit

literature, or commune with these vigorous preachers, without finding his spirit quickened, the idea of his work as a preacher enlarged and elevated, his inefficiency rebuked, and his Christian ambition sometimes set on fire.

The proper use to be made of this study is to find,—not models to copy, nor thoughts to plagiarize, nor rhetoric to parade, nor imagery to borrow,—but stimulus for effort, suggestions for guidance, ambition for improvement, correctives for faults, and hopes for success. Each master of the sacred art may furnish some element of power that can be wrought into our own service. Bunyan may teach us Saxon directness and homely vigor; Flavel may urge upon us simplicity and fervor; Barrow may impress us with the value of comprehensiveness and care; South may help us in gaining stalwart vigor and pith; Brooks may show us how to compress a great and vital truth into an aphorism; Howe may help us into the majesty of truth; and Taylor may aid us in painting holiness with such a beauty that even unwilling men shall be won by its loveliness.

With what strong ties, and tender, do these wise teachers and honored servants of Christ bind us to the Mother-land! What priceless legacies have not these noble minds left us! Being dead they yet speak; and we claim them as brethren and fathers, allowing no bitter recollection nor upspringing prejudice to sunder the bond of relationship. We forget their mutual hostilities,—fierce sometimes while living, but long since ended in the fellowship of a Christian unity, in the love of a common Lord, and in the unifying vision of heaven. They are no more self-complacent Churchmen and iconoclastic Dissenters, but earnest Christian men and teachers, at whose feet it is a joy to sit; and though they had their frailties and their passions, we recall these with charity, and give them our reverence for their inspiration and fidelity. We do not stop to think that they lived beyond the sea, and were parts of the nation that oppressed America into a reluctant resistance, and then sought to crush the heroism which the young Republic had nursed from the maternal bosom of Britain. We only remember that they preached with power and unction from our Bible, and that they opened a broader and better highway to the

mercy of our God. Nor shall the grievous disappointment with which the England of to-day burdens our hearts, cheat us of our fellowship with these pulpit monarchs. Her statesmen may be selfish enough only to grin maliciously at our struggles to keep the civilization which they have glorified in words, and leave all our costly martyrdoms for liberty without a word of appreciation; her aristocracy may fling gibes at our misfortunes, taunt our heroism, predict our failure, and help our enemies against us; still it shall not destroy our veneration for that nobler and better England which speaks to us from graves two hundred years old, and which will again speak to us when the storm of passion and pride is calmed,—bewailing her present sins with regretful words, and blotting out the sorry record she is now making with the alchemy of repentance and the purification of tears.

ART. II.—THE FREEWILL BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY.

1. Annual Reports of the Freewill Baptist Foreign Mission Society. 1835—1861.
2. Hinduism and Christianity in Orissa, &c., by O. R. Bachelier, eleven years Missionary in Orissa. Boston: C. Waite. 1853.
3. Minutes of the General Conference of the Freewill Baptist Connexion. 1832—1859.

We have read with much interest the first volume of the "History of the Freewill Baptists," exhibiting, as it does, the trials and the toils through which the fathers of the denomination passed. Our present purpose is to contribute towards a subsequent chapter of that history.

It appears that early in 1825,* the General Baptists of England commenced a correspondence with the Freewill Baptists, and that a little before this, on April 12th, 1824,† Rev. James

* History of the Freewill Baptists, page 464.

† Ibid, p. 465.

Peggs, a missionary of the General Baptist Missionary Society,* then in Cuttack, Orissa, addressed a letter "To the churches and ministers of the Freewill Baptists in America," in which he described the condition of the heathen among whom he labored, and asked for coöperation. This letter was published in the *Morning Star* of June 27th, 1827. The same paper for April 13th, 1832,† contained a letter from Rev. A. Sutton, another General Baptist missionary, who had been six years in Orissa, in which he sought to enlist the denomination in the cause of Foreign Missions. The result was that in response to "a request from the Parsonsfield Yearly Meeting," the General Conference of that year recommended the formation of "The Freewill Baptist Foreign Mission Society."‡ This was formed in 1833, the act of incorporation from the State of Maine, being approved by the Governor Jan. 29th of that year.¶

Mr. Sutton came to this country and attended the New Hampshire Yearly Meeting at Gilford in June, 1833, where he addressed about three thousand persons;§ and after visiting England, he, at the request of the General Conference of 1833, returned in 1834,¶ and for some months filled the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and in that capacity made a tour among the churches of New England, and the western part of New York.**

In Jan., 1835, Eli Noyes, a licentiate of the church in Jefferson, Me., was accepted as the first candidate for missionary service, and was ordained at the New Hampshire Yearly Meeting at Lisbon, in June of that year, in the presence of three thousand persons. Rev. F. A. Cox, D. D., of London, England, preached the sermon, and Rev. A. Sutton gave the charge. Revs. D. P. Cilley, D. Jackson, E. Place, J. Woodman, J. Buzzell and D. Marks also took part in the services.†† Of these, Noyes, Cox, Sutton and Marks have been since called home. Jeremiah Phillips, a Free Communion Baptist, was accepted as

* This Society was formed in 1817. † *Memoirs of David Marks*, p. 281. ‡ *Minutes of General Conference*, 1832, p. 4. § *Report*, 1836, p. 2. ¶ *Memoirs of David Marks*, p. 305. ¶ *Minutes*, 1833, p. 11. *Report*, 1835, p. 4. ** *Ibid*, p. 4. †† *Ibid*, p. 5.

the second missionary, and was ordained at Plainfield, N. Y., Sept. 3d, 1835.* Messrs. Noyes and Phillips, with their wives,† sailed from Boston, in company with Mr. Sutton and other missionaries, Sept. 22d, 1835. They reached Calcutta Feb. 5th, 1836, and were hospitably received by the English Baptist missionaries, and after a rest of two or three weeks, they went on to Cuttack, where they were welcomed by the General Baptist missionaries, at whose invitation they had gone out. Mr. and Mrs. Noyes remained six months at Cuttack, and Mr. and Mrs. Phillips the same period at Balasore, acquiring the Oriya language, and aiding in the Missionary schools. They then went to Sumbhulpore,‡ containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, and the capital of a district of the same name, where they established a mission. Here they preached and distributed books, and having received "six starving children" from their relatives, they commenced a boarding school. But they were soon prostrated by fever, and were without medical assistance, and with only one European family in the place. Mr. and Mrs. Noyes were both sick together, and their child died. Mr. Phillips lost first his child, then his wife, and was himself prostrated.¶ As soon as they were able, the survivors got down to Cuttack, where the care of kind friends soon restored them, but as it was thought dangerous to return to Sumbhulpore, the General Baptist missionaries gave up Balasore to them, and in February, 1837, they commenced operations at that station. The town contained fourteen thousand inhabitants, is the capital of an extensive district, and is 150 miles from Calcutta, 100 from Cuttack, and 8 from the sea coast. It is on a great pilgrim road to Poree.§

Early in 1840, with a view to extend the operations of the mission, Mr. Phillips, who in 1838 had married Miss Mary Ann Grimsditch, an adopted daughter of Rev. Mr. Mack, of Serampore, removed to Jellasure, thirty miles north of Balasore, where, with a portion of the Boarding School, and some native

* Report, 1835, p. 7. † Mrs. Noyes was a Miss Pierce, of Portsmouth, N. H., and Mrs. Phillips was the widow of Rev. Samuel Beede. See *Memoirs of David Marks*, pp. 332, 339. ‡ *Hinduism and Christianity in Orissa*, p. 126. ¶ *Ibid*, p. 127. § *Ibid*, p. 132.

converts, he commenced a new station. And here death again invaded his family, for in August of the same year, the second Mrs. Phillips died, before she had completed her 21st year.*

In May, 1840, a reinforcement, consisting of Rev. O. R. Bachelier and wife, and Miss Hannah Cummings,† was sent out by the Society. They arrived at Balasore Oct. 13th, where Mr. B. resided during his stay in India. Before this, Mr. Noyes had been sick, so that he had been obliged to desist from his labors, and after several alternations of recovery and relapse, it became evident, in May, 1841, that he could no longer continue his work, and he returned to this country. He first acted as agent for the Society, then became the first Home Missionary pastor, and subsequently occupied several prominent positions in the denomination. After a long sickness, he died Oct. 10, 1853, at Lafayette, Indiana, where we believe Mrs. Noyes still resides.

We have not the date of the organization of the church at Balasore, but we find one there in 1840.‡ The church in Jellasore was organized Feb. 7th, 1841, having six native members.¶ On Sept. 27th, 1841, these two churches were formed into the Orissa Quarterly Meeting.§

On Nov. 18, 1843, Rev. J. C. Dow and wife were sent out to reinforce the mission, and they reached Jellasore May 18th, 1844. It was thought desirable for Mr. D. to locate at Midnapore, a city of 70,000 inhabitants. It is seventy-five miles from Calcutta, and forty from Jellasore.¶ Here he remained about four years, but his health failing, he was obliged to relinquish his labors, and return home. He reached this country August 19th, 1848. Midnapore has not been occupied since.

From August, 1844, Mrs. Bachelier had been more or less unwell, and she died Jan. 9th, 1845, while on her way to Calcutta for medical advice. Miss Sarah P. Merrill, having been accepted as a missionary teacher, sailed for India Aug. 12th, 1846, and was married to Rev. O. R. Bachelier soon after her arrival

* Minutes, 1841, p. 20. † She became the third Mrs. Phillips in 1841 or 1842. See Report for 1862, p. 4. ‡ Ibid, 1841, p. 15. ¶ Ibid, p. 7. § Report, 1842, p. 11. ¶ Hinduism and Christianity in Orissa, p. 135.

in Orissa.* Rev. Ruel Cooley and wife sailed from Boston Aug. 8th, 1849,† and reached Jellasore Jan. 2, 1850. They afterwards settled at Balasore.

Rev. A. Sutton spent a part of 1850 in this country, and his presence excited so much additional interest in Foreign Missions that Miss Lovina Crawford was accepted as a missionary teacher, and sailed from Boston Oct. 17th of that year. Her arrival at Balasore at the end of April, 1851, increased the missionary band to seven, the highest number which had then been reached. Miss C. was attached to the Balasore station with a view to her taking charge of the Khond school.‡ Soon after this, the state of Mrs. Bacheler's health rendered her return to this country absolutely necessary, and leaving Balasore, Mr. Bacheler and his family reached New York July 10th, 1852, twelve years after going out. Two of Mr. Phillips's children came with them. Mr. Bacheler engaged heartily in the work of the Society as an agent, and has rendered it efficient service in this way. Rev. B. B. Smith and wife, having been accepted as missionaries, sailed Aug. 19, 1852, reaching Jellasore Feb. 2d, 1853, from whence they went to Balasore.

In 1852, a new Christian settlement was formed by leasing 200 acres of land at Santipore, six miles from Jellasore. It was intended especially for the benefit of the Santals.¶ Mr. Charles A. Oliver, an East Indian, who had been baptized by Rev. J. Phillips, and gave much promise of usefulness, was engaged as an assistant missionary, to take charge of the station. and Daniel P. Cilley, a Santal convert, took charge of the school there. Friends in India subscribed about \$250. towards the expenses of this settlement.§ Mr. Oliver did not continue long in the service of the mission.¶ Attracted, probably, by the much larger salary which educated persons of his class can obtain, he engaged in secular employment. The settlement, however, continued under the charge of a native missionary, and a similar Christian village was formed in 1855, at Metrapore, near Balasore.**

* Report, 1847, p. 3. † Report, 1849, p. 14. ‡ Report, 1851, pp. 9, 18. ¶ Report, 1852, p. 18. § Report, 1853, p. 8. ¶ Report, 1854, p. 8. ** Report, 1855, p. 28.

For several years the health of Mrs. Phillips had demanded her return to this country, and at length it was decided that she and her children should come, while Mr. Phillips remained longer in the work from which he felt he could not be spared. Dula, a converted Santal, a member of the church at Jellalore, came with her to assist in taking care of the children. They arrived May 13th, 1854. On Sept. 5th of the same year, Rev. H. Covil, of Michigan, was sent out to help the feeble band. He arrived at Jellalore Jan. 20th, 1855, where he settled with Mr. Smith, who had removed thither, but circumstances occurred which rendered it necessary for him to return home in 1857.*

Soon after Mrs. Phillips left, "loneliness, increased cares, and a closer application to study, brought "a severe nervous debility" on Mr. P., "which greatly reduced his strength, and caused him much mental suffering," and finally led the missionaries to the unanimous opinion that it was necessary for him to return home. He therefore came in the same ship which took out Mr. Covil, bringing under his care the widow of Dr. Sutton, to whom the Society owes so much. They arrived in Boston June 3d, 1855.† Mr. Phillips had been twenty years from home. He is now settled at Prairie City, Iowa.

The early part of 1856 was a time of sadness at the missionary stations. Daniel P. Cilley died of cholera, Jan. 9th, and Elias Hutchins of diarrhœa and fever, April 17th. They were both promising Santal preachers.‡ "Faint, yet pursuing," was, however, the motto of the feeble band, and there were those at home who were longing to increase their strength. Rev. E. C. B. Hallam and wife, of Canada West, sailed from Boston Oct. 2d, 1856, accompanied by Dula, who had been in this country more than two years. He had visited a number of churches, and had devoted part of the time to study. They reached Calcutta Feb. 19, 1857, and then took charge of the station at Jellalore.

In 1856-7, the rebellion in India occurred, and threw gloom and doubt over all missionary operations in that country. The

* Report, 1857, p. 5. † Report, 1855, pp. 9, 10. ‡ Report, 1856, pp. 12, 14.

Freewill Baptist missionaries, however, were preserved from danger, and it is believed that the missions in India have been benefited by that which at one time threatened to destroy them.

In May, 1859, Miss Crawford, after an absence of more than eight years, arrived on a visit to her native land, and remained here till July 8th, 1861, when she returned, with the expectation, we believe, of remaining in India the rest of her life.*

Rev. Arthur Miller and wife, of Canada West, sailed Aug. 22d, 1859, and arrived in Calcutta Dec. 11th, whence they went to Jellasure, and are now stationed at Balasore. By their accession, the number of American missionaries was increased to eight, four male and four female, the highest number it has yet been. But this strength could not be kept up. The failing health of Mr. and Mrs. Cooley, after eleven years of arduous toil, demanded a return for a season. They arrived home in May, 1861. Since then, Mr. and Mrs. Smith have been obliged to leave on account of ill health, and reached this country July 22d, 1862,† so that the American force is again reduced to five, viz.: Messrs. Hallam and Miller and their wives, and Miss Crawford. To reinforce this feeble band, Rev. O. R. Bachelier resolved to return to Orissa. Leaving his family in this country, from whom he expects to be separated three or four years, he sailed from Boston July 12th, 1862, full of ardor for his work, saying, "If he had ever had a happier day, he did not know when it was."‡ We hope soon to hear of his safe arrival. But what changes may occur before that we know not.

The following table will exhibit at a glance the period of service of each of the missionaries:

| LEFT AMERICA. | NAME. | |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sept. 22d, 1835. | Rev. Eli Noyes, | Returned, October, 1841. |
| " " | Mrs. C. P. Noyes, | " " " |
| " " | Rev. J. Phillips, | " June 3, 1855. |
| " " | Mrs. M. E. Phillips, | Died in India, Nov., 1837. |
| | ¶Mrs. M. A. G. Phillips, | " " Aug. 16, 1840. |

* Report, 1861, p. 11. † Morning Star, July 30, 1862. ‡ Ibid, July 16, 1862. ¶ Born in India, and became the second Mrs. Phillips in 1838.

| LEFT AMERICA. | NAME. | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| May, 1840. | Rev. O. R. Bachelor, | Returned July 10, 1852. |
| “ “ | Mrs. C. E. Bachelor, | Died in India, Jan. 20, 1845. |
| “ “ | *Miss H. Cummings, | Returned May 13, 1854. |
| Nov. 18, 1843. | Rev. J. C. Dow, | “ Aug. 19, 1848. |
| “ “ | Mrs. Dow, | “ “ “ |
| Aug. 12, 1846. | †Miss S. P. Merrill, | “ July 10, 1852. |
| Aug. 8, 1849. | Rev. Ruel Cooley, | “ May, 1861. |
| “ “ | Mrs. Cooley, | “ “ “ |
| Oct. 7, 1850. | Miss Lovina Crawford, | “ “ 1859. |
| Aug. 19, 1852. | Rev. B. B. Smith, | “ July 22, 1862. |
| “ “ | Mrs. Smith, | “ “ “ |
| Sept. 5, 1854. | Rev. H. Covil, | “ 1857 |
| Oct. 2, 1856. | Rev. E. C. B. Hallam, | } at Jellasure. |
| “ “ | Mrs. Hallam, | |
| Aug. 22, 1859. | Rev. A. Miller, | } at Balasore. |
| “ “ | Mrs. Miller, | |

RETURNED TO INDIA.

July 8, 1861. Miss Lovina Crawford.

July 12, 1862. Rev. O. R. Bachelor.

The Society has had 9 male missionaries, 11 wives of missionaries, and 1 female assistant, 21 in all. Of these, three wives of missionaries have died in India, 7 missionaries and 6 wives have returned home, leaving 2 missionaries and their wives and 1 female assistant in the field, and Mr. Bachelor on his way to rejoin them.

Rev. A. Sutton was Corresponding Secretary of the Society from Sept., 1834, to Sept., 1835; Rev. D. P. Cilley from 1835 to —; Rev. E. Mack from — to 1841; Rev. E. Hutchins from 1841 to 1859; Rev. O. R. Bachelor from 1859 to 1862; and Rev. C. O. Libby, of Candia, N. H., is the present Secretary. All these services have been rendered nearly gratuitously, and were very valuable to the Society, but we do not fear that any one will charge us with being invidious, when we refer especially to the long, laborious, and devoted labors of the lamented Hutchins. We know from personal observation that he gave his

* Became the third Mrs. Phillips in 1841 or 1842. † Became the second Mrs. Bachelor in 1846.

days and nights, and his physical strength, to the duties of his office.

Having thus glanced at what may be called the external history of the Society, let us look a little closer at the work of the missionaries, and the results of their labors. Of course the most important part of this work is

PREACHING.

This is carried on in a three-fold sphere of operations :

1. In connection with the regular religious services at the missionary stations. The congregations here are made up of the families of the missionaries, native Christians, inquirers, and such of the heathen as may be occasionally induced to attend. From the nature of the case, these congregations are small; but the work performed is as important as that in larger ones, for it is here the church of God is instructed, and halting ones are urged to decision. At Balasore an English service is held on Sunday and Thursday evenings.

2. At the bazaars and villages adjacent to the stations. The bazaars are public markets, where the people assemble for the purpose of selling or purchasing goods. To one of these, or to a village, the missionary goes towards evening, accompanied by one or more native preachers, and by reading or chanting, a crowd is attracted. The missionary then addresses them on the truths of the gospel, and hears and answers whatever objections may be urged.* At some places these bazaar congregations number from one to two hundred. "Cases of much interest have often been met with, as persons have listened with great attention to the truths of the gospel, confessed the sin and folly of idolatry, and their need of a better way.†

3. Itinerating. In the cold season of the year, the missionaries go forth accompanied by native brethren, taking tents with them, and travel from village to village, and from market to market, often taking some festival on the way. The following illustration is from Mr. Noyes :‡

* *Hinduism and Christianity*, p. 181. † Report, 1848, p. 10.
‡ Report, 1841, p. 9.

“*Boitales market.* Struck our tents and came two miles to this place—pitched our tent under a mango tree, in a fine shady place. The market here this afternoon was very small, not more than two or three hundred; but we had a good hearing, while we invited them to come to the Saviour. Bhekaree spoke with great feeling, and though some were disposed to make sport, the most appeared to assent to the truth of his discourse.”

The Report for 1850 says,*

“During the cold season from two to three months were spent in labors abroad. The first excursion, which occupied some more than a month, was commenced towards the close of November. . . . Fifteen weekly markets were visited, and several of them re-visited. The gospel was also daily preached in various bazaars on the road, and in villages near it.”

Of a great bathing festival which he attended, Mr. Cooley says:†

“We reached the jattrā a little past 10 A. M., i. e., Rama, Prasuram, Mahes and myself, and were soon joined by Silas Curtis, Elias Hutchins, and several lay members. We divided our forces into different parts of the vast concourse of people, estimated to be not less than 25,000. We were listened to with good attention as long as we were disposed to preach, which was until about 4, P. M. We also took a large supply of books, which were all distributed, and more sought for. We returned to our camp at Dantoon for the night.”

In this connection we may say something of

NATIVE PREACHERS.

It cannot be expected that the Gospel will pervade the world merely by the preaching of foreign missionaries: but they must seek out those, who, having been converted, are possessed of talents, and whom God appears to be calling to preach the gospel. This was the course pursued by the apostles, as may be seen from Acts xiv. 23, Titus i. 5, 2 Tim. ii. 2. In the early period of the Freewill Baptist Foreign Mission, it received assistance of this kind from the General Baptist Mission.

* Page 11. † Report, 1854, p. 27.

Among those of this class connected with it for a longer or shorter time, are Bhekary,* Somnath, Sebo, Mahes, and Japhet. After God had blessed the labors of the missionaries, one after another of those converted by their instrumentality, became assistants to them in their work. Among these are Prasuram, the first convert, Rama, Adam, Rcuben, Silas Curtis, Elias Hutchins, Daniel P. Cilley, Ham, Bhekarie, Naick, Bhagabat, Kamal Naik, and Dula. Some of these brethren removed to other places of labor. Two† were the cause of serious trial to the Missionaries, and three of them, viz., Daniel P. Cilley, Elias Hutchins, and Rama, were removed by death in the midst of their usefulness. Rama was a Brahmin, was converted in 1840, and was the first baptised at Jellalore.‡ He was licensed to preach in 1841,§ and was *ordained* in 1847.¶ He died suddenly March 22, 1859.¶ Mr. Cooley's testimony concerning him is, "He was a devoted servant of our Lord. He gave abundant evidence of this. He had been employed in the ministry for many years, and had made *proof* of his ministry. . . He was always ready to go anywhere to preach Christ. . . He was always at work, wheresoever he found any to hear him, at our camp, by the roadside, in the bazaars, or villages; he always had a word to say to them about the Saviour, and his great love, and our great need of him."**

Daniel P. Cilley was a Santal. He was baptised in 1847, was licensed to preach in 1854, and died Jan. 9th 1856.††

Elias Hutchins was the first Santal converted.‡‡ He was baptized at the same time as D. P. Cilley, commenced to preach at the same time with him,¶¶ and died April 19th, 1856.§§ With him we felt we were acquainted, as we had corresponded with him for two or three years before his death. One statement in his last letter always struck us as indicating his deep sense of his own degradation when a heathen, and his strong faith in God. Speaking of the wretched condition of the Santals he said, "But the word of the Lord will certainly prevail, for that

* Called also Bhecari, Bhikari, Bickharie. † Bhekary and Prasuram. ‡ Report, 1841, p. 6. § 1842 p. 4. ¶ 1848 p. 8. ¶ 1859 p. 16. ** 1859 pp. 17, 18. †† 1856 p. 12. ‡‡ 1848 p. 13. ¶¶ 1855 p. 21. §§ 1856 p. 16.

which *we* have heard has saved *us*." Another statement in the same letter shows his dependence on Divine aid. "At present I and Daniel go out together, preaching the word according to the strength that God has given us, and we constantly look to him for wisdom. O, my brother, I try to preach the true word, but I have neither wisdom nor strength, so I constantly ask this of the Lord, that I may ever preach in his strength."

The native preachers now in connection with the Society are, according to the last report, Mahes, (ordained 1854,) Silas Curtis, Bhekari, and Ham, at Balasore and Bhagabat, Kamal Naik, and Dula, at Jellasore.

SCHOOLS

—are another important department of labor in which the Missionaries engage. The Missionaries do not assume to make preachers, but having sought out those whom they think God is calling to the work, it is their duty to give them such instruction as shall better qualify them for the duties devolving on them. The first reference we find to this work is in 1842.* And since then the Missionaries have given such attention to this department as they have thought necessary.

Previous to this however, the missionaries established day schools, where instruction might be given to both male and female children, freed from the impurities of heathenism, and afterwards that the children might be brought more fully under Christian influence, they added boarding schools. At first children in a starving condition were received from their parents,† and afterwards a number of Khond, or Khand children, rescued by the agents of the British government from among those devoted as human sacrifices, were placed under the charge of the missionaries at the expense of the government.‡ This department of labor has been very successful, especially as far as the Khonds are concerned, and a number of the members of the missionary churches, and some of the native preachers, were formerly scholars in these schools. The Khond school is now closed, the last of these rescued ones having been recently mar-

* Report, 1841, p. 16. † Report, 1851, p. 6. ‡ Report, 1861, p. 6.

ried. The other Boarding schools have but few scholars at the present time.

MEDICAL LABORS.

The science of medicine is very little understood among the natives of India, hence this is an important branch of labor, bringing to the stations many who would not otherwise come under the influence of the missionary. Mr. Bachelier, having studied medicine previous to going to India, established a dispensary at Balasore, soon after his arrival there, and believes that his medical labors occupying not more than an hour a day, were an important aid to his other efforts.* A hospital was likewise established at Jellasore. Mr. B. also selected a class of young men to whom he gave a two years' course of Medical lectures, thus fitting them for usefulness among their countrymen, and at the same time furnishing them with the means of support. Mr. B. also published for their use, "a Medical Guide," in the Oriya and Bengalee languages. The report for 1860† states that 2,220 persons had received medical aid at Balasore during the preceding year, and in some years the number has been much larger. The hospital at Jellasore has not so many patients, but it is very useful. We believe that both these Medical institutions are now under the charge of some of Mr. Bachelier's former students, and the expenses of them are paid by friends of the Mission, residents in India.

PUBLICATIONS.

Besides distributing Scriptures and tracts furnished them from other sources, the Freewill Baptist Missionaries have done something in this department for themselves. Mr. Noyes composed and published a tract in Oriya, and Mr. Phillips having first reduced the Santal language to form, composed and published, "First Lessons," "a Catechism," "Grammar," and "Vocabulary." He then translated into the Santal language, and published the Gospel according to Matthew. His "Introduction to the Santal language, consisting of a grammar, reading lessons, and a vocabulary," a volume of 190 pages; and "The Gospel by

* Hindooism, p. 176. † p. 8.

St. Matthew, in Santal," 135 pages, are now before us. As the Santals had no characters of their own, Mr. P. adopted the Bengali alphabet, the letters of which are fifty in number.

THE SANTALS

—are a branch of the hill tribes who inhabit the jungles in the Western border of the Freewill Baptist missionary stations. Mr. Noyes visited them in 1838, and Mr. Bachelier in 1841. Mr. Dow urged their claims in 1845,* and as we have already seen, Mr. Phillips has devoted considerable attention to them.

It has long been a cherished hope of the missionaries that a mission might be established among this people, but the small number of missionaries, and their frequent decrease on account of sickness, has hitherto caused this hope to be deferred. A further disappointment occurred in the unexpected deaths of D. P. Cilley and Elias Hutchins, who were both Santals, and gave promise of being very useful to their countrymen. We trust, however, that notwithstanding past delay, something will ere long be done for this people, and then Mr. Phillips' preparatory labors will be found useful.

GENERAL RESULTS.

It may be asked by some, "What is the result of these twenty-seven years of missionary labor, and these many thousands of dollars which have been expended?" This is a question which it is impossible for us fully to answer. We cannot pretend to tell the result of the numerous itinerating tours to fairs, festivals, markets, and villages. We do not know how often the word spoken in the ears of diseased and dying ones has proved the power of God unto salvation.† But we can look on the fields of labor now occupied by the society, and can perceive tangible results. There are the Dispensaries, affording assistance to those who are in need, impressing them with a

* Report, p. 11.

† Although Messrs. Noyes and Phillips remained at Sumbhulpore only a few months, Mr. Bachelier, when he visited it eight years afterwards, "had ample proof that though 'the missionaries' had been absent more than eight years, neither they nor their instructions were forgotten." See Report, 1846, p. 8. *Hindooism and Christianity*, p. 130.

sense of the good will which the missionaries bear towards them, and thus rendering them susceptible to religious truth when it is presented to them. There are the native physicians, trained in the mission schools, instructed in their profession by one of the missionaries, and thus fitted for usefulness: some of them being nominal, and others professed, Christians. There are the schools, in which ignorant male, and degraded female children, have been instructed in secular and religious truth, and fitted to take a higher position in society than they would otherwise have attained to. There are the Christian Villages, where those who have become outcasts from their former friends on account of their reception of Christianity or their rejection of heathenism, have the opportunity of enjoying religious privileges and of providing for themselves and their families. There are the churches, small indeed, yet existing as monuments of the grace of God, and shining "as lights in the world," "in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation," thus exerting a beneficial influence, receiving additions from year to year by baptism and restoration; and showing by their exclusions, of which there were in 1860, six at Balasore, and five at Jellasore,* that they are careful for the purity of their membership. The number of members reported in 1860, were at Balasore, 40; and at Jellasore, 31. Total 71.* And then there are the native preachers, who have not only been called out of darkness into light, but whom God has put into the ministry, and is making useful to their fellow men. And in estimating results, shall we say nothing of those who have died in the faith, and have gone to that Saviour, whom "not having seen," they loved on earth.

But there is also a reflex influence of Missions which the churches do well to consider. It seems to us that this was exhibited at the very outset. The year succeeding the formation of "The Freewill Baptist *Foreign* Mission Society," witnessed the formation of "The Freewill Baptist *Home* Mission Society," showing what we believe is everywhere true, viz., that ef-

* Report, 1860, pp. 5, 8. The numbers are not given in 1861, but it is stated that at Jellasore there was "an addition of thirteen from among the heathen."

forts for the spread of the gospel abroad, invariably lead to increased efforts at home. In corroboration of this view, we quote from the Minutes of the General Conference of 1839.* "Such is the nature of Christian liberality, that those who do most for one good cause, generally become more *liberal* in another." The following resolution from the Minutes of the General Conference of 1850,† is to the same effect. "Resolved, That the reflex influence of doing our whole duty abroad would greatly increase our prosperity at home."

We believe that those Christians who from right motives give liberally of their substance to *foreign missions*, will receive increased blessings, both of a temporal and spiritual character; and that those churches, which as churches interest themselves in sending missionaries to the heathen, will be more prosperous than those which neglect this duty.

Still again, it has been suggested to us, that "one of the strongest influences against slavery in this country is the testimony of the missionaries as it comes from heathen lands." They see the baneful influence of a modified system of slavery among the heathen. They realize more fully than we do at home, the moral degradation to which our system of slavery subjects *us* in the eyes of other nations, and their words of warning and entreaty, we believe have had some influence in promoting a more healthy feeling on this subject at home.

THE FUTURE.

And now, what is to be the future of "The Freewill Baptist Foreign Mission Society?" While there is cause for thankfulness that anything has been done, we cannot believe that the past is satisfactory to thinking members of the denomination. With large and inviting fields open before them, with preparatory work calculated to render efficient aid in the cultivation of those fields, with the missionaries constantly calling for aid, and with the annual reports as constantly showing that the work is hindered for want of funds, we believe there must be something wrong.

But have not Freewill Baptists in their *poverty*, and with the numerous other claims upon them, given as much to Foreign

* p. 22. † p. 45.

Missions as could be reasonably expected of them? We think not. They are not poor, in any proper sense of the word. As you pass over the country, you will find that Freewill Baptists own as good farms as do the members of other denominations, and if you go into the villages, you will find them as skilful mechanics, and earning as large wages as others. To assert the contrary of these, would be considered an insult. And yet we hazard nothing in saying that *scores* of churches have not given the *first* contribution to this cause, and that *thousands* of church members have not contributed the first cent to send the gospel to the heathen. Is this thought to be strong language? Let us look at the facts. "The Freewill Baptist Register for 1862," gives the number of churches as 1285; and the annual report for 1861 gives the number of churches from which subscriptions were received as 253. This is only 1 in 5, and leaves 1032 churches which did nothing at all. Again the contributions of 87 out of these 253 churches was *one dollar or less*. Still again, the number of church members as reported in the Register, is 58,055, and the total amount of contributions for the year was \$3863.51, or *less than six cents and two-thirds of a cent per member* for the year.

But it may be said that last year was not an average one. This is true. Let us group the whole income of the Society. The total amount raised during the twenty-eight years of the existence of the Society is \$101,832.22, an average of 3994.00, a little more than the income of the last year. But we shall gain a more correct and the most favorable view of the subject, if we take the last nine years, the aggregate income of which is \$45,192.91. This will give an average annual income during these nine years, of \$5,021.43, and the average membership during those years, being upwards of 53,000, the average annual subscription during those nine years is *less than nine and a half cents per member*. No doubt many give liberally, as God has prospered them. But the masses give nothing at all, and many who do give, present a mere pittance to the Lord. Can the denomination expect the Missionary Society to be largely blessed, while they thus neglect to support it?

We believe that the reasons for this state of the Treasury is manifold. With some it is covetousness that leads them to withhold what is due, with others it is indifference. With still others it is incorrect views on the subject of Foreign Missions, while in a large number of cases it arises from ignorance of the character and claims of missions. We believe that there is not sufficient information diffused on this subject. If subscriptions were received from only 253 churches last year, then, assuming that one ordained minister in each of these churches subscribed, it follows that *seven hundred and eighty ordained ministers* gave nothing to send the gospel to the perishing heathen, unless it might be a trifle to a Yearly Meeting, or a Quarterly Meeting collection. But there were only 55 Quarterly Meetings (out of 142) in which collections were taken up last year, and as amounts from churches, friends, and Quarterly Meeting collections, are reported from only 97 Quarterly Meetings, it follows that in 45 Quarterly Meetings in the denomination, *not a cent was received from any source* for the work of Foreign Missions. Such are the facts. We did not make them, and although we are deeply pained by them, we cannot unmake them. To us they seem to indicate that many ministers, as well as laymen, are either not understanding, or not acting on their duty in this matter.

We observe in the Minutes of Conference,* an offer of the General Baptist Missionary Society to lend the Freewill Baptist Foreign Missionary Society their engravings for "Quarterly Papers" for gratuitous circulation to subscribers. We could wish that this offer had been accepted, the more especially as the efforts to obtain sufficient subscribers to sustain a missionary periodical have failed. These Quarterly Papers are published by all the Missionary Societies in England, and by constantly keeping the facts of Missionary operations before the masses in a concise and interesting form, are a great means of securing attention and obtaining funds. They repay their cost many times over.

In conclusion, we say kindly to all Freewill Baptist ministers,

* 1839, p. 29.

inform yourselves and keep your people informed respecting the operations and claims of Missions to the heathen. Subscribe yourselves, and ask them to follow your example. We know many of you are poor, but *you have something* to spare for this object: to disseminate the knowledge of him who died *to save you*. We have met with ministers who supposed that asking their people to subscribe for missions would diminish their own scanty pittance. But this is a mistake. Those who do most for benevolent objects are most likely to deal justly and act liberally towards their own minister.

And to every member of a Freewill Baptist church we say, you have a duty to perform toward the heathen. Seek to understand it, be willing to make sacrifices that you may do your share of it, and God will bless you. Before this article is read by you, the first three decades of the Society will have been completed. Be resolved that by your own gifts and sacrifices, and by your efforts to stimulate others, the next decade shall show a great advance in the amounts contributed, and we feel assured that by the blessing of God there will also appear a much greater advance in the results of missionary labors abroad, and in the prosperity of the churches at home.

ART. III.—LIFE AND CHARACTER OF NATHANIEL EMMONS.*

Great men often appear in clusters. Less than a century intervened between Pythagoras and Isocrates; and yet, with two or three exceptions, that period produced the greatest men of Greece. Virgil, Horace, Sallust, Livy, Cæsar, Tacitus, Ovid, Cicero, were all born in the last half of the second, or the first half of the first, century before Christ. Around the Revival of

* MEMOIR OF NATHANIEL EMMONS; with sketches of his Friends and Pupils. By Edwards A. Park, Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1861.

Letters, in the reign of queen Annie, there is a bright constellation of English names—scarcely yet eclipsed in English thought and letters. So, nearer our own time, New England had her gallery of bright contemporary names—Edwards, Hopkins, Stiles, Bellamy, Smalley, and not least, Nathaniel Emmons.

Were we, after the manner of Carlyle and Parker, and non-supernaturalists generally, to consider them as merely the production of human forces, we might perhaps say that the age having the vitality to produce one great man would as easily, and almost inevitably, produce others; just as the sunshine and showers which draw out the latent life of one blade of grass, equally brings forth clustering myriads.

But all men, at least, are not thus the production of human agencies. Christ, even in his humanity, rose far above his age, as unmistakably to evince himself not of it. Saul of Tarsus was a strong man—strong enough to make his mark upon the age; but by no means, either strong enough, or having the kind of power, to make the mark upon it, made by Paul the Apostle. The latter rises, like a Colossus, above the vigorous Pharisee—above all he ever could have been. Human forces, existing in the age, had no elements that could originate the transcending manliness of the Christian Apostle. Moses, skilled though he was in the learning of the Egyptians, manifestly did not find in that learning, nor in the other forces of his time, the power that made him the leader of his people, the founder of a new empire, and the medium of a new and wonderfully vital system of blended politics and religion.

It is true that the natural and the supernatural often operate in concert. Some of the elements of Saul the Pharisee appear in Paul the apostle. Not unfrequently did he make good use of the training received at the feet of Gamaliel, as well as of treasures gathered from classic fields. Moses, too, while throwing Egyptian learning so entirely in the background, that scarcely a reflection of it appears in Judaism, still, in some respects, shows his human culture as contributing to the work he wrought. But the choicest of human forces, among many peoples and in different ages, have often failed to produce noticeable results. The supernatural did not co-work with them. In other instan-

ces, the energies of the supernatural, with little aid from external forces, have produced the grandest results. Such was the case with the Bedford Tinker.

In the case of the New England divines, external forces gave them little aid—except in the way of repression. Shut out from the schools and the sympathies of the age, and removed from the appliances of culture, except such as the little Puritan band had originated with themselves, they were made by their theology and their communion with God. Their religion, more than any other agency, made them. Even many of their own historians overlook this, and talk of their character as the result of their barren land and their multiplied hardships. But repression can never make character. Repress an idiot, and he is thereby none the less an idiot. Bray a fool in a mortar, and his foolishness will not depart from him. Place the hand of hardship on a knave, and he does not thus secure a place in the calendar of saints. Repression is only the obstacle that other forces overcome. Their hardships were only the barriers over which the religion-made natures of the Puritans irresistibly swept, and by which we estimate the power of those natures.

Amid this galaxy of New England divines, Dr. Emmons shines with a blended, but distinguishable, individual light. He is one with his fellows—thought of their thought, and soul of their soul; and yet, he is Nathaniel Emmons, as distinguishable in his mental and religious character, as in his later days he was among his townsmen, by his cocked hat and short breeches.

His life is remarkably devoid of incident. It was so gradual an accumulation and evolution of power, and withal it was *such* a power, that no single event flashes out with brilliance. And yet he had power, not less than that originating the brilliance of genius. But it was the power of magnetism, rather than of electricity—stronger, indeed, but neither thundering, nor gleaming out in the lightning.

He was born, April 20, 1745, old style, at East Haddam, Ct., and his earlier years were passed in the midst of wild and sublime natural scenery, and surrounded by the stern influences of the old Puritan life. The Brainard family, many of whom lived or had lived, in the parish, gave a tone to general society

there, and exerted a strong influence upon the youthful Emmons. Years after, he spoke of one of them as follows: "I might mention the *apostles*, Luther and Calvin, *David Brainard*, and many other missionaries." His father was both a miller and a farmer; and the rural life, amid which Nathaniel grew up, appears frequently in his illustrations and mental habits.

At eighteen years of age, he entered Yale College, with less than a year's classical preparation—a preparation that now would hardly be accepted by any college. In college, he manifested an unusual spirit of independence, coupled with not a little shrewdness, in avoiding what otherwise would have been the consequences. A characteristic incident is related of his successful rebellion against the custom-sanctioned tyranny of a higher class man. During most of his course, the college was in a tumult; arising from one of those sad misunderstandings that sometimes arise between trustees, faculty, and students. At one time, Emmons united with his fellow-students in a petition for the removal of the faculty. Seventy-four years afterwards, he said: "I put my name to that paper, and have never regretted it but once since I did it, and that has been—every hour!"

At that time, Logic, Philosophy—including Metaphysics—and Mathematics, were the leading studies of the college curriculum, and apparently gave a strong bias to the mind of Emmons—already predisposed in that direction. Had the classics, together with Rhetoric and English Literature, received more attention, he probably would have possessed greater flexibility of character, without any sacrifice of strength. But the predominance of the metaphysical and speculative in the college, was only an index of the spirit then everywhere dominant in New England.

Upon graduating, he went to study divinity, as it was then phrased, with the Rev. Mr. Strong, of Coventry, Ct., teaching the minister's family, as a compensation. A peculiarity of his religious life—though then far less peculiar than it would be now—is that he commenced the study of theology before being an experimental Christian; and he avers that this theoretical study led him to the practical experience of the Divine life.

After remaining awhile with Mr. Strong, he became the "divinity student" of Mr., afterwards Dr., John Smalley, one of the lions of the earlier New England theology. When in college, Emmons had admiringly read Edwards' celebrated treatise on the Will; and now, in addition, Mr. Smalley so directed and influenced his studies and thoughts, that he became confirmed as a rigid Calvinist.

But his connection with Mr. Smalley became a source of embarrassment. Already the lines of Hopkinsian and anti-Hopkinsian, over which so many furious polemic battles have been fought, were beginning to be drawn. Smalley was a champion of the then new and encroaching Hopkinsianism; and, as such, was regarded with some distrust by many of his more conservative brethren. This feeling very naturally extended to his pupil; and, when presented for licensure, several perceived, or thought they perceived, some shadows of the "disinterested" theology, and so objected to his licensure. A majority, however, was favorable, and he received credentials, though one astute opposer insisted on having his written "protest" against it entered on the records. Emmons was at first considerably depressed by this occurrence, but afterwards considered it an advantage, as inciting closer and more vigorous thought over the points in question.

After his licensure, he travelled considerably, for those times, and at length became a "candidate" for the pastorship of the (Congregational) parish in Wrentham, now Franklin, Mass. His candidateship has this peculiarity—at least, in comparison with those of more modern times—that it continued longer than the majority of pastorates now do. After nearly *four years* "trial," the church invited him to become their pastor, and he then hesitated ten weeks, before giving them an answer. The beginning was worthy of the end—he spent his whole pastoral life of fifty-four years with this one people.

Two years after his ordination and settlement, he married. But his wife only lived three years, leaving two sons; who survived their mother but a short time, both dying on the same day. These bereavements deeply affected him, and for a considerable time gave a coloring of sadness to his spirits and

ministrations. Nearly two years afterwards, he married again. His second wife lived many years, and became the mother of a somewhat numerous family. She seems to have been an eminently prudent and practical woman, doing much of the pastoral work in the parish, and exerting a most salutary influence between the pastor and people. She, however, died some years before Mr. Emmons' decease, and he married a third wife—the widow of a brother minister. His third wife survived him.

At his ordination, a "settlement" of between six and seven hundred dollars was given him, with which he purchased a small farm. His annual salary was a little more than two hundred and fifty dollars. Nor was it ever very rapidly or greatly increased. As he himself gave almost no attention to the management of his farm, the work all being done by hired hands, and withal the soil of Franklin is not remarkably fertile, it is clear that this kingly man could not live in very great splendor, or enjoy a superabundance of luxuries.

And now come fifty-four years of pastorship, filled with untiring and effective labor—preaching, writing, teaching "divinity students," &c.—and yet almost entirely barren of noticeable details. Each day, and each year, seemed to pass as each other day and year, and all just as the days and years of any rural pastor pass away. There was hardly an incident that would furnish an item for a local paper, more stirring or "interesting" than the birth of his children, or the marriage of his parishioners. Many clergymen, who will not be remembered in the next generation, get more "first rate notices" from the most widely circulated journals, in a single year, than could well have been manufactured out of all of the incidents of his fifty-four years' pastorship—at least, if we except his frequent, pithy, pointed sayings.

And still, not only his parish, but the whole land, gradually came to recognize, and render obeisance to him, as a positive and controlling power. Franklin, an out-of-the-way, obscure place, became noted in the eyes of the world. Great men made pilgrimages to it, to render homage to its divinity. Its Mahomet would *not* go out to the world, and the world came to Mahomet. But the evolution and manifestations of his power

were so quiet, so lacking in demonstration, and were made so exclusively in connection with the common, every-day routine of ministerial life, that few could tell why they were so affected by him, and many, no doubt, were not even aware that they were so affected.

At length, perhaps the most notable incident of his whole life, took his people altogether by surprise. He had observed that many clergymen retained their places, and deemed themselves efficient, long after others felt that their efficiency was gone. He resolved not to be of that number; but to resign "while he had *sense* enough to do so." In 1827, while delivering a sermon, he fainted. This he interpreted as a providential intimation for him to retire from pastoral life, and he at once sent the society an unconditional resignation, which no entreaty could induce him to withdraw. Nor would he afterwards even occasionally officiate. He said: "I have turned a short corner;" and, to suggestions to "assist" the new pastor, he characteristically replied: "No ship can have two captains!" We have known some to founder in the attempt.

Only once afterwards did he in the least interfere in parish matters. It was proposed to open the meeting house, when not used by the society, to the Universalists. This roused the lion. He called for his cocked hat, ordered his carriage, and rode to the parish meeting. He spoke for a half hour, indignantly and vehemently, against the measure, and, though many had before favored the measure, not a vote was given in its favor. Many regarded this speech as the masterpiece of his eloquence.

He lived thirteen years after his resignation, surrounded by a large circle of friends, but enduring many afflictive bereavements. Toward the close of his life, he made a journey to New York, and presided at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society. He also interested himself somewhat in the anti-Masonic movement. Not unfrequently, the old fire glowed again in its embers, and something of the old-time power spoke forth. But, reaching his second childhood—calm, serene, trustful, triumphant, he died in September, 1840.

Dr. Park, eagerly intent on daguerreotyping his inner man,

gives only incidental glimpses of his outer. He seems, however, to have been one of those hardy, long-lived, iron men, a whole race of whom occupied New England pulpits, in singular ignorance of most of the ills that modern clerical flesh is heir to, and departed late into heaven. His portrait seems that of a firm set, muscular man; and, notwithstanding his sedentary habits, he maintained a remarkable elasticity and vigor, almost to the day of his death.

His habits were punctiliously precise. No one must ordinarily enter his study, save at the set time; and, to prevent intrusion at other times, he kept a hook on the inside of his study door, of which he said: "I am more indebted to *that hook* than to any man on earth." If he admitted a visitor, he would invariably first put the book or manuscript he was using under the unspotted green baze that covered his study table, before the guest could be admitted; and, if a visit were prolonged, a peculiar movement toward the study table was an imperative "leave of absence." In his study, every book was in its place, and was allowed to be in no other; his desk and chair had one inevitable position, and he sat with one foot against the same panel until it was worn entirely through; the tongs must always be on the right of the fire-place, and the shovel on the left; the wood-box must be replenished exactly at the stated time, and the wood placed on the fire "precisely so;" his three-cornered hat must hang on its own peg; and he sat in the same chair for more than half a century.

Whatever the exigency, he would not do a stroke of work on his farm, or deviate from his wonted routine. When once his work hands ventured to solicit his assistance, to save his hay from a wetting, he peremptorily refused: "Let it wet; I shall not leave my work to do yours," was the curt reply. Once, while walking over his fields, he saw the bars down. Instead of putting them up, he reasoned: "If I say A, I must say B; and it is safer not to begin the alphabet;" and so went on his way, leaving the bars down. When having his house fitted up, he would not so much as go and see it, until it was finished.

He was also pertinaciously conservative. Though the fash-

ion passed away during his prime, he would never relinquish his short breeches and three-cornered hat. He looked with suspicion upon new movements; so that Dr. Park heads nearly every paragraph of a whole chapter of the biography with: "His Apprehensions of Evil"—from Sabbath schools, the tract society, national religious societies, general associations, "plan of union," protracted meetings, and the like. Toward the missionary and anti-slavery movements, he felt a kindlier interest. But neither of them drew him on to their platforms, or into their committees; with the exception of his once presiding at the anti-slavery meeting. His apprehensions usually took the form of exceptions to such real or supposed evils as are incident to most movements carried on by human instrumentalities. For instance: He had apprehensions against Sabbath schools, lest parents should thereby neglect their duty to their children. He apprehended evil from the Tract Society, because it would publish only such truths as are held in common by evangelical Christians—because, in fact, it would not publish high Calvinism—an apprehension that time has none too well justified. He apprehended evil from national societies, lest they should give too much prominence to one idea, or to particular persons. He apprehended evil from Congregational associations, lest, though they disclaimed "authority," they should silently wield it. He apprehended evil from protracted meetings, lest the extraordinary should detract from the ordinary means of grace.

And yet, his "apprehensions" seem little more than his excuses for not engaging personally and directly in these movements. He did not really oppose them. They were pressed upon him—he was expected to espouse them. But his independent originality—aided by a sort of personal imperiousness, that would be its own leader, following none—had aims and processes peculiar to itself. From these it would not depart. It must needs give an answer to the pressure—a reason for going on its own way. And that reason naturally, and almost inevitably, took the form of "apprehensions." He made them vital only to resist the pressure, that would divert him from

his aims. They were defensive, not offensive. Had they been the latter, he would have pushed them to a most formidable antagonism—as it is manifest he did not.

His imperious nature kept him aloof from everything of which he was not the originator, or which, if he had not worked out of, he had worked *into*, his own mental and moral life. Hence, as Dr. Park intimates, he was a sort of “archbishop” among his associates. He was *the* magnate of the parish; and never was found where he was not the attracting magnet. Servants and children took off their hats in his presence—and he exacted it; and parishioners drove miles around, rather than pass their pastor’s carriage. No other denomination gained a foothold in the town during his pastorate, nor was a second church formed of his own. He drew around him a large circle of friends and admirers, including some of the magnates of the land, but himself never made obeisance to any. Dr. Alexander, the *princeps* of Princeton, made a pilgrimage to Franklin, but Emmons never returned the compliment. Mahomet never went to the mountain. But his imperiousness was spontaneous and unconscious. It had no admixture of conceit, and scarcely of assumption. It was mostly of that positive sort that has a business of its own, and goes so intently about it, as neither to regard nor appreciate the schemes or work of others.

Emmons’ theology is not so commanding. It, in fact, is a reflection of Hopkinsianism. Hopkins had preceded him—had gained the ear of New England thinkers. It required a transcendent mind to eclipse him, and centralize the thought of the generation upon itself; and such a mind Emmons, strong as he was, had not—he could not do that. But he did all that any but such a mind could do. While he could not rise above Hopkins, he still made Emmonsism a star by itself—inferior to, and like, the one in the zenith, but still peculiar, and shining by its own light. What it would have been, but for Hopkinsianism, is a question. Yet it would have been. And perhaps, but for the presence and precedence of Hopkinsianism, it would have been a dominant and more original idea.

Emmons was a worker. Not, indeed, like Wesley, or Luther,

or our own Marks, awaking and organizing practical, working forces. Nor like Wilberforce, or Howard, or Florence Nightingale, incarnating philanthropy in ministrations of mercy. He was rather a miner, working his ores into no mechanical form, nor subserving by them any utilitarian project—content with throwing out the ore, for others to work into practical shapes. As such, he worked most indefatigably, day by day, and many long hours per day, for nearly two-thirds of a century. No more persistent or indefatigable worker did the age have—nor but few the world.

In some sense, he probably had a system in his own mind. But he wrought it into no body of systematic divinity; even though for years a leading theological instructor, himself alone giving shape and direction to the studies and opinions of nearly a hundred "divinity students." He did not even compose a single homogeneous treatise on any subject. All is confided simply to the sybilline leaves of sermons; and between them there is the slightest word-thread, though there is often a subtle thought-thread, that may be traced.

Nor does it appear that he aspired after or was conscious of writing "for eternity." The thinking of his brain, and the feeling of his heart, are glowing within, and pressing for utterance. But only his people seem to have appeared before him, to receive the weekly *quantum sufficit* of sermon. Often, indeed, he seems conscious that his thought is not for his Franklin parishioners, and is in correlation to Hopkins or Kellamy, or, in opposition to Stiles or West. But he utters it to them, as if simply because his heart and brain impel him, rather than because he has an eye to any audience outside of the Franklin "Meeting House." He published many of his sermons in his life-time; but publication appears to be an after-thought, never taken into account in their composition.

Logician that he was, his thought is still largely spontaneous and impulsive. The word is within him. His mouth opens, and gives it utterance, with little calculation of effort, or even of applicability. He obviously thought of his hearers as coming to him, to hear and receive whatever of the great words of life he had to give. He had little thought of going to them

with a message especially suited to individual necessities. It was his to give—theirs to take. He accepted himself as in some sense a type of his hearers. Whatever appeared vital to him, was taken for granted as vital to them, and given to them. Christianity, and of course his conception of it, was with him the central idea. Humanity must accommodate itself to it—not it to humanity. Hence, as Dr. Park strongly intimates, his (second) wife was rather the pastor—as well as household and farm manager; he, the preacher.

By the aid of his wife's tact, his individualisms did not so greatly isolate him from the currents of life around him. To a considerable extent, also, his strong nature drew those currents into his own. He not only drew admirers around him, but he attracted a considerable strength and warmth of personal attachment. Children loved him, as well as stood in awe of him; and parishioners not only venerated him, but found beneath his coat of dignity a genial and sympathetic heart.

One of his most marked characteristics was his power to condense a sterling common sense into telling apothegms. Sometimes a general truth is thus pithily expressed, as "No ship can have two captains," or, "Everything that captivates will at length disgust; therefore, popularity cannot live." Again, "The weakest spot in every man is where he thinks himself the wisest." "No blank in time or in duty did God ever make or mean; hence, there can be no works of supererogation." "Retail geniuses are worth nothing; go to the wholesale merchants, if you wish to buy knowledge." "The less Christians conform to the world, the more will the world conform to them." "Just definitions, like just distinctions, either prevent or end disputes." "He is a learned man who understands one subject, and a very learned man who understands two subjects."

At other times, practical cautions and criticisms were thus expressed: "Be short in all religious exercises; better leave the people longing than loathing." "Hearers will always give you their attention, if you will give them anything to attend to." "He who preaches less than half an hour, had better never have gone into the pulpit; he who preaches more, had better never have come out of it." "A man ought not only to know

the truth, but to *know* that he *knows* it." "Never reason from what you do not know." "Endeavor to leave the *subject* of your discourse on the minds of your hearers, rather than a few striking *sentiments* or *expressions*." "Take care, in delivery, to stand *behind* and not *before* your subject." "In composing, it is much less difficult to find out what to say, than what to leave unsaid." "We ought to judge ministers not only by what they do say, but by what they do not say." "Preach *upon* your subject, and not *about* it." "First, find out what you wish to say, then *say* it."

Not unfrequently this power was used in sarcasm and reproof. Concerning a sermon of his, a brother minister wrote him: "My dear brother, I have read your sermon on the Atonement, and have wept over it. Yours affectionately." To this, Emmons replied: "Dear sir, I have read your letter, and laughed at it. Yours, Nathaniel Emmons." There was a pantheistic physician in his neighborhood, who once ventured an attack upon him. "Mr. Emmons, how old are you?" "Sixty, sir; and how old are you?" "As old as the creation, sir," was the confident response. "Then," said Emmons, "you are of the same age with Adam and Eve." "Certainly, I was in the garden when they were." "I have always heard," continued Emmons, "that there was a third person in the garden with them, but I never knew before that it was you." To a young minister, who had preached a whole system of theology in a single sermon, Emmons said: "Do you ever mean to preach another sermon?" "Yes, sir." "What have you got to say? You've preached about everything this morning." To another, who apologized for a wordy sermon, with the hope that he had not wearied the people by its length, Emmons replied: "No, nor by its depth." A preacher once complained to him that he found his greatest difficulty in drawing his inferences. "No doubt," replied Emmons, "for you have nothing to draw them from." To a candidate for settlement, he said: "You have struck twelve first. Fools will complain if you do not strike thirteen next; wise men will complain if you do."

Emmons' recognized power was greater over his contemporaries than over succeeding generations. He was not one of

those few men, who, like Homer or Shakspeare, are unrecognized by their own time, but become the idols of all time to come. He was a king in his life-time, and at his death the sceptre departed to other hands. He dealt often with themes that are for all men and all times. But he so dealt with them, as to make his discussion of them significant principally to his own contemporaries. Herein was a paradox. He preached in the Franklin meeting house, neither to the Franklin parishioners, as such, on the one hand, nor to universal humanity, on the other; but to his Franklin neighbors as the representatives of the current New England thought and theology.

Hence his influence comes to us largely as an element in the legacy New England Puritanism has left to the world. More than most men, Emmons speaks through others. He shaped the character of many a man, who has powerfully influenced the world. In some instances he has thus, perhaps, exerted more influence through others, than by his own individual life. In addition, he gave color and form to the ideas and forces of his age. He exerted a moulding influence upon those more or less compact forces, that have been termed "New England Theology." They are what they are, largely because he was what he was; and the forces of our time are largely what they are, because those forces were what they were.

Of all his contributions to the forces of his time, strength and individualism are especially prominent. He dealt in no effeminate prettinesses—never played a farce of much ado about nothing. Bold, rugged strength wrought in the forge of his mind, and turned out thunderbolts, not toys. To a large portion of the popular preaching and thought of our time, he would apply the sarcasm above quoted, "nothing to draw from." Nothing but hard substance would satisfy him, and he contributed not a little of it to the strong Puritan leaven that has so nearly leavened the whole national lump.

Congregationalism, in its exaltation of the individual over centralized power, owes much to the Franklin pastor. Of all the Puritan fathers, he was the very corypheus of equal rights and individual development. In systematic theology, he was second to Hopkins, if not to others. In this direction, he was

second to none. He scented centralization from afar, and always met it with the wager of battle. Even the suggestion of coöperation would bring on a fit of "apprehensions." Channing himself, with all his humanitarian tendencies, and five periods concerning the dignity of human nature, did not perform a more essential service toward the development and culture of that nature, than did Emmons. Channing apotheosized human nature. Emmons, by singling out and elevating the individual, in which alone human nature can be developed, did much toward rendering that nature worthy of the apotheosis.

Of Dr. Park, as a biographer, we have a few words of commendation and of criticism. He is far enough from being a Boswell—letting the character of his subject run uncolored through his delineation. Dr. Park is too positive and forceful a man to do that. He evidently first estimated Emmons' character, and then set about portraying to his readers the picture existing in his own mind. You see, not Emmons himself, but the image of him in the camera of his biographer. If the lenses are perfect, there is no fault. But you do not judge for yourself. You take the picture on the strength of your confidence in Dr. Park's ability and integrity. Hence, there is too much Park about the picture. The portrait, in fact, is not of *Nathaniel* Emmons, but of *Park* Emmons. We feel all along that if we saw the facts at first hand, very likely we might reach a different conclusion. We suspect, for instance, that if Dr. Emmons' ghost were to read the Memoir, he would be astonished to find how nearly he coincides with the Andover theology.

But of its kind the Memoir is a model. The facts evidently have been most industriously collected and collated. The character manifestly has been thoroughly studied, in very many, if not all, of its important bearings. The mind that has formed the estimate, is obviously one of rare penetration, of subtle discrimination, and of child-like integrity. If Dr. Park is swayed by personal or partisan prejudices, in his estimate, he is not only unconscious of it, but few men indeed are so slightly affected in that direction. We give him our confidence, as fully as we can give it to any man.

Dr. Park is a consummate artist. His style is the perfection

of ease, clearness and strength. His groupings of anecdote and incident are almost inimitable. Everything is in the right place, and presented to the best advantage. The relations of things are clearly seen, and yet the central idea is not overloaded with relations. And the crowning perfection of his art consists in this, that there is no ostentation about it. We may, in some future number, present some estimate of the value and significance of Emmons' thought and theology.

ART. IV.—THE EIGHTEENTH GENERAL CONFERENCE.

The recent session of the Freewill Baptist General Conference at Hillsdale, in the State of Michigan, was an event which we do not desire to let pass without some notice in our pages. The Conference commenced its session on the first day of October, 1862, and closed on the eighth day of the same month. The time was one of deep interest as related to the affairs of the country. After many reverses to the national arms, and great depression of the spirits of the nation, the President had just, on the 22d of September, 1862, issued his preliminary proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the rebel states. The delegates were on their way to Conference, or about to start, when they first saw the proclamation. This event, we have no doubt, had great effect upon the spirit of the Conference. Instead of being in a state of despondency, as might well have been expected two weeks before the session began, the convocation was evidently in a cheerful, hopeful tone, both with respect to the future of the nation, and its own denomination. Most of the members of the Conference, having sons or near relatives in the loyal army, had abundant cause for personal anxiety and mourning, as well as deep sympathy, with the families of affliction throughout the land; but their thoughts were so absorbed in those higher inter-

ests of the church and the nation, that in the brightening prospects of public affairs, they, in a measure, forgot private calamities and sorrows. This was natural to those who, through a series of years, had been laboring in public and private for the overthrow of the evil against which the whole military and naval powers of the government were soon expected to be brought to bear.

The denomination of which this Conference is the highest body arose during the struggles of the Revolution. It arose as a purely American denomination; that is, it had not been transplanted from the other side of the Atlantic by means of the representatives of any denomination. It had its own system of government to form and adapt to its wants during those years in which the United States were forming and putting into operation the government of the nation. As there was much discussion in those years as to the proper principles of government, nothing short of a miracle could have prevented our fathers from adopting in greater or less extent the form and principles of the national government. It requires but a moment to see that the denominational government places the individual church, Quarterly Meeting, Yearly Meeting and General Conference in relations corresponding, as nearly as the nature of the case will allow, respectively to the town, county, state and union in the national government. It is easy to perceive that the aim throughout has been to secure local freedom, and yet preserve denominational unity and effectiveness by the same form of government as that adopted by the nation. We are not here speaking of religious doctrines, but of the form and aims of the denominational government.

In the development of the denominational government, three distinct, completed stages are easily discernible. The first was that of centralization and effectiveness. This was during Randall's life; for, whatever the theories of government held by the actors, there was, during that period, a visible head, a supreme will in the denomination. At his death, a sort of chasm, not to say chaos, appears in our history, extending forward for a dozen years, and does not wholly cease till the General Conference was formed, twenty years later. This second

period was consumed by Randall's successors in reducing their ideas of government to outward embodiment in the actual forms of organization. The next twenty-three or four years form the third stage, which is characterized by a struggle between the ideas of local freedom and centralized power. With the Conference at Providence, that struggle ended in the triumph of the former. It was then settled that our government is neither Episcopal or Presbyterian under disguise, but Congregational, or, more strictly, perhaps, a representative republic. Up to the time of the Conference at Providence, the tendency was toward what might be called state-rights. Since then it has been seeking denominational unity and effectiveness. It might be said, therefore, we have entered upon the fourth stage. Not that we would now encroach upon individual and municipal freedom, but that, recognizing and conserving both, we strive to realize the effectiveness of a genuine union of the whole body. Our national struggle is in pursuit of the same purpose.

The stand-point thus gained prepares us to contemplate to better advantage the action of the recent session of General Conference in many particulars. The denomination is happily at agreement with itself on doctrine to such an extent that not one question of doctrine was discussed, and the committee on that subject had only the fact of agreement to report.

But as we turn our attention to the action of the committee on polity, and the action of the Conference upon the report of that committee, we find a striking confirmation of the view above taken. It is now decided by the highest denominational body that ordination should in every practical case be granted only on the authority of the Quarterly Meeting. The license which confers denominational standing must also proceed from the same body. That is to say, since the minister, in addition to being a church member, is, *ex officio*, a representative of the denominational union, he must be set apart by the authority of that union, instead of being set apart by the authority simply of the individual church. The individual church can, of course, appoint its own officers, and it is only upon request of that authority that the Quarterly Meeting ever sets apart an individual to the ministry, and, besides, every minister must, to retain

denominational standing, be a member of a church. His citizenship must have "local habitation and name," or his official standing in its representative character ceases.

To the same effect we may cite the decision requiring the minister, upon removing from one Quarterly Meeting to another, to take a certificate of his ministerial standing in the former. This rule, besides being of excellent practical use in protecting our churches from imposition by persons unworthy of the ministerial standing, also shows the tendency to seek denominational unity. By the legitimate application of this rule, any Quarterly Meeting may call to account any church (being member of that Quarterly Meeting) that receives as pastor any minister who is not able to present a certificate of denominational standing as decided by the Quarterly Meeting. The action of the Conference in giving directions for receiving ministers from other denominations, points in the same direction, for such ministers obtain denominational standing only by the authority of the Quarterly Meeting to which belongs the church of which they become members. This, it is true, is not the first action of the General Conference upon this point, but the action of the recent session gives it a new importance. We might specify further under this head, but we must pass to others.

We next allude to the action of the Conference to discourage the practice of undertaking to build church edifices in localities not able to furnish the means, and then of appealing to the denomination for the requisite means to complete the undertaking. The advice now is to the effect, first obtain the denominational endorsement through the Home Mission Society, and then proceed with the undertaking, and call for the required amount of assistance. Conformity to this advice is of the utmost importance, if we would not have failure after failure from undertaking too many things at once, and from want of concert in action. By proper conformity to this advice, every undertaking of the kind alluded to is certain of success sooner or later, for the whole denominational strength is thus pledged to it. From this will result the stimulus of uniform success and steady advancement. This will guard, too,

against the danger of putting old causes in peril by undertaking the new too soon, or at least from absorbing too soon the required help. At the same time, it encourages enterprise and liberality on the part of those interested in the new causes to reduce their demand to the lowest possible point.

It was from fear of doing something against this tendency to realize the effectiveness of denominational unity that the Conference declined to adopt a recommendation for the formation of State Home Mission Societies, auxiliaries to the Parent Society. It was feared the variety would overthrow the unity. We regard this, however, as an unnecessary fear. The State Societies, if strictly auxiliary to the Parent Society, become simply one of the best modes of giving effectiveness to the unity. State Societies, properly conducted, will not only increase the funds of the Parent Society, but furnish the information requisite to the most prudent and effective appropriations. This, however, is only a question of time, and possibly the best time for authorizing their institution by the General Conference, in many states, has not come.

One point receives a striking illustration, in the action taken upon the subject of education. For a number of years, say from the Conference at Fairport, it seemed to be the settled view of the denomination, as indicated by the action of General Conference, that there should be but one Theological School, to be located in New England; and, but one College, that at Hillsdale. To this end the West pledged itself to the East, and the East to the West. In practice, however, it was found that scarcely one student from the East went to the College, and scarcely one student went from the West to the Biblical School at New Hampton. Yet the aim of this agreement was manifestly to secure denominational unity. The aim was good, but there was a wide gap between the means adopted and the end sought. The expense and distance from home were, in the case of both classes of students, regarded as unnecessary. The result, both East and West, has been, in a painful degree, disastrous to our denominational interests. In New England, the students have pursued their college course in the colleges

under the direction of other denominations, and in numerous cases these students have been lost to the denomination. In the Western States, the students have pursued their theological course in seminaries, under the direction of other denominations, or what has been still worse, they have had to enter upon their work without theological training.

The question which pressed upon the attention of the recent Conference was, therefore, what can be done to remedy these evils, and yet infringe nothing upon the great principle of denominational unity? How can these evils be remedied, and yet bind the East and West in firmer concord and union? There must be a College in New England, and a Theological Seminary in the West, or the evils remain. But how can two things requiring so much money and sacrifice be undertaken in this time of the nation's distress? But the most pressing demand of the two, perhaps, is provision for theological education at the West. This was the first thing, therefore, to receive the most certain immediate assistance, and this was done by appropriating three thousand dollars to Hillsdale College toward the endowment of a theological professorship, upon condition that the Trustees of that institution raise seven thousand more for the same purpose.

The unanimity with which this measure passed, the complete surprise with which the recommendation of the measure by the Committee on Education, took the brethren of the West, together with the expressed gratification with which the General Conference contemplated the toils and sacrifices which have resulted in raising up Hillsdale College,—all had the most happy effect in promoting the unity, which the denomination is so early intent upon realizing. The very objections made to the measure seemed to contribute to the same happy result, rather than to detract from it. The objections all assumed the importance and desirableness of the measure, provided it could be safely accomplished upon proper business principles, as the Conference decided that in all probability it could be. It may be a great mistake, but mistake or not, it was the great measure of the last Conference, and we devoutly pray the results

may show that it was a step taken under the direction of Divine wisdom, and that all our fears may prove to be without foundation.

The effect of binding the East and the West together by a step so manifestly for the progress of the denomination, should render us all willing to make the last possible sacrifice. It is evident to those acquainted with the demands of our denomination and students in the West, that ten thousand dollars appropriated as proposed in connection with Hillsdale College just as it stands to-day, with its able faculty and noble buildings, will accomplish as much for theological education in the West, as thirty thousand dollars can accomplish in New England in an independent theological seminary with buildings at the cost of ten thousand dollars. Because, the buildings are already provided at Hillsdale, and because one professor there, in conjunction with the help which the college classes will afford the theological students, can do as much as two professors can do in an independent or separate seminary. This of course could not be so if you assume that all the theological students are college graduates before they enter upon their professional course. But such is far from being the case. A little reflection upon the nature of the facts will fully convince any one that we have not overstated the efficiency of the proposed professorship at Hillsdale in meeting our real wants as connected with theological education at the West. Yet all this is to be obtained at the cheap rate of three thousand dollars appropriated from the denominational funds.

Before the Conference closed, we think, the measure just named bore important fruits, even in a business point of view. The project of a Western denominational paper was, we think, unanimously abandoned, or at least postponed for three years. True, such a paper may not have been commenced in these times, had no such measure been adopted, but the bare possibility of it has a bad influence upon the interests of our Printing Establishment, in causing persons to delay subscriptions to the *Morning Star*, in hope of having a paper nearer home. But now that such a paper is out of the way, by consent of all parties, we trust the activity of the brethren of the West in

promoting the circulation of the publications of the Establishment will go far toward rendering the position of it as safe as if three thousand dollars were not to be withdrawn from its funds for such an appropriation. We know it is in the heart of those brethren to have it so, and we believe they have the power to accomplish that desire.

The interest which the students of the college expressed in the measure, and the generous manner in which they themselves pledged a number of hundred dollars towards the required ten thousand, do no more than indicate the feelings with which the brethren generally receive the measure. We trust the noble example set by the students will soon be imitated by others, so that the new department may at once be organized, and draw to it scores of those who are called of God to proclaim the gospel throughout the extensive fields of the West. And may it come to pass, not many years hence, that the department thus beginning may become a theological seminary of full proportions.

Upon the subject of education in New England and other places save Hillsdale, the Conference found itself unable to do more than to speak hearty words of encouragement. It advised the vigorous prosecution of the plan of raising \$20,000 for further endowing and furnishing the Biblical school. It approved the step taken by the Trustees of the Maine State Seminary in procuring a college charter, and approved the purpose to put that institution further on its way toward a college—its ultimate destiny. It gave words of cheer to Whitestown Seminary, for the vigorous steps in improving the prospects and facilities of that flourishing institution, and did not forget the other and younger institutions in New York, Ohio and Minnesota.

It is full time for New England to be thoroughly awake to the importance of raising up a first class college. It has the ability without any great overstrain upon its means, provided it will decide, lay out the work, and do something each year till the work be accomplished. Every year we are suffering, both for the want of a college and quite as much more for the want of some great undertaking that will tax and concentrate

our energies. The greater the undertaking, provided its success can be made reasonably certain, the more surely it will draw large sums from those blessed with the more abundant measure of pecuniary means. All the time required in coming to a wise decision as to the best location ought to be freely taken, but not another minute more. And unless there be speedy agreement in that decision, we shall soon present the spectacle of trying to raise up two colleges at once, instead of one. If two we must have, let us build one at a time. We trust the friends in Maine will not let the matter rest upon the recommendation of Conference. And most ardently do we desire to see the Biblical School placed upon the proposed basis.

Another practical measure of the utmost importance for the welfare of the weaker and destitute churches, was the recommendation of something like a visitation of them by the authority of the Quarterly Meeting, and that of holding under the same direction a series of meetings in all the individual churches. It will be some time, probably, before this recommendation is properly reduced to practice, but we believe that time will yet come, and that the results will be very beneficial. The tendency of this measure in the direction we have so often noticed, scarcely needs to be stated to be seen by all. It is one of those measures which seem to say upon their very face, what is the need of having a denominational organization unless it be put to some good use in strengthening the churches, and through them, of course, the denomination, to do its work of saving souls at home and abroad?

It seems to us that Conference failed to adopt any sufficient measures to reduce to practice one idea which most minds, if not all, felt: *the need of some definite system for raising money for the various causes, which have received denominational endorsement, and for individual church purposes.* This want has long made itself felt in General Conferences and other deliberative bodies of the denomination. But hitherto there has been no unity of conviction as to the best practical measures. One thinks there is no such thing possible as general meas-

ures. Another thinks agents to raise funds for missions, operating each in his own way, without any attempt to introduce any definite measures to insure future collections, is the only thing that will be found efficient in practice. Another thinks we need no agents at all, that the expense forbids the measure of employing them, and that the churches must become their own agents. Monthly and weekly collections for home purposes were recommended, but recommended, after all, in such a way that it is evident most of the voters will never think there is great importance in reducing the measures to practice in their own parishes. So far as we were able to judge from the various cross-purposes and fragmentary recommendations, the great practical measure requisite to give efficiency to the denominational unity which we are so earnestly seeking in theory, utterly failed. We shall go on, for all the action of Conference, another period of three years, laying out most excellent plans for usefulness, but failing to reduce any of them to practice, simply because the dollars, the sinews of war, are not forthcoming, while everybody is conscious that they might have been, by proper system and concert of action.

Yet we ought not to be discouraged, for it must be admitted that no General Conference was ever so harrassed with this idea as the present. It appeared in many of the reports of committees, it was present at every meeting of the session, it was the troublesome ghost that would neither assume flesh and blood, and yet would down at no bidding. It is sure to return at the next session. It will create discussion in mission societies, Yearly and Quarterly Meetings, and in churches each year till another session of the Conference. It is a great gain that this want is so consciously present, and we may believe the practical wisdom will yet be found to give it proper incarnation. It was too much to expect, that a religious body that set out with opposing, or at least ignoring, the religious obligation and practical wisdom of returning temporal rewards to the sowers of spiritual blessings, should so soon cast off the old weakness in the adoption of good practical measures to support ministers and give efficiency to mission societies. The

follies of youth are not wont so easily to hide their painful effects in the beginning of manhood. We ought to congratulate ourselves that they do not prophesy a premature death.

It is an indication that the pulse of denominational life is beating stronger than it has for some years past, that definite measures were recommended for forming two Historical Societies—the anniversary of the one to be held in connection with the Eastern Anniversaries, and of the other in connection with the commencement exercises of Hillsdale College. A motion for the formation of a denominational Historical Society had been introduced six years before, in the session at Maineville, but there was too little interest in it to do more than to refer it to the next Conference, and that next Conference had only done enough to keep the motion alive. But at this Conference the importance of the measure was duly appreciated. No doubt this change is in part owing to the influence of the first instalment of denominational history published by the Printing Establishment during the interim between the last two sessions of Conference. No measures in their own nature can have more influence in creating and sustaining a strong denominational life and unity than these to make our people acquainted with their own history. We have before this mentioned that our people stand in need of such an influence far more than a denomination which had a transatlantic origin and history. The individual life in its very nature is so brief and transitory that it needs connection with historical life denominationally and nationally, in order to come to a consciousness of its own dignity and importance. In denominations of brief history, secessions and divisions are much more easily accomplished, and for much slighter causes, than in older denominations. In our present circumstances, it must seem impossible, upon a little reflection, that there can be a fully conscious and vigorous denominational life, laying out great plans and accomplishing them, however slowly, yet with the certainty of fate, without this increasing interest in our history. It is from these and similar views, upon which we might easily enlarge, that we are disposed to attach such importance to the History whose first volume is

now published, and the institution of the Historical Societies by the recent Conference.

On the whole, this Conference, in several respects, was decidedly in advance of any of the six in succession, it has been our privilege to attend. There was very little time wasted in useless discussion. The order, as usual in our Conferences, was very good. The devotional spirit, on the whole, was the best we ever witnessed on any similar occasion. Brotherly love was greatly strengthened. Each member and spectator, we have no doubt, returned from the session refreshed, and firmly resolved to work in the Divine kingdom with more persistence and more hope. The sympathy for the cause of the Union was perfect. There was not the first tinge, in word or thought, but that was utterly abhorrent to secession and its wicked cause. The President of the United States was heartily thanked for his preliminary proclamation, though with universal regret that it had not been made immediately effective. The presence of returned missionaries, one of whom was from China, added interest to the convocation. The report from the Corporators of the Printing Establishment, considering the nature of the times, was in the highest degree satisfactory, and in no small measure cheering.

Added to the chastening influence of the sad times, was the remembrance that a number of fellow-laborers had been called from works to rewards since the last convocation at Lowell. Sadder still came the remembrance that some who, three years ago, had occupied places of importance, had fallen upon a lot far more painful than death. Each seemed to admonish himself in the words of the apostle, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." The season of communion upon the Sabbath was so replete with the Divine presence, that all experienced the joy of sitting together in heavenly places. The exercises throughout the session in many ways indicated that the ministry felt anew its responsibility to put forth new exertions to accomplish the great work laid upon it by its heavenly commission. It may well be believed, that this session of the Conference has given a greater impulse to ministe-

rial preparation and study than any preceding session. It is true the Conference adopted no standard of acquisition in study preparatory to admission to the ministry, but the reason was manifest why it did not; it could not adopt a standard high enough to meet its wishes without an apparent reflection upon the past. But it is manifest to those who attentively consider the tendency of things, that as soon as the denomination shall have more completely done its duty in furnishing the means of study, there will be nothing distasteful in requiring of our young men certain considerable definite attainments as students before admitting them to full standing in the ministry. If we interpreted the action aright, the Conference meant as much as to sound the note of preparation on the point in declaring that licensure should be regarded as no pledge for ordination.

The place of holding the Conference, the hospitality and kindness of the people in entertaining it in a manner so commendable and satisfactory, and the favorable state of the weather, all contributed to the pleasure and profit of the convocation. It was the first session held west of Ohio. The college at Hillsdale is manifestly one of the greatest successes which our people have ever achieved. Some were there who remembered the spot upon which Hillsdale is built, before one tree had been felled, or even a tent pitched. Very few years have passed since the first Freewill Baptist church was organized in the state of Michigan. The men were present, and not very old, who organized our first churches in that state in which our communicants now number about four thousand, and our most flourishing literary institution stands a proof of the efficacy of prayer and self-sacrificing toils. There were many meetings of old acquaintances from the extreme East and West. The manifest marks of time's wear upon these remembered when in the freshness of youth, reminded some, in a way they will never forget, that they too are growing old, and that life's work must be speedily accomplished, or be forever left unfinished. Those we once called the fathers had scarcely a representative; but others have taken their place. The presence of proof so gratifying that, under God, something can be done for his cause,

together with such impressive proofs that the time for each individual toiler will soon be over, and that the glorious rest is soon to be realized by every faithful one, induced in every mind a renewed determination to work while the day lasts, and yet work in such connection that by the life-power of organization the work may be carried forward indefinite, though the individual laborers disappear. The providential dealings in the history of the nation in answer to prayer for the liberation of the bondmen, helped each to feel that God, the great worker in history, does not despise nor forget the prayers and toils of the humblest who put their trust in Him. The things that are seen, each felt are temporary and transient, but the things that are unseen are eternal, and must be our inheritance or we be soon without possessions or hope.

May the fruits of this Conference be seen, at least in part, three years hence, in large additions to old churches, and in the rapid extension of our cause to new fields.

ART. V.—THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.

As we are a little late in going to press, it is not amiss to take the occasion for a few words on the President's Proclamation of freedom to three millions of slaves. This charter of freedom to an oppressed race was, according to promise, proclaimed on the first day of the New Year, 1863, and in the following words:

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the Executive Government

of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members—chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such state shall have participated—shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terra Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans; Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states, are and henceforward shall be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons; and I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence. And I recommend to them in all cases when allowed

to labor faithfully for reasonable wages, and I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service. And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

We believe the time will come when this act of President Lincoln will be considered one of the greatest events of the present century. It is one of the events for which with thousands we have been devoutly praying, and it would be unseemly in us not to thank God, to whom we chiefly owe it, and not to thank the President, whom God is employing as the Moses of this continent and of this century.

At the time of the preliminary proclamation, of the 22d of last September, most of the anti-slavery friends felt a bitter regret that the proposed proclamation of freedom had not been issued at that time, instead of the preliminary one. We felt it was a great mistake to give the slaveholders a hundred days warning to make all possible preparations to prevent the escape of their bondmen. It seemed like a useless discouragement to the slaves to torture them, as well as the country, with the long suspense. It must be confessed that many had serious fears that the promise would never be redeemed. If any proclamation should appear at the appointed time, it was feared that it would be so tame as to aggravate the evils of the civil war rather than to act as one of the chief means of bringing it to an end.

We are told that when the first day of January came, the people in the city of Washington were greatly disappointed in

not finding the proclamation in the morning papers. The friends of the slave at noon of that day quite despaired as the proclamation did not then appear, as rumor had promised. The pro-slavery people began to look cheerful, and express themselves in terms of praise that the President had given up his "abolition nonsense," as they called it in their extra efforts to speak politely of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States. But at 3 o'clock the proclamation came. A shout of joy went up from the camp of those who up to that moment had been "contrabands;" the friends of freedom could not restrain their own enthusiasm, if they would; the pro-slavery men hung their heads, and silently comforted themselves by saying within themselves, "paper bullet," "Pope's bull against the comet," and other similar devout expressions. The hope and fear, the suspense and despair, the joy and grief of Washington that day present a fit type of the whole country, both North and South, during those hundred days of waiting.

The quality of the proclamation came fully up to the highest expectation. Some are a little disappointed that its application was not made at once more extensive; but even these draw comfort from the words, "which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued." They are glad the sword is raised over even those "excepted parts," and that it may yet fall. The moral tone of the proclamation is quite above what the most sanguine expected, especially in the words: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God." It is in the mind of the President, therefore, not only a military necessity, but it is also constitutional, and an act in accordance with "the Higher Law" of Almighty God.

When the slaves to whom the application of this proclamation is now declared by authority, are free *de facto*, it will be impossible for slavery to survive any great length of time in those "excepted parts," in Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee. Some one has happily said, and with a good meas-

ure of truth, it matters not that the nag of slavery is made to take steps toward destruction by spurring one side, as the other side is sure to keep pace, even without spurring. This, we have no doubt, is the President's own mode of viewing the case, as he has more than once hinted to his "Border State" friends, when urging upon them to accept of compensated emancipation. But we should go back of that question, to inquire if the failure of the President to "hew to the line of his own chalking," as some one expressively phrases it, will not retard the freedom of those to whom the proclamation already applies, and be reached through greater sacrifices of blood. There is ground for honest difference among the anti-slavery men on this question. It seems to us the system of slavery would have received a harder blow without making the exceptions in relation to any portions not represented in Congress, the test proposed in the preliminary proclamation. Still, we think it ought in fairness to be conceded, it has been the intention to carry out fully the spirit of the promise.

This proclamation publicly and by authority announces the real issue that all true anti-slavery men and all slaveholders have known to be involved in this war. From the first, this war, at the South, has meant only the perpetuation of slavery. All these, of both classes, have expected this issue would at length be distinctly made. That which is the real cause of the war is now distinctly recognized by all earnest men on both sides. It is now only the ignorant, or those who are prejudiced office-seekers, who pretend not to see the issue. During the progress of the war, the South has had the immense advantage, which directness of aim always gives.

On the other hand, the North has been saying to itself, the Union must be saved, but we must not injure slavery, the only enemy of the Union. The North has thus weakened itself by hesitation. It has alienated its best friends abroad. It has wasted the time in which its blows must have been most effective. Fremont and Hunter were snubbed for undertaking to execute what is now proposed. The day of salvation had nearly passed. Discouragement and divided counsels had nearly destroyed the last hope before the nation sincerely sets out to

save itself from the great rebellion, which has been day by day growing stronger. Yet all this fearful risk must be run, owing to the corrupt public opinion which slavery had created throughout the North. Slavery was the sacred idol of the nation, and it was firmly believed that it is a divinity of power and disposition to destroy all who should as much as touch it with a little finger. But, thank God, the idol has been touched, and the man still breathes who has so dared. We trust the idol is now to be treated contemptuously by every passer-by, till it is given over to the moles and the bats.

But some good men fear the day of salvation has already passed—that repentance has come a year or two too late. They regret that the proclamation, though good, can never be carried into effect. The rebels, they say, can never be subdued. Disunion or compromise is the only possible way out of this civil war. The pro-slavery men of the North say, in like manner, that it never can be carried into execution, and that it ought not to be, even if it could. Our arms are not so successful as they were a year ago. This is another fact that discourages many. Fighting, they say, can never bring peace. Some still hope the day of hope is not gone. Indeed, some are in greater hope to-day than ever before, that the great rebellion can be crushed, the Union saved, and freedom become the boon of every slave.

We frankly confess that we are more hopeful now than ever before, that the rebellion will be conquered, and that universal freedom will result from the present war. We have for a dozen years or so expected slavery would end by violence. We had expected war at length between the North and the South, but we had expected that the North would inaugurate the war owing to the impudent aggressions of the slave-system upon Northern States' rights. It seems impossible that, by any proper judging of the future by the past, any one could have forecast the folly out of which this rebellion sprung; but all who have any confidence in the sacredness of human rights and trust in Divine providence, have felt for years we must be storing up wrath against the day of wrath. It filled one, for years past, with terror to read in the Bible, "Behold, the hire of the

laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth." We believe, however, that repentance, though late, is not so late as to be unavailing with God. We regard our defeats and discouragements as necessary, in the order of Providence, to bring the nation to repentance. On the other hand, under the circumstances, there was a similar necessity for the rebellion to strengthen and consolidate itself in order, in the end, to destroy slavery root and branch. That point has been reached from which now it is impossible to withdraw and save slavery. It is now time to set the decisive battle in array.

General Butler, in characterizing this war as a war at the South of capital against labor, shows us what view of the present state of affairs is yet to obtain among all consistent lovers of the Union. Party leaders cannot always deceive and mislead the laborers of this nation, when thousands and tens of thousands of men, with political antecedents similar to those of Gen. Butler, rise up to give similar testimony to his. Many have already risen up. Many thousands more, before the close of the present administration, will increase the cloud of witnesses by which the voters are to be compassed about before another Presidential election. The distinct issue made by the proclamation, will compel men to take sides and reveal their real characters.

The movements in Missouri and Western Virginia to secure voluntary emancipation will have a great effect in leading the people of the free states to right views on the proclamation. It is quite probable, too, that before another Presidential election, similar movements may be in progress in the three remaining slave states to which the present proclamation does not apply. It seems to us but reasonable, therefore, to expect that the loyal states will sustain the proclamation from the considerations above indicated, and others which we proceed to indicate.

Some people, who have required two years of severe chastisement to get their eyes open and to throw off their bondage to pro-slavery opinions, are wondering why the slaves do not sooner move in the matter of their own freedom. They won-

der that black slaves do not, in a day, or at most a week, spring up in the dignity of freemen, when it has required white slaves, so to speak, two years of most terrific chastisement to come to the conclusion that their fellow bondmen might have a chance for freedom. It takes some length of time, in the first place, to give to the slaves the certain information of the final proclamation. It will require some time further for them to consult upon the matter. But at length it will be seen that the heaven is at work. The fury and bloody cruelty of the slave owner, so far from arresting the desired effect, will only help it forward. There will be a universal cry throughout the slave states within the rebellion for an increase of the police force. By degrees this will weaken the rebel army. Many slaves, finding their way to our lines, will prove themselves to be, in one sphere or another, valuable allies to our army. This process, which, though slow, is sure to come, and, as it comes, it will clearly reveal all who do not sustain the proclamation to be practical secessionists, whatever doctrine they preach, and whatever name they assume.

The bloody orders for retaliation, which the rebel authorities are likely to proclaim and execute, will open the eyes of some honest people, who now think it great wisdom to speak of "paper bullets." If the proclamation and the policy it inaugurates are really so harmless to the rebels, why are all their Northern sympathizers thrown into affliction thereby? If they are so harmless to the rebels, why do not the rebels let them pass as entirely harmless? Why do they threaten certain death to both white and black, who are found acting according to the proclamation for the overthrow of rebellion, and who shall fall into their hands as prisoners.

It will not be many months till a decided change will take place in Europe, especially in England, in regard to the rebellion. The common people are thoroughly with us, as they will show the moment the nature of the case is understood. The ruling classes, by the help of a corrupt press, for a season managed to blind and mislead our real friends on the other side of the water; but they will soon understand the affairs in this country, now that the issue is distinctly made by the proclama-

tion and the policy which it will inaugurate. It will be easy for the man that runneth to read. As the result of all this, secession will soon be acting the part of the insane man, who complained that the world had become insane, and shut him up because he was sane. Secession will wonder that all the world does not, like itself, love slavery as the chief good. This great change of public opinion in Europe will reach many people in the loyal states who are not influenced by affairs at home.

In this view, we believe it is impossible to divide the North, to its own destruction, the last hope of secession. The proclamation, some people honestly suppose, has a tendency to divide the North. We think they take a superficial view. We think, instead of dividing the North, the proclamation only has the effect to show the line of division which existed before. It shows who is for his country unconditionally, and it shows who makes the salvation of his country second to his personal or party ends. It is light which makes manifest the real state of things. It is no evil to the good cause. It is he that doeth evil that hateth the light, and it is this power of the proclamation which causes many so to cry out against it. But that very light will prevent the secret and wily foes of our country from misleading thousands, as they were able to do before the government adopted its present policy.

But some say, how can we endure these dreadful sufferings much longer, even for so great a good as the preservation of the Union and the destruction of slavery? It is indeed a painful case, but secession is no cure for these sufferings. Any peace made upon that basis, is sure to invite greater sufferings and more tedious wars. This war is already upon us, and the only safe way is to end it so it will not need to be fought over. It may take a long time, but the sooner we make up our minds to the work before us, the sooner we shall be in the way of accomplishing it.

When we speak of sufferings, let us not speak selfishly. Let us think of human sufferings as such, and not of our own sufferings as something distinct from the sufferings of the race, as something harder to be borne than another man's sufferings in the same degree. Let us not be in haste to purchase our own

respite at the expense of another. It is good for us to remember, at such a time as this, the sufferings inflicted by slavery. If war desolates, does not slavery do the same? If war breaks up families, does not slavery do the same? Is a short time in war for us, harder to be borne than slavery for centuries by others? The absolute increase in sufferings caused by this war is not so much as many suppose it to be. Terrific as are the sufferings from this war, they are more in the nature of the change of sufferers. The whites are taking their turn in tasting the bitter evils man can inflict upon man. But century after century, man, though black, has suffered the worst of those evils, and who hath laid it to heart? Who hath remembered those in bonds as those bound with them. If, therefore, we speak not selfishly about human sufferings, we ought to remember that our sharp and severe afflictions are to relieve others from centuries of sufferings. We ought to remember that to-day we had rather take our chances in freedom with all the evils of the war, than to have peace by taking the lot of the poor slave who is so made by no fault of his own. It is a joy to hear that our sons and brothers have fallen bravely defending the right, as compared with what it would be to know that they were to live any number of years in the condition of the slave. Yet to doom unborn millions throughout the centuries to that very condition, the slaveholder stretches forth his hand to destroy this nation.

There is something marvellous in the law of compensation as we contemplate it in a great extent of time. Thirty or forty millions of Africans have been carried away captives from their native land by other nations. For a long time the Anglo-Saxon race has prosecuted this nefarious oppression with a high hand. But to-day the Anglo-Saxon, no matter on which side of the Atlantic he is found, the sin of selling his brother Joseph into Egypt has overtaken him. Similar calamities have overtaken others; still severer, perhaps, await others still.

But how can we bear the overwhelming expense of this war much longer? True, it is very hard to be borne, but is it likely we are not to bring it to a close, till as a nation we have lost all we have ever gained by "sinews bought and sold?" Here, again, we see the working of that great law of compensa-

tion. It is hard, but it is only fair, to remember that we can carry this war on many years without reducing ourselves to the dreadful poverty to which, as a people we have, without much reluctance, consigned the slave. God hath heard his prayers and come down to lead him out of bondage. Neither wonder nor grieve that it will cost thee thy finger rings, ear rings, and other ornaments, when thy poor brother goeth out into the desert. Perhaps thy slight losses may make thee more to pity him who hath lost everything.

Great Cæsar once cried to Cassius for help. It must have been mortifying to his proud nature. But this great law of compensation makes a more humiliating demand of us, proud Anglo-Americans, this dark day. We are compelled to call for the help of the despised African, or see the glorious institutions of our fathers overthrown forever. All men in their senses, both at home and abroad, well know that without attacking slavery we could never subdue the rebellion. The African, as a slave, is the main prop of rebellion; we change the African to a freeman, and detach him from rebellion, and bring a man to our side to help us. It is humiliating. Gen. McClellan did not sin above all others when under his direction our brothers and sons gave up their lives in ditching on the Chickamomony rather than allow the slaves of rebels to do the same work in safety to themselves and greatly to our help. The pride of the nation said it was better that every man should leave his bones in the swamp, than to accept help from "niggers," as we, in humble imitation of the slaveholding traitors, have learned to call the slaves whom we have helped to imbrute. General McClellan only did the bidding of our lofty pride. So did General Halleck in his famous No. 3. But now it is, "Help, Cassius, or I die." Painful, painful.

Still, this very strait of ours is the golden opportunity for the bondman. It will enable his race to enter heartily into the war. It may yet cause us to see that there is some way of living on this continent without deporting all the Africans, though, for us, it would only be justice, if we were compelled to restore every one to the land from which our race stole his ancestors, before the curse of secession were withdrawn. But

despite this law of compensation, there is room for God's compassion toward the truly repentant. This proclamation is the highest expression of repentance in words, and when those words are changed into deeds by the army and the navy, the nation will be saved, free and happy.

In considering our grounds of hope for future success, too many entirely underrate what has already been done. They forget that twenty-two months in war are a short time for a great nation to arm and prepare the munitions of war. They forget that it required four nations, all prepared for war, as long to capture Sevastopol. They forget that our enemies were much better prepared than were we. They were united in pro-slavery sentiment, and had resolved upon their course. They had managed, moreover, to get possession of our munitions of war before we knew there was a war at hand. It was their plan to surprise us, take our Capital, divide the North, and make all things subject to their rebellious purposes. But surprised and unprepared as we were, we have defended our Capital and guarded a long line of defences with almost uniform success; we have created a navy and blockaded thousands of miles of sea-coast; we have made a lodgement of forces in every state of a vast empire. In all this we have scarcely touched our resources, while the rebels are already driven to straits. Besides, by means of their slaves, their white population, almost without exception, was able to take up arms without withdrawing anything from their ordinary industrial forces. In fact, as considered with other great wars, we have hardly got ready for a serious effort in suppressing the rebellion, and we could not till the moral revolution had taken place, a thing far more marvellous than all we have done in the way of raising an army and navy.

The North was not, like the South, a unit in opinion upon slavery. Many of our people were as thoroughly pro-slavery as any at the South. There was a negative form of anti-slavery, but very little of the positive form. Even the church, with the exception of some of the smaller sects, had pretty generally surrendered to the pro-slavery sentiment of the nation. The

army and navy were very hostile to everything of an anti-slavery tendency. But now nearly all is reversed. By Congressional act, over three thousand slaves have been emancipated in Columbia, and that district made forever free. In Missouri and Western Virginia a similar revolution has taken place. When in the world has anything like this come to pass before? By this moral revolution we are now ready to add to our physical forces just that preponderance of power which is sure to lead to ultimate victory.

Our people are too easily discouraged by reverses. They are too easily discouraged because we do not, in a single year, close one of the greatest wars that ever afflicted this earth. They do not enough consider the advantages which the war has already brought to the nation in the way of ennobling it. Painful as this war is, would it not be more painful to see patriotism and piety surrender to slavery, and say to that monstrous system of iniquity, Be our god, and let us follow in thy train.

Instead of being discouraged, let us rejoice that in the ways of Providence a day has come, in which we can push forward the great truths of human rights and true religion. In the few months of the war, more has been brought to pass in the way of getting great truths into the minds of men upon the true brotherhood of the race, and the fatherhood of God, than in twenty or thirty years preceding the war. The pulpit, press, and rostrum should do their utmost to keep up the spirits of the people. The sinking of their courage is the only thing that can by possibility lead to ultimate failure.

Every true Freewill Baptist should be very active in sustaining the right tone of public opinion. We should remember that this great system of oppression which is now to come to an end has excluded our denomination from every slave state since the year 1839. We could preach what we believe to be the full gospel among the most distant heathens, or among the civilized nations of Europe. But in our own beloved land, only at the peril of life, could we preach in those sections cursed by slavery. Not one church could we plant in all those regions. We have hardly offered prayer as members of the

denomination in public, in family, or in secret, without asking God to overthrow the vile system which thus excluded our preaching from all the slave states. He is beginning to answer; and shall we, when He is so graciously answering, now begin to doubt and draw back from prayer? Ten or twenty years, even, of such war as this, is not to be spoken of as an evil in comparison with the accursed system that dooms to slavery a race for many generations. Now is the time to gird up our loins in mighty prayer. We can never give our sons and brothers at a better time for the spread of the gospel than in this great struggle. Defeat now leaves scarcely anything worth living for, perhaps, for a whole generation. As there is every indication the war will do its work thoroughly, let us not complain of its length till it is longer than was the revolution. If this war is a failure, remember, the revolution and all our past wars and triumphs are a complete failure also. In times of darkness, it is our duty, as Christians, to trust and to teach others to trust in that God who doeth all things well, and will at length appear for our deliverance.

It is a glorious day we have been permitted to see. Hitherto, since the breaking out of this war, we have been compelled to walk by faith almost altogether. But since the glorious proclamation, we can almost walk by sight. In other words, we may say, we are drawing so near to the end of the long anti-slavery race, that we can catch glimpses of the prize. What a glorious day is this, as compared with that in which pro-slavery mobs were burning buildings, killing such men as Lovejoy, and holding their terror over every pulpit that dared to lift up the voice of prayer for the dumb. He who pens these lines remembers some humble services in the holy cause, when it was respectable for the most respectable men of the community to turn out as a mob to silence him, if possible, from pleading for the dumb. Is it not enough to be permitted to live to see a time like this? What is the life worth that is not ready to be offered in sacrifice for the freedom of a continent? If this proclamation speaks in terms of emancipating only blacks, remember that it means the whites also. Preachers are also to be emancipated. Church members are to be emancipated.

Rulers are to be emancipated. Voters are to be emancipated. Slavery enslaves all.

Only one great hinderance to religion and true civilization in this great Union, and that great hinderance in ten states is now declared to be an outlaw by the highest authority of the land. When that law is executed, think of the pleasure of preaching the whole gospel in South Carolina and Georgia. It is as if a great empire were for the first opened for the gospel. Yea, it is like the return of missionaries to Madagascar, or some other savage land, from which they have been compelled to flee by persecution. The church and the school-house will take the place of the market for human chattels, and of the slave-quarters. The white men and the black men both will be able to read. The ignorance by which the mania of secession was enabled to spread over all the South land will be expelled. Nor is the South alone to receive blessings. The religion of the North will be of manlier type than that which we have been accustomed to see cringing at the feet of slaveholders. Infidelity will have one of its chief props taken away, the great inconsistency of the professed Christian church sustaining that system which is "the sum of all villanies." The Sandwich Islanders will need no more to tax their benevolence to send us anti-slavery tracts. Our missionaries abroad to enlighten heathen will no more need to divide their sympathy between the heathen abroad and those at home. When we speak of oppressions abroad, we shall no longer be compelled to blush for more degrading oppressions at home. America can be indeed the joy of the whole earth, the light of all lands.

Nor are we to be disappointed in all this. Already a great moral principle, publicly espoused, begins to ennoble this war. The soldier is readier to die, now that he sees he is not to die in vain. The proclamation begins already to give the real lovers of the country new hope. The preacher and the private Christian, in those days before the proclamation appeared, were in great doubt how to pray. Now both ask God's blessings without stint upon the national arms; both feel no hesitation in pleading with God to send disaster and confusion upon the rebels who now are no more manifestly fighting for slavery

than our men are for freedom. Soon we shall hear that the proclamation has a similar effect upon Christians abroad. It will no longer be asked what the war is about in America. The operative who is suffering from hunger will bear his misfortunes with a lighter heart when he learns that his sufferings tell so much toward the freedom of the slave. All these influences will soon cause a moral rebuke from the whole world to fall upon the rebels and their cause, which hitherto they have managed to bear by giving over a generous share to us, which they will not now be able to do.

The darkest time, says the adage, is just before day. It is now the time of desperation with the rebels. It is their last chance. The preliminary proclamation and the President's annual message told sadly against their cause in Europe. We are at our weakest point. Just giving up an old policy, we have not yet been able to get thoroughly at work with the new. But the temporary successes of the rebels, and the baffling of our arms for a season, will have the effect to plant our forces thoroughly upon the great principles of the proclamation. We shall not fear after every little success of our arms that some slimy compromise is to preserve slavery alive. The great forces of freedom and of slavery have at last met in mortal combat. The issue cannot be doubtful. Let us pray, work and wait with faith and patience. The glad day is coming to bless this land, and if we do not live to see it, let us part with life in the happy consciousness that we have done what we could to bless those who are to come after us.

ART. VI.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN CHURCH, with an Introduction of the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur Penshyn Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. [Published by arrangement with the Author.]

We do not often take up a book with so much anticipation of pleasure and profit as we did this. We have not been disappointed in those respects, though we have found the book quite a different one from what we expected. The early history of the Eastern church is delineated with greater particularity than we supposed. The description of the Council of Nice is rarely equalled by anything in ecclesiastical history. The characters and the scene are reproduced with rare skill and power. So, too, the connection between the Eastern church and the present Russian church is clearly traced, and the characteristics of the latter so delineated that the reader at once recognizes the special relationship between the two. The reader will, however, be a little disappointed in the historical part pertaining to the Russian church; but the author's skill in biographical delineations keeps up the interest to the end of the volume. His chapters on Constantine and Athanasius, on the Patriarch and Peter the Great, are excellent specimens of biography. The author's space, however, is rather too narrow for so extended biographies, without encroaching somewhat upon the interests of the history.

We do not remember of meeting a more interesting view of Mahometanism than is contained in this volume, and the interest is the greater that the subject is viewed in its relations to ecclesiastical history.

For many centuries the Western or Catholic church was a great political power as well as ecclesiastical. The Eastern church, the rival of the former, almost disappeared from the world. But now the Western church is daily sinking into insignificance as a political power, and its old rival has appeared as a conspicuous and mighty character, closely wedded to one of the mightiest nations of Europe.

In the slight notices taken of the Dissenters of Russia, one cannot but fear that we get but one side of the facts, either owing to the want of more extensive information, or from the author's prejudices, growing out of his personal relation to a State church. For instance, we know how unjustly some writers propose to reduce the baptismal question to one of mere quantity of water. We will, however, cite two or three interesting paragraphs:

“And what are the grounds of this Eastern non-conformity! They are grounds which all Western churches would do well to hear,—Rome or Geneva, England or Scotland, Conformist or Non-conformist, Free Church or Established Church,—grounds almost equally instructive, whether we recognize in them our own likeness or our own antipodes. It was deemed a mortal sin in the established clergy, that they gave the benediction with three fingers instead of two. Ecclesiastical history was ingeniously pressed into the service, and the true cause of the separation of the Latin from the Eastern church was

alleged to have been, that Pope Formosus had introduced into the world the impious and heretical doctrine of the three fingers; in consequence of which he had been condemned as a heretic, his body disinterred after death, and the offending fingers cut off by his more orthodox successor. Their form of the cross has three transverse beams instead of the Greek two or the Latin one. It was a mortal sin to say the name of Jesus in two syllables instead of three, or to repeat the hallelujah thrice instead of once. The course of the sun pointed out beyond doubt that all processions are to go from left to right, and not from right to left. It was an innovation of the most alarming kind to read or write a word of modern Russ, to use the service books of which the errors have been corrected by collation with the original copies, or to use the revision by which the authorized version has been purified from the mistakes produced through time or ignorance. It was an act of unpardonable rashness to erase the word 'holy,' which had thus crept into the clause of the Nicene Creed, which speaks of the Giver of Life, or the interpolations which caused them to speak in their baptismal service of 'one baptism by fire for the remission of sins.' In defence of this corruption of the text, whole villages of these 'Fire-Baptists' have been known to commit themselves to the flames. It is probably (with the exception of the somewhat similar foundation of the practice of Suttee in India) the most signal instance of martyrdom in the cause, not even of a corrupt practice or a corrupt doctrine, but of a corrupt reading.

"These were the main charges against Nikon. There were others still greater against Peter. It was a mortal sin to introduce into the churches pictures by the Western artists. All that Raphael or Correggio ever painted are an abomination in the eyes of an ancient Russ. It is a mortal sin to hear the services chanted in the sweet notes which were brought by Nikon from Greece, improved by Peter from Germany, perfected by Catharine II. from Italy. It is a departure from every sound principle of Church and State to smoke tobacco. The ancient Czars and Patriarchs had forbidden it, under pain of tearing out the offending nostrils. Peter, for that very reason, and for commercial reasons also, tried to force the abhorrent article on the non-reluctive nation, and asked whether the smoking of tobacco was more wicked than the drinking of brandy. 'Yes,' was the deliberate answer, reaching perhaps the highest point of misquotation that the annals of theological perverseness present; 'for it has been said that "not that which goeth into a man, but that which cometh out of a man, defileth him."'

"It is, or was till very recently, a mark of heresy to eat the new unheard-of food of the potato, for that accursed 'apple of the earth' is the very apple of the Devil, which was the forbidden fruit of Paradise."

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, and of the Early Literature it Embodies. By George P. Marsh, Author of Lectures on the English Language, etc., etc. New York: Charles Scribner, 1862.

These lectures were originally delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston, in the autumn and winter of 1860-61. The former work on the English Language, by the same author, gained him a European reputation which this volume, we think, will fully sustain.

After his introductory chapter, the titles of the lectures are as follows, in their order: Origin and Composition of the Anglo-Saxon People and their Language; Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary, Literature and Grammar; Semi-Saxon Literature; English Language and Literature of the First Period, from the middle of the Thirteenth to the middle of the Fourteenth Century; Commencement of the Second Period, from 1350 to the time of the author of Piers

Ploughman; The Author of Piers Ploughman and his Imitators; Wycliffe and his School; Chaucer and Gower; The English Language and Literature from the beginning of the Fifteenth Century to the time of Caxton; The English Language and Literature to the Accession of Elizabeth; The English Language and Literature during the Reign of Elizabeth.

There is great promise that the works of Mr. Marsh will turn the attention of many students to the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and continually bring into new use words which will both enrich the ordinary vocabulary and preserve the strength of our language. The study of the Anglo-Saxon will add, no doubt, to the grammatical knowledge of our language. We give the reader one paragraph from this interesting work :

“Although, as I have remarked, Anglo-Saxon words not apparently of Gothic origin are not freely used as material for derivation and composition, the indigenous roots, on the other hand, exhibit a remarkable plasticity in the way of derivative formation, and a great aptitude for organic combination. Turner well illustrates this property of Anglo-Saxon by tables of primitives with their secondary forms, and he enumerates more than twenty derivatives from the noun *HYGE* (or *hige*), which signifies both mind and thought, that is, intellect quiescent and intellect in action. Among these are verbs, secondary nouns, adjectives and adverbs, which, by various modifications, express not only mental states and mental acts, but a variety of moral emotions and affections. From *MOD*, mind, temper, and *GETHANK*, a word of allied original meaning, are given an equal number of derivatives; so that from these roots we have, by the aid of significant terminations and a few subordinate compound elements, not less than sixty words expressive of intellectual and moral conceptions. There are, besides these, a great number of other words almost equally fertile belonging to the same department of the vocabulary, and hence it will be obvious that its power of expression on moral and intellectual subjects must have been very considerable. Indeed, it would be difficult to find, in any language, a term indicative of moral state or emotion, or of intellectual action or perception, excepting, of course, the artificial terms belonging to the technical dialect of metaphysics, which is not at least approximately represented in the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary.”

THE AMERICAN ANNUAL CYCLOPEDIA and Register of Important Events of the year 1861. Embracing Political, Civil, Military and Social Affairs; Public Documents, Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture and Mechanical Industry. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862.

This Annual is to be, in effect, the continuation of the New American Cyclopædia, as an annual supplement. The subsequent volumes are to be published each successive year, about March.

The present volume is very naturally devoted largely to the war. “Whether constitutional liberty,” says the preface, “can survive the violence of human passions; whether institutions organized to preserve and protect the rights of men, and which depend for their existence upon the will and pleasure of those whom they control, can withstand the shock of military power, are questions in which the welfare of all is at issue. The conflict, therefore, in the United States,—embracing the political principles involved with the arguments of their respective advocates and opponents; the movements of the leaders of secession, from their first acts to the close of the year, including their proceedings step by step, in each of the Southern States, until

they had resolved themselves out of the Union, and their subsequent efforts ; the organization of the Confederate States ; the principles upon which the organization was founded ; the civil and commercial regulations of the Confederacy ; the movements of its government to fill its treasury, organize and equip vast armies ; the counteracting movements of the United States ; the organization of its armies, with the details of the weapons for the infantry and artillery, and for the batteries of the ships and gunboats ; together with all the original documents, from the Messages of the respective Presidents ; the instructions of Cabinet officers ; the Messages and Proclamations of Governors ; the important acts of the United States and Confederate Congresses ; the acts and resolutions of State Legislatures ; the proclamations and orders of commanding officers ; the contributions of men and money from each State, North and South ; the details of every battle and skirmish involving a loss of life,—form an important part of this volume.”

It is believed that no important public document in this immense field has been omitted. Here you find the copy of the Confederate Constitution boldly setting forth negro slavery as the foundation of the new empire, and the bold proclamation that the accursed system keeps equal pace with the Confederate flag if it shall unfortunately go into any new territory ; here, on the other hand, you find the timid, hesitating messages and proclamations to the effect that slavery shall not be hurt if the rebels will but stop somewhere before the overthrow of slavery is absolutely necessary to the preservation of the life of the nation. It is certain that the rebel documents breathe the spirit without concealment, without compromise. The world can never lay to their charge that they have concealed the object of their rebellion.

Though the Annual is in effect the continuation of the Cyclopædia, it is in itself complete and independent, and is sold by itself. The subjects are alphabetically arranged, and the index is ample and minute. The work is an honor to the publishers and a blessing to the world.

AN ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By G. P. Quackenboss, A. M., “Principal of the Collegiate School,” N. Y., Author of “First Lessons in Composition,” &c., &c. D. Appleton & Co. New York : 1862.

It is claimed for this new book that it will work well in the class-room ; that it classifies words as parts of speech exclusively according to their uses, thus doing away with arbitrary distinctions ; that it is superior to its predecessors in arrangement and analysis ; that it explains perplexing constructions ; and that it puts forth original and important hints that greatly facilitate the mastery of the subject. We could not concede, without qualification, all these claims, still, we have examined it sufficiently to satisfy ourselves that it is decidedly in advance of any other grammar which we have seen within so small a compass.

LOUISE JULIANE, ELECTRESS PALATINE and her Times. By Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett. New York : Robert Carter & Brothers. 1862.

This is a volume of peculiar interest in these times. The history of the wars for religious freedom after the great Reformation in Europe is most in-

structive and encouraging to a people engaged in such a conflict as that upon us. We feel that a war of the present magnitude ought to be completed in a few months; that every person holding official position should show himself patriotic and capable. But an acquaintance with the history of the times just mentioned shows us that inefficiency, corruption, half-heartedness, betrayals, unnecessary discomfitures and delays, are not for the first found in our nation. The light of history shows that it is more likely the war may continue many years, than that a few months will end it.

The character introduced to us in the biographical portion of this volume is one of the most admirable. The princess of the house that gives to England the best monarch of our times, if not of all times, had the saddest of experiences in temporal affairs; but the genuine Christian life in her made it manifest to all that she was of a kingdom that cannot be shaken even when all earthly kingdoms pass away.

We assure the reader that he has a rare treat before him if he has yet to read this book.

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. By Alexis DeTocqueville. Translated by Henry Reeve, Esq. Edited, with Notes, the Translation Revised, and, in great part, re-written, and the additions made to the recent Paris Editions, now first translated, by FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard University. In two volumes. (12mo., pp. 559, 499.) Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1863.

The work of DeTocqueville, has been, by general consent, assigned the first rank among all the expositions of the civil polity and the social life and manners of the United States. A tried friend of Democracy, even where popular government had proved a failure, and monarchy had the prestige of time and triumph, he came to this country to study its institutions in the spirit of earnest inquiry and manly candor, determined to learn the facts instead of bolstering up his theories, and to act the philosopher instead of playing the partisan. One can hardly fail of surprise in discovering how abundant and varied was the information which he gathered, while his use of the materials becomes a still more decisive proof of his rare ability and adaptation to the work which he undertook. There are, as might be supposed, inaccuracies in some of his detailed statements, some of his inferences are based on a partial view of the facts, and are hence untrustworthy, and a few of his generalizations are hasty and unguarded. But he discovers a wondrous clearness of vision, seldom fails to detect the law underlying the phenomena which confuse other minds, apprehends the antagonistic tendencies which operate in the same sphere, points out the coaction and counteraction of forces with care and skill, exposes the dangers which lurk among the most active elements of our prosperity, defends what has been unjustly attacked, tells us of the faults and warns us of the dangers which we are slowest to confess and most reluctant to see, and analyzes our whole life with a thoroughness only equalled by the admirable manner in which he describes it. He blends the vivacity of his own nation with the thoroughness and patience of his German neighbors. He is too candid to awaken prejudice, too able to allow distrust, too appreciative to be

refused a hearing, too frank and faithful to be rejected, even when exposing our faults.

Our present experiences are disposing not a few thoughtful men to study our civil polity, in order to discover whether it is inherently defective and weak, and to find, if possible, how it may be hereafter saved from such a peril as now threatens its existence. The careful study of these volumes could never be of greater service to us than now, and a general demand for them would be one of the most promising symptoms in our body politic.

This edition, issued by Messrs. Sever & Francis, distances by far all its predecessors in this country. The translation has been thoroughly revised, and much of it re-written, by Prof. Bowen, whose labor has been large, and whose eminent fitness for the task is beyond all question; considerable new matter has been added in the Appendix, and valuable foot-notes are scattered through the work; while the mechanical features of the volumes are such as to leave nothing to be desired. No specimens of book-making have appeared on either side of the ocean more nearly faultless than this.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION. By Augustine Cochin, Ex-Maire and Municipal Councillor of Paris. Translated by Mary L. Booth, Translator of Count De Gasparin's Works on America, etc. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1863. 12mo., pp. 412.

Nothing could well be more opportune than the issue of this work at this time, in view of the bearing which its facts have upon the work to which this nation is committed in the recent Emancipation Proclamation of the President; and it is difficult to perceive how so much carefully collected, authoritative, detailed, varied and classified testimony could have been brought together in a single volume, or issue from a more significant source, or be presented in a more lucid and attractive way. The entire history, and the practical working of emancipation, especially in the French and English colonies, are here given on the authority of official documents;—not at all in the form of hasty grouping and superficial generalization; but each colony is considered by itself, all its peculiarities are noted, and the specific methods and experiences in each case are carefully, faithfully and impartially set forth. The author, in his introduction, says:

“It seems as though each colony had received the mission of representing a distinct experience. We shall see in the investigation which is outlined in this book, the success of emancipation depends,—in Antigua, on religious education; in Barbadoes, on the numbers of the population; in Martinico on the intelligent activity of the colonists; in St. Thomas, on commercial freedom; in the Isle of Bourbon, on the precautions taken from the beginning to maintain labor; in English Guiana on the progress of small estates; in Mauritius, on the facility of procuring laborers. We shall see, on the contrary, long sufferings caused in Gandaloupe by political disturbances; in Jamaica, by the ill-will of the former masters; in French Guiana, by the scarcity of capital, and the insufficiency of population on a vast territory.”

It is easy to see that the plan of the author is a broad one, and the work undertaken laborious; but it is not too much to say that the book does yield to the student all that is here indicated. The fact that the French

Academy awarded the author the sum of 3000 francs as a prize for the essay, shows the estimate put upon the work at home ; and no careful reader will wonder at the testimonial. It will be studied by our American statesmen, who will find in it the evidence that emancipation, even under great disadvantages, has been both a pecuniary and a moral success ; and they may also learn how to make our own work of enfranchisement a large and sure and speedy triumph. The volume ought to end at once all the vapid declamation about the folly and the horrors of giving freedom to the slave, and set the nation earnestly at work to turn our year of emancipation into a true year of Jubilee. It will and must supersede all other works on the same subject, and he who has mastered this treatise, will hardly need to study farther. We omit all quotations of its accumulated facts and figures, both because it would be difficult to find a stopping-place, and because it is better to let the book speak for itself when it may have opportunity to tell its own and its whole story.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD IRVING, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. Oliphant. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1862. 8vo., pp. 627.

Excepting Carlyle's characteristic monograph, no writer had attempted to tell the life-story and paint the true and full-length portrait of Edward Irving, till Mrs. Oliphant, nearly thirty years after he had been laid in the grave, came forward, fearless and without apology, to call the world's attention to one whom men had wondered at, studied over, and dismissed as an enigma, pronouncing him " true friend and tender heart—martyr and saint." She is full of true veneration for her subject, and portraiture seems to her synonymous with defence, and description is always tinged with praise. She makes his face magnificent, which the engraver sets before us as exceedingly homely, and his form is full of stateliness to her eye, though the picture represents him as overgrown upward. She not only defends him in the matter of the " gift of tongues" with which he is so prominently identified, but she sees the martyr's fidelity and the prophet's garment amid the excesses at Regent Square.

And yet we should be sorry to give the impression that Mrs. O. is a mere fulsome panegyrist, choosing for her subject a man wanting in nobility and worth. Irving had many and rare elements of greatness, and was harably judged by not a few who could not appreciate his real excellences, and forsaken and sneered at by many who would have honored themselves by stooping to loosen the latchet of his shoes. And this biography is written with ability, discrimination, taste, skill, fervor and eloquence. Indeed, no volume of its class has fallen into our hands for many a day more crowded with interest, or combining more happily so many merits of the first order. It furnishes the amplest means of knowing Irving thoroughly, and of judging of his abilities, experiences and character ; and though all readers may not accept Mrs. Oliphant's inferences and estimates, they can hardly help thanking her for her eminently readable, instructive and eloquent book.

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ARTICLE I.—THE AGE OF LEO X. IN CHURCH
HISTORY.

In the month of March, 1513, the Cardinal Giovanni de Medici, assuming the name of Leo X., was inducted, with pompous ceremonies, into the Papal chair as the chief of religion and representative of St. Peter at Rome. The Papal See was then at its height of power and grandeur. Though possessed of little territory under its immediate rule, its authority, with various degrees of deference, was acknowledged in the most potent kingdoms of Europe.

Under the warlike Julius II., predecessor of Leo X., the petty tyrants in the neighborhood of Rome, who had opposed its schemes, were exterminated, and all the states claimed by the church were subjected to its power. At first patronized by barbarian chiefs and by Christian princes, it came gradually to assert its right to dispose of the kingdoms of the earth at will,—a right more fully recognized in the tenth century than at the opening of the sixteenth. New discoveries on the Western continent furnished valuable occasions for extending its credit and influence. The maledictions of the Vatican possessed, for the ignorant and superstitious masses, greater terror than the anger of Francis or the petulance of Henry, and its decisions were more weighty than the edicts of princes. The

revenue of the church, though largely curtailed by a growing jealousy of the influence of the pontiffs, was yet immense. England was still to the Popes their "garden of delight," supplying their treasury more liberally than any other kingdom; while all middle and Western Europe was laid under oppressive contributions to meet their lavish expenditures. The legates of the church were regarded with marked consideration in the courts to which they were despatched. The great councils, so much feared by the Popes, and which never sat without abridging some of their privileges, were at an end. All outward commotion was stilled, and the quiet was deemed the harbinger of lasting peace at Rome; but it was the startling stillness which precedes the fearful avalanche. Men who were watching the signs of the times with an eye kindled by truth, trembled at thought of the crash that must come. One faith, scarcely questioned in any quarter, bound the nations with its blighting power.

Such were the external prospects of the church at the beginning of the pontificate of Leo X. The exultation of all classes ensuing his elevation, was more general and unrostrated, because his mild disposition presaged a reign of peace, and his well known patronage of letters gave promise of still greater benefactions and encouragement to the scholar. An almost constant activity in arms had given Julius II. little leisure or relish for literary pursuits. His statue at Rome represented him with a sword in his hand, according to his own direction. Under the profligate Alexander VI., literature had also suffered neglect, so that for the twenty years preceding the election of Leo, it had made little progress. The name of the Medicis is inseparably connected with the introduction and advancement of polite literature and the arts in Italy. Under the auspices of Cosmo de Medici, to whom a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often brought in the same vessel, and by the munificence of Lorenzo de Medici, the father of Leo X., Italy had become truly "the garden of literature." Such important services were remembered with gratitude by the college of cardinals to which was assigned the election of a successor to Julius, and contributed in no small degree to the choice of Leo.

Nor were the hopes entertained respecting his future course destined to disappointment. At the outset it was marked by great liberality in forgiving past offences, and by largesses for men of letters. The study of Greek received a new impulse from his encouragement; while to the indefatigable, elegant and correct Aldo Minutius at Venice, who offered a piece of gold for every error pointed out in his printed pages, was entrusted the publication of ancient Greek and Roman authors. A Greek press was also established at Rome, from which, editions of Pindar, Sophocles, Plato and Aristotle were rapidly issued. Men were made archbishops because of their eminent services in literature. Scholars were invited from the East to introduce the study of the Oriental languages. The Hebrew was publicly taught in Rome; and the Chaldaic, Syrian and Armenian literatures were made to yield delight to the scholar, and contribute to greater refinement of taste. It was no longer intimated in Rome that Greek was the snare of the Devil, nor that if one should study Hebrew he would immediately become a Jew.

Researches for antique vases, statues and gems were enthusiastically promoted. To be the producer of a genuine specimen of antiquity was to secure a competence for life. Whatever of such treasures were desirable were bought by Leo, and paid for from the church revenues.

The church, fearing at first the introduction of learning, had turned, after a time, all its streams to her own aggrandizement, and became its chief patron; and its language was no longer hostile with the severe sarcasm of Petrarch or of Dante, its early vigor was withdrawn by the influence of papal gold. "No storm nor any cloud arose in Italy to obscure the rising sun of her classical literature," and now, at the opening of the sixteenth century, it shone with a splendor surpassing that of every other period. The choicest efforts of the chisel, the pen, and the pencil made the age of Leo the golden age of art. When Lionardo da Vinci threw the freshness and force of his youthful genius into the scene of the last supper; Michael Angelo purchased immortal fame by his masterpieces of sculpture and painting, and Raffæle gave the world the renowned fres-

coes of the vatican, the cartoons and the transfiguration. Engraving on copper was then invented, and supplied an important branch of industry to the artizan. Musical composition and performances were the objects of patient study, since distinguished composers and performers were rewarded with great liberality,—to some, even bishoprics were presented.

The efforts of Leo were also directed to the political aggrandizement of Rome. The presence of the French in the North of Italy, and of the Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples, endangered the liberties of central Italy, and weakened the authority of the church. Leo, with a far different spirit from that of the modern hero of Italian liberty, sought an united Italy, that, the influence of Rome being acknowledged in all its states, the voice of the pontiff might become more authoritative in the temporal and spiritual diplomacy of the church. To accomplish this, he endeavored to turn these powerful adversaries against each other, hoping to profit by any advantages which their fear or defeat might afford. He endeavored to unite the arms of Christendom in a crusade against the Turk, but the jealousies of Christian monarchs prevailed over the entreaties of the Pope and their fears of the aggressive Ottoman.

As the patron of literature, Leo was an example of culture, and its chief promoter. He ardently desired the peace of the church, and endeavored to harmonize the princes in its communion. His character is entitled to admiration, chiefly and almost solely because of his important encouragement of letters and the arts. Though by far superior in virtue to an Alexander VI., though less warlike and unscrupulous than a Julius II., yet he was in no way fitted to be the vicar of Christ on earth. Desirous of freeing Italy of invaders, he became, in his encroachments upon the neighboring states, the destroyer of their privileges. To accomplish his ends, he did not scruple to resort to treachery and blood. He was more zealous for the interests of his family than for those of the Papal See. An excessive love of display, a voluptuous indolence, and an almost total want of religious principle, united to unfit him for his high office. Proficient in profane literature, rejoicing in the verse of Homer, imparting his own enthusiasm to the multitude of

scholars dependent upon his bounty, there was no love for true religion in his heart, no zeal in bringing the Holy Word to light, or in promoting its study. He was far-seeing in politics, his judgment in letters and in questions of art was unquestionable; but to an unenlightened heart the reformation was in no way rightly comprehended, nor was it understood as an inevitable reaction from Romish corruption and superstition. His apparent leniency toward the Reformation is to be attributed to the natural indolence of his disposition, and to the fear with which the proportions and weight of the movement inspired him. Temporal power was a shield for it, not to be menaced, but courted.

His sympathies were humane. His interposition in regard to slavery is the most striking illustration of this statement, and one which awakens our gratitude. Urged by lust for gain, the settlers in the Spanish dominions in America, seized upon the natives and distributed them as slaves proportionately among the different families of the settlements. The Dominican monks opposed so infamous a practice, but the Franciscans, without attempting to justify such a course, favored it. The matter was finally referred to the Pontiff, who declared that not only religion, but nature itself, cried out against slavery.

After a short illness, cheered by scarcely a friend from among all those whom he had benefited, unattended by any of rank or power, Leo died, after a pontificate of eight years and eight months, in December, 1521. The head of a powerful hierarchy, he had all its resources at his command for untold good, but he chose to turn them to the service of this world. He died without the administration of the sacrament,—a fact which fittingly represents his disregard for all religion. His influence was transitory, his power of short duration. At his consecration as Pontiff, the master of ceremonies held in each hand a reed; at the top of one was a lighted candle, on the other was fastened a bunch of tow; he then, kneeling before the new Pope, set fire to the tow, at the same time repeating, "*Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi.*" In regarding the magnificence of his reign, the desertion and loneliness of his

last illness, the results of his life, we may take up the refrain, "Thus vanishes the glory of the world," while we more gladly pass to consider the enduring work of God.

The religion of this period was fearfully alienated from the religion of Christ. Errors and weaknesses, witnessed and condemned by the primitive disciples, had now assumed gigantic proportions, and appeared under many new forms. There is no sadder page in history than that which portrays the state of society in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was that of debased ignorance and blindest superstition among all classes. Implicit obedience was paid the officers of the church, whose acts were characterized by the most fearful crimes and unblushing debauchery. A few gleams of light burst forth in the centuries intervening between these centuries and the Reformation. There were individuals who maintained in secret the purity of their faith. Now and then a faithful pastor might be found who would look with pity upon his flock, torn by the wolves of Rome. Now and then some brave spirit would arise to strike with sturdy blows at the prevailing customs and corruptions, till the gripe of the inquisition laid his arm low in death. Thomas Rhedon, a friar, yearning for more light for his darkened soul, hoped to find Rome a fountain of spiritual refreshment. He set out thither, he tells us, "for the purpose of having his spiritual understanding improved, but found it a den of thieves." He returned heart-sick, and more distressed than before, prophesied against Babylon, and was burned four years afterward, in 1436.

In the secluded valleys of Piedmont, the gospel had been cherished with considerable purity from the earliest ages of the Christian church; nor had the true light faded from the hearts of the Waldenses and the Albigenses, as they knelt before God in their mountain fastnesses. They suffered severe persecution; but persecution and consequent dispersion spread the truth which their enemies would extirpate. Wickliffe, who flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century, was the faithful apostle of evangelical religion in England, and prepared the way, by his Bible translations, for the Reformation of near-

ly two centuries later. John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were the firm adherents of a living faith, and sealed their lives with martyrdom in Central Europe.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the church was full of corruptions in doctrine and life. The name of Christ, though everywhere professed, was almost totally unknown in heart. Under pretence of bearing his poverty, the Franciscans had become rich and powerful. Dominic had long before instituted that system of mechanical devotion which was at its height at the beginning of that century. Pater Nosters were counted by the studs of the belt, and the repetition of senseless forms took the place of recitals of the Psalms. Amid the multitude and burden of religious observances, the priests came and offered to alleviate the distresses which they caused, saying to the people, "you have not time nor strength to endure them; nor is it necessary that you should do so; what is more fitting than that those consecrated to the work of mediation should be your servants and bear your burdens; let us then perform for you such duties, for which it is right that you should pay us certain sums of money." So for a fast a sum was demanded, according to the supposed pecuniary ability of the suppliant. Christ, it was taught, shed more blood than was necessary for the salvation of the world, as one drop must be all-availing. The excess, therefore, formed a treasury from which the church might for all time draw for its purgation; moreover, to this treasury great additions had been made from time to time by the superabundant merits of the saints. Certain individuals were supposed, even by their contemporaries, to have made attainments in piety beyond what was required of them.

Purgatory was invented that the long penances,—too long for expiation here,—might be sure to have completion there, or from which the soul might be released by virtue of the prayers, or more especially by the liberal donations of friends. Then there was the sale of indulgencies, forming an important source of church revenue. By donations to Rome, the souls of the departed might be rescued from eternal torments; and who could refuse to pay freely for such a result? "As soon," said the infamous Tetzl, "as the money tinkles in the chest of de-

posit, the soul of your friend rises up from Purgatory." The cries and groans of those who had wandered through towns and cities, scourging themselves at every step, were, by this easier doctrine, silenced;—merit could be obtained thenceforth by an easier and more agreeable way. The Bible had been printed in Latin at Venice and at Rome, but Latin was a sealed language to the masses, and the treasury of truth was hidden from them. The gospels were translated into verse in imitation of Virgil's *Æneiad*, to please the tastes of the learned. Christ was alluded to under the expression, "Minerva sprang from the brow of Jupiter." He was depicted as the jealous guardian of the interests of the Pope, and his profligate minions, ready to wreak vengeance on all who should dare refuse their offices or oppose their demands. Religious teaching was abandoned by the bishops for rites and processions, full of display. A swinish sensualism reigned in convent and monastery, and spread its infection through society. Virtue was nowhere safe or respected. Extortion, deception and lust were familiar to the priesthood.

In the first century Stephen called upon the Lord Jesus Christ in the hour of death; the monk of the sixteenth century, when dying, called upon saints whose lives had been as vile as his own. The people were taught that it was possible to deserve grace by performing certain meritorious acts, or that salvation was of works, not by grace. None, not even members of the church and partakers of its holy communion, were supposed to have been visited by the Holy Spirit. Celibacy was enjoined upon the clergy, and became the source of gross abuses and social evils. Faith was regarded merely as an intellectual process, an assent of the reason. The intolerance which once burned the Jews in their synagogues, still refused them citizenship, and made them the defenceless objects of fraud and avarice.

The Bible and Biblical studies were in disrepute, while Aristotle and Plato were the favorites of the ecclesiastics. All rules, all discipline and teaching, pointed to the Pope, rather than to Christ, to the priests as mediators, rather than to the merits of the Saviour. The intellectual light that shone with such

brilliantly, exposed prevailing errors and vices in the church, but discovered no new and better way. As always, whenever such an exposure is made, accompanied by no emphatic voice for reform, infidelity succeeded, and all religion became the object of ridicule. A Platonic philosophy was invented to check such mockery, but to no avail, for the fire of the "spirit that quickeneth" was lacking.

The ecclesiastical and temporal power of the Popes had suffered considerable diminution in the eyes of Europe long before the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the fifth century, the church attempted the separation of temporal and spiritual authority as a step necessary for its protection from the barbarians, since they were no respecters of princes or kings, while they were overawed by the displays and imposing rites of the church. But both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction were claimed not many centuries after, much to the detriment of the influence of the Holy See. For when temporal princes saw the Pope acting as a temporal prince, and as unscrupulous as themselves, they treated him with no more ceremony than those of their own rank received. In the race for earthly power, the pontiff could hardly hope to keep pace with his neighbors, except by sharp strategy and fraud, but by these his spiritual influence was impaired. The encroachments of Leo, and his crafty policy, called from Maximilian the expression, "This Pope, like the rest, is, in my judgment, a scoundrel. Henceforth I can say that in all my life no Pope has kept faith with me. I hope, if God be willing, that this one will be the last of them." Ferdinand did not hesitate to oppose earthly strategy to the reckless, perjured holy Father. The rebellious and angry Louis XII. threatened the great See with total destruction, and had the audacity to besiege Julius II. in Bologna. The influence of such a spirit of opposition and contempt in court and palace, could not but extend to the people. A spirit of free inquiry sprang up with the introduction of learning, and it acquired a greater power and spread with greater activity upon the invention of printing. Men began earnestly to question the right of Rome to control their reason in matters of faith, or to resort to compulsion in case of difference. Systems formed for the dark ages, practi-

ces confirmed by time, were at length seriously and determinedly examined. Many were eager to throw off the yoke forever that bound them to a blind, unreasoning hierarchy. Politically, the Papal See was everywhere despised, for no other power in Europe showed so many and so great proofs of imbecility.

This freedom of inquiry was most prevalent in Germany, where intellectual light had been made to minister in holy things for the soul, rather than, as in Italy, to a mere literary curiosity. Many noble minds were there wrestling for peace, and awaiting the dawn of a reformation. Frederick the wise, elector of Saxony, was, for years before the preaching of Luther, being fitted, by the teaching of the Spirit, to be the firm friend of a life-giving faith; Staupitz, the Vicar General, was at the same time receiving that spiritual discernment which should enable him to administer consolation to the tried inquirer of Erfurt. In 1513 Reuchlin gained an important victory over the Dominicans, who had declared him a heretic and threatened him with the inquisition. At his feet as a scholar sat Melancthon, who drank in much of the liberal, candid spirit of his cousin, and laid the foundation for valuable future service. The soldier, De Hutten, learned at Padua the bestial corruptions of Rome, and soon began to tear away the veil that hid them. Sickengen and Harmut, both knights, Bucer and Œcolampadius, were ready to give welcome aid to him who should appear as their leader.

The history of the towns of Germany before the Reformation bears frequent witness to the strenuous opposition of their inhabitants to the oppressions of the Papacy. The interference of the Pope in their quarrels served only to excite against him their disgust and hatred. The "League of the shoes" was formed but a year before the pontificate of Leo, by the peasantry of the Rhenish provinces, in resistance to the impositions of the clergy.

Upon this field, thus fitted, were the early triumphs of reform to be wrought. The luxurious habits of Leo, excessive munificence in literary directions, large donations to his family, had exhausted in a few years the well-filled treasury left by his predecessor. For the purpose of replenishing it, he had recourse

to the sale of indulgences, under pretence of desiring to complete the church of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. A bull was issued declaring full indulgence to all who should contribute for that most desirable purpose. Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg and elector of Mentz, likewise in want of money, engaged to form these indulgences for the spiritual benefit of Germany. The profligate Tetzal was employed as his agent, whose scandalous traffic, carried on in the most extravagant ways, excited the most reflecting inhabitants against the shameless exactions and pretensions of the church. By these indulgences, all crimes, however enormous, past and future, were forgiven upon payment of money. The frightful tortures of a soul in purgatory, and the great grace and wisdom of the Pope, were depicted in the strongest manner possible. Among other arguments used to excite liberality and pity, Tetzal remarked: "Do you know why our most holy Lord distributes so rich a grace? The dilapidated church of St. Peter and St. Paul is to be restored, so as to be unparalleled in the whole earth. That church contains the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and a vast company of martyrs. Those sacred bodies, owing to the present condition of the edifice, are now, alas, continually trodden, flooded, polluted, dishonored, and rotting in rain and hail. Ah! shall those holy ashes be suffered to remain degraded in the mire?" Upon which the historian of the Reformation remarks: "This description never failed to produce an impression upon many hearers. There was an eager desire to aid poor Leo X., who had not the means of sheltering from the rain the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul."

Some of those who had purchased indulgences went, not long after, to confession at Wittemberg, and declared themselves guilty of heinous crimes. In reply to the exhortation of the confessor, they declared that they had no intention of forsaking their practices. Absolution was refused them, notwithstanding the power of their indulgences. This confessor was Martin Luther, doctor of theology in the University of Wittemberg. Born in the same year with Leo X., his early years were not less distinguished for aptitude in learning. Hardships matured the strength and endurance of the one till he was fitted

to stand as the fearless champion of truth, luxury enervated the other, and made him minister to the corruptions of the church, over which, at the age of thirty-seven years, he was called to preside.

Both at Eisenach and at Erfurt, scenes of his early education, the life of Luther was marked by extreme religious sensitiveness and rigid punctuality. Earnestness in whatever he undertook was a trait even of his youth. At the age of twenty, he found a copy of the Bible in the library, and to his delight found there more Scripture than his books of devotion contained. By frequent recourse to it, the depths of his heart were revealed, but only to quicken conscience and determine him upon a more rigid observance of religious duties, for the purpose of gaining that peace that seemed to flee farther from him the more it was sought. He commenced his studies with a view to the law as a profession, but ardently desiring true holiness, and deeply impressed by the death of a friend, and by an immediate personal danger, he became a monk in the convent at Erfurt just before he had completed his twenty-second year. The convent still found him seeking for justification in himself. To perform religious duties he often went without food or sleep for days together. But the quiet of the cloister did not bring the longed-for peace of soul; he had not yet gained an assurance of pardon, and his fears still overwhelmed him. "I tormented myself to death," he says, "to procure for my troubled heart and agitated conscience peace in the presence of God; but encompassed with thick darkness, I nowhere found peace." The Vicar-general, Staupitz, who had passed through like struggles, and found light, became interested in the now emaciated monk, and, divining the cause of his disconsolate appearance, won his confidence, and bade him, as a requisite for peace, to love Him who first loved us. Filled with new emotions, he had recourse to the Scriptures, lo! they have become filled with new and stronger light. Repentance, bitter before, became sweet and pleasant. Soon after, when prostrated by disease, he found peace through the words of a monk, and believed at last that God had, for Christ's sake, forgiven his sins.

The needed work had now been accomplished in the heart of the reformer. The seed had been thoroughly sown, and the Holy Spirit nourished it daily. The foundation was laid—the superstructure must soon arise. In May, 1507, he was consecrated priest, and in little more than a year was chosen professor of physics and logic in the University of Wittemberg. He was not satisfied with his duties till he was appointed teacher of Biblical Theology, on obtaining, a year afterward, the degree of B. D. His manner of exhibiting the truth, his research in Biblical learning, his earnest manner, so contrasting with the indolent bearing and idle declamation of the monks, attracted crowds to his lectures. A life of activity now opened before him, and his whole nature was invigorated. He knew the vices of the clergy, and was aware how far the life around him was from the noble freedom of the gospel, but he still supposed everything to be holy at Rome. A journey thither in 1510 dispelled such an illusion; his feelings were subjected to many a shock and disappointment before he neared the Papal seat, but these were nothing to the grief and disgust with which he was filled by the indecencies practiced under the very eye of the Pontiff. Rome was revealed in its wretched deformity, and the lesson thus gained will be profitable to the reformer in coming contests with its corruption. He returned, and was soon after made doctor of Theology, when he took this oath: "I swear to defend the truth of the gospel with all my strength."

The fulfilment of that vow will break in upon the quiet life of the faithful pastor and sympathizing guide, for God has chosen him to be his special instrument in a higher work. The sale of indulgences, and the reception which it met at the hands of Luther, brought him into direct contact with Rome. His ninety-five theses, posted on the church door at the feast of all-saints in Wittemberg, was the opening of the contest that was to shake and divide the power of Rome, and bring light from the great darkness. Viewing the authority of the church with respect at the outset, regarding the Pope as sincere but misrepresented by his agents, he was not long in discovering that

the one was the determined enemy of truth, and that the other was the anti-Christ of Scripture.

In the character of Luther, we are perhaps impressed most by his downright earnestness. His sincerity was a powerful persuader with the people. In estimating his character, we are to consider favorably the influence of the times in which he lived, the heats of controversy in which he so often moved, the advantages which his enemies were ready to take of every sign of weakness and every exhibition of ignorance for the purpose of throwing obloquy upon the movements of the reformers. Did he concede a little in the controversy with Henry, he was called timorous; did he zealously oppose his adversaries, he was accused of violence and bitterness. He was not a perfect man; perfection is never an attribute of the leaders of society. Men whose predominant traits are marked and strong to such an extent as to overshadow the milder and more homely virtues, attract and lead society. Erasmus, with his great learning, was a coward, and could therefore be no reformer—when action was most necessary he always failed to act. The well-balanced nature of Melancthon could not have borne the burdens which one, developed excessively in the direction of boldness, even to rashness, easily carried.

While Luther was led, step by step, by a way he knew not, to become the apostle of reform; the same power that fashioned his future prepared other champions and witnesses in neighboring lands. A change gradually came over the thoughtless spirit of Ulric Zwingli. The stern majesty of the mountains in the Tockenburg awed his soul into deep reverence, but a nobler sentiment bowed his soul before Him who, a stronger bulwark, with more awful majesty than the mountains, encampeth round about those who love him. Deep seriousness and a strong purpose attended him as he went forth to encounter prevailing superstition and gross abuses.

The versatile, erudite Erasmus freely and with a strong hand exposed the corruptions of Rome, and, in 1516, he contributed to the spread of light by his *New Testament*, published at Bâle. An overmastering timidity, united with great caution,

prevented him, however, from becoming a leading spirit of the Reformation. Yet his labors were needful and important, as the means of enlightening and encouraging those who would not, like him, shrink in the hour of trial. His talents and mildness influenced many who, when once started aright, would not wait for his later cautious, equivocal policy, and who would despise him as he gradually came to be the peevish opposer of the work he once helped to forward.

From amid Alpine grandeur and solitude, where the Vaudois were hunted by an enraged priesthood till they could be followed no farther, Guillaume Farel was called to walk lovingly and reverently beside the aged Lefevre, to an understanding of the truth, and they became the pioneers of the Reformation in France. Briçonnet was pointed to the Bible, and found peace of soul even amid the dissolute court of Francis I. Then Margaret d' Alençon sang:

“ Though poor, untaught and weak I be,
Yet feel I rich, wise, strong in Thee.”

To Tyndale the most unpromising field was assigned. The intimacy between Rome and England was at this time, under Henry VIII., at its height. “ This connection sustained a peculiarly complicated character at this period. There were the Annates, or first fruits, payable by the Archbishop down to the lowest ecclesiastic, upon election to office,—the appeal to Rome—the Dispensation from it—the Indulgence—the Legantine levy—the Mortuary—the Pardon—the Ethel-wolf pension—the Peter’s pence for every chimney that smoked in England—the Pilgrimage—the Tenth—besides the sale of holy trinkets from Rome. These operated upon the inhabitants with as much regularity as the rising and the setting of the sun. It was a pecuniary connexion of immense power brought to bear upon the general conscience, which knew no pause by day, no pause by night,—falling, as it did, not merely on the living, but on the dying and the dead.”* In the midst of such darkness, illumined nowhere by a gleam that human vision could dis-

* Anderson.

cover, Tyndale endeavored to introduce the light of God's word.

To Lefevre, in France, easier paths seemed to be opening. The opposition of her University to the Pope, the liberality of her scholars, the generosity of her people, seemed to mark her as the chosen theatre for the triumphs of evangelical religion. "But the chariot of France, which for so many generations seemed to be advancing to the right goal, suddenly turned at the moment of the Reformation, and took a contrary direction."

No apostle arose in Italy to stand side by side in the same sacred cause with Luther, Zwingle, Tyndale and Lefevre. There the only spirit that had given promise of a brighter hour had ascended from amid the flames to heaven. Savonarola of Florence was led by the writings of St. Augustine, and by the holy Scriptures, to saving truth. The light shone in the midst of darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. The city of the Medicis, rich and polite Florence, the home of arts and learning, could not bear the mild yet faithful teaching of one who possessed what Grecian learning could never gain. He was burned first outside the walls of the city in 1498, under the charge of disparaging the authority of Rome, and teaching justification by faith.

At the death of Leo, in 1521, the work of Reformation, against which he had fulminated to little purpose, had been fairly in progress for four years, and was fully established. The Reformer, whom he had excommunicated, had become the idol of the people, while Tetzal, cast off by his ungrateful masters, because of his intemperate zeal, had died broken-hearted. The beneficent Maximilian had passed away, and for two years the crafty, inimical Charles V. has been reigning. The prospects of success are brightly dawning upon the Reformation with that year, and Luther looks forth hopefully to fresh triumphs. Zwingle is laboring amid an opposition growing every day more formidable, having not long before him the death of a patriot in the day of battle, by that stone whose rebound fatally reached the pacific *Æcolampadius* at Basle. Tyndale anxiously awaits the success of his labors in England; the

fires of Smithfield glow in the distance, near which stands the virulent persecutor, Sir Thomas More, giving his partial verdict against the sufferers. Henry VIII. gradually approaches the rupture with Rome, with which, in the person of Wolsey, he is walking so intimately. France walks on with timid, halting steps, and darkening prospects to St. Bartholomew, and the triumphs of ignorance and infidelity. Spain is dazzled by the glitter of new-found treasures, and no gleam of gospel light attracts her. Rome is secure in her fancied protectors, whose vengeance, only five years later, will be wreaked upon her while they sack her places of pride. The clouds that portend the fearful eighty years' war in the Netherlands, are just appearing in the Southern horizon, which shall bring ruin and death in return for love of truth.

All these exhibit God's workings. The trials of nations come as the inevitable opposition between truth and error. Every inquiry into God's dealings with the nations of the earth, into the triumphs of truth though they be long delayed, into the means by which, through hardship and blood, our blessings have come, must at once quicken our gratitude for his wondrous wisdom and guidance, and determine us more completely never to yield to traitors, who, whether they aim directly at the downfall of free institutions, or sympathize with the violent and connive at their designs, are alike seeking to en-throne human passion in the place of Divine right.

ART. II.—THE SABBATH SCHOOL:—ITS ANTECEDENTS—RISE—PROGRESS—AND DEVELOPMENTS.*

The apparent presumption of many is, that the greater proportion of human wisdom, learning and forecast, benevolence and active piety, sacrifice and devotion, belong to this age of the world; and that the young were left to themselves, uncares for in their religious interests, till within a very brief period. This is a fallacious and groundless supposition.

SABBATH SCHOOLS may be somewhat *modern*, yet religious instruction for the young is no new invention; Sabbath schools, however, are not *so modern* or *recent* in their origin as many suppose, but belong to a custom or system of religious instruction provided for and introduced, *practically* and *effectively*, at a very early period in the ancient church.

Although the interior of ancient society is but imperfectly revealed, and the number and influence of ancient institutions may not be correctly estimated, yet, from what revelation we have,—from what we know of the customs and simplicity of the people, and of the piety of the patriarchs—we are authorized to believe that the children, in the early days of the Hebrew church, were duly instructed in the duties and doctrines of religion. This view is corroborated by various requirements and allusions, with which the Bible student is familiar. It was with reference, no doubt, to a settled custom among God's people, that He said of Abraham that he knew he would command his children and household after him, and that they would *keep* the way of the Lord; that is, that Abraham would *instruct* his children in the ways of religion, and they in successive order would practice the same upon *their* children, which seems to have been done. This was a custom among the pious Hebrews in that and in a subsequent age; and from which, we may infer, that Sabbath school instruction is but the *continuation* and perfecting of a religious educational practice

* Authorities consulted: The Bible, Jahn's Archæology, History of Sabbath Schools, and Davis' Half Century.

long since begun, thus claiming for it the sanction of antiquity.

Family instruction preceded that of the schools, though it was of the same character, for the same purpose, and but a *little* antecedent to that of the schools; for but a little later in the history of the Jewish church, schools were established for the religious instruction of the young—established and conducted by a portion of the Levites or priests in the old church, answering to *ministers* of the new. If true to their office, it was but natural that they should be interested for the young, and be desirous to adopt some special means for their religious improvement. The result was, that a number of them opened their private dwellings as school rooms, for the religious instruction of the children of different families. These miniature schools, held on the Sabbath or otherwise, were of some note, and strictly religious, and were continued for some length of time; but with increasing wants and demands, they were enlarged, better provided for, more thoroughly established, and rendered more efficient; yet, it cannot be said that they were *permanent*, for after a few years, and from various causes, some of them went into disuse and for awhile were of no *practical* effect. They were, however, afterwards restored by the prophet Samuel, and made efficient agents in moulding and religiously educating the young. The prophet himself, having been educated, in part, at one or more of these schools, knew their value, and the more readily and earnestly engaged in their restoration, and in giving them character and solidity. These schools, thus reconstructed, entered at once upon a successful career, large numbers resorting thither for religious instruction. Intended at first for private and limited purposes,—for the simple duties and doctrines of religion, the *elements* of religion—they *advanced* from small beginnings, from that of the family to that of the Levites, from that to their efficiency under Samuel, and then to that of the prophets, when the course of instruction was changed, the schools assuming more the character of a theological seminary; thus becoming no longer adapted to the wants of the children. We read of some six or seven such schools, at as many different places, and with indications

that they were under the charge of Eli, Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, as presidents or principals.

In these seminaries, as well as in the earlier and simpler schools, though intended to be strictly religious, music was taught, and some of those sublime psalms, now incorporated into our Bible, were chanted, then called *prophesying*, and it was because Saul was seen or heard chanting one of them, that some one inquired, "Is Saul among the prophets?" meaning, doubtless, to inquire if he had become connected with one of these schools.

None of the fore-mentioned schools appear to have been open to the reception of female children. The boys were generally put to school for religious training at about five years of age, and in which, in many instances, they were required to remain a series of years, while the girls of the same parents were greatly neglected, and furnished no other means of education than those in the family.

In these rudimental, Jewish schools, the Decalogue and the Law were text-books, from which doctrines and duties were drawn and enforced—the children instructed to fear, love, reverence and obey, God; to be prayerful, devout, hospitable, affable, generous and kind. These were taught in the schools, and with them much more; and doubtless these same duties were taught to the girls in the family.

The interest felt in the children of Jewish parents in the earlier history of the church, and the means employed for their religious education, are so many *sanctions* to the efforts now being made in the *same* direction, but upon an improved plan.

It is said that several of the nations of antiquity, the Hindoo, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, and others, had schools, for the training of the young in the ways of their religion. In Greece, the rudiments of religion and the love of country were taught in schools for that purpose, and one was as equally binding and important as the other. Reference is made to those nations to show the *interest* of the ancients in the religious education of the younger portions of the community, and the means employed for their benefit.

Religious instruction and schools for the religious education

of the young, whether the religion be true or false, are, by no means, new ideas. The Sabbath school system is but a grand improvement upon old plans of religious instruction.

Though nothing is definitely said in the New Testament respecting the religious education of the young, yet, from the manner of Christ towards the children, and the kind and tender strains in which John speaks to the young, in his epistles; and Paul's mention of Timothy's religious training, we are authorized to believe that the religious education of children was neither forgotten nor neglected.

It is said of the early Christian fathers, that they were particularly interested for the young, and employed special means for their religious education, teaching them, or causing them to be taught, in Divine things, and to commit portions of the Scriptures, telling them of God and of Jesus, relating to them some of the most striking incidents in his life, repeating his words, enforcing his example and teachings, and assisting them in learning to sing spiritual songs suited to their age. At home, also, the children of pious parents, at that time, were taught the elements of religion, and to study and commit portions of the Scriptures and sacred songs, as a *part* of their education.

Besides clerical and parental instruction, schools were established in the first century and the former part of the second, for the religious education of the children and young people. These were opened, like our Sabbath schools, to all classes. They were continued till into the first of the third century, and had it not been for the prejudices which sprang up in the church, coupled with fear that so much external means and so much learning would prove its ruin—kill its piety and sap its spirituality—they would have continued, doubtless, much longer.

Sometime in the second century, an open warfare between different sections and parties sprang up, interrupting those schools, impairing their efficiency, preventing their progress, and producing unhappy results, *similar, and from similar motives*, as rent our own denomination, some thirty years ago, on the subject of Sabbath schools, together with other moral enterprises of the age. But in the former, as in the latter case,

education and religion triumphed, though only for awhile, those schools being discontinued, as means of religious instruction, in the latter part of the third century.

Baffled in one place, the friends of religious education for the young attempted elsewhere to carry out their enterprise and reduce it to a practical result, though varying the grade and conditions of the schools afterwards established. From such a source, the celebrated Alexandrian school had its origin, and nearly at the same time, and from similar causes and motives, and of like character, that of Antioch, both being *intended* as means of religious instruction for the young. For awhile, pupils in attendance were taught to study and understand the Scriptures, and to *practice their precepts*. Among the many religiously educated at those schools, were some of the most learned men of that age, some of them commentators, some ecclesiastical historians, and others of note, who, doubtless, would have been doomed to obscurity, and been of little value to the church or world, had it not been for those schools, like many of whom we know, had it not been for the Sabbath school.

But corruptions in the church, prejudices and practices of its members, together with revolutions, invasions and protracted warfare, *extinguished* those lights, leaving the children and young people *destitute* of the means of religious instructions, otherwise than those of the family.

False systems sprang up to fill their places, counteract their influence, and pervert the heart of the young. The mind of the rising generation became clouded, suffered for want of moral and religious culture; the affections were directed to forbidden objects, resulting in the universal prevalence of darkness, ignorance and vice. Ages of midnight darkness rolled over the world, like a mighty flood; kings, emperors and officers of state were unable to write their names. In Rome, in the 10th century, it is said, but few men knew the alphabet; in Spain, not one in a thousand could write a readable letter; that for centuries hardly could a man be found who could write his name; and religion, like all those lights and means of education, set in greatest obscurity. This result, dark and fearful, is a striking warning, *a most emphatic warning*, against any

declension or lack of interest, in the use of means for the religious education of the young, and a strong incentive to sustain and carry forward Sabbath schools wherever existing, and to institute them where they are wanting,

As a further historical incident, perhaps of interest to some, it may be well to say, that the *ignorance* of the *priesthood* was so great that in the 8th century Charlemagne, the leading monarch of Europe at that time, himself unable to write his own name, issued an order requiring the priests, as public religious teachers, to become *able to read the Lord's prayer*. This was a statute for centuries. In connection with its promulgation, he caused schools to be instituted for the religious and theological education of the clergy, but the children and young people were entirely neglected for a long series of years, and the emperor's schools failed for lack of interest among the people, as well as from a lack among the clergy themselves. Bishops, even, were indifferent to the religious culture of either old or young, indifferent to the schools established by the Emperor, as many at the present day, claiming the surplice and titles of either priesthood or eldership, are indifferent to theological seminaries and Biblical schools, intended for young men desirous of entering the ministry. So indifferent were the bishops to the qualifications of the candidates, that they frequently appointed, it is said, as officiating clergymen, in rural districts, "*ignorant and poor wretches, taken from beggary and filth,—stable boys, sportsmen and men of no commendable qualities, trained to vice from their youth.*"

Yet a few of the clergy were strictly taught in the doctrines and duties of their religion. It was at this stage of the world, that the great Reformation, under Luther, commenced, resulting in giving to the world a better understanding of the Bible and its religion, removing the trammels hitherto keeping it from the people, exciting to greater activity, to a higher purpose, purer motives and better institutions.

But be it here remembered that the Reformation is, in part, to be attributed, and was itself greatly indebted, for its success, to a series of preparatory means not usually taken into account. A growing interest on the part of a portion of the clergy, in

the religious instruction of the young, resulted in the establishment of religious schools expressly for their benefit. These were connected with the convents and cathedrals under the charge of such of the clergy as favored this enterprise. The catechism was introduced into some of these schools and the Bible into others, as books of study, and large numbers of children were subjected to the study and explanation of these textbooks.

These schools are said to have been strictly religious, and, in many respects, were the types of our Sabbath schools, and such as to correspond with them, though, so far as it appears, they may not have been held *exclusively* on the Sabbath day. Still, indications are not wanting, to warrant the belief that they were *intended as Sabbath day schools*.

In several Catholic countries, similar schools were said to have been in progress for many years after, and were held on the Sabbath, and purported to have been founded by some of those men whose names are connected with some of those schools just referred to. The one at Milan, established early in the 16th century, expressly for the religious education of the young, is still continued, it is said, and bears the name of its author, and is held on the Sabbath, as a *Sabbath school*. Although we may regard this to be really a Sabbath school, yet we may question the genuineness of the religion there taught. And that attendance upon its instructions and benefits may have been from other than purely religious motives, it may here be observed that, at or near its origin, *one* inducement to its observance was that of "PERPETUAL INDULGENCE," given by the Pope in 1609, running, as the case might be, from *six to eight thousand years*.

But, however *defective* these schools were, they were, *nevertheless, considered religious schools*, and some, if not all, were held on the Sabbath, and were, in some respects, *preparatory* to the great Reformation. They were sharpeners of the intellect if not renovating to the heart. They proved the means of awakening thought, and may be taken as the precursors of our present system of Sabbath schools, evincing a growing interest in the religious education of the young.

Luther, in the former part of the 16th century, instituted several schools, similar to our Sabbath school, assembling the young on the Sabbath to recite lessons they had learned the previous week. To those Sabbath day schools, boys and girls were alike admitted, as they are in ours; and in which we can see a *type* of ours, indicating the existence of Sabbath schools, at a much earlier date than many suppose.

These schools contributed to the Reformation, and when that was well accomplished, it contributed to greater *thoroughness* of instruction in the doctrines and duties of religion in connection with them, or other schools taking their place. The agency of these in preparing the way of the Reformation, and rendering it so wonderfully successful, is a striking evidence of the importance of Sabbath schools at the present day, religious instruction having a tendency to reform, improve and revolutionize society, especially, if bestowed upon the young. Refusing, or neglecting, the employment of such means is but a guarantee of the greatest demoralization, causing the return of the dark ages.

The Moravians seem to have understood the importance of special efforts for the religious education of their children and young people, and are said to have given this branch of instruction great prominence on the Sabbath. Their remarkable success, their great self-denials, and their endurance of hardships as a people, are, in some measure, and very greatly too, *attributable to early religious training.*

Christian people in England, for a long time, had felt and suffered a religious destitution, such as had been preying upon other communities on the continent, previous to the Reformation. They had done something for the religious education of the young, though mostly in the family. After the Reformation, this same want was experienced to a great extent, for religious schools were by no means numerous.

Previous to the 18th century, pious parents applied themselves, to a considerable extent, as teachers to their households, employing the Bible as a text book, causing it to be studied, explaining and enforcing it with great thoroughness. Among the young thus educated was the youth, afterwards the

celebrated Dr. Doddridge, whose early piety, religious education and great usefulness are *attributable to a pious mother*, who taught him the principal narratives and most striking incidents of the Bible, before he was of sufficient age to read it—an example worthy the consideration of mothers of the present day.

Previously, and in the absence of public schools for the religious education and benefit of the young, Dr. Watts furnished a volume of sacred songs, intended mostly for children, the first ever published for that class. This work met with most wonderful success, second only to the Bible itself. We speak of this to indicate the importance of employing something similar, and to a greater extent than is now practiced in many of our Sabbath schools. Sacred poetry is well adapted to accompany such instruction, and is a great educator of both children and adults, whether sung or committed to memory.

The first school in England, so far as we have been able to discover, held *exclusively* on the Sabbath, was established by Joseph Alleine, about the middle of the 17th century, a date much earlier than that assigned to the origin of Sabbath schools by the efforts of Robert Raikes. A victim of persecution, and recently released from a cruel imprisonment, trembling under infirmities and dependent upon crutches, he assembled the children in his neighborhood on a certain Sabbath for religious instruction. This proving successful, the attempt was repeated, resulting in a Sabbath school of some permanence, with from sixty to seventy in attendance. In this laudable enterprise, he was assisted by his wife, and labored for a series of years, till from a new outburst of persecution he was obliged to relinquish it. But notwithstanding the injunction by which it was closed, this enterprise, hitherto untried by any of that age or country, proved successful, closing with great triumph and with many laurels.

The next in order, was that by Bishop Frampton, established in 1693, forty years from the first. This was held on every Sabbath afternoon. The principal service was to catechise the children and to explain to them the sermon preached to the adults in the forenoon.

The next to be named was that of Rev. Theophilus Lindsey of Catterick, in the autumn of 1763, being just seventy years from the one above named. He held this between meetings, at noon, and continued it just one hour, catechising the children and expounding to them different portions of the Bible, passing round the inside circle of a hundred children, with Bible in hand, answering questions and giving to each his portion in due season. In the evening, after public service of every alternate Sabbath, he held a Bible class in his study, for young men and women. At the same time, but in another room, his wife held an evening Sabbath school for boys and girls, thus accommodating the smaller children and those probably not able to attend the more public Sabbath school.

In 1765, two years from the origin of the last mentioned school, another was established at Bedale by a young lady, (Miss Harrison, afterwards Mrs. Cappe,) for the benefit of *poor* children, in which she employed the catechism, Dr. Watts' sacred poetry, and the Bible as text books. Her school room was the back kitchen of a private dwelling, which was crowded to great inconvenience by scores eager for religious instruction.

The next in order of date was formed in 1769, four years later than the last named. This school was taught by a Christian lady, embraced some forty children, who assembled every Sabbath morning before meeting to read the Bible and recite the catechism. Miss Ball, the author of this school, continued it for several years with success, frequently meeting her scholars sometime during the week for a similar purpose.

In 1775, six years from this, another school was formed in Bolton, one of the factory villages of Lancashire, for the benefit of the operatives, who assembled forenoon and afternoon of every Sabbath for religious instruction, being called together, not by the mellow tones of the church bell, but the sharp ring of a "brass mortar and pestle." This school was known as that of James Heys', or more familiarly, old Jemmy's, the bobbin winder, he being its founder. Though a poor, obscure man, compelled to his daily tasks in the mill, yet he was instrumen-

tal of great good to the operatives, in the institution of his Sabbath school.

One other Sabbath school, instituted in 1778 by Rev. David Simpson, might be mentioned, making *seven* in England, *before* that of Robert Raikes, which is generally supposed to be the first, both in England and in the world.

These, like that of Borromeo's, established at Milan in 1584, and several others upon the continent commencing about that time, and to which reference has been made, are presented as indicative of a wide felt want among the people of that age, and their early, but isolated, attempts to meet that want, evincing their interest in repeated efforts to provide for the religious instruction of the children and youth,—efforts which left their impress upon society, doing pioneer work, awakening wider interest and securing sympathy and co-operation to a greater extent in this great, moral and religious enterprise just rising into notice, and, like the rising sun, dawning upon the world, dispelling its moral darkness, mitigating its disorders, relieving it of much of its moral and religious distortions, and preparing the way for the ushering in of a brighter and more golden day. The school of Simpton, just spoken of, preceded that of Raikes in its origin, just three years, and all of those to which reference has been made *preceded* what is generally supposed *the epoch of Sabbath schools*.

Whether Raikes knew of these schools or not, is a matter of uncertainty, but probably he did not, as they were widely separated from him and interchanges and correspondence among the people were much less than at present.

He appears to have been independent of these in the establishment of his school at Gloucester. It was reserved to him to *vitalize*, if not to originate, the system of Sabbath schools, rendering them more popular and efficient, as well as common, in a very brief time. His school, established Sept. 1781, was the *result of a heart-felt necessity*,—such a necessity as many others had previously shared in, and through whose minds a gleam of light had darted, filling the heart with temporary hope and leading to earnest endeavors to make real and practical

that which they had hoped, and of which they had had so pleasing a vision. Though *local* at first, its influence became extended and its operations and successes widely known. Being himself a printer, and controlling a public journal, he possessed means for making his school known, and for the establishment of others, beyond any one preceding him, and it is to this circumstance, in part at least, that their wonderful prevalence and popularity, in so brief a time, are to be attributed.

Notices and editorials of his being copied into other journals, arrested the attention of good men all over the country, and among the number who became interested were Bishop Horne, Cowper, Scott, Bishop Porteus, Adam Smith, John Wesley, and others like them, who hailed the Sabbath school with exultation, regarding it as a new and an efficient agent in civilizing and christianizing the world. These men at once co-operated with Raikes and others in the establishment and extension of these means of moral and religious improvement into other parts of the kingdom, so that in a few years their benefits were enjoyed in many towns and cities in England, Ireland, and Scotland, meeting a great want—a great *public necessity*—relieving many anxious hearts, long desirous of remedying evils that remained untouched till reached by the agency of the Sabbath school, and which would have still *continued*, had it not been for that agency.

Besides those men referred to, Raikes had, as a most efficient co-adjutor, that great and good man of England, William Fox, who early enlisted and co-operated with him, giving his influence and money to extend the institution and spread its benefits to the greatest possible number. To him is to be attributed the discovery and application of the principle and practice of the Sabbath School Union, for it was on that basis that he originated the *London Sabbath School Society*, answering to our present plan and purpose of Sabbath School Unions; and of which he says, in his first report, 1786, that five schools in and near London had been opened, and *upwards of four thousand dollars* had been raised to extend and perfect the plan, and all this within two years, and probably not over one from the origin of the society.

As if by magic, Sabbath schools sprung up in most of the large towns and cities, having an attendance of many thousands, Leeds alone having eighteen hundred, and other places a proportionate number.

The *specific object* of those schools was *similar* to those of the present day; and that human hearts, sanctified by the spirit of God, beat then, with the same impulses and entertained the same desires for the young and for all, as they now do, we may learn from a circular sent out to the people, saying that the object of the Sabbath school was, "to prevent vice; to encourage industry and virtue; to dispel darkness and ignorance; to diffuse the light of knowledge; to bring men cheerfully to submit to their stations; to obey the laws of God and of their country; to make that useful part of the community, the country poor, happy; to lead them in the paths of religion here, and to endeavor to prepare them for a glorious eternity." This was from the pen of Fox, and in executing such a work, he seemed to have found his greatest earthly pleasure. It was so pleasing to him to be able to engage in such a work, even in advanced life, that he frequently remarked to his friends, "Never wish to be old, I am now in the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiasties, and the grasshopper is a burden to me." Yet the good man worked on to the end, going down with the harness on, and as a shock of corn, ripe for the harvest.

At the first Sabbath school celebration in England in 1786, conducted by Raikes, three hundred and thirty-one schools were represented; several thousands of scholars were present, and *two hundred and fifty dollars* were taken as a collection for the benefit of the interests of the institution.

In 1789, eight years from the commencement of Raikes' schools in Gloucester, Hannah More established one at Cheddar, a place where no *clergyman had resided for forty years*; and though vice and ignorance prevailed to any extent, she gathered *two hundred children* into her school, and retained them, or an equal number, for several years, and with highly beneficial results. At the end of the sixth year she had two hundred children and as many adults as scholars in attendance, a result that challenges the admiration of all. But not satisfied

with this, assisted by her sister, she visited other places, and parishes adjoining and established several other schools, so that within a few months from this latter attempt, she had a membership of over twelve hundred, over whom the two sisters presided;—and still pressing on in the work, the number soon increased to sixteen hundred, and all were under their care and supervision at the same time. And these were gathered under circumstances of greatest discouragements, sometimes attended with persecution, frequently with opposition, and always with more or less indifference.

At one of their anniversaries, they had the pleasure of seeing a company of Sabbath school children, and friends accompanying them, numbering *five thousand*, the children enlivening the scene, at intervals, with sacred songs. At another of their anniversaries, it is said a *thousand poor children* were present, aside from all others.

From the great ignorance of the people generally, and from the unfitness as well as unwillingness of most, if not all, it was only with the greatest difficulty that teachers could be found, and the demand could only be met by *hiring* them. This became the practice, the price being one shilling per day to each teacher, so that from 1786 to 1800, being fourteen years, more than *seventeen thousand dollars* were raised and paid out for hired teachers by the London Sabbath School Society.

In 1787, six years from the establishment of Raikes' school, about *two hundred and fifty thousand* were connected with the Sabbath schools in England, and all under his supervision;—and before his death, which occurred in 1811, this number was increased to *three hundred thousand*.

In 1789, Sabbath schools were introduced into Wales, and in *three years* increased to *one hundred and seventy*, embracing *eight thousand children*. These schools were facilitated by the efficiency of the London Society. At that time there was a great deficiency of the Scriptures in Wales, and the demand became so great, in consequence of these Sabbath schools, that it could not be met. This circumstance, it is said, occasioned the organization of "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY," in 1804.

In the little country of Wales, there were in 1826, it is said, more than *sixty thousand* Sabbath school children, of *one sect alone*, a fact that accounts for the good morals of the Welch people at the present day.

Sabbath schools are said by some to have been introduced into Scotland in 1782, one year later than that of Raikes, in England, and without a knowledge of that. But Dr. Brown claims for Scotland, that many Sabbath schools had been established there, some years before that of Raikes, and strictly for religious purposes. Without engaging in this dispute, it is safe to say, that there was *one* at Calton in 1782, and that in 1797, there were many scattered throughout Scotland.

The first in Ireland was about 1809, and in 1825, they had increased to *seventeen hundred*, having a membership of *one hundred and fifty thousand*. At this time the London Sunday School Union, formed in 1803, for the benefit of *all* the Sabbath schools throughout Great Britain, had under its care *eight thousand schools*, with *seventy-five thousand teachers* and *eight hundred thousand scholars*.

About the year 1825, a Sabbath school was organized in Paris, the first in France, so far as it appears, and readily secured an attendance of two hundred children. This was sustained mostly by Protestant families. In 1826, it is said that an association was formed to facilitate the organization of other schools, and that a number were organized in different places, but not so readily and generally as in the countries before considered.

In the province of Bohemia, in Austria, a *Sabbath school* is said to have been established in 1773, not for the study of the Bible, but for improvement in music; and which resulted, in a short time, in the formation of many more of the same kind, proving so popular, that out of a population of two hundred thousand, *fourteen thousand* were in attendance upon those musical Sabbath schools; and at the close of the sixteenth year, out of a population of two hundred and fifty thousand, *one hundred and fifty-eight thousand, seven hundred and sixty-six* were in attendance, being much more than *half of the population* attending to musical instruction on the Sabbath, and in what they

regarded *Sabbath schools*, the number being nearly equal to *three-fifths* of all the inhabitants of the province.

Though the object was not *religious*, yet, as a *Sabbath school* it was favorable to the morals of the people. Crime became greatly diminished, and society very generally improved. The effect was so favorable that these schools were extended in a very short time, into other parts of Austria, and into Germany, with the same results as in Bohemia, diminishing vice and crime fifty per cent.

As Sabbath schools, intended for *religious* purposes *exclusively*, had given tone to the morals of society in other places, impressing it for a series of years, so those *musical* Sabbath schools of Austria and Germany intended *exclusively* for *music*, may have had an effect equally great, though quite different, and perhaps were the means of a culture of musical talent whose influence is seen and felt to this day, distinguishing the people of those countries for their musical qualities, as other institutions have distinguished other people for many subsequent generations.

Passing from the old world to the new, and to a people planted under such peculiar influences, we have reason to expect great exertions for the benefit of the young. Coming as our *Pilgrim fathers* did to the shores of a new world for a *religious* purpose, we may naturally look for some provision for the education of the children and youth. And we find on inquiry, that all their institutions comprehended this idea, more or less, and though not first in order, and in external appearance, while rearing their institutions, yet the religious was never second to the intellectual and secular.

The *Mayflower* landed off the New England coast in 1620; ten years later the Massachusetts colony arrived, and though the first public act was not to rear Sabbath schools, yet it was to provide for the support of the gospel, and for its perpetuity and purity, *for their children's sake*. The second leading idea, or nearly that, was to provide for the education of their children, and in eight years from their landing, Harvard College was founded. The next leading idea was that of the press, and

the first thing printed in the colony was a catechism for the children. Soon after, several other books were published expressly for their religious benefit, being intended for question-books, and based upon the Bible. And the better to serve the religious interests of the children, and promote their spiritual welfare, the Bible was introduced as a reading book into the common schools.

These things indicate the causes of the superiority of the New England people, over those of some other portions of the country. The custom of the Pilgrim fathers was in striking contrast with that of the settlers of some other parts of the country. Especially is this true in regard to Virginia, of which Gov. Berkley said in an official statement to the home Government,—“I thank God there are no free schools nor printers, and I hope we shall not have them these hundreds of years, for learning has brought disobedience, heresies, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.”

The morals of Virginia from that time to this, have been an expressive and complete commentary on the above, confirming it as a settled fact, to a very great extent, and proving to the world that it is with states and nations, as it is with individuals, that, “*Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.*” The truthfulness of this statement of Paul is seen in developments of a most serious and painful character in that state, as well as in some others within the last year, and in a legitimate manner, as well as being of legitimate quality, and after giving the amplest time for the policy of which Berkley speaks to manifest and mature its fruits.

Common schools and printing being for a long time either neglected or excluded, there could be no such *mental preparation* among the children, nor desire among adults for Sabbath schools as in other sections where a different policy had prevailed; nor should we look for their introduction there at a very early date, and then not very generally, if to any extent, otherwise than as *primary schools*, in part answering the purposes of common schools, teaching the *elements* only of the language spoken and the simplest truths of religion.

While Sabbath schools were springing up in different parts of England, the old Revolutionary war was in progress and all friendly relations were suspended, thus rendering it impossible that a knowledge of their existence could or did reach this country till the close of the war in 1783. And as our country was the seat of the war, subjected to the whole brunt of England's moral and military power, to desolations and alarms of a most painfully protracted warfare, to all the clashings and roar of battles for a series of years, it is not to be expected, that, during that time schools of any kind would *advance* or flourish to any extent, and last of all, that Sabbath schools would be thought of or introduced. Still, common schools, previously established, were continued and served to pave the way for the introduction of Sabbath schools, preparing the minds of the people in such localities to *see* and to *feel* the necessity of some such agent at a much *earlier* day than in Virginia, and other places like her, *avored with the absence of common schools and printers.*

The first Sabbath school in this country, of which any knowledge has been transmitted to us, was in 1750, established by Tharker, at Ephrata, Penn., being thirty-one years previous to that of Raikes' school in England, and which he is said to have superintended more than thirty years. After the battle of Brandywine, the hall where the school was held being wanted as a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers, it was discontinued. *Tharker takes precedence of Raikes* in the establishment of the Sabbath school enterprise, *thirty-one years.*

The celebrated Methodist Bishop Asbury, is said to have attempted the establishment of a Sabbath School at Hanover, Va., in 1783, but as little or nothing is known of it, it is probable that it proved a failure, especially when we consider the boasted *absence* of nearly all the ordinary means of education for the young at that time; nor could we have expected any thing less than a failure, and one so real that its effects are yet felt,—a failure from which, judging from the morals and politics of the State, it had never rallied.

The Sabbath school enterprise, for the first time in Philadelphia, was discussed, talked of and encouraged in December,

1790, and several such men as Dr. Rush, Bishop White, Cary and others of immortal memory, adopted measures for the establishment of such schools. These preliminaries resulted in an organization with this in view, and under whose supervision the first Sabbath school in that city was instituted, in March 1791, only four months from the first agitation of the question. Within one year from the first, two others were established, the three having an aggregate attendance of six hundred. And the year following money was raised for small books for children to read, and as premiums for good behavior, and answering the purposes of a Sabbath school library. Within nine years from the first school in that city, more than two thousand are said to have been gathered in as scholars, and from whom, or in connection with them, eight thousand dollars had been raised for Sabbath school purposes.

In 1797, six years from the commencement of the enterprise in Philadelphia, a school was formed in Pawtucket, R. I., by a student from Brown University, though not *exclusively* for religious purposes, nor were any of those, to which reference has been made, *so exclusively religious* as those of the present day, owing to the want of the ordinary means of education to a much greater extent than at present, and to the consequent backwardness of many of the children, who had to commence with the *elements*, sometimes with their letters, and simple words. Of some, who attended as scholars, it is said, that they became worthy members of society, and owed their education and rise in the world to these schools.

In 1803, a Sabbath school was established in North Hudson, New York; in 1809 another one in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; and in 1810 another in Beverly, Massachusetts. The latter was gathered *by two young ladies*, who continued it for several years. They originated and carried this forward on the voluntary principle, *teaching without hire*, being the first of the kind in this country, all the preceding having been conducted, like those in England, *taught by hired teachers*.

The first Sabbath school formed in Boston was in 1812, in the West Parish, just as the war with England was breaking out. This school was one of the results of the school at Bev-

erly, started two years before, and like that was the result of female enterprise and influence, seconded and encouraged by the minister and laymen of the parish.

The first Sabbath school in Maine, so far as now appears, was formed at Brunswick in 1812, and though in time of commotion and warfare, it had a somewhat successful career.

The first in New York city appears to have been organized in the summer of 1814, with an attendance of some eighty scholars.

The first in Delaware was in the autumn of the same year, and sometime during that year one was formed at Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. In 1815 a second school was formed in Boston, with a popularity that secured a membership of *two hundred and fifty scholars in six months.*

During 1815 another was formed in Philadelphia with an attendance of *five hundred*, which was followed the next year by others, thence extending in every direction into different parts of the state, and into other states, so that in 1824 the Sabbath school Union, formed in 1817, had the supervision of more than *seven hundred schools*, with some *seven thousand teachers*, and *fifty thousand scholars.*

The first Sabbath school in New Hampshire was formed at Wilton in 1816. The same year another one was gathered in Boston, and the year following still another, and thus they increased till in a very short time fourteen were in successful operation, having one hundred and seventy-nine teachers and sixteen hundred pupils in that city alone, at that time. This may account, in part, for the superiority of the morals in Boston over those of some other large cities; and the same might be said of Philadelphia with equal propriety.

The second Sabbath school in New Hampshire was at Portsmouth, established by N. A. Haren Esq., in 1818, at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Parker, of the South Parish, and was attended with good success, proving an efficient agent in moulding society.

The first general Sabbath school anniversary of any note in this country, so far as now appears, was on the 14th of September, 1831, just fifty years from the establishment of Raikes'

school in England. It was intended as a half-century anniversary, at the suggestion of James Montgomery the poet. Both in Great Britain and the United States it was celebrated by old and young, ministers and people, parents and children, with various demonstrations, addresses, prayers, music and festival entertainments, all *commemorative* of the introduction of the Sabbath school by Raikes in 1781. In New York city, it is said that thirteen thousand children were formed into procession on that day, and a corresponding number in Boston, Philadelphia, and other places.

At that time, it is claimed for Great Britain that she had a million of Sabbath school scholars, and a hundred thousand teachers. The number in this country at that time does not appear, but it was by no means small.

Thus far, the only attempts in the capacity of Sabbath school Unions had been those of Philadelphia, if we mistake not, and whose influence had not been very efficient in many places, and from which it became necessary, in carrying forward the enterprise and to make it extensive as well as local, that other measures, in the same direction should be adopted. Consequently in 1816 the Christian ladies of New York city instituted an organization termed "THE FEMALE UNION SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF SABBATH SCHOOLS," but exclusively for the benefit of their own sex. It had great success and brought thousands into the Sabbath school.

The gentlemen, not willing to be outdone by the ladies, and equally anxious as they for the welfare of the young, immediately organized one themselves for the benefit of their sex, and which they called the "NEW YORK SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION," and at once put it into operation.

The statistics of the two Unions, made out some time during the ninth year of their operations, were, those of the ladies, thirty-eight different schools, five hundred and twenty-eight teachers, and over three thousand scholars; those of the gentlemen, *fifty-eight schools, over six hundred teachers, and four thousand four hundred and thirty scholars.*

The American Sunday School Union, embracing all denominations and many, or all the other Unions, was organized in

1824, on the basis of that of Philadelphia of 1790, already mentioned, and was located at the same place. It began at once the publication of Sabbath school books on an extensive plan, and extended its influence and agencies over the entire settled portions of the country, reaching the Mississippi in 1828. Various auxiliaries have been formed, which have contributed to its aid and influence, making it a powerful instrumentality in the religious education of the young, and very greatly improving the old.

Besides these, minor Unions have arisen and matured on their own plan, responsible to their own constituents, with highly important and commendable results. Among their number may be included that of our own denomination, whose anniversary occurs in October, in connection with those of our other moral and benevolent societies.

It may here be observed, that the credit of establishing and carrying forward Sabbath schools *exclusively on the religious principle*, belongs to New England, the *first* attempt being that at Beverly, as before mentioned, in 1810, by two young Christian ladies; and the *second* attempt, that in "WEST PARISH," Boston, by a teacher of one of the common schools, in 1812, and the *third*, that at Cambridgeport in 1814, all of which proved successful.

These schools were *free* as well as exclusively religious, and from which Sabbath schools assumed an *exclusively religious type*, as well as that of the voluntary character. The first free Sabbath school in Philadelphia was in 1811, the year subsequent to that at Beverly. These schools soon increased and extended over large areas of country and beyond all precedent, and they are now almost as world-wide as Christianity itself, being the attendants of all Christian churches, a necessity to their existence, a condition of perpetuity and usefulness; and as such they are scattering light and knowledge to millions, proving the nurseries of piety, the reserved forces of the church, alike essential to the triumphs of civilization, and to the church, meeting a want in human society unmet by any other agency whatever. No argument is requisite to enforce the duty or policy of continued or persevering efforts to give the enter-

prise of Sabbath schools the greatest expansion, vigor and perpetual triumphs. With proper culture and care, with fidelity to the interests involved, with loyalty to the great head of the church, the author of our common and distinguishing religious institutions, the church, with its renewed and trained forces, fresh from the Sabbath school, may march forward to victory, from conquering to conquer, repeating its triumphs, gaining richer laurels, vaster spoils, till the enemy of civil and religious institutions, the enemy of God and man shall be subdued, the world *civilized, christianized* and redeemed to the *undisputed* possession of Jesus and the saints of God.

ART. III.—REMARKS ON THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

Jude and Judas are the same name in Greek. In translation, it was no doubt modified to avoid the harshness with which it would fall upon the ear to attribute any part of the sacred Scriptures to one bearing the traitor's name. It may be the author himself was not uninfluenced by a similar motive when he so quickly adds after his name, "the brother of James." Who with proper sensitiveness can for a moment endure the pain of having his name confounded with that of a traitor? But to be related by family ties to the good is of itself a favorable introduction which our author did not despise to use. The good enrich all who are related to them, and oft a father confers more than a fortune upon his sons and daughters in his name made honorable by a noble life. If such a motive prompts to worthy deeds, much more should he be warned who inherits an honored name, lest in any measure, like Judas, he render that honored name the synonym for a criminal.

But who was this James; for this is the clue our author gives us to his own identity. The two best supported opinions are those, one of which makes him the son of Alpheus, and the

other the son of Joseph and Mary. But on either of these assumptions or any other suggested, the question is one of the most difficult. Of the two opinions mentioned, the former was most prevalent before our day; the latter is constantly gaining ground in our times. Whether James and Jude were apostles or not, is in the same doubt as the questions above.

Neither of their epistles was admitted to be canonical, like 2 Peter, without considerable opposition. That opposition is less and less, as time goes on, and we believe each fresh discussion of the question will but lessen reasonable objection.

We hold the opinion that this epistle was not written after the destruction of Jerusalem, as such a calamity would almost inevitably have been cited among the warnings. It was probably written between 65 and 76, A. D., about the time of the writing of 2 Peter, an epistle so remarkably like Jude as to cause many to insist that one is a conscious imitation of the other. A close study of the two in connection is very profitable, but we think such a study not calculated to strengthen the opinion that either is a mere compilation of the other.

Bengel's analysis of this epistle is just and satisfactory: I. Inscription, verses 1 and 2: II. The Discussion, verses 3—23, the third verse assigning the author's reason for writing, the verses, 4—16, containing the description and doom of the adversaries, and forming the body of the epistle, while 17 and 18 admonish the righteous, 19—21 confirm them, and 22, 23 teach them their duties to others. III. The conclusion, with a doxology, is found in 24 and 25. It is a very natural division of the epistle, and causes it to give us the hint that every complete sermon and essay will have the beginning, middle, and conclusion somewhat distinctly marked.

I. The Introduction. The author puts his name at the beginning of the epistle, instead of the close. That was the custom of his times, and perhaps it was more in the order of nature than our own custom. *Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and the brother of James*, is the full signature. *The servant of Jesus Christ* signifies more than simply a Christian. The servant of a king is an officer. The author designs, we have no doubt, to denote *official* position, whether that of apostle or

not, is a question, as we have already noticed. Paul called himself "*the servant*," sometimes without adding the more specific "*apostle*," as in Philippians and Philemon. Jude may therefore have been an apostle for all anything here said. The strongest point in this epistle against the apostleship of its author is presented by the 17th verse, as contrasted with 2 Peter 2:2. Jude says: "But remember ye the words of the apostles," but Peter, "the commandments of *us*, the apostles." This, however, is not decisive.

Of the other ground upon which the author claims the attention of the reader, viz., his relationship to James, we have already spoken. Modesty may have prevented both of the brothers from alluding to their relationship to Christ, even if they were brothers to him; and, besides, they, being mindful of the Saviour's words, would prefer to put their spiritual relation so far above mere earthly relations as to forget the latter. "*My mother and my brethren are these which hear the word of God, and do it.*"

The persons addressed are named in the next clause. The order of the words in Greek may be thus represented: To the (in-God-the-father-sanctified) and (in-Jesus-Christ-preserved) called. *The called* are the persons addressed; the words in the parentheses are used as adjectives to describe *the kind* of the called. Instead of "*the sanctified*," many prefer the reading, "*the beloved*."

The called; that is, the invited out of the company of the world. Invited in the mode described. The Greek term for church is related to "the called," and signifies the invited company. Paul seems to have rendered this term "called" a technicality, probably with his eye upon passages like Matt. 20:16; and 22:14, "for many be called but few chosen." "The called" is the genus of which "the chosen" is a species. In Rev. 17:14, there is a further division: "They that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful." Not only invited, but have accepted. Not only accepted, but have proved faithful, that is, worthy of the *vocation*; have given diligence to make *the calling* and *election* sure. Of course *the calling* of the apostles was official as distinguished from that implying simply

Christian character. We think it not improbable that Peter and John, use this term with an intentional looking back at Paul's technicality.

In verse 2, the author expresses his good wishes for those addressed. He consciously follows the natural or chronological order, mercy, peace, and love, that is, subjectively, forgiveness, principle. This verse serves as a good text in preaching Christian experience.

II. The first part of the main body of the epistle assigns the author's reason for writing to those whom he addresses as "beloved," or rather his reason for writing them in a hortatory manner. When he was preparing to write them, he was impressed with the necessity of exhorting them most of all to use their most strenuous endeavors to preserve the doctrine committed once for all to the care of Christians. There was to be no new revelation of a system of saving truth. In view of approaching dangers, which the author foresees, it would be necessary to exert themselves to prevent the corruption of the precious treasure. There is no lost epistle here which Bengel and others see. The author proceeds to specify the nature and source of the danger. False teachers were craftily, if not stealthily, introducing themselves for true teachers; insinuating themselves into the favor of those whom they would corrupt. In the parallel passage, 2 Pet. 2: 21, the teachers of lies stealthily introduced the *false doctrine* instead of themselves.

But their character and doom were written down of old by the spirit of prophecy. So far from escaping detection, their names and penalties are to be found written down in the lists of criminals. They were not as some spoken of, Is. 4: 3, written down for life and blessing, but for punishment: and well, for they by transmuting the grace of God into licentiousness have, like Judas, sold (rejected) *the only Master, and our Lord Jesus Christ*. This is the characteristic sin of the false teachers as stated both here and in 2 Peter. He who substitutes the doctrines of man for the commandments of God, is not guilty of a small offence, however common it may be.

In the 5th verse the author, as he had described the characters, turns his mind to consider their doom, as indicated by

God's Spirit in the Scriptures, presented by types of bad character and their punishment; (1.) the liberated Israelites; (2.) the wandering angels; (3.) the inhabitants of Sodom, &c.; (4.) they are totally unlike Michael, the Archangel; (5.) they are like Cain; (6.) they are like Balaam and will perish like Korah and his followers.

In the 12th verse the author turns to nature for types under which to classify the Antinomian teachers. They are (1) like rocks, dangerous to mariners, (spots in your feasts of charity); (2.) like clouds without water and carried about of winds; (3.) like autumnal trees, leafless, fruitless, over-turned by winds; (4.) like raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame; (5.) like wandering meteors that go out in the blackness of darkness.

Verse 14. By describing the doom of persons of these types of character, Enoch had indicated the punishment of these false teachers, and (verse 17) the apostles confirmed the ancient prophesy.

If we would not often be misled in the interpretation of prophesy, we must learn to make a distinction between those fulfilments which present similar types only, from those which are the literal and individual fulfilments which the author intended. In Matt. 2: 15 and 18, are to be found two examples of the former: "Out of Egypt have I called my Son;" "In Ramah was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children and would not be comforted, because they are not." The overthrow of Jerusalem according to prediction presents a good specimen of the latter. It was not intended to be stated by the author of this epistle that Enoch and the apostles had in mind the false teachers as individuals of certain names, but that the predictions described the characteristics of these false teachers and their doom, appear when and where they might.

But to return. Verse 5, Jude said he had resolved to give his readers line upon line, though they knew the truth by learning it once for all. Yet he would not, as Peter said, be negligent to stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance. If Jude, under the spirit of inspiration, pursued such a course, let

not the preacher of this day think it vain often to refresh the minds of their hearers by the narration of the *specimens* of the good and bad characters described in the Bible. It is on a principle similar to that which leads the lawyer to present to the jury precedent after precedent of the application of the law in former decisions. Nothing is so certain to carry the minds of a jury governed by the law and evidence.

It was in vain in view of the fate of the sinning liberated Israelites, for these wicked teachers to tell a flaming religious experience, a glorious conversion, as proof that they were now preaching the truth. Israelites were undoubtedly delivered by miracles, but despite that, they sinned afterwards, and were punished; and (verse 6) even the once holy angels who did not keep within the boundaries marked for them by the law of God, must be treated by God as sinners. Their former exaltation and holiness present no ground for sparing them in the day they sin. Angels and men must stand or fall by the rule, "by their fruits ye shall know them." Despite this warning, so long ago given, there is nothing by which the masses are more easily deceived than by the fallacy here exposed. How often we hear it said of some apostate preacher: "It cannot be possible that he is a bad man; he was so soundly converted; God so blessed his labors," &c.

The imagery of this sixth verse is a striking description of sin and the condition of the sinner till his final doom is pronounced. Sin consists in not keeping a holy being's first estate; in voluntarily wandering from his own habitation or sphere, and, as a consequence, the sinner is kept in prison like a criminal already found guilty, but waiting for the penalty to be pronounced by the judge. His darkness serves for dungeon and chains.

In the next verse, the desolation and doom of the cities of the plain present another sad *specimen* of the vengeance of "eternal fire" in reserve for the false teachers who, like the inhabitants of the doomed cities, indulge in sinful and unnatural lusts, and *therefore* despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Those who set at naught the most sacred of God's laws, very easily rebel against human governments. 2 Pet. 2: 10.

In the same, and kindred sins, practiced by the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, is one of the chief fountains of the present slaveholders' rebellion.

Jude omits to use the case of Lot's wife as an illustration but Peter does not omit it.

In verse 9th, the author introduces a specimen of conduct on the part of Michael the archangel, in the light of which to set off the moral deformity of these false teachers. Perhaps they claimed for themselves the right, as exalted instructors, to rail at their wicked opponents, as they called them. But Michael certainly was as exalted as they, and certainly he had as wicked an opponent as any one can have. It was enough for the exalted angel to say to the prince of adversaries, "The Lord rebuke thee;" that is, let God's judgment, or the trial instituted, settle the case. These false teachers are to be classed with the bad angels, not with the good.

There has been much inquiry as to what event is here alluded to. It seems to be cited like the preceding cases from well-known history—that is well known to Jude's readers as mentioned in verse fifth. It is not a new case to them, but the author cites it as he does the case of the Israelites, despite the familiar acquaintance of his readers with it. This seems to be a good reason to suppose it is some event recorded in the Scriptures. The thing that resembles it most is found in Zech. 3: 1, &c: "And he showed me Joshua, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him; and the Lord (that is, the one just called the angel of the Lord,) said unto Satan, the Lord rebuke thee, O Satan."

Here is manifestly "the Lord rebuke thee," uttered by the angel against Satan. So far all is clear. The element which presents the difficulty is, not the contention between an angel and Satan, nor is it the manner in which the angel plead against Satan, but about the thing in dispute, *the body of Moses*. In Zechariah, the Devil brings a suit to have Israel, as God's people, not the body of Moses, delivered into his hands.

The way some suppose this difficulty is satisfactorily met, is by asserting the identity of the body of Moses and Israel. As

the church is called the body of Christ, so say these expositors Israel or the old church is called the body of Moses. Were this point made good, it would settle the case. If Israel is so called, this is the only place in the Bible. That the difficulty therefore remains, must be conceded by the candid mind.

Another supposition, with less plausibility, we must confess, is that which tries to find the solution in the strange death and burial of Moses, (Deut. 34:4, 5) taken in connection with the transfiguration of Jesus. To prepare for the transfiguration scene, it is supposed, the Saviour sent Michael for the proper body of Moses, to the burial place unknown to man, and that the Devil, as keeper of the dead, refused to give it up, but that the angel prevailed, in the name of the Lord Jesus, as the Lord of the resurrection. As many things, well known to the apostles, were not written in the gospels, so this event, it is supposed, was well known in the times of Jude. This is certainly a very pleasing view, but for reasons we need not specify, it can never be more than a theory without proof.

But the practical lesson, proper respect for ourselves and the cause of God, which we would serve, forbids our entering into mere railing against even the worst, is plain. Our curiosity must often fail to be satisfied even, where the practical instructions are perfectly understood, both with reference to Revelation and nature.

The fear alluded to, when it is said that the angel durst not bring a railing accusation against the Devil, was not fear of the Devil, but of God. The adversaries against whom Jude was warning Christians (verse 10) blasphemed Divine things, railing where they did not understand, and, unlike brutes, corrupted themselves in things which they understood as mere animals.

In verse 11, we have almost the only New Testament instance of the burden, the woe of the old prophets. The woe that came upon Cain and Balaam must come upon those who walk in the way of the murderer and the covetous false prophet. More than that, since their rebellion assumes against Jesus the form of Korah's rebellion, they must in like manner perish.

The author now turns to nature for illustrations, thus afford-

ing us this useful hint as preachers, to lay the foundations of religious instruction in the Scriptures, but hesitate not to range the whole universe for types and illustration. Some we may draw from the sea, some from the land, and some from the heavens above. In nature are types by which to set forth sin and its doom, as well as to set forth holiness and its rewards. If the righteous man is like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth his fruit in his season, the wicked are like the chaff which the wind driveth away. The wicked religious teachers, in the love-feasts in Jude's time, were like dangerous rocks, jutting from the ocean's surface. They feasted themselves fearlessly; they acted the shepherd to themselves, but the wolf to the flock. They were like the clouds, promising rain in time of drouth, but like the clouds that were driven away by the winds before one drop falls upon the parched earth. They were like the leafless, fruitless, lifeless autumnal trees, that autumnal winds prostrate, overturning them, root as well as branch and trunk. As the wild waves spend their forces in vain against immovable rocks, so these in vain attempt to overthrow the truth of God in their shameful foamings. Brilliant meteors are they, but like meteors their sudden exit only makes darkness the more visible, prophetic of their everlasting doom of darkness.

In verses 14 and 15, the author comes to the subordinate branch of his proposition. Not only are these false guides to be doomed, but their doom was foretold *of old, by prophesy*, (verse 4.) Proof: the prophesy of Enoch, the seventh from Adam:

"Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly speeches which they have ungodly committed, and all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

Here we have a picture of antediluvian manners enough like the language of Moses: "The earth also was corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence; and God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth." The ungodly and hard

speeches spoken of are sufficient to show that sinners behaved then just as they do now. This fault-finding with God is an invariable quality of the impenitent heart. So Jude's picture of false guides is evidently an excellent photograph, showing the lips and eyes of those photographed.

From the earliest ages, not only was the first coming of Christ expected, but, also, the second, the coming to judgment—the coming with “the holy myriads.” These representations of the Old Testament are abundantly confirmed by the New. The very person who was with us in the first coming uses similar language with reference to his second coming: “When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory.” It is, perhaps, easier for the human race to believe in Christ coming in judgment, than to believe in his coming in mercy.

But how did Jude learn this prophesy of Enoch? We may say it must have been by direct revelation of God to Jude; by tradition; or by the apocryphal book of Enoch. The first supposition is against the whole tenor of the epistle as declared by the author in the fifth verse, and illustrated by his citations from writings well known to his readers. But to this spirit of the author either of the other suppositions is congenial. We believe it was from tradition, as preserved for us in the apocryphal book of Enoch, which was written probably not far from Jude's time. It is not within our plan to enter upon the discussion of this point, but we can state in few words our conclusions, which we leave without argument to the judgment of the reader.

First, it seems to us it is proved that the book of Enoch existed before the time of Jude; secondly, that this passage is quoted from that book despite the views of Barnes and others to the contrary. We give the passage from the book of Enoch, as furnished by Barnes himself, with the single remark that Jude follows Enoch much more accurately than the New Testament writers do the books of the Old Testament in many of their citations. But here is the passage, which the reader may compare with Jude for himself:

“Behold, he comes with ten thousand of his saints, to execute

judgment upon them, and destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal, for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against him."

We suppose Jude quoted from the book what was true and generally received among the Jews, without intending to indorse it as an inspired book, any more than Paul endorsed the writing of Menander, from whom he quoted the excellent maxim: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

At verse 17th and 18th, the author enters upon the application of his remarks to his readers. He shows them that by remembering the words of the apostles, who had described these deceivers, they could be preserved from the corruption and destruction to which the false guides were so intent upon leading their hearers. "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should *walk after their own ungodly lusts.*"

We have put in Italics the words which indicate the characteristic by which the author knows them as distinguished from true teachers. Verse 16.

From the language of these verses, we think it is plain that Jude wrote later than Paul and Peter.

In verse 19, the author adds several specifications, familiar to the eyes of his readers, concerning the false guides. They undoubtedly complained that Jude was no gentleman, in allowing himself to be so *personal*, in speaking so that his readers could not well mistake his meaning. The expression, "separating themselves," is no doubt taken from the Septuagint, Is. 45: 24, and alludes to separating themselves from God as the source of justification and redemption.

In the 20th verse we have "*building yourselves up on your most holy faith,*" as the contrast of "*separate;*" "*Pray in the Holy Ghost,*" as the contrast of "*sensual—having not the Spirit.*" Though Christ keeps us, we are to keep ourselves in the love of God. When Divine and human activity meet, man is blessed. Mercy through Christ is our only hope for eternal life. These verses, the 20th and 21st, furnish an excellent text on *the nature and means of the true spiritual life*, which

our author says is protection against destructive heresies. It requires the forces of good health to resist the poison of a malarious atmosphere. All this needs to be studied as a sharp contrast to the characteristic, "*walking after their own ungodly lusts,*" by which the enemies of the cross are distinguished.

But life is not given to waste its forces upon itself. Christians are called into the marvellous light for the purpose of working for Him who came to seek the lost. This service is alluded to in the 22d and 23d verses, and a hint is given as to some modes to be observed, if we would be successful. There seems to be a confusion in the order of the words in the ordinary reading. The thought is: "*Save some, snatching them from the fire; others compassionate with fear, hating even the garment spotted from the flesh.*" Those who are in buildings already in flames, must be snatched from the fire or perish. A degree of gentleness may be used towards those apparently not so near their fate. Without the care to avoid the contamination of those whom we are striving to save, we may fall under the law. "Pity and then embrace" the vice. Jesus could touch the leper and remain clean before the strictest ceremonial law; much of his spirit must dwell in us if we would preserve the pure heart which affords the privilege of seeing God while associating, even for their good, with the fallen and degraded.

III. The conclusion with doxology. Here is, after the manner of the French, the "Adieu" to God. He is able to keep from falling into the sins described those who trust him. He that is thus kept, is safe indeed, and shall at length stand unspotted in the heavenly presence, in great rapture, for his escape from so many snares.

Of the doxology we need only remark, it is one of the most complete in the Scriptures.

We have freely appropriated whatever has come in our way in Bengel, Barnes, the Comprehensive Commentary, Poole and the Lexicons. We have purposely omitted the details of criticism on words and phrases, so as to save more room for the statement of results, hoping thus the better to profit most readers.

ART. IV.—TRUE SCHOLARSHIP.*

Literary festivals have their enjoyment and their instruction, —their fruition and their hopes. They beckon old men, wearied in the hard work of life, back to the fellowships that make them forget their years and seem young again, and they also furnish a stand-point from which young and ardent natures take their survey of an anticipated life. Tender and touching memories crowd together on such occasions, and aspirations and prophecies swell in many a bosom, and break from many a lip. The sober lessons of experience blend with the dreams of untried ambition. Scholarship is present in its budding and blossoming spring-time, and it is present, too, bringing its autumn fruits.

It is well to gather thus occasionally in the name of letters. Literature deserves and is fitly honored by gala-days. The work of learning is important enough to justify a public statement and a public recognition. Its benefactions are many and great, and society is none too deeply conscious of their value, and none too forward to speak its thanks. Knowledge acts like the sun, bringing the morning from the east in silence, wooing fruitfulness, and evolving higher life by processes so gentle that we are more than half unconscious of its work. And it is no small object gained if, by means of such a festival, the real utility of education may be more clearly seen, if men may behold anew the dignity of scholarship, learn to revere the ministry of the college, and find the chief items of wealth in their ideas rather than in their acres.

And yet this hour ought to be devoted to some higher end than the mere utterance of panegyric, or the indulgence of literary self-complacency. We need to do something more than to justify our pursuits as scholars, to repel the accusations of criticism, and silence the cavilling tongue of doubt. This is an

* This article was originally delivered as an Address, before the Societies of a Literary Institution, which fact may explain its rhetorical form.

hour for study not less than for congratulation. We come not only to rejoice over our privileges, but also to learn our duty. We may sing peans to scholarship if we will, but we are set also to execute its commands. We honor it by our work rather than by our word. It can spare our compliments, if it can have our service. We testify for it not so much when we eulogize its spirit, as when we show that it has built up for us a noble manhood. Its certificates are not the diplomas we put proudly into our pockets, but the dignity we put calmly and constantly into our lives. Let me then speak of TRUE SCHOLARSHIP, as distinguished from that which is seeming and false; of its real uses as distinguished from its baseless pretensions; and of its practical work in the living world, as distinguished from the dreaming of the cloister, the droning of the literary aristocrat, and the effeminate etiquette of the pedant. Such a study may offer us less of quiet luxury, but it may yield us quite as much of real profit.

Scholarship is not absolute but relative; whether it represents quantity or quality. It does not stand always and everywhere for the same amount nor for the same sort of attainments. The inventory representing the acquisitions of a graduate of an ordinary American College, might appear a somewhat meagre schedule to a Professor in a German University; and we might be still more freely complained of for lacking thoroughness than for wanting breadth of culture. The mental training of by-gone centuries differed greatly from that of the present; and that of the future may perhaps differ from it more widely still. The work to be done by a specific age or people, will and must modify somewhat the culture that is provided and the culture that will be sought. As elements and means of discipline, Mathematics and the Classics will doubtless long remain prominent in every course of liberal study, but regard is to be had to use as well as to discipline,—the toiler may be sometimes set to try his tools instead of being kept forever sharpening them. And a true scholarship will begin by asking what is the work to be done by the trained man, or by the disciplined woman. For all right scholarship has two ends steadily in view,—it would dignify and enrich the scholar's own na-

ture and experience, and it would also make of him a larger and better power to act on and in society.

A well-trained and well-developed mind is a definite result. It is more than a factor; it is a product. A keen intellect, whose action is vigorous and healthy; a nice taste, that appreciates all excellence and feasts on it; a strong imagination, that vivifies all thoughts and builds up all beautiful and glorious things out of the commonest elements of a prosy world; an energetic purpose, that never allows life to stagnate, and puts momentum into every movement; a discriminating conscience, in whose presence the limits of right and wrong are marked by definite boundaries, and policy never escapes detection by putting on the mask of principle; a faith, so calm that a chaos cannot make it tremble and a jubilee of Satan cannot make it waver, and yet so heroic that it will stand alone on the battlefield like Abdiel, and conquer the most terrible foes by persistence, as Bunyan's Christian conquered Apollyon; a fellowship with Heaven, so intimate and fruitful that the midnight hears its prayer, and the very dungeons ring with its *Te Deum*;—these elements, dwelling together in the temple of a single man's experience, tell us the meaning of life, and show to us its splendid fruitage. And it is forever the aim of all true culture to induce such experiences and develop such results as these. Scholarship is doing its true work just in proportion as it takes a mind, in its weakness, or selects it from the common mass of minds, and puts it in possession of such high capacities, and rouses it to such high work.

And such a mind, great though it be in itself, is something more and better than a lifeless monument. It is a force in society,—a power in life. The very breath of such a man makes the air fragrant; he proclaims the dignity and worth of a human soul by his simple greatness; his exalted character rebukes all low living; and his high experiences, reflected in his face, beckon all observers upward and encourage their aspiration. He shows men the greatness that germinates within themselves, and lifts the goal of pursuit farther away toward heaven. He cannot live for himself alone; for his broad and far-reaching shadow offers shelter when he stands solitary and

silent, and the garlands of glory which have been wreathed about him tell the story of his struggles to the observer, and cry as with prophetic tongues,—“He who would be crowned must conquer.”

And such a man is not, and cannot be, a mere silent and passive worker. He will see the meaning of life, and by his work interpret it. Meeting ignorance and misconception, he will make his lips distil wisdom, and put bewildered souls on the true road. He will lay his strong arm under weakness and lift it to its feet again. Good causes, that have been betrayed and impeached, will find in him an advocate, and righteous principles that were crucified he will take gently down from the cross, and laying them away in his own new tomb, wait for their triumphant resurrection. He will go out among men to wield all his great powers, and he will wield them under the direction of his ample knowledge, and according to the best impulses of his well-trained heart. What he *is* will build him up into great majesty, and fill him with all precious experiences, and what he *does* will make him flame like a sun in the firmament of society, and give spreading fruitfulness to surrounding life, as the freshets of the Nile turn the deserts of northern Egypt into gardens. And looking abroad upon this two-fold result, one may see the real aim and the completed work of a true scholarship.

This, however, is dealing with the subject in a very general and comprehensive way. What are some of the features and qualities of the scholarship which adapts itself to our time and country, and which it should be the office of our educational appliances to promote, and the effort of young men and women to secure? This question is important and practical,—important because it is practical. The student's ideal, if he have a definite ideal at all,—and if he has not he might about as well shut his books and go to ditching the interval or fencing the prairie,—the student's ideal will very largely determine his actual. It will furnish the motives and control the methods of his study; it will assimilate all sorts of mental nutriment,—turning even poetry into prose, and teaching him to reckon the value of transcendentalism by the table of Federal money; or it

will, if false, weary him out in a fruitless attempt to become a sparkling philosopher when God meant him for a respectable pedagogue. He only whose aim is right hits the target; the ball may fall short of it even then; but he is sure to make an approach to it. And only he who correctly apprehends the object which he should seek in his life as a scholar, will be likely to become its possessor. The aim at a false ideal gives us only a calamity when we have actualized it, if we find actualization possible; the struggle for the right goal may bring us joyfully there, or if that be too much, it will at least set us down far on the way.

1. The first thing to be suggested as essential to true scholarship, is that each student needs to preserve a thorough personal identity and a true independence of character. Scholarship is properly an attribute of manhood, not a substitute for it. Scholars are made, not by the processes of petrification, but of assimilation. The moss becomes stone, as we say;—that is, one by one the vegetable particles are borne away, and the mineral particles are deposited in the vacant place, until, by and by, there is only the *form* of the vegetable remaining, the *substance* has wholly changed. Scholarship, such as it is, is sometimes produced in the same way. Algebraical signs, lingual roots and particles, phosphates and sulphurets, bivalves and articulata, tertiary deposits and coal measures, cotyledons and angiosperms, nebulæ and precessions of the equinoxes, pancreatic juice and the ablative absolute, affirmations of the consciousness and verbs in *mi*, logarithms and instinct, hydrostatic pressure and theories of causation, equation of payments and the doctrine of the unconditioned,—these are the elements which, one by one, become deposited in the student's nature by displacing the elements of his original manhood. He has become full of *thoughts*, but he has lost the power of *thought*. He has packed away his text-books within him till he has loaded down or crowded out the powers whose healthy and free action could only render him efficient, and he has become simply a great repository of symbols and a cabinet of specimens. He has grown up a Cyclopædia by ceasing to be a man. He only quotes his authors when you ask for his opinions, and repeats

his teachers,—tone, gesture, and all,—when he attempts to give instruction. He is a copyist or an echo,—content to stand like a phrenological plaster-cast, showing to observers how men have mapped out the realm of knowledge, and only aiming, in his highest ambition, to put his single tone into the psalm of life, as the player claps his cymbals when a note needs to be emphasized.

Now, first of all, true scholarship demands that the student preserve and enlarge his personality,—that he be a definite and positive quantity rather than a mere co-efficient,—that he assimilate his knowledge instead of burying himself beneath it;—that he use it instead of giving himself up to be used by it. It is valuable to him in proportion as it develops his power, and scarcely less than injurious when it is allowed to crush that power, or when it forbids him to wield it freely. I am not commending the egotism which is hardly capable of being taught; nor the captiousness which stops to doubt or question or deny every thing, though it be as plain as an axiom; nor the intense self-consciousness which disfigures every sentence with pronouns of the first person singular. All that is insufferable vanity, which makes wisdom impossible. But one may study a text-book without shutting himself between the covers; he may defer to his teachers without turning ape or parrot; he may associate with scholars without losing himself in the wilderness of their fancies. And that modest but manly independence, which hears the testimony and then frames its own verdicts, which fortifies each conclusion with careful thought, which treats every honest doubt with respect even while other men sneer at it, which would rather confess its ignorance than dogmatize over unsettled questions, that would prefer the loss of caste to the loss of intellectual integrity, that would sooner stand alone and be right than lead a multitude who were hastening to canonize a wrong, that would cry with Galileo, "*And yet it moves,*" even before signing the charter which gave a new base of life to a conservative lie,—such an independence as that is the Granite formation which underlies all genuine deposits of knowledge and supports the successive layers of all true scholarship. He who lacks it only gives learning over to contempt

and impeaches every educational institution in the hearing of the public. Save as scholarship develops and promotes all manly qualities and all high forms of life, its promises will be set down as pretences, its work will excite suspicion, and its fruits leave society poorer.

2. And this leads me to say that a true scholarship will never be self-complacent simply because a regular course of study has been gone over; it will never parade its diplomas as the last and surest proof of large attainments; nor flaunt ostentatiously the mere trappings of literature, instead of laying away within, the solid substance of learning. .

I am not bidding you set a slight value upon the systematic training of the seminary, nor upon the curriculum of the college; I am not teaching you to spurn the testimonials which wise teachers give to the effectual diligence of students; and I am not unmindful of the charms and graces of polite literature and ornamental scholarship. He who deems himself certain of mental eminence while spurning the help of educational appliances, is probably either a dunce or an egotist, and dunces and egotists seldom turn out prodigies. He who boasts over the absence of a diploma is probably giving a new version of the fox's harangue to his friends on the unsightly appearance of a tail, after he had had his own caudal appendage snapped off in the steel-trap. And the sneers at literary taste, and the protests against the graces of a finished culture, remind one of the self-congratulations of the maiden lady, whose ugliness of face and spirit had shocked half the young men in the neighborhood, and who thanked fortune, as she said, that *she* had never been proud of *her* beauty, and that *she* should never have to answer for the sin of coquetry.

But it is worth the while to remember that a college course does not of necessity confer wisdom along with the degree it procures; that the reading of Blackstone and Chitty positively secures to no unfledged lawyer high forensic skill; and a young man may study a dozen systems of divinity and yet be only a clerical weakling in the pulpit. He who relies on his teachers instead of himself will be disappointed. There is no magic in appliances to compel scholarship;—the liberal learning of the

Professor cannot be at once transferred to a heedless member of the class;—and the solid reputation of the University is not insured as an inheritance to every graduate. It is a poor answer to a question, touching one's attainments, when he only points to the text-books he has used; and it is a sorry proof of power to parade a piece of parchment.

Such testimonies will not suffice;—not even so well as they once did. Society asks for deeds rather than for certificates. He who can work is employed, and he who develops and uses power is revered. Force of thought gets distinction, no matter where it is developed; and serviceable skill bears off the honors from the field. He who claims to be educated will be asked what he can do; and he who demands public esteem is calmly told to buy it. And there is no injustice in all that. In the long run real merit gets recognized; and he who waits for deference and finds it does not come, would do well to ask whether it is certain that it is deserved. And there are not many sorer specimens of life than those presented by young men, with all the bones and muscles that go to make up a complete frame, and with the faculties of a whole mind in possession, who have managed to go through the routine of liberal study, and who then stand idly, year after year, because they have learned to scorn all ordinary occupations;—pompously demanding to be assigned a place among extraordinary and dignified ones before they have shown any adequate competency for the service;—seeming to feel that they have laid society under obligation to pet and praise and defend them, by becoming liberally educated. And these are not wholly men of straw. They may be found, here and there, wondering at the ingratitude and blindness of the public that cannot see or will not appreciate their fancied excellencies, and scandalized at seeing others, that make no boast of scholarship, winning their way to posts of honor, and becoming great moving powers in society. They forget that their pretensions are adapted to provoke suspicion, that their demands awaken resistance, that their croaking shows a lack of real mettle, that their plea for nothing but dainty or dignified work begets a distrust of their ability, and a scorn of their exclusiveness. The scholar's character should

be his passport, his practical wisdom his diploma, his heroic purpose should solicit confidence from his fellows, and his resolute labor attest his worth. Real scholarship needs no herald to go before it, and no panegyrist to dog its foot-steps and tell men that a hero has just passed by. It will carry its signet on its forehead; its very air will be royal, and its calm and modest tone will exhibit and not conceal the nobleness behind it. Honor will inhabit all spheres where it abides, and it will lay its hand upon no task without investing it with a new importance. "*Behold my jewels,*" said the Roman matron, as she pointed to her children, and the true scholar will have his wealth symbolized in his work.

And the attainments of the true scholar will be of the solid rather than of the brilliant sort. He will gather his learning for use and not for exhibition. It must add to his own power and enrich his own experiences in order to satisfy him; he will not readily vote himself a philosopher because somebody has wondered at his profundity, nor set himself down as a literary marvel because his graduating oration was pronounced a showy performance. The dull iron ore is worth an hundred fold more to men than all the gold that can be gathered, and a plain man of high principle and solid common sense is a richer possession for a community than a dozen scholastic theorizers, or a whole regiment of wits whose common speech is all ablaze with epigrams. The pedant hangs all his mental wares at the doors and windows, as the Parisian shopkeepers display their finery; the shop inside is narrow in its proportions and dirty in its appearance; the true scholar is like the western bottom lands, the deeper you sub-soil the more wealth is turned in the furrow, and the more magnificent are the harvests which appear and invite the sickle of the reaper.

3. And this suggests again that an acquaintance with our ample and varied English literature, and especially an acquaintance with that portion of it which belongs to its earlier periods, will be both promotive of true scholarship and essential to its security. We import our fashions very largely from abroad, and it is very fashionable to glorify the wealth of other lands than our father land, and praise the music of other tongues than

that in which our cradle lullabies were sung, and which our souls use as a chariot when they would find the way to heaven along the track of prayer. I do not disparage either the languages or the literature of the old classic times; for the first constitute a noble study, and the last is richly instructive. The martial spirit of the old Roman warriors seems pealing its clarion, or leading a charge, or telling a tale of victory, in the stately Latin prose even of our text-books, or reposing like a conqueror in its tent in the swelling cadences of Virgil; and the critical subtlety and the poetical richness of the Grecian mind are symbolized in the verbal conjugations and the rhythmic flow of the language which at first bewilders and then charms every student. But comparatively few of our ordinary students take the pains to learn of the wealth of thought and the skill of diction which are enshrined in the older English literature.

I cannot stop to give anything like an analysis of these ample and varied productions, nor even draw out a list of the authors who stamped the impress of their genius upon their times, —who interpreted their own age, represented the products of centuries before their own, and gave direction to the thought of succeeding generations. But there is hardly one subject of thought but that literature unfolds and illustrates it; scarcely one great practical problem that is not there dealt with; scarcely one style of speech but has its high examples; scarcely one hope swelling the soul but finds there inspiration to quicken it; scarcely one grand object of pursuit but is revealed with wonderful distinctness and invested with more magnetic power. There is the solid and luminous thought of Bacon, where every sentence is freighted with wisdom; the quaint imagery and the picturesque moralizing of Quarles, who paints a precept with an original similitude, utters a warning through an unaccustomed metaphor, and lifts up a great truth by the help of alliterations; the pure and wise, and lively simplicity of Cowley, who loves nature with a child's enthusiasm, discourses of a landscape with the charm of a true poet, and talks of metaphysics with a genial vivacity that forbids his instructed and delighted auditor to grow weary; the vivid dramatizings of Ben. Johnson, who puts life on the stage that he may help us to

understand it when we meet it in the castle or the street; the lofty wisdom of Hooker, whose thought always takes an upward sweep and leaves the reader nearer to heaven; the varied learning and magnificent periods of Taylor, who so revels in the luxuriance of the universe that it seems a self-denial to come back to his home and rest; the pungent Saxon and the bold home-thrusts of South, whose sermons overflow with argument and set forth the expressional power of the language; the exhaustless wealth of Shakespeare, who scatters his gems as a summer night scatters dew-drops,—putting five centuries of history into a play, and painting half a nation's life on a page; the wondrous magnificence of Milton, the movement of whose verse is like the roll of the ocean after a storm,—wave thundering in upon wave,—and the swell of whose music is like a *Te Deum* poured from the pipes of a great organ along the nave of a cathedral; these are some of the educational influences that offer themselves to the student in our abundant English literature. It is the blossoming of the English mind in the various stages of its culture, setting forth the qualities of its life, and bearing witness to the productiveness of the soil. There may be seen the conflicts of principles whose power comes out in the heroes we venerate; and there may be felt the throbbing of the great hearts whose love and devotion are the highest wealth of any kingdom. The solid learning of scholars is spread out as food for vigorous natures there, and the flowers of poetry are profusely dispensed, and dispersed to make all the mental landscape beautiful. There philosophers discourse profound and serious wisdom; there research displays its stores, and pious meditation shows how aspiring souls struggled and rose to God. Not a phase of life but gets an impressive portraiture, not a department of knowledge but is nobly represented, not a quality in manly character but is impressively set forth, not a brave struggle of the heart but finds some one to vocalize and interpret its aspiration. Armies that battled for the rights which we inherit tramp across the page as we read; the stormy debates of still stormier revolutions are repeated before us; cottages open their doors and show us our ancestral life around the hearth-stone; and the sonorous liturgy of the cathedral and the simple but reverential psalm of the conventicle float down together across the stretch of centu-

ries, and set all the heart-chorde vibrating. Whatever nurtures solidity and strength of thought, amplitude of survey, enthusiasm of spirit, love for beauty, longing for human improvement, and aspiration for immortal good, may be found as a part of that precious literary inheritance which every year of English history has been enlarging and enriching. It deals with our own type of mind, it shows us the unfolding of our own institutions, it tells how our own public and private character has been built up, it offers us an inventory of the forces which throb in and through our whole social life, and exhibits the method in which we are to employ power for high and beneficent ends. No nation has had a more significant history, nor ever wielded more varied implements, nor occupied a more important position, nor had offered it a sublimer destiny, than this same English nation, combining the past of the old world and the promised future of the new. And no American scholar has done anything like justice to his opportunities, or honored his position, who has so busied himself over foreign tongues or scientific theories, as to ignore the treasures of English thought, and exclude the solid and generous culture which a study of English literature would give him.

4. A true scholarship will aim to enrich and dignify our common spheres and common life with the capacities and experiences of learning. By so much as scholars are more amply taught, are they bound to outgrow the follies of exclusiveness and the imbecilities of aristocracy, for these are the weaknesses of little natures, and the warpings of a vicious or partial training. The scholar is forever sent by his duty, and committed by his virtual pledges, to work for the instruction of society. It is a sad fact that we are so in the habit of estimating every thing by its value at the broker's counter, or its power to lift us up in the social scale. We are in the way of taking it for granted that every college student must be intending to plead law, or practice medicine, or preach the gospel; and that every young lady who studies Logic and Latin is aiming to found or manage a female seminary, or edit a magazine, or preside in a parsonage. We take it for granted that they intend to use their diplomas as a passport to some peculiar distinction, and

that their years of study are the price they pay for the privilege of being exempted from the burdens of all common work for the rest of life. Now this is to degrade learning, and to divest education of all its real dignity. Scholarship is an interior treasure, whose value is independent of position, and whose ministry is any where glorious. Outward misfortunes may compel a philosopher to beg for bread, or a poet to break stones in the street, or send a wise statesman into exile, or lock up a flaming apostle in a prison; but the treasures of the mind do not part with their value. Their enriching power grows great and glorious in such strains of life as these. The meditations of the philosopher over his crust may make his meal more glad than any which an epicure enjoys at his groaning board; the precious music in the poet's soul may render him deaf to all the din of the crowded thoroughfare; magnificent systems of political economy may grow up in the exiled statesman's thought, and the apostle's dungeon becomes a temple of song to the prisoner, and then it is a splendid Mecca where the succeeding centuries go on pilgrimage.

When a true scholar is asked why he studies, his answer will be—"To ennoble my nature and enrich my experience;"—and if the querist still stares wonderingly and repeats his question, the scholar only adds—"I am preparing to teach ignorant souls how to interpret life." There is no higher work for Scholarship to do than to put its honors upon common labor, and dignify our most ordinary spheres of service with his presence. Study is not lost because the student follows the plough, or brings out the cunning of the fingers in the artisan's shop, or fills all the day with the music of the forge. In these spheres, and such as these, the great mass of men must continue to abide. There the primary powers of society are wielded, and its primary wants are supplied. And there can be no nobler work for scholarship to undertake than to bear the joys and inspiration of learning to these masses who toil and sweat without knowing the luxuries which education brings, and show them by example how all needful work is noble, and how it may be married to literary culture as the swarthy Vulcan of mythology was wedded to Venus, the goddess of grace and beauty.

A company of well educated men, scattered over a commonwealth, employing their energy and wearing meekly their solid honors in the spheres of common toil, would be making a plea for scholarship whose silent eloquence no orator could rival, and would be scattering the benefactions of learning as no mere scientific teacher knows how. The pompous pedant, on the other hand, disgraces his Alma Mater and tempts the whole community to a crusade against the school.

5. Let me say again that true scholarship will be modest before the multiplied problems which it cannot solve, and reverent before the face of that supernatural teaching which so blends the authority of the Infinite Sovereign with the teaching of a Friend and the mercy of a Father. Scholarship has a mission to perform in relation to the presumptuous theories of the universe which a superficial science is multiplying, and in relation to the skepticism which a boastful self-sufficiency is so free to avow.

The right of private judgment has been nobly won through many a hard-fought battle, but that hardly justifies every tyro in philosophy in setting himself up for an oracle; freedom of inquiry is a crucible where the dross of error is purged away from the gold of truth, but that does not warrant every man who is living falsely in scouting every religious doctrine that condemns his conduct. A denial, it should be remembered, destroys nothing except the influence which the rejected sentiment exerts over the man, and a doubt unsettles only the faith or the character of the doubter. A text of Scripture remains just as it was after men have got weary of torturing it on the rack of a false exegesis, or of pelting it with the smuttiest sarcasms; and a vote of the largest majority annuls no law of God. A true and heroic and persistent faith is the only reasonable thing; and the very weakest and most imbecile credulity is often that which is known as skepticism. A man is sometimes only uncovering his servile weaknesses, instead of setting forth a manly and independent mind, when he contemns his father's Christian counsels, and ridicules the prayerful confidence which sanctified his mother's life, and renders her memory fragrant.

This pomposity of denial, and this pride of doubt, is almost a mania or an epidemic among young men, and especially among that class of young men who are not sufficiently taught to enable them to know their own ignorance, and whose culture has proceeded just far enough to promote conceit. I do not, by any means, deny that doubts over religion may be honest, and a calm and healthy criticism may question the dogmas which commanded a majority vote in an old council, and have had the endorsement of a thousand years. It is the misfortune of some minds to be constitutionally suspicious,—their very intellect is shaped like an interrogation point, and they spontaneously challenge every proposition that approaches them. Others may have long taken everything on trust and authority, mixing up all sorts of incongruities in the mental stomach, until chemical fermentation and colic have made an emetic necessary, and so they spend the rest of life in disgorging and retching, and spurning all healthful tonics as nostrums. Others still have been schooled viciously, and now find it difficult to unlearn what stands in the way of true and solid teaching; and yet others innocently misconceive for a time the character of that faith which is offered them in the name of the Messiah, and so accuse simply because they do not understand. All these are properly excepted from the great mass of those who claim to be too wise to need supernatural light, or too discriminating to accept the evidences offered to prove it has come, or too busy with practice to leave time to take care of faith, or too much interested in the affairs of this world to devote attention to the doubtful and distant concerns of the other.

This skepticism assumes many phases, and is variously represented. There is the devotee of science, who declares that the history of the universe is written on the forehead of the world, and that the author of Genesis has contradicted the older record, and so convicted himself of forgery or ignorance. There is the materialist, who demonstrates that there is no soul, and so no future life; and the pantheistic metaphysician, who annihilates all human and Divine personality and makes life only a circulation of being, like the evaporation and condensation and flowing of the ocean waters, till they find their

way back to the sea. Then there are those who will have only the religion which is absolute and universal; and the believers in the adequacy of spiritual insight, who pronounce all special teaching an absurdity and all book revelations impossible, who count all miracles deceptions, and know no prophets but those which appear in the form of brilliant men. And, last of all, there are those who disbelieve in the Bible through their belief in the ancient hieroglyphics and in the oriental chronology; and those who have, it may be, some confidence in the quakings of Horeb, but much more in the waltzing of parlor furniture; who suppose Isaiah may have meant something when he took up the burden of Babylon, but very much less than a modern trance medium means who discourses about the degrees of development, or harangues about spiral progression through the seven celestial spheres.

Of these phases and theories of skepticism I cannot and need not stop to speak at length. But it may be said that not one in a thousand among men find any clear story of our race or philosophy of our life in the volume of nature; they who claim to find it, had their eyes opened by the hand of the gospel; and even these perpetually contradict each other and contradict themselves,—amending and modifying and rejecting their old translations as the work of exploration goes on. The materialist attributes to matter qualities and powers which no analyst ever discovered, and so believes what taxes credulity far more than anything he rejects, and the pantheist exalts men to the rank of Gods only to degrade both God and man to the rank of the beast. The Absolute Religion, which is so much glorified, sends the Fetich to adore the crocodile, the Calmuch to smear his hands with human sacrifice, and the New Zealander to feast on human flesh; and the prophets who speak in behalf of spiritual insight, dispute about what is to be seen by the inward eye, and quarrel about the significance of what is beheld in common. Nine-tenths of all those who make human history almost eternal, never read a line of Confucius, nor saw a translation of the Vedas; and the responsive raps on the table are as loud and prompt and decisive when the name of some living man is called, as when Goliath is summoned with

his spear like a weaver's beam, or Samson comes swinging the arms that once plucked down the pillars of the Philistine temple.

But I do not stop to discuss these developments of skepticism, or illustrate the credulity they imply. I only say that true scholarship will be too modest to endorse their monstrous pretensions almost without inquiry, too critical to swallow their fallacies without wincing, too reverent to mock at the sanctities they attack, too philanthropic to look on the moral wastes they create, and the heart-wrecks they multiply with indifference, too considerate and serious to endorse the dogmatic and flip-pant utterances they nurture over man's highest concerns. The true scholar will be quick to see and prompt to declare that a real reverence for God and a practical faith in the Bible have underlain all the best qualities in character, all the noblest heroism in life, and all the grandest movements in history; and he will be slow to acknowledge that falsehoods can mature such fruits as these. He will look after the reasons for faith; and demand the grounds of doubt, and point out the implications of denial. He will not only have an eye for the difficulties of confidence, but an eye also for the absurdities of skepticism. As a helper of progress, he will seek to simplify and make belief accurate, and as the guardian of all great interests which by-gone centuries have committed to him in trust, he will cling to the ancient inheritance of faith till he is sure that the new gifts promised by skepticism are larger and better. True scholarship surveys the whole realm of life, and then plans and works for a broad field and a long future; and it will not covet ephemeral and superficial gains when they lead to succeeding losses and ultimate bankruptcy. A young man who is chiefly ambitious to sparkle, and is bent on ends which can be gained only by putting a Christian conscience out of the way, may run into the habit of satirizing Christian character and firing philosophic epigrams at St. Paul, but a calm, thoughtful man, with his gray hairs resting upon the pillow of death, and his sons and daughters gathered around his bed to hear his parting counsels, would hardly be jubilant over an infidel career, or hasten to enjoin it upon his children to perpetuate and

extend his malignant skepticism. I am not here to preach, I know well enough, but the lecturer has responsibilities which he may not forget, and literature has its honors to be looked after. And that education is partial, or weak, or cowardly, or treacherous, which blurs over the name of God, which ignores the Messiah, which has no word to speak for the truth, which says nothing of the sanctities of duty, and presses out of sight the grandest fact pertaining to us,—I mean the fact that existence and influence are both immortal. And any and every man,—no matter though he be an autocrat in literature,—who strikes at justice, and undermines the right, and blunts the sense of moral responsibility in men, and assails the everlasting verities of religion, is surely dooming his name to pity, or infamy, or oblivion. There are not a few such names now, which might have been growing more and more grateful to men but for this, that are kept in sight only by being embalmed with charitable apologies, are seldom heard except in company with protests,—and their certain fate is to rot; and there are others, spoken but rarely while the owners lived, that go sounding down the years, waking new voices to music as they speed on to futurity, because they reëcho the voice that broke on us in the sentences of the decalogue, that called weary hearts to repose, and that speaks evermore to our hope from the highest heaven.

6. I only add that true scholarship sustains a most important relation, and is expected to contribute a large and valuable influence to our public life. Education and government are closely allied, and the school and the state act freely upon each other. If it is true that our public life is the exponent of our private character, it is equally true that our personal life is largely schooled by our public institutions and public men. And the true scholar will have too broad views to overlook his obligations to society, and too high a regard for the general good, to allow himself a life of mere literary indulgence. The zeal of learning which is indifferent to the perils of the state is hardly to be coveted, and the enthusiastic pursuit of metaphysics, while vicious principles are gaining ground, and the public conscience is being debauched, is a very low sort of

scholarly virtue. It is poor praise which history awards the old mathematician of Syracuse, who sat absorbed in his theorems while the city was being sacked by military mercenaries, and allowed himself to be slain while drawing a diagram. And the scholar who can busy himself merely in writing sonnets to Arcadia, when a new territory is being thrown open to barbarism and tyranny, or expend all his energy in developing or defending a new theory of Greek accentuation, while corrupt party leaders are hurrying the people blindfold to the commission of some great crime against man, and to some fearful act of defiance to God's authority and protest, is recreant to his special duty and false to the honor and interests of learning. That is the place for him to wield his gathered power in behalf of sound principles, and that is the time to put in his strong and brave words for the defence of righteousness. To what end is his training, if he can do nothing in the great crisis of life; and what defence can he set up for his expensive attainments if he cannot or will not use them to save the honor of his country, or the manhood of his kindred? The too frequent attempts of the scholarship of this country to be neutral in the great contests of our civil life show either a deplorable ignorance, a pitiable pusillanimity, or a consummate selfishness; the alliance of that scholarship with the unjust schemes and reckless attempts to exhume old iniquities which even barbarism had put into the tomb, and commission them anew in the name of philanthropy and religion, denotes a perverted conscience and a petrified heart. It ought to learn better without the aid of special teaching or rebuking examples, but it has both to impress the lesson. Von Humboldt, though living in the shadow of thrones a thousand years old, will lend no sanction to any species of tyranny or feudalism; and John Milton will lift up his trumpet-voice for freedom, though all Europe seem deaf to his words, and all the profligate court of the second Charles grin at him in derision.

Other men may find some sort of an apology—whatever may be said respecting its worth,—for silence or acquiescence in our bad national faith, and our still worse national crimes. The politician, it may be, gets his influence by it, the office-

holder his place, the human leech his hold upon the pecuniary veins, the merchant his patronage, the judge his ermine, and the clergyman his wealthy parishioners and his popular pulpit; but the scholar is likely to get nothing but the conscious disgrace of servility, and the disease of heart which wastes all the vitality of his genius. He reads history in his quietude, and he knows that history is forever expounding and emphasizing the old statement, that only righteousness exalteth a nation. He studies principles calmly, without bias, and sees their everlasting authority, and apprehends the honor and the safety that come of their guidance. He searches for the truth, and he bends before her daily where she sits on the throne, keeping her queenly air, and dispensing her priceless rewards. He discovers that a hampered intellect is disgraced and fretted, like a subdued king marching at the tail of his conqueror's chariot, and that the realm of knowledge widens only under the eye of an unfettered and courageous explorer. And for a scholar to come out from such a sphere and such an experience, to play the sycophant or act the coward, to fawn upon the unrighteous strong and ignore the wrongs of the spoiled, to spin philosophical theories that may extenuate personal sins, and employ special pleading that shall gild over national pride and perfidy—that is to adopt a policy whose transparent foolishness is only equalled by the treachery with which he dishonors his calling. Give us a literature never disfigured by unmanly concessions in the name of patriotism, nor poisoned by false principles under the guise of philanthropy; and give us a national guard of scholars, who will charge upon all public iniquities however firmly entrenched, and never be bought over to wrong causes by the most tempting offers, and our tangled politics would soon grow plain, and the organized despotism that has strengthened itself till it has grown defiant, and opposed itself to so many assaults that an armistice or a doubtful peace has been deemed a favorable issue,—this despotism would soon be dislodged from its Sevastopol at Washington and retreat in dismay from its Magenta and Solferino in the territories and states.

The mission of American scholarship is one full of promise, if it will only be true to itself and its providential appointment.

Here, more than any where else in all the world, knowledge is power, and the strong mind is royal. He who has a great thought may speak it freely, and he who can prove himself a worthy and brave and skilful leader, shall not long want followers. Our common school system is fast putting the masses of the people into a position to appreciate thought and exercise their civil and social sovereignty under the guidance of intelligent principle. He who can sway these masses,—not by appeals addressed to their passions and prejudices, which are soon forgotten,—but by sound instruction addressed to the understanding, and by right principles appealing straight to the conscience, whose power long abides,—will be the captain of a mighty host, and the herald of great and beneficent results. American authorship is already commanding respect across the sea, our scholars are to help largely in building up our national character and fixing our national position, and our literature is to teach the listening continents. The programme of our significant life is being made out, we are soon to settle down to our steady and far-reaching work; our spirit is soon to be made manifest, and our reputation will be built up. There was never a nobler opportunity for scholarship than that offered it here and now; no grander work will ever be set before it, no stronger motives can ever appeal to it, no richer promise can encourage its fidelity, no more solemn warnings can combine to hold it back from a selfish indolence, a stereotyped etiquette, a timid subserviency, or a criminal career. The fulcrum which the old philosopher sought has been found;—let our scholarship grasp the lever and move the world upward,—far upward,—nearer to heaven.

ART. V.—ROMANISM IN CONTRAST WITH PROTESTANTISM.

In the discussion of this subject, we propose to present in contrast these two systems of religion, that it may be seen which of them is Bible Christianity, as both cannot be the religion of the Holy Scriptures.

The Roman Catholic church numbers in the United States about 3,000,000, mostly foreigners; and it claims to number 200,000,000 members in the world.

In contrasting these two systems, we will confine ourself to four points.

1. Their morals, and reforming power. The grand characteristic feature of Protestantism is its reformed life, its purity of morals, and its power to reform. It teaches that man must live a *new* life; must turn away from foolish and sinful ways; and that he must *aim* at holiness and purity of life in order to be a Christian, and be recognized as a church member.

Not so with Roman Catholicism. Their children are born into the church, baptised and confirmed as members, without any new birth, or reformation in morals. Roman Catholics may be most basely immoral and remain good church members, provided they observe the rites, and perform the ceremonies that the priests prescribe.

Drunkenness, profanity, quarrelling and theft are common in nearly all Catholic communities, and for these offences they are not unchurched, or even disciplined. A single fact will illustrate this point.

In 1849, England and Wales, with a population of *three times* as many as Ireland, had only 27,816 criminals, while Ireland had 41,989 criminals. Ireland, a Catholic country, had nearly twice as many criminals as England and Wales, Protestant countries, with *three times* the population.

In this country, there are *seven* Protestants to *one* Catholic, yet in our jails and prisons more than half of our criminals are Catholic church members! It was recently stated

that in New York city, of the 6000 criminals there, *three-fourths* of them are Roman Catholics.

No person can be acquainted with facts in our large cities, and not know that the Roman Catholic religion is almost entirely destitute of any reformatory power upon the lives of its subjects.

And in all heathen countries, where this religion has been propagated, it has entirely failed to reform the heathen it has converted to Romanism. It has only changed them from *Pagan* heathen to *Papal* heathen, and left them as ignorant and immoral as it found them.

This to us is the most damning feature of this system of superstition. We could endure its nonsense and mockery for worship, if it taught and insisted upon good morals, and produced reformed lives; but this is neither its fruit or its aim.

It possesses no power of reforming men's lives. *Bible* religion is a reformatory system; and any system of religion that does not *aim* and *tend* to reform is *anti-Christian*, whatever else it may profess.

Here, then, we see a wide gulf between Protestantism and the Roman Catholic system of religion. But we pass,

2. To contrast these two systems on the matter of education, and general intelligence. Wherever Protestantism goes, books, schools, and general systems of education immediately abound, as its natural fruits. Schools, books, and education we consider an important part of our mission in the world.

We consider education to be a hand-maid to religion; with us the more *generally* knowledge is extended, the greater the good to community.

Hence we insist on the education of the masses of every community; and hence, too, we urge our system of free schools as a part of our religious system, or at least as sanctioned by our religion.

But *how* is it with Catholicism? We all know that Rome hates the light, and that Romanism does not aim at the education of the people. To any system of general education, and to a free school system, the Roman church is deadly hostile.

As proof on this point, we will let her own agents and organs

speak. The "*Shepherd of the Valley*," a Catholic paper, says, "This teaching every one to read is bearing its fruit in our day, and a very unwholesome kind of fruit it appears to be."

Now *why* is this very "unwholesome fruit" to Popery? We answer, because her system flourishes best in ignorance. She "chooses darkness to light," her deeds being evil.

The "*Free Witness*," another of their papers, says, "The grog-shops, gambling-houses, and the brothels count their victims by thousands, and the common schools of America count *theirs* by millions."

Here our common school system is compared to grog-shops, gambling-houses, and brothels, and as *more* to be deprecated than these nuisances by the Romish church. As Protestants, our motto is universal intelligence,—education for the masses; but the policy of Rome is universal ignorance, or at least ignorance of the *masses*. Protestantism is a system of light, shining in dark places; but Catholicism is darkness itself, even shutting up the avenues of intelligence and knowledge. *Our* great work is to enlighten the world; but Rome's work is to blind and degrade all within its reach, except her leaders. Rome hates the light, as her system is only safe where general intelligence is suppressed. Hence in no Catholic country is there any thing like a common school system, at least as compared with such as exist in Protestant countries.

3. We come now to contrast these two systems in relation to religious and civil liberty. The design and the tendency of true Protestantism are to promote freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of action within appropriate limits. Freedom to study and learn God's will, and to worship our Maker according to the dictates of our own consciences, is the fundamental principle of our Protestantism.

But, far otherwise, is it with the Romish church. She has always assumed the right to dictate man's faith, and say what he may, and what he may not believe, and how he may not and how he shall worship. And this right of dictation she claims now as fully as at any past time.

The right of conscience she denies to her subjects; and her entire history has been written in the blood of her martyrs,

more than *fifteen millions* of whom she has put to death for no other offence than freedom of thought. *Fifteen millions* of God's people slaughtered by the church of Rome! Well, then, may it be said of this "abomination of the whole earth," "She was drunk with the blood of the saints."

Let us now look at Rome's position at this day on these points. In 1844—45, in Madeira, some 600 were converted to our Protestant faith under the labors of Dr. Kelly, and they were obliged to flee the country to save their lives, most of whom emigrated to our western valley.

A few years since, the Grand Duke of Tuscany imprisoned Guikkiordini, and several others for meeting together to read and explain the Bible, and for social worship. Also in 1850, in Florence, Francisco Madiari and his wife were imprisoned, under a sentence of five years incarceration in a dismal cell, because they were found reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures to their friends and neighbors.

Rome at this day does not allow the opening of a Protestant chapel in the "Eternal city," and our Protestant English worship there, has to be held in the private parlor of our American consul.

Now that it may be seen that the Roman Catholic church still occupies this hostile position to freedom and free principles, we will let her own authors of the present time speak. Says the "*Rambler*," a Catholic paper, "Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every one to choose his religion, is one of the most wicked delusions foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. *No man has a right to choose his religion.*" This is Roman Catholicism in our day, and even in this professedly free country. In relation to the above sentiment, the "*Freeman's Journal*," B. P. Hughes' organ, says, "We willingly endorse every word of it."

Says the "*Shepherd of the Valley*," "The church is of necessity intolerant,—heresy she endures when and where she must,—but she hates it. If Catholics ever gain an immense numerical majority in this country, religious freedom will be at an end."

B. P. O'Connor of Pennsylvania says, "Religious toleration

is only endured till the opposite can be established with safety to the Catholic world."

The present Pope says, "The absurd and erroneous doctrines, or ravings, in defense of liberty of conscience, is a most pestilential error,—a pest, of all others, most to be dreaded in a state."

Says O. A. Brownson, "Our people (i. e., the Catholics,) must destroy the Constitution of the United States if the church decrees it." Brownson again says, "Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have, any rights where Catholicity is triumphant."

The "*Boston Pilot*" says, "No religion can exist without an inquisition for the protection of the faith." Now that you may understand what an inquisition is, we will state that the "*Italian Journal*" boasts that the "holy inquisition dismissed 34,658 souls of heretics to the flames of hell, between 1481 and 1820, and doomed 280,000 more to prisons."

From the above quotations we see that our right to read the Bible, to think, to speak, to choose, and to worship as we may see it our duty, we now enjoy only because Rome can not prevent it for want of power, and that should she ever gain the power in this country,—to use the language of one of their writers, "Religious liberty is at an end." *May God save us and our country from such a fearful doom!*

4. We come now to the last point of contrast in this discussion, which is in relation to the Bible, and its distribution. One of the greatest glories of the Protestant church is its efforts and its success in translating, printing and circulating copies of the Holy Scriptures, thus seeking to make the Bible the light of the world in reality. This is our work as Protestants.

Let us now see how it is with the Roman church. There is nothing that Rome seems to dread so much as the Bible. The common English version is not allowed a general circulation among Catholic families, and in most cases, they are not allowed to have it at all. This is so in all languages spoken. As proof of this we refer you to a recent decree of the present Pope that, "Whoever was guilty of bringing into Rome any copy of

the Bible in the Italian language, shall be sent to the galleys for four years." Nothing would be so dangerous in Rome as an Italian Bible, at liberty among the people:

We are forming Bible societies to multiply, translate, and circulate the Bible in all languages, and in all the world, while at the same time Popery is doing its utmost to curtail and circumscribe the word of God. In many places, Catholics refuse to let their children attend our common schools because the Bible is read in them. And in numerous instances where Bibles have been given them, the priests have gathered them up and burned them.

Look at an other fact. Catholics have been sending missionaries among the heathen for three hundred years, and they have not translated the scriptures into a single heathen language, while Protestants have been only about 60 years in the mission work, and they have translated the Bible into one hundred and fifty native languages. Our work is to give *all* nations the word of God in their own tongue, to be a "lamp to their feet and a light to their path."

But Rome's work seems to be to keep all ignorant of the Holy Scriptures. Now why this hatred of the Bible? We answer, because its teachings are at war with Rome's principles. The only safety of Popery is to keep Bible light from the minds of its people. Thus it seems that Roman Catholicism is nearly as far from being true Christianity as taught us in the New Testament, as is any system of heathenism. In fact, it is in many places as really idolatry as is Hindooism.

Looking at the ignorance, superstition, tyranny, and demoralizing influences of the Roman church, it is a most gratifying and glorious progress of light and freedom of thought, that we now see gaining ground in Italy and other Catholic countries.

There are now evident signs that the 1260 years of Rome's rule are nearly expired, and soon may we expect to see this tyrant power "consumed by the brightness of Christ's coming," in the glory and power of the gospel.

ART. VI.—OUR COUNTRY.

The home of childhood and youth is usually a place of interesting and most endearing associations, and of joys that are passing lovely. Hence strong attachments to it, and hence in after years, if residing in other localities, it is delightful to bring to view by fond recollection the place and the pleasures once so agreeably enjoyed. And somewhat on the principle involved in this, one has a strong love for his country. Its land has been given by God;—its literary and religious institutions have been productive of the greatest good;—and its government protected in the enjoyment of inalienable rights. One often sees faults in his country, in that its institutions are not perfect, or its laws not just, or not wisely executed; but then he says, "My country, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

In 1785, John Adams was received at the British Court as the first minister from this country. After a formal introduction to George III., the king in a sociable way told Mr. Adams there was an opinion that he was not so partial to France as some of his countrymen in the United States. Mr. Adams replied, "That opinion, sir, is not mistaken. I must avow to your majesty, I have no attachment but to my country." The king quickly replied, "An honest man will never have any other." The captive Jews in Babylon, in remembering the land of their birth and the cherished religious institutions they had enjoyed there, wept. And, allowing here a forcible illustration by citizens of our land away in distant portions of the earth, whatever sea they traverse, when they see a vessel bearing aloft that sacred sheet, "the stars and stripes," they hail it with joy, and inwardly at least say,

"Yes, my native land, I love thee."

OUR COUNTRY AS TO AGE.

Some nations have a laudable pride in their antiquity. Their institutions, government and laws are venerable with age. Their public works, castles, towers and monuments of art, have

been covered with moss for centuries, and are hoary with age. The British Isles have been settled for at least nineteen hundred years; and about eight hundred have passed since the Norman conquest, since which time, with slight interruptions by revolutions, there has been a constant line of sovereigns. The Chinese have records to show that their nation dates back to three hundred years before Christ; and there is a strong probability that it commenced long before that period. But our nation is yet in its infancy, and its institutions have existed but a few years. But three hundred and seventy years have gone by since Columbus discovered America; and but two hundred and forty-two since the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth. Some thirteen years previously a settlement had been commenced in Virginia. Before these events, our land was mostly a waste howling wilderness. The virgin soil was not cultivated. The mountains, rich in mineral productions, were not explored. The streams flowed, but they were not highways for commerce, nor was the immense water power used to put machinery into operation. The beasts roamed in the forests, and the Indians were nearly as wild as the beasts.

The settlements in what are now several of the States were colonies of Great Britain for about a century and a half. The war of the Revolution ended in their separation in 1783. It then required four or five years to devise a General Government and put it in operation. The Constitution, an instrument wisely calculated for the freedom and general good of the people, nicely formed with checks and balances of power, is worthy of the wisdom of the patriots and statesmen, who framed it, and of the people who, with much caution, accepted it. Washington, the first President, was inducted into office in April, 1789, only seventy-four years having since passed away. There have been but eighteen Presidential terms of four years, and the half of another term filled by the present incumbent. Not only are some now living who were on the stage when the Government went into operation, but a few survive who voted in the first Presidential election. It must be seen therefore that the term "Young America" is quite appropriate to us as a people.

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF STATES; ALSO OF THE PUBLIC
DOMAIN AND THE PRESENT EXTENT.

The original number of States was thirteen. With the addition of Michigan in 1837, the number had just doubled. Eight have been admitted since, making thirty-four.

At the peace of 1783, the area was 820,680 square miles. By the Louisiana purchase there were added 889,579 square miles; by the purchase of Florida, 66,900; by the acquisition of Texas, 318,000; by the Oregon Treaty, 308,052; by the Mexican Treaty, 550,455; making in all, 2,963,666 square miles. It is much more than two thirds as large as the whole of Europe.

The longest line of distance that can be drawn in this country is from Cape Cod on the Atlantic, to the Pacific near the parallel of latitude 42 degrees, 2600 miles. The longest line of boundary is on the Atlantic ocean, which, including indentations, is 6861 miles. The next is on the Gulf of Mexico, 3467. On British America, it is 3303. On the Pacific Ocean, 2281. And on Mexico, 1456.

INCREASE OF POPULATION.

The number of inhabitants at the commencement of the war in 1775, was estimated at about three millions. The first census taken was in 1790, some seven years after the war of the Revolution had closed, and in the second year of Washington's administration. The population was then found to be 3,929,827—almost four millions. In 1800, it was 5,305,941; in 1810, 7,239,814; in 1820, 9,638,191; in 1830, 12,866,020; in 1840, 17,069,453; in 1850, 23,263,488; and in 1860, 31,443,322. This last was the census of the states and territories. Adding 294,431, being the population of Indian tribes; and whites and free colored population, and a few slaves in Indian territory west of Arkansas, not reckoned in the above, and for 1860 we have 31,747,514. The greatest rate per cent. of increase for any ten years was from 1800 to 1810, when it was 36:45. From 1850 to 1860 it was 35:59.

The following states had, by the late census, over a million of people: Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Massachusetts,

Missouri, Tennessee and Virginia, in all eight in number. Pennsylvania and Ohio had over two millions, and New York more than three millions.

Thus far every State has made some gain in each ten years, though in some it has been but small. Vermont, in the last decade, gained at the rate of only one-third of one per cent. New Hampshire two and one-half per cent.

Thus we have the past and present. We naturally look forward and ask, what we shall have in the future? Reckoning future increase by the past, in the year 1900, less than forty years hence, the population will be over 100,000,000. What a teeming host! How great as to numerical strength! If possessed of intelligence, liberty and virtue, the only proper moral safeguards of a nation, this will be among the most influential, formidable and powerful on the face of the earth.

There is no question but that the public domain is sufficient in extent, and its resources every way ample for such a population as this, and, indeed, for vastly greater numbers. A bright and a most glorious future is before this nation, if it shall conduct itself so as to secure the approbation of Him who rules and reigns, not only in heaven, but among the nations of the earth.

THE NUMBER IN SLAVERY.

Involuntary servitude, servitude for no crime, and servitude without the sanction of Scripture, was introduced into settlements in Virginia in 1620, the same year that the Puritans settled at Plymouth. It made its way into most of the colonies. Some held slaves even in New England, though, as usual, the pure faith of Christianity made its rigors less severe than where, though there was a professed Christianity, barbarism was allowed to come in and displace its merciful power. At the first census in 1790, there were five New England States, and all had slaves but Massachusetts. They were, to be sure, but few, Vermont having 17, and New Hampshire 158. In 1800, Vermont had none, and New Hampshire but 8. After this, in effect, it was about all ended in New England, as it had been previously abolished by law. In process of a few years,

the Middle States, that had it entailed upon them, rid themselves of it, as the sage and patriotic founders of the government supposed all would under the influence of the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. Several important Western States, settled and admitted into the Union after 1800, never had the stain of slavery and its dreadful curse on their soil.

In 1790, the number of slaves was 697,897; in 1800, 893,041; in 1810, 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,533,128; in 1830, 2,009,042; in 1840, 2,487,455; in 1850, 3,204,313; and in 1860, 3,953,587. The greatest rate of increase for any decade was for that ending in 1810, it being 33:40 per cent. For that ending in 1860, it was 23:38 per cent. It is estimated that in 1900, things going as they have, there will be eight or nine millions of slaves in our country. Held in execration by the tender, benevolent and humane feelings of the heart; condemned by the civilization, morality, and religion of the enlightened world; and denounced as the merchandise of mystical Babylon by the living God, it is dreadful to think of such an incubus on the body politic; such a viper in the bosom of the republic; and such a foul national crime in a people that professes the greatest freedom and virtue of any under heaven. Probably the sin will be removed before that period shall come. Otherwise, the complete downfall of the nation must be expected.

GENERAL FEATURES AND STATISTICS.

Our country has some of the finest and most picturesque natural scenery. It has chains of mountains among the longest; the most extensive forests, with some of the largest trees; the largest lakes, and the longest rivers. More than two-fifths of our domain are drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. It has millions of acres of the richest soil of any part of the world, unless that of the river Nile in Egypt be an exception. It has valuable mines of gold, and various other minerals. Agricultural, manufacturing, and other industrial pursuits, engage the profitable attention of multitudes. Indian corn was a native plant of this country, and even now is found growing

wild near the Rocky Mountains. More than eight hundred millions of bushels of this valuable staple of life are produced in a year. The potato is a native vegetable of America, if not of the United States. So is tobacco, which, if not valuable to the world except in some cases as a medicine, is profitable, as it is used, to the commerce of the nations. Wheat is raised to the amount of more than one hundred and fifty millions of bushels a year; cotton more than five millions of bales; butter rising four hundred and sixty millions of pounds; hay nineteen millions of tons. And the income of orchards in apples and peaches, about nineteen millions of dollars. There are twenty-six millions of sheep, producing about sixty millions of pounds of wool.

Some great inventions, that will bless the world in all coming time, originated here. Mention may be made particularly of the guiding of the thunder-bolts of the storm clouds, safely to the ground, thus saving buildings, property and lives. Steam in moving vessels on all large rivers, and in a few days across the broad ocean. Harnessing electricity and sending messages over wires to distant parts in a few moments of time. And then Adams' Power Printing Press, and lastly, Hoe's Type Revolving Press, which have astonished the world at the facility with which periodicals and books are produced, speaking with a thousand tongues, and pouring a flood of light upon men.

The system of free schools, sustained by the common property and opened to the poor as well as the rich, originated here. It is difficult to tell what discovery in modern times exceeds this in intrinsic importance. Nearly one-fourth of the inhabitants in New England attend these institutions in the course of the year, where they are bidden welcome to the vital feast of knowledge. In the whole land, those being instructed in the various institutions, number millions. Able persons in the legal, medical, and Divine professions are produced, as well as authors. Our country has produced men who have had a good share in surveying the starry heavens, discovering new planets, catching a view of new comets, flying through unbounded space, and calculating their elements.

The country has churches in abundance, free and independent; and it has a pure faith. No law binds to a particular creed, nor to any at all, except the law of God, which enjoins fear, reverence and obedience to Him, and love to man. Worship is performed voluntarily, and the institutions of religion are maintained in the same way. Benevolence abounds. The poor are cared for and made comfortable; deaf mutes are educated;—so are the blind;—and missionaries go to evangelize savages in western wilds; and the degraded heathen in distant portions of the world. Efforts are being made to hasten the time when the angel, seen in prophetic vision, shall be flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to every nation, kingdom and people.

Rollin, the able writer of ancient history, says, Monarchy is the natural form of government. Rollin was profound in erudition and his judgment rarely failed. If we admit that monarchy is the natural form, we may say that there are some modifications to the idea; and also that a Republican form is not without some important natural claims, and some demands from the natural wants and just rights of man. This, however, is not now the subject of discussion. But what is to be said is this: Greece and Rome were both for a time Republics. Both failed and gave place to kingly or imperial power. They failed in consequence of inherent defects, or because these nations were not sufficiently enlightened for a form so simple and just. It remained for our country to devise the most perfect model of a Republic and of self-government the world has ever seen; or can at this period have conception of. God given rights have been amply secured. Rulers are men chosen by the people. Laws are enacted by the consent of those for whose benefit they are made.

Our government has alarmed despots in other lands, while it has been the hope of those who suffered by the rule of tyrants. Had it not been for treachery to right and the fundamental principles of its organic Constitution in sustaining the worst slavery the blazing sun ever looked in upon, and legislating to extend it, prosperity and peace would have still attended. But

alas, for the degeneracy of the times when "the sum of all villainies," became by national laws a national crime.

THE PRESENT QUESTION.

But little more than hasty glances have been presented in the foregoing, relative to the extent and resources of our land, its excellent institutions, and the evidently implied design of Providence that here shall be a great, free, intelligent, virtuous and happy nation. The way is prepared to consider the question now at issue, and which for two years has moved the hearts of the whole people. The question is, shall the best government God ever gave a nation be preserved or destroyed? Shall freedom or slavery triumph? Shall the "inalienable rights" of all be secured, according to the avowed intention of the framers of the Government, or shall the curse of a man-stealing, man-selling, man-whipping and man-degrading system continue and be handed down to millions yet unborn? Shall our Christianity countenance this crime while in the old world a less intelligent Christianity removed the chains of those who in bondage pined? Is not our religion as good as the morals of Seneca and other heathen writers, which morals reprov'd the sins of the times? Will our religion tolerate slavery when even the rank infidelity that once existed in France was ashamed of it, and helped effectually in its over-throw in some of the Colonies of that kingdom?

Few national questions were ever before a people of such amazing importance and vast magnitude as the one now before us. Not many yet comprehend its greatness. It may be understood by the masses before the struggle is finished. Just now, let each look forward a little and examine as to what inheritance is to be bequeathed to posterity. Is it to be liberty, or bondage? Is it to be a pure Christianity, or barbarism? Look at the coming millions that are to people this land. See what cities are to arise on western streams and the Pacific coast where the axe has not yet struck a blow, nor the spade been used, and nothing but the noise of wild beasts and the yells of savages been heard.

The matter, however decided, is not to be ephemeral in its effects. It is not a question for this day nor this year only,

but for all coming time; and its results will have an influence on distant nations, and those that shall be on the stage in coming ages.

Liberty now weeps, the dove of peace is pensive, and its cooing complaints indicate its inward woe. The eagle of freedom has folded its wings and turned its piercing eye towards the eastern continent as if about to spread its wings and fly thither for an asylum from such cruel mockery and almost deadly stabs as it has received in a land called free. The olive branch of concord and brotherly love has withered, though it is not dead. And now there is a wish that present difficulties may be ended and quietness and peace be restored. Peace is desirable. War, when necessary in self-defence, is a terrible necessity. But peace at the sacrifice of humanity, justice and the eternal principles of right, will be of no avail. Not only must national honor be secured, but the freedom of all from unjust bondage. The procuring cause of our calamities must be removed. There has again and again been a compromise with crime, with "the horrible thing done in the land," still, the trouble has not been got over, but rather made worse. "Your covenant with death shall not stand; and your agreement with hell shall be dissannuled." "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood." This last clause is applicable, when God designs the use of the sword in self-defence and in causing those to perish, who wickedly have taken it to strike down the citadel of liberty and to destroy those who have labored to maintain it, and who have rebuked sin.

A nation, that as such has sinned, must suffer for it; and in such a case many of the innocent suffer with the guilty. Thus it is in our land. There should be humility and penitence, that the judgments of Heaven may be removed. And peace on right terms may cost a greater sacrifice than has yet been made. Proclaim an armistice; come to a settlement; restore the Union as it was before; or reconstruct it and have New England, with its element of Puritanism, which testifies against sin, left out; or put in a provision that all who advocate the abolition of slavery be hung; or allow a Southern Confederacy. All

these have been suggested for a settlement. But it may as well be understood in the outset, that there will be no peace with such wickedness. None at all. There never is to the wicked; nor never can be to such wrong.

If the Administration is embarrassed by obstacles thrown in its way because of its Emancipation Policy, it may prolong the contest, but as God lives the final result shall be achieved, the release of those in servitude, whose groanings He has heard; and whom He is coming to deliver.

Scarcely ever any moral enterprise has encountered such virulent rage and desperately mad opposition as the anti-slavery cause. The friends of the enslaved have been mobbed; imprisoned; their property destroyed;—free presses thrown into the streets or rivers;—fine halls opened for free discussion, burned;—Rev. E. P. Lovejoy murdered;—attempts to break up meetings, if in them any allusion was made to slavery as a sin;—gags applied in Congress to stifle debate and the right of petition;—a war waged with Mexico to extend the area of oppression;—compromise measures, all except one small item, in favor of the South and slavery;—an infamous bill to hunt and catch flying fugitives from cruel bondage and return them to their masters;—nefarious attempts to force a pro-slavery Constitution on the liberty loving people of Kansas; and last, the present war, waged to sustain and perpetuate the system of buying, selling and working God's poor without requiting them for their hard toil. But every effort of this kind has been overruled to the furtherance of the enterprise they have labored to destroy. It requires no prophet's ken to foresee that the present uprising and virulent rage at the Emancipation Policy, which the Administration wisely engrafts into the war, will advance the glorious period when the chains of slavery shall be broken.

It is terrible to think of the loss of life in the present conflict, but so great are the results to be obtained, the triumph of civilization, humanity, freedom and religion itself in our land, that almost any amount of treasure,—a million of lives will not be too great a sacrifice. And those who have, without any good reason, caused the wicked rebellion, must settle the dread ac-

count of the loss of so many valuable lives with the Judge of all.

PRESENT DISCOURAGEMENTS MET.

For months past there has been a desponding, disheartening feeling prevailing among the most loyal all through the great North. It is unworthy of those, who are engaged in a good cause; and especially of those, who profess faith in the infinite God.

It has been found that very unworthy men have been among those high in office in the army of freedom. There were cowards and traitors in the time of the Revolutionary war; and among the chosen propagators of Christianity; and yet in neither case, nor in other similar ones did they prevent success.

Again in the conflict we have met with sad and very disastrous reverses. No more so than in the Revolution. No more so than Britain in its contest with Napoleon. In both cases it was disaster and defeat year after year; but there was perseverance, and at length the invaders and oppressors were humbled and vanquished. And not so bad fortune has attended us as did the Israelites when they found it necessary to chastise the tribe of Benjamin for its corruption and revolt. God authorized Israel to go against that tribe with an army, but Israel was repulsed with a loss of twenty-two thousand men. But were they discouraged? Not at all; it is said on the contrary "they encouraged themselves," and the next day they fought again. But again they were defeated with a loss of eighteen thousand. Wonder if there was a clamor for the removal of the generals? Probably not, for it is only related that they wept and fasted, and likely learning, as our people must, that their trust was too much in men and the munitions of war, and not enough in God, they renewed the battle again the next day, and victory was complete. Seeming defeats in a good cause are often found in the end, when all consequences are worked out, to be real triumphs. And defeats in our country's cause may have been necessary to make the downfall of slavery inevitable.

But once more, it is said that after two years of painful ef-

fort, with the loss of an hundred thousand lives, and the expenditure of a thousand millions of dollars, and the anguish, and tears, and sorrow-riven hearts all over the land, nothing has been gained. If nothing had been gained, a good cause and faith would save from despondency. . But it is not true that nothing has been gained. Enough has been achieved to afford just ground for hope; and enough to cause all the true friends of right to "thank God and take courage."

At the commencement of the rebellion, slavery was in the District of Columbia. It has been abolished there. Some year and a half ago our best army was cooped up in the vicinity of the Federal capital, and the wisest could not see how it could leave its entrenchments in safety. Rebel forces stretched from Chesapeake Bay, up the Potomac and around to Winchester. A number of different times, Washington, it is believed, might have been taken and pillaged by the enemy, if it had known the weakness of its defences. Western Virginia was loyal, but in imminent danger of being overrun and held by rebels. They held Tennessee and at least half of Kentucky. Southern troops were in command of much of Missouri; and the noble river, Mississippi, was held by them from the mouth of the Ohio down to the Gulf. And on the whole coast of the Atlantic, south of Fortress Monroc, along the whole border of the Gulf, what foothold had loyalists, except Fort Pickens and the unimportant place, Hatteras?

How is it now? Have not the Unionists taken the strong places, Norfolk, Newbern, Port Royal, Pensacola, New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville and quite a number of other places of less note? And are they not held, with a few small exceptions? Has not the whole of Missouri been gained, and the barbarous bands of guerrillas broken up? Has not Kentucky, or that part then held by the foe, been gained? Has there not been an immense gain of Federal power in Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and even in Arkansas and Mississippi? The Mississippi river is now open, except in a small portion of it.

So much, and indeed far more at the time of this writing; and a prospect of greater gains before this shall reach our readers.

And now it is infidel to say the cause of the Union will not succeed. The President's Emancipation Proclamation, not named in the above, is the noblest act ever performed by a ruler of a free people, or perhaps by any other. It will cause his name to be emblazoned in history, and be "in everlasting remembrance," while those in power who have basely and cravenly bowed to the behests of the slave authorities, stultified their consciences and been treacherous to freedom, will be held in eternal execration.

The Union will succeed, unless the crying sin of the land, oppression, with which the free North has had a shameful and awfully sinful complicity, has been so aggravating in the sight of God, that we are given over to destruction. But it is confidently trusted that it is not so. There is penitence for the wrong, and there will be more.

And now, Truth has been crushed to earth, but it will rise again. Civilization is immortal, and so will have a resurrection. The night has already been long, but the day-star has arisen, and, behold, the morning cometh. The Lord is leading through a terrible wilderness, but the promised land will be reached. And then voices more than earthly will sound :

O'er land and o'er sea,
Jehovah hath triumphed, his people are free.

ART. VII.—ATTACK UPON THE PENTATEUCH BY A BISHOP.*

We live in a time of wars and rumors of wars. We live in a time when conflicting ideas have forced a continent to civil war. We live in a time filled with strange events in almost every department of human thought and exertion. Among the strange events of eventful times the recent rebellion in the church of England against the Bible and its standard interpretation is to be reckoned. A few years ago, an influential party in that church proposed virtually to go back to the traditions of the decaying Hierarchy of Rome. And now, naturally enough comes the reaction which considered by itself would seem strangest of all. Another influential party virtually proposes to abandon the old standards for "the light of nature." "The Essays and Reviews" first revealed the extent of this tendency, and now the current carries away one of the bishops of that church.

Dr. Colenso, the missionary bishop to Natal, in Africa, went out to convert the natives to the Bible. He returns to Great Britain to convert the inhabitants of that island from the Bible. He has made what he professes is to him a painful discovery, that the Pentateuch is not "historical," and comes home to proclaim the great discovery. In the long preface of the book containing his attack upon the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, he gives us some account of his mental experiences by which he came to his present position. This part of the book quite excites one's sympathies, and commands attention as for a candid

* **THE PENTATEUCH AND THE BOOK OF JOSHUA CRITICALLY EXAMINED.**
By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D. D., Bishop of Natal.
New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS: Newly translated and explained from a missionary point of view. By the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D. D., Bishop of Natal. New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

THE SPIRITUAL POINT OF VIEW; OR THE GLASS REVERSED. An answer to Bishop Colenso. By M. Mahan, D. D., St. Mark-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary. New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

mind brought to its wreck by an overwhelming and cruel fate. Had the bishop ended his book with the preface, he would have unsettled the faith of hundreds, while the whole book will only here and there disturb a few persons at a certain stage of faith.

Faith in this world is compelled to work out its own salvation with fear and trembling. We mean that there are certain real difficulties to be overcome by every mind that attains any considerable degree in an intelligent and firm Christian faith. Certain false views are generally at first assumed as essential to the Christian faith. In the progress of the soul in its knowledge of the Bible, those views must be given up, and faith adjusted to the new ideas. This process brings on painful mental struggles, sometimes struggles of doubtful issue, when it is considered how easy it is in this world for mind at such a stage to receive a wrong bias.

Most Christians, for instance, set out with a wrong view, or an inadequate view, of Inspiration. At least, it is very common to assume that the inspiration of the Bible is of that mechanical sort which might operate through a statue as well as through living, thinking, suffering man. But a little attention to the Bible soon forces the conviction upon the candid mind that the writers of it, write, and speak, and act, very much like men who are not inspired, in most of their communications of the divine will. At length the view breaks upon the mind that the whole man is used as the instrument of the inspiration; not simply man in passiveness, but man in activity; that Revelation has a side which is more intensely natural and human than we find in any other writings, as well as a side entirely divine. Indeed, the more completely we are influenced by the human view, the more overwhelmingly we are impressed with the presence of the Divine wisdom. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Come and see. Behold here a working carpenter, simple in all his habits and appearance, as any other carpenter in all the land. See his brothers and sisters are here with us, and they are just like their neighbors. Yet the plain working man, without any of the advantages of the schools, without foreign travel, without the assistance of one

learned associate, even for a secretary, manages to utter a wisdom infinitely beyond all the wisdom of this world. Plato, Socrates, and Cicero cannot bear to him the comparison which a prattling child bears to Isaac Newton. In short, the more attentively one considers Christ under the view of man, the more completely is he filled with the conviction of the Divine presence in his words and works. As with the Incarnate Word, so with the written word of God.

In its progress, faith has its own honest burdens to bear. It has to wrestle with more than flesh and blood. It staggers now and then under real difficulties. It is always victorious, however, in the end in all minds that retain their perfect integrity. But, at times, it is of the greatest service to feel a helping hand and the pulsations of a sympathizing heart. What relief may be felt if a friend but put forth a little finger to help us in carrying our burden. An ounce more, and we go to the ground under our heavy load; an ounce of help, and we throw off the burden and walk forward in the good way with light foot and erect form.

Dr. Colenso is a bishop to help souls forward. That is his profession. In his biographical sketch he shows us himself in his struggles. He assumes the tones of innocence, candor and integrity. But despite all, his fate is too much for him. We see him down in the dust with his heavy burdens crushing out the last remains of life. We pity him. We mourn over him. We feel almost to complain that God in his Book so overtaxes innocent, candid souls. There must be something wrong in the Book we are tempted to feel, that makes wrecks of such noble souls. So we feel at the end of the preface, save here and there he has seen great difficulties we cannot see, but we conclude that by his help we shall see them in a few pages more and perhaps like him be crushed by them. Now, on we go to look, and the giants and even the wind-mill upon which the valiant knight made his dash is scarcely discernable. Every difficulty is magnified, thousands are found where there are none; and our guide comes back in grief when he fails to find the difficulties he so faithfully seeks.

When this spirit is more and more shown, we lose our sym-

pathy. We see through the disguise by which we were cheated in the preface. We feel much as we have before now felt when the well-told story of a pretender has robbed some unfortunate one of what we had to bestow upon cases of genuine charity. It is the meanest kind of robbery, this robbing the poor by pretended cases of distress. So we feel toward the bishop who has drawn us away from those who are poor in faith to him who manifestly with *his* own volitions increases his distress. In short, we find that no openly avowed infidel ever more delighted in throwing stumbling-blocks in the way of faith. So much for the bishop's spirit. Of course, this does not dispose of the bishop's difficulties and arguments; but it makes us cautious as to how we receive on trust difficulties which we fail to see for ourselves. It causes us to withdraw from him the sympathy which the story excited. We propose to investigate this claim for charity before investing our funds for its relief.

This bishop still remains a bishop. So does the law of state impose upon the church in England, that it seems there is no help for it; he remains a bishop though he should become a heathen man and publican altogether. Of course his brethren asked him to resign, but of course he declines to resign. This is the condition of that sect which arrogantly and exclusively claims to be *the* church. Suppose half or two-thirds follow this new Gospel that Paul never preached, this Gospel of "the Essays and Reviews," and of this missionary bishop! Is it *the* church still? Is it now *the* church when human law is more potent in it than the law of Christ? May it not be that the present evil, which no doubt arises, in part at least, from the unholy union of church and state, will, by the providence of God, be made efficient in opening the eyes of men for the advancement of the cause of Dissenters?

But we proceed to consider some points in the bishop's book, "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua."

The author thus states his position, page 49.—"The result of my inquiry is this, that I have arrived at the conviction,—as painful to myself at first, as it may be to my reader, though painful now no longer under the clear shining of the Light of Truth—that the Pentateuch, as a whole, cannot possibly have

been written by Moses, or by any one acquainted personally with the facts which it professes to describe, and further, that the (so called) Mosaic narrative, by whomsoever written, and though imparting to us, as I fully believe it does, revelations of the Divine Will and Character, cannot be regarded as *historically true.*"

1. The book was not written by Moses or any one acquainted with the facts.

2. Yet the book imparts to us revelations of the Divine will.

3. The book is not *historically true*; it is a myth, a fiction.

These, if we understand the author, are the propositions he proposes to maintain. In the present work the bishop brings forward nothing with which he proposes to sustain his first proposition only incidentally in the treatment of the third. We, therefore, dismiss the first point altogether.

Of the second proposition, we have but little to say; yet, one may easily perceive, flanked as it is, right and left, that it is a virtual surrender of the Bible as an inspired book in any such sense as Christians usually attach to the term inspiration. We think, too, this bishop, defender of the faith that will not resign, so intends to be understood. On pages 53 and 54 he holds the following language: "The heart that is unclean and impure, will not fail to find excuse [in view of the bishop's doctrine] for indulging its lusts from the notion that somehow the very principle of a living faith in God is shaken, because belief in the Pentateuch is shaken. But it is not so. Our belief in the Living God remains as sure as ever, though not the Pentateuch only, but the whole Bible were removed. It is written on our hearts by God's own finger, as surely as by the hand of the apostles in the Bible, that 'GOD IS and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.' It is written there also, as plainly as in the Bible, that 'God is not mocked,'—that 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'—and that 'he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption.'"

In a certain sense every intelligent Christian is ready to admit all that is said in this quotation about the inward and outward revelation. But the point which the bishop is making, or at least needs to make from his position is this—that the in-

ward revelation will accomplish without the outward what the two together now accomplish. If the whole Bible is gone, we still have the ground of faith in the living God. Whoever doubted that as a theory? Indeed this is the very ground upon which Paul in Romans holds the heathen guilty, for turning away from God that might from his works be known, to worship idols. Yet as a fact, man, thus, without the outward revelation, turns away. Still our bishop says, no matter that the Bible is swept away.

On page 55, the author pretends to tremble lest his book is about to "offend one of these little ones," and proceeds to administer his episcopal consolation thus:

"And that truth in the present instance, as I have said, is this, that the Pentateuch, as a whole, was not written by Moses, and that with respect to some, at least, of the chief portions of the story, it cannot be regarded as historically true. It does not, therefore, cease to 'contain the true word of God' with 'all things necessary to salvation,' to be 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness.' It still remains an integral portion of that Book, which, whatever the intermixture of human elements—of error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance,—has yet, through God's providence, and special working of His Spirit, on the minds of its writers, been the means of revealing to us His True Name, the Name of the only Living and True God, and has all along been, and, as far as we know, never will cease to be, the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Divine Teacher, for awakening in our minds just conceptions of His character, and His gracious and merciful dealings with the children of men. Only we must not attempt to put into the Bible what we think *ought* to be there; we must not indulge that 'froward delusive faculty,' as Bishop Butler styles the 'imagination,' and lay it down for certain before-hand that God could only reveal himself to us by means of an *infallible* book. We must be content to take the Bible as it is, and draw from it those lessons which it really contains. Accordingly, that which I have done, or endeavored to do, in this book, is to make out from the Bible—at least from the first part of it—what account it gives of itself; and what it really is; what, if we love the truth, we must understand and believe it to be; what, if we will speak the truth, we must represent it to be."

Surely, there is a fair face on all this. But after it is shown that there is no need of revelation in the sense attached by common usage to that word, it is no great condescension to admit the Bible, the "mightiest instrument," and the special working of the Divine Spirit in it, despite error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance, not as what they are in themselves, but as palmed off as the infallible revelation of God. It is but little to admit that the Bible has more of God's revelation in it than there is in the Shasters.

As might be expected from an author setting out with such premises, we find, at the end of the volume, that we are to look everywhere for inspiration as well as in the Bible. Page 222: "But, then, too, they [our children] must be taught to recognize the voice of God's Spirit, in whatever way, by whatever ministry, He vouchsafes to speak to the children of men; and to realize the solid comfort of the thought, that,—not in the Bible only, but out of the Bible—not to us Christians only, but to our fellow men of all climes and countries, ages and religions,—the same Gracious Teacher is revealing, in different measures, according to his own pleasure, the hidden things of God."

Thus the author reaches the conclusion, virtually, that there is the same kind of inspirations in other books and in other religions as in the Bible and Christianity. In the above paragraph almost everything which is said is true, in a certain sense, but not in the sense intended. It is that sort of mixture of truth with error by which the latter is made to pass most currently. The more nearly the counterfeit resembles the genuine, the greater the power of deception.

The Bible itself, in its fulness of truth, alludes to what, for the sake of distinction, we may call material inspiration in human nature among the heathen. "When the Gentiles, which have not the law," that is, supernatural revelation, "do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." According to this, we should expect among the

heathen themselves expressions of that Divine law which is written by the Divine finger upon their hearts. We should expect some actions which are conformed to that same Divine law. But as a matter, both of inference from this teaching of Paul, and as a matter of fact, the verbal expressions of the Divine law, and the actions conformed thereto among the heathen, are fragmentary. As a matter of fact, those without a supernatural revelation to continue to arouse the conscience to the law within, wander farther and farther from the inward law. The question is not, therefore, whether the Divine law is in the human heart? It is not whether that law here and there will find expressions in words. All believers are ready to take the affirmative of such questions, as well as pantheists. But the question is this: Is there a supernatural revelation, which does not thus spring naturally from the human heart—a revelation complete as a system and given direct from God, as above nature, to man?

Our author virtually assumes the negative, and so goes everywhere hunting for revelation. In short, he removes every characteristic signification from inspiration and revelation which Christians are accustomed to attach to those terms. He attempts, by the use of general and plausible terms, to put out of sight the distinction which the apostle Peter so sharply defines in relation to the point under consideration. "Knowing," says Peter, "*this first*, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation." A glance at the Greek shows that the point which Peter here makes is just that distinguishing between the natural and the supernatural in communicating thoughts. No communication of the Bible in its place, relations, surroundings and bearings, is there, by the thought of the human writer alone, however human it may appear from one stand-point; "*for the prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved (or impelled) by the Holy Ghost.*" It is precisely this distinction which Peter makes between the natural and the supernatural which the bishop either consciously or unconsciously strives to blot out of his own mind and the mind of his readers.

Naturally enough, after making this point good in his own estimation, he proceeds to quote from Sactantius and the Sikh Gooroos, as if to make us happy over the thought, that, instead of one Moses, we have any number of them, if we are sufficiently acquainted with heathen authors.

The man who would lead us to this pitiable result can easily dispose of the argument for the inspiration of the Scriptures found in the fact that our Lord Jesus Christ endorses the Old Testament, including Moses. Jesus was weak and ignorant voluntarily; he grew in wisdom; it is doubtful, therefore, at what period of the Saviour's earthly life he became *supernaturally* endowed, so as to give us accurate information about the Bible. So runs his argument. Is it not strange that a man of learning and good natural parts can reduce himself to such stupidity. Just as if the Saviour did not endorse the Scriptures after his resurrection and after his ascension. Just as if the Saviour was sent from heaven to earth on a particular mission, and then was so beset with his human weakness and ignorance, that he could not, either before death or after death, do the work for which he was sent. How pitiable! How respectable, in comparison with this nonsense, is the bold blasphemer, intellectually considered, who cuts the knot at once, and calls Christ the chief of impostors, as he surely was, if the Bible is not inspired in any higher sense than were Sactantius and the Sikh Gooroos. So much for our bishop's doctrine upon the subject of inspiration.

We pass to the third point, that the Pentateuch is not historically true. If we attentively consider this portion of the Scriptures, "we shall find them," says our author, "to contain a series of manifest contradictions and inconsistencies, which leave us, it would seem, no alternative but to conclude that main portions of the story of the Exodus, though based, probably, on some real historical foundation, yet are certainly not to be regarded as historically true." Page 53.

Open the Bible now to Genesis 46:12, and find the first mount of error on which the bishop plants his first battery as he opens the attack upon the old citadel of the Bible.

"And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and

Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul."

The argument runs thus: By this verse and others, it is assumed that the Bible intends to convey the meaning that Hezron and Hamul were born in the land of Canaan before Jacob went down into Egypt. But this is impossible, it is asserted, that Judah should have these grandchildren before going down to Egypt, seeing that Joseph was at that time only thirty-nine years old, and Judah was only three or four years older than Joseph. See Genesis 38th chapter. Therefore, the Pentateuch is not historically true.

Our author assumes, for it cannot be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, that the writer means to say that Hezron and Hamul were born before the migration to Egypt. Er and Onan died, we are told, in the land of Canaan. Hence, in counting up the list of Jacob's family record, our bishop leaves them out. Now how does he know but that the Pentateuch, according to some oriental custom, counts in the dead as well as the living in the family record, and that Hezron and Hamul were substituted for the departed in that record, though they were born after the migration. Is it not reasonable to believe that by this hypothesis, or some other, the difficulty is not inexplicable, without charging the Pentateuch with wilful falsehood? For it is important to remark in reply, that the author of the Pentateuch, upon the bishop's assumption, lacks not only inspiration, but truthfulness and common sense as well. A man does not need inspiration, *per se*, to tell the truth in such a case as this; he only needs ordinary capacities combined with common honesty.

This last remark we would emphasize, for it is applicable we believe, in every case which the bishop cites for the overturning of the Pentateuch. In every case, we believe, where he charges the author with mistake, upon the bishop's assumption, the author of the Bible can be charged with lying, with intentional falsehood, or else extraordinary blundering in a writer of fiction. The author of the Pentateuch either supposed himself to be writing facts in the main, or fiction. If the former, he must have known, that in the points which the bish-

op criticises, he tried to palm off lies for facts. If, on the other hand, he thought he was writing fiction, he knew, if the bishop's interpretation is to be received, that he was composing a fiction contrary to all the probabilities in nature, or else he lacked common sense. All the bishop's criticisms break down, or else compel us to one or another, or all of these improbable hypotheses. The bishop's interpretations are, therefore, improbable, and that, too, irrespective of the question concerning the inspiration of the Bible.

But let us return to consider a moment the hypothesis, that by some custom of the family, the dead were counted with the living in the family record. In this same story, as the bishop reverently calls it, we have, Gen. 42: 13, these remarkable words from the lips of the brethren of Joseph in speaking of their family history. "*And they said, Thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one is not.*" Here the supposed dead one is spoken of in the family record as if he were alive: "*We be twelve brethren, the sons of one man.*" The speaker then goes on to particularize, telling where the two absent ones are. How do we know the same thing is not done in Gen. 46: 26, further on in the story? Indeed, Er and Onan are first spoken of without distinction, as if one of the family had said, "we be seventy," and, subsequently, had gone on to explain that these died in Canaan. The first two, born after going into Egypt, or two according to some other principle of selection, Hezron and Hamul are substituted probably for the departed. We know it was a family in which the principle of substitution was often resorted to in making out their genealogical tables. To this day it is pleasing to us to hear the dead counted with the living. A mother, upon being asked as to the number of her children, replies, "Six: four on earth and two in heaven." This reply is not regarded as fiction, but in a higher degree truthful, or, at least, a higher kind of truth, than would have been the answer, "Four." But suppose that some one, hearing the answer of this mother, say, upon the occasion of her moving from the country into Boston, and not catching the word "heaven," should after-

wards cite her to a church trial for *lying* about the number of her children. How gladly would all excuse the mother upon hearing her explanation, "two in heaven." If we had the explanation, no doubt our bishop would appear more ridiculous than the accuser of the heavenly minded mother in our supposed case.

In a point of this sort of difficulty, in a book so old, written in a distant land, among a people of both faith and imagination, among a people so different from ourselves as to modes of thought and expression, it is much more reasonable to suppose there is some part of the expression which we do not understand, than to suppose that an author, who usually shows that he has common sense and common honesty, lack he never so much the inspiration claimed for him, should tell a bold lie that even a child can discover, or make a ridiculous blunder in his fiction, at which every man of sense would of right laugh. Indeed, if there were no things hard to be understood in a book claiming such great antiquity, we should be compelled by our common sense to reject it at once as a forgery. Too many instances have come under our observation of alleged contradictions in the Bible, which have afterwards been explained, for us at once to charge the apparent blunders to designed falsehood or ridiculous blundering. Take one grave difficulty, just now cleared up by the excavations made in the old ruins on the banks of Euphrates, as an illustration. From the book of Daniel we learn that Belshazzar was the last of the Chaldean monarchs in Babylon. Berosus, a secular historian of those times, states as positively that Narbonidus was the last. The haters of the Bible were not slow to infer that Berosus is truthful and Daniel untrustworthy. Mr. Taylor a few years ago exhumed from the ruins of an old city which is now called Mûgeyer an inscribed cylinder which, upon interpretation, explains this old difficulty. It appears from this old record that Bel-shar-ezer was the eldest son of Narbonidus, and that he was admitted to a share of the government. Thus, when Cyrus took the father Narbonidus prisoner, as he did at Borsippa before the fall of Babylon, the son Bel-shar-ezer, that is, the Bel-

shazzar of the Scriptures, became regent of Babylon, and, to all intents and purposes, king of the Chaldees.*

Another thing to be mentioned, to show that some peculiarity of expression may obscure the meaning of this passage, is the fact that this family paid such peculiar attention to the number *seven*, which seems with that people to be held in some way significant of God in covenant relation with man. The theory is not without more or less apparent support in the Bible that the number three was used in some way to indicate Deity; perhaps a foreshadowing of the Trinity. The number four seems, in like manner, to be representative of the world, as the four beasts, the four winds, the four corners of the earth. The adding together of these numbers three and four gives us seven, significant, as we have said, of the covenant relation, the perfect number, the number of completeness. It may be this has allusion to the sanctification of the Sabbath. We suggest, too, that by multiplication of these numbers, we get the number which seems to be significant of organized society on the basis of the covenant, a sort of symbol for theocracy, as in the twelve tribes, the twelve apostles, the city having twelve foundations. But not to pursue this course further, we have abundant evidence that the writers seemed, as we would say of other writers, to strain a point to make out seven, or some multiple thereof. In the New Testament, in the genealogy of Christ, we have an instance: "So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations;" that is, twice seven, "and from David until the carrying away into Babylon, are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations." It will be found by the close student no easy task to make out these three fourteens, or rather three pairs of sevens, and he must not be surprised if some unimportant links are not named for the sake of making out these holy numbers.

In the history under consideration in Genesis, in the very part which the bishop attacks, we see the influence of this number *seven*. Jacob's sons' wives are counted out for the purpose

* See *Travels in Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 132, 133.

of having the great seven or ten times seven." Gen. 46: 26, 27—"All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were three score and six; and the sons of Joseph, which were borne him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt were three score and ten souls."

Now notice that Jacob himself must be counted into this seventy. No matter what an objector may say about coming "out of the loins of Jacob," or going down "with Jacob into Egypt," the fact is plain on the face of the writing. Jacob must be counted in. Would it be wise on such a point to prove that the author intentionally wished to mislead the reader as to his meaning? Could it possibly have misled one of the family in the times it was written or while the mode of expression was retained in connection with the stand-point which shaped the form of expression? We have not the slightest doubt but there was a similar stand-point shaping the form of expression, in the twelfth verse of the same chapter, so that it to a contemporary involved none of the contradictions and absurdities which the bishop we mistrust with a will causes to stagger him.

From the view we have brought before the reader's mind, who doubts that if the living sons' wives had been, say five, and the number of the rest been sixty-five, they too would have been counted in for the purpose of making just seventy. Is it a bold suggestion that in the family might have been several grand-daughters and great-grand daughters of Jacob, yet if there were why are they not named? Or if now and then one is named, are we to suppose all are named? The influence of the number seven, we take it, may have been sufficient to exclude any not needed to make up the number seventy; those who are mentioned are named no doubt because of some peculiar importance in the family history.

With the principle of substitution in view and with the other peculiarities of the family, which we have noticed, we submit it is a more reasonable hypothesis that the missionary bishop is mistaken than that the writer of the Pentateuch wilfully misrepresented or committed an egregious blunder that a tenth rate

writer of fiction would avoid. To shield the Sacred Book from the charge of the bishop, it is only necessary to have some hypothesis which is more reasonable than his interpretations. We have alluded to one, but there are many more.

We add to our former remarks upon the selection of Hezron and Hamul as substitutes yet one more observation. These grand-sons are spoken of in the number seventy as coming from "the loins" of Jacob. It is manifest that all the grand-sons of Jacob might be put under the same category as well as these two. Why are not the others so spoken of by the author of the Pentateuch, who wrote at least several generations after the events which he describes? Plainly there was some good reason for giving them this position. The bishop assumes it was because they were born before the migration to Egypt. We submit that the hypothesis that they were born in Egypt before the death of Jacob is just as satisfactory. The peculiarity of their descent may be another reason.

We have dwelt at great length upon this point of attack, because it is a specimen of nearly all the rest, and though in itself weaker than one or two others, the bishop seems inclined to make much of it, and herein, as we have before hinted, he shows that he follows, *con amore*, his occupation of fault-finder. It seems to be his delight to magnify the mole hill to the proportions of a mountain. Herein he betrays the sad fact that his infidelity is more of the will than it is of the intellect, and thus he forfeits our sympathy and pity. Many of his objections do not rise to the dignity of that which seems to be so much delighted in by infidels as to where Cain found his wife. Moses was commanded to gather the children of Israel together at the door of the tabernacle, and the bishop goes on gravely to prove that two millions of people could not be got into a place so small. It is quite likely the writer of the Pentateuch knew that as well as the bishop, and it is quite likely he knew that his contemporaries would not interpret him as the bishop does. Again the Bible says, "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them." The bishop demonstrates

beyond a shadow of a doubt that Joshua could not make so many people hear at one time, especially when the "little ones" were crying. The Bible informs us Solomon built the temple. Had there been nothing said about the workmen, no doubt the bishop would and could have proved that Solomon did not live long enough to do so much work, even provided he worked every day, including the Sabbaths. Like unto this is his argument that the priests could not do so much work as the law assigned to them, especially when they must carry the "head, legs, inwards," &c., of the victims slain in sacrifice, at least *three-quarters of a mile*. He wonders where the arms came from for so many thousands, and one expects he is about to show that it is entirely unreasonable to suppose that people could in so short a time manufacture half a million of Enfield rifles and cast several hundred thirteen inch Dahlgrens. Many similar things the bishop shows are impossible, but by his interpretation he charges Moses of gravely asserting them. This we submit is entirely out of character on the part of Moses, and by the bishop's interpretations he shows beyond all question, that so far from having Divine inspiration, the author of the Pentateuch lacked common sense.

It is said in argument it is dangerous to one's cause to prove too much. If ever a poor mortal fell into that calamity, it is surely our missionary bishop. His objections to the passover are of the same character of those mentioned as to the work of the priests. He also proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, inasmuch as they did not eat manna, could not possibly live in the Desert of Sinai *as it now is*. Mr. Mahan, his reviewer, happily suggests that the skins of the herds and flocks might have furnished the materials for the tents which so stagger the bishop when he reads in Moses "every man to his tent." Where could such a multitude of people get good skin tents, the bishop inquires. But enough of this. It is absolutely amazing to see what flimsy objections the bishop gravely brings forward, and he seems to be scarcely aware of the difference between such points and those which really present grave difficulties to the candid mind.

We pass to notice, for a few moments, some of the difficul-

ties which have always been in the minds of the friends of the Bible more or less grave. These, for the most part, if not altogether, come under the head of numbers; as the number of men spoken of in armies, the number slain, the number of inhabitants that came out of Egypt. It cannot be denied that these present grave difficulties. But this is a difficulty not peculiar to the Bible. It is greater in secular historians of Bible times than in the Bible itself, for instance, the five millions who marched to Greece under command of Xerxes. It is difficult to understand how an army of half a million could have marched where the five millions are said to have marched. It may well be believed that future study will throw some light on this difficult topic. The immense armies which have suddenly sprung up in our own country tend to make us less incredulous as to the great numbers of the ancient armies, especially when it is remembered that the primitive habits would permit a much larger proportion of the inhabitants to go to war than the habits of our times. Other things being equal, it is doubtless true that a warm climate can send to the field a much larger army than a cold climate. But after all the known mitigations of these old difficulties, the human mind doubtless stands in need of new light. Much may be attributed to unintentional inaccuracy from want of a better acquaintance with the science of numbers. The ancients may have numbered, as Joseph did in Egypt in receiving grain to the royal store-houses, for a while, and then left off to number and gave indefinite designations, as myriads.

But it does not seem to us this last remark can be applied to the numbering of the children of Israel upon their going out of captivity. The manner in which the numbering of the different tribes is given seems rather to satisfy us that an actual and accurate census was taken. It shows us incidentally that the proceeding was most likely conducted by one acquainted with all the learning of the Egyptians. Yet this still remains true, as in all military numbering, that the companies and regiments might not have been full. But the wonderful increase of the Israelites during their bondage has always presented difficulties to reflecting minds, and as before hinted it is the part of a

bishop to put these difficulties in as favorable light as reason will bear, but so far from this he shows his determination unnecessarily to increase the difficulties, even to an extent that renders his own position ridiculous.

He is determined to make the time the shortest possible and the rate of increase the smallest that he dares. His spirit will appear from the following extract :

“ If we take the historical datum [furnished by the statistics of England] and assume that the Hebrew population increased, like that of England, at the rate of twenty-eight per cent., in ten years, then, reckoning the males as about half of the entire population (in Genesis 46 chapter,) it would have only increased in two hundred and fifteen years to 4,375 instead of 1,000,000. So, too, Dan's one son would have required five hundred and fifty-eight years to multiply to 104,500, the total number of Danite males existing at the time of the Exodus, according to Num. 2 : 26, which we obtain by adding to the warriors there numbered the due proportion of old men and boys.”

He tells the reader nothing of the fact that a crowded population does not increase as fast as a sparse ; he says nothing of the earlier marriages of warm climates ; he admits nothing of the possibility of wives from other nations ; nothing of plurality of wives ; nothing of the retainers which might have gathered around Jacob as around Abraham ; nothing of the possibility of many females not numbered, and so in a hundred other particulars. He is determined to make out the author a wilful deceiver, or an ignoramus. He says nothing favorable of a single mitigating circumstance.

Since he refers to England's rate of increase, it was but fair for him to tell the reader that it varies with the price of grain. He might at least have mentioned that the number of marriages in England bears a mathematical increase ratio to the price of wheat, that is to say, if wheat in any given year was but half its usual price, the number of marriages would be by the usual statistical law of that country twice as many as usual. He might, if he had the right spirit, tell the reader that the rate of increase among the poor, ignorant and enslaved, is much greater than among the educated, rich and free.

Another form in which our author presents his objection on this point is as follows :

“ The twelve sons of Jacob, then, as appears from the above, had between them fifty-three sons, that is on the average, four and a half each. Let us suppose that they increased in this way from generation to generation. Then in the first generation, that of Kohath, there would be fifty-four males * *—in the *second*, that of Amram, two hundred and forty-three—in the *third*, that of Moses and Aaron, one thousand and ninety-four—and in the *fourth*, that of Joshua and Eleazer, four thousand nine hundred and twenty-three ; that is to say, instead of six hundred thousand warriors in the prime of life, there could not have been five thousand.”

According to the bishop's showing, these four generations stretched over two hundred and fifteen years, and yet he is actually silly enough to compute only four generations in the way of the increase of population, that is over fifty years, nearly fifty-five years to a generation ; yet, as amazing as it may seem to the reader, the same bishop has not the least difficulty in making out that Benjamin had ten sons when he was only twenty-two years old. More than this, he admits that Benjamin probably had several wives, yet he will not admit any influence of polygamy upon the increase of population after they had gone into Egypt. At this rate Benjamin had a hundred grand-children twenty-two years after the migration, and in a little over a hundred years his posterity alone would at the same rate have numbered one million. But with more than fifty progenitors and two hundred and fifteen years, the author cannot see it probable that there would be five thousand warriors. He does not intimate that it was possible that Jacob's grand-children increased in number after the migration, and yet what improbability is there in the supposition ? The increase of this population till it numbered about two millions, as any one may easily satisfy himself by a few figures furnished by families of his own acquaintance, implies no impossibility, nor indeed a miracle, only large allowances for longevity with the known practice of polygamy in that family.

Besides, it is not unreasonable to suppose that many persons,

who had become somewhat acquainted with the Divine promises made to Jacob, gathered to him from Canaan after the migration, if they did not go with him into Egypt. The tribe under Abraham as chief had become, as we are informed, over three hundred. Now is it unreasonable to suppose that the tribe in Egypt increased by proselytism, by marriage alliances and by the adhesion of servants? A fair allowance for these influences certainly comes within the sphere of a reasonable hypothesis, and that is all the defender of the Bible is under obligation to make out.

The influences of a southern and healthy climate, and cheap provisions are also to be weighed, as also the simple and primitive habits of the tribe. Early marriages, too, were not only liable to take place from the favorable conditions resulting from cheap living, but also from the public sentiment of the tribe, owing to the traditions and promises which were kept alive in the tribe. This influence also prompted marriage alliances for wives from other people. There was no feeling like that which prevails in some cities of Europe, that it is hardly respectable that there should be more than two children in each of the families belonging to the elite class.

All these things may be considered as purely natural influences which are in the extreme favorable to the rapid increase of population. But Dr. Colenso has no objection to admitting miracles upon proper testimony. We know that according to the story, as the author calls it, there had been a special covenant between Jehovah and Abraham, in which one of the oft repeated specifications to Abraham was a posterity wonderful for its numbers. This implies special protection under the Providence of God. The implication of the promise of rapid increase of population was that it should be at least in part attributable to the supernatural protection and guidance. Not necessarily the supernatural in the miraculous form, but so co-operating with nature, and inwrought therewith, as to appear under the form of a system like nature, but none the less supernatural from wearing the guise of nature, seems to have been the purport of the promise to Abraham. And the facts seem to have occurred under this form. The birth of Isaac indicated the out-

coming of the supernatural in miraculous form as the token and pledge that the same supernatural power should accompany the race even when the miraculous form of it should disappear. The reappearance of the supernatural power in miraculous form with the professed object of making good the promises of the covenant, at the time of the deliverance, is a still further proof that the unperceived supernatural power had been cōoperative in the protection and prosperity of that race.

Thus we have all the favorable conditions furnished by nature for the rapid increase of the population with the pledge of supernatural power and providence to cōoperate to the same end. In view of such a case it certainly reveals a wrong spirit for the bishop to speak of twenty-three per cent. and four generations, barely in the specific sense, for the result apparently desired by him, of less than five thousand warriors. He certainly fails again by proving too much.

Let us draw up the case on this wise: The author admits one of the sons of Jacob had, when only twenty-two years old, ten sons. We know that Jacob, though married at an advanced age of life, left a posterity of about seventy persons. Duly consider the two facts, one concerning the young, the other concerning the old. Consider the favorable conditions by nature for a rapid increase of population, consider the probabilities of increase of population by the adhesion of servants as in the case of Abraham, and other oriental chiefs; also, by polygamy and by marriages with foreign wives. Consider also, the efficacy of the Divine promise specifically pledging the wonderful increase of the posterity of him who had the promises. With all these facts in view, let us suppose that twenty fathers, out of more than fifty, have not ten sons at twenty-two years of age, but ten descendants, children and grand-children, at the age of forty-five. To keep this ratio good, allow all the rest of the family and all increase of population from external sources. The two hundred and fifteen years lack but ten years of five generations. Thus take the number twenty out of the seventy, and annex a cypher for each generation of forty-five years, and you reach two million. We submit that under the circumstances our hypothesis is more reasonable than the bish-

op's about four sons and a half on an average, twenty-three per cent., and less than five thousand soldiers.

The females were married under oriental customs at an early age, and in the warm climate of Egypt, under the circumstances, it is not extravagant to say from fourteen to twenty on an average: The males from eighteen to twenty-four. At the average age of forty-five it is not unreasonable to suppose that there were in many cases more grand-children than children. Thus with the bishop's four and a half sons we may count five and a half grand-sons, and have nothing exaggerated in the supposition of ten descendants all told to a little over a third of the married pairs, saying nothing of polygamy. In southern latitudes it is not a strange occurrence that a woman of forty-five years of age has great-grand-children. The bishop's attention to these facts would help him to see that in his long generations of fifty-five years may be two and even three shorter generations. In his four long generations, it would be easy to count as many as nine generations of the shorter kind, and this would remove one of his great difficulties.

The two cases upon which we have dwelt are specimen cases, the one of the trifling sort, the other more grave. So far as we remember, none of the objections are new in themselves. They are only new in the sense that they come from a dignitary within the church, but with the spirit of an outside infidel. Had an out-sider written this book, it would have commanded very little attention, and perhaps would in the end have done more mischief from not awakening investigation and calling forth replies. We have seen only Mr. Mahan's reply. In the way of light armor it is admirable. Mr. Mahan has thoroughly dealt with the spirit of his erring brother, but none too severely. It is impossible for us in a short article to do more than consider specimen objections where twenty or more are made, and barely to hint at one or two possible replies out of many.

Dr. Colenso's book on Romans, we believe was written before he was full fledged in his pantheism. At all events, if we may judge of his book from the examination of his comments upon the first two chapters of the epistle, it is a book of very considerable merit. We have not found some of the most es-

sential points of those two chapters put in so clear a light by other commentaries.

The bishop's book will soon have its day. Pantheism has much abler advocates than he. There are enough enemies to the Bible that can manage an attack upon it with much more skill and effect than he. All the importance of his book is to be attributed, not to its own merits or demerits, but simply to the fact that he attacks from within and not from without. But, even with this advantage for mischief, his book is by no means formidable.

ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THE HOLY BIBLE, containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated and arranged, with Notes, by Leicester Ambrose Sawyer. Vol. III. The Hebrew Poets. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1862. 12mo., pp. 348.

RECONSTRUCTION OF BIBLICAL THEORIES; or, Biblical Science Improved in its History, Chronology, and Interpretation, and relieved from Traditionary Errors and unwarrantable Hypotheses. By Leicester Ambrose Sawyer, Translator of the Scriptures, &c. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1862. 12mo., pp. 195.

The world admires steady persistence and genuine pluck, in all spheres, and by any class of workers. It is a quality of character which is sure to be sooner or later recognized and felt. The real ability of the worker may be less or more, the sphere of effort broad or narrow, the objects which are sought may be utilitarian or transcendental, still, the resolute, unyielding worker, who will not stop to listen to ridicule, and who wearies out opposition by his steady pressure and singleness of purpose, will win a sort of victory at last, and be crowned amid the commendation of men.

Mr. Sawyer, besides many other qualities which distinguish him, has a large amount of this true pluck. His early experiences as a translator were such as might well discourage a man of excessive sensibility and defective mettle. Glorified by the prospectus of his publishers in their announcement of his first volume, who were looking to their own profits rather than to the interests of the truth or the reputation of the author, he might have coupled high-mindedness with fear; and when the critics, some of whom were honest and competent, while still more were both prejudiced and intent on crushing him,—opened their batteries upon his book, setting him down as ignorant, superficial, slovenly, iconoclastic, unappreciative and dogmatical, he might have been readily pardoned for retiring from the field and giving up the philo-

logical contest. But so he would not do. He read the criticisms, threw aside what were too general or sweeping or worthless to deserve attention, read the remainder with both pain and candor, weighed the objections and complaints, reviewed his own positions and conclusions, revised his work, reviewed some of his reviewers, and remonstrated against the false methods of others, issued a new edition in company with a second volume, whose merits were greater and whose faults were fewer than those of the first, deepened his own study, fortified his positions, and energized his style, and then threw himself into the field as an independent pioneer in the new method of translation. As a result, we have his third volume of translations, and this volume of "Biblical Science improved." He has not wholly escaped the usual results of earnest controversy and resolute self-defence. His tone gains in boldness, his retorts are sharper, both his translation and arguments have something of the air of defiance, he alternates between defence and aggression, he comes more and more to protest against and then to ridicule the old principles and methods of interpreting Scripture, while both his statements and his theories diverge abruptly from the old beliefs, and sometimes startle by their boldness and seeming audacity.

Of the two volumes whose titles are given above, our limited space will allow no proper notice. They suggest what could only be fittingly said after a critical and detailed examination, and within the compass of a lengthy article. In the translations of the Hebrew poems, that is, those portions of the poems embraced in the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes,—for this is the order of arrangement,—the same general characteristics appear as in the previous volumes. The variations from our common version are perhaps more wide, more numerous, and more striking than those appearing in the preceding volumes. The poetic measure is not indicated, there is often both a lack and a loss of smoothness, and now and then the rendering adds to the obscurity instead of removing it. But the translation exhibits the results of much careful and independent study, a straight-forwardness in purpose, a wondrous freedom from the bias of preformed theories, a directness and vigor of style which are exceedingly interesting; and, in not a few instances, the shadowy thought flashes out into clearness, and the old stalwart Hebrew mind stands out in more majestic proportions in spite of the oriental costume and the false philosophy which there is no attempt to hide. The volume is richly worth study; and when it does not satisfy it may awaken thought and bring profit. Nearly sixty pages of notes at the end of the volume, in a sort of Appendix, are devoted to the work of aiding in the proper use and interpretation of these poems, by offering suggestions respecting their antiquity, origin, occasions, objects, authority, and the methods to be adopted in their study.

But it is the treatise on "Biblical Theories" that will most probably arrest attention and be most prominently and permanently associated with Mr. Sawyer and his labors. It sets forth, both directly and incidentally, his views of the Bible, as the volume wherein men are to find their religious faith defined and justified. The authorship of the Scriptures, the kind and degree of inspiration attaching to them, their trustworthiness as history, their design, mean-

ing and uses,—all these points come up in some way for attention. On all these topics Mr. Sawyer has some definite things to say. He is a bold and confident critic, and an original and independent, not to say an audacious, interpreter. He cuts right and left with vigorous stroke and defiant bearing. He regards the ordinary views of interpreters as defective at the root. He makes the first part of Genesis traditional and philosophical allegory, and he finds the same element appearing largely in the entire Pentateuch. The accounts of the creation, the temptation and fall, the stories of Cain and Abel, of the Deluge, &c., are as far removed as possible from literal history; “the ascription of the Pentateuch to Moses is a Jewish fiction;” “the first part of the Bible, from Genesis to the end of second Kings, is a single work of the time of Ezra, and perhaps from his pen;” Eve was the guide and leader of Adam to higher knowledge and life, not his seducer to evil,—signifying that woman through marriage elevates human life; this higher knowledge and life come through a supply of good and proper food which Eve prepared, denoting that a higher civilization is the offspring of a right diet; Eve’s dialogue with the serpent implies that she tried the new found food by giving it to some pet animal before offering it to Adam to satisfy herself of its wholesomeness,—this fruit is probably the various cereal grains which denote an advance to agriculture; Adam going out of the garden and forbidden to return, represents the race leaving the low and indolent life in the forest, under the loving guidance of God,—not driven by retributive discipline,—into the more noble and industrious modes of life suggested by emigration and agriculture. The traditions recorded in the Bible are the same in signification with much of what appears in Grecian and Roman mythology; in most cases the allegories have a common origin; the Biblical version is usually higher and better because the Hebrew civilization had higher moral elements, though sometimes Herodotus surpasses Ezra, Homer outruns David, and Athens distances Jerusalem, etc., etc., etc.

In view of all which we only say that we think Mr. Sawyer’s pluck is unquestionable, his honesty undoubted, his self-reliance very great, his learning very respectable, his boldness very marked, and his books very entertaining and suggestive; but that his skill in constructing theories surpasses his wisdom in interpreting the Bible, and that he is a much better philological pugilist than a theological leader.

HISTORY OF FREDERICK THE SECOND, called Frederick the Great. By Thomas Carlyle. In four volumes. Vol. III. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862. 12mo., pp. 596.

This volume of the great work of Carlyle covers four years in the life of the Prussian monarch, dating from his formal accession to the throne. It brings out the principles upon which his rule was conducted, and exhibits both the administrative talent and the military skill of the monarch. It implies, perhaps, a broader and more careful study on the part of the author than the previous volumes, and calls for the same thing in the reader; while it is in itself less popular and attractive to the superficial. The author’s characteristics appear as decidedly as ever. The issue of the remaining volume will af-

ford opportunity for estimating the work as a whole, and of reviewing it in form.

THE STUDENT'S FRANCE. A History of France from the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the second Empire in 1852. Illustrated by Engravings on Wood. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo., pp. 730.

Those who have seen the Histories of Rome, Greece, and the epitomes of Hume and Gibbon, heretofore issued by the same House, will readily apprehend the design and the general method of the present volume. There has been no history of France that was wholly satisfactory. Most of our histories of France have been written from an English stand-point, and have embodied and reflected English prejudices and criticisms. The present work was written by an Englishman long resident in France, thoroughly conversant with French life, and not without appreciation of the French character; and the work appears to be carefully, conscientiously and skilfully done. It is not easy to see how the task could have been better accomplished, within the same compass.

THE POEMS OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 410.

This little volume contains the poems which were issued some years since, and also those which appeared a year ago under the title of *Songs in Many Keys*. A full-length engraved likeness of the Professor fronts the title-page, making him appear more like a merry boy of eighteen than a man who has had a literary and scientific fame for more than a score of years. Criticism upon the contents of the volume would be a waste of words.

RAVENSHOE. By Henry Kingsley, Author of "Geoffrey Hamlyn." Fifth Edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862. 12mo., pp. 430.

The English writers of fiction have characteristics in common which distinguish them from their fellow workers on this side of the Atlantic, as well as qualities which exhibit their own individuality. Dickens is the master, and, —either with or without intention,—very largely the model after whom the great body of recent English novelists copy. Besides, English life has so many features peculiar to itself, and separating it from American life, that the transatlantic features can in no wise be hidden.

Henry Kingsley has no such creative genius, no such depth of insight, and no such power in portraiture as the author of *Hypatia*; his characteristics are more akin to those of Reade, though lacking both his audacity and his fire. *Ravenshoe* is a work of merit, and sets forth the complications, anxieties and evils of the laws of entailment and primogeniture. It introduces us to a great number and a great variety of personages, characters, combinations, incidents and experiences, which together set forth the less open workings of interest and honor in English life. But his characters are not always clearly drawn, his actors are continually turning up in unexpected places and ways, and the line of principle and rectitude does not always run clearly through his story,—suggesting the question whether it lies prominently under his own

eye. And yet the work is full of entertainment, and the interest of the reader,—in spite of impatience over episodes, delays, and sometimes stupid by-pieces,—grows deeper even to the end.

EDWIN BROTHERLOFT. By Theodore Winthrop. Author of "Cecil Dreeme" and "John Brent." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862. 12mo., pp. 369.

Another book by Winthrop, and it is said to be the last! It exhibits the same throbbing vitality as its predecessors, the same intense conviction, the same scorn of meanness and brutish passion, the same rapturous admiration of chivalric heroism and spiritual beauty; the same unequalled strugglings, too, of his spirit to find his sphere and fill it, and the same morbid defiance of the world which he had hardly undertaken to master, and with which he had hardly learned to sympathize. He lays the scene of his story among the historic places of the Revolutionary war, and paints for us a few salient features of the period, and a few faces among the actors in that drama of patriotism and passion. Edwin Brotherloft, the chivalric gentleman; Mrs. B., the splendid woman in the drawing-room, the ambitious plotter in her boudoir, and the queen of the furies in her hours of passion; Lucy, the very incarnation of female loveliness; Major Skerrett, the noble and merry-hearted friend; Voltaire, the negro, with his magniloquent words, his intense devotion, and his Yankee shrewdness;—all these are characters worthy the creative skill of artists who have no longer a name and a place to win. And yet the work seems to us really inferior to those which went before it. Its faults are more glaring,—the dash, the intensity, the almost fury of expression which allows no idea of power in calm repose; while the peculiar merits of his literary work are less prominent. Still, it shows a very high order of talent, and holds the reader to the page like a spell.

THE NEW GYMNASTICS, for Men, Women and Children. With a translation of Prof. Kloss's Dumb-bell Instructor, and Prof. Schreiber's Panygymnastikon. By Dio Lewis, M. D., Proprietor of the Essex Street Gymnasium, Boston. With Three Hundred Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862. 12mo., pp. 274.

Dr. Lewis has made himself well known by his efforts to promote physical education, among the young especially, by means of a regular and systematic gymnasia. His object is so important, and his success has been so marked wherever he has been allowed a fair opportunity to unfold and test and apply his system, that he may be said to have silenced all active opposition and won a theoretic victory. What he now seeks is to conquer practical indifference, and bring the community into the attitude of direct and positive coöperation. Hence the issue of this book. It is direct, simple, and practical, and adequate to its object. By the aid of the illustrations any one may undertake the work of physical culture and prosecute it with success,—expending, meantime, only a small sum of money, and using only a small portion of time needed for other purposes. Strong arms, full chests, vigorous circulation, flexible and tenacious muscles, a straight spinal column, a good appetite, and a healthy digestion, are the kinds of profit which the volume aims to secure, and which,

without presumption, it openly promises to those who study the system and apply the directions which it unfolds and presents.

THE GOLDEN HOUR. By Moncure D. Conway, Author of the "Rejected Stone." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862. 12mo., pp. 160.

There is no more vigorous writer who is stirred to the use of his pen by the great contest in this country, than the author of this volume. He has had a training for the work. Born and reared amid slavery, sharing the prejudices in favor of the social and industrial life which it underlies, till his observations at the North conquered his false philosophy by its stubborn facts,—living for years at Washington, where the workings of the political elements in our national life compelled his study and deepened his devotion to liberty,—driven away from the Capital for his faithful pulpit utterances in behalf of humanity and justice,—living near the border during the last eighteen months where timid counsels and half-way measures were flourishing,—he lifts up his voice like a prophet, and seeks to inspire the people with faith in freedom and an abhorrence for all timidity in spirit and all vacillation in purpose. The "Rejected Stone" was *JUSTICE TO THE SLAVE*; the "Golden Hour" is the present; and the only deed which can use the opportunity which it brings is the proclamation of *UNIVERSAL LIBERTY*. The logic of the work is throbbing and fiery; he writes his appeals as though their origin were agony and the ink were blood; his indignation is like Vesuvius at the height of a midnight eruption; his sarcasm cuts like Nitric acid; and when he summons the government and the nation to its high service, it is as though a regiment of trumpeters were blowing a blast which heralded a charge to the battle of the Lord and Gideon. Points sometimes seem to us too strongly put, criticisms are severe enough now and then to be unjust, false policy is exaggerated, and too strong an assurance is now and then expressed that a bold blow for freedom will send the rebellion staggering speedily to its overthrow. But we find no fault with the work. Just as it is, it is needed; and its very exaggerations are so many additions to its power. It is a continuation of the former work, and is needed for circulation as a tract for the times. The government is slow and timid; there is hardly any danger that it will be pushed too rapidly toward freedom; and we welcome even such spasmodic and effective impulses as this into the service of the country and of Christian civilization.

THE GRAVER THOUGHTS OF A COUNTRY PARSON. By the Author of "Recreations," &c. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863. 12mo., pp. 307.

Mr. Boyd keeps busy with his pen, and the publishers keep busy with his manuscript. Few recent writers have risen so rapidly as he into a quiet popularity, and secured so large a circle of really sympathetic and friendly admirers. The interest felt in his books has been at once transferred, with increasing strength, to the man himself. He is no impersonal *litterateur*, but he becomes at once the valued friend of almost every reader. Each one longs to see him, and feels that he would hardly need an introduction, and that all reserve would at once disappear on approaching the door of the parsonage.

The same general qualities appear in his style, whether he is dealing with

sacred or secular themes. He exhibits no questionable license in his sprightliest essays, and puts no cant into his most serious sermons. He is a writer to be read in hours of leisure and mental quietude. The faults in his style are obvious to the most superficial, but the severest critic will enjoy his volumes in spite of, and almost because of, them. He is remarkably diffuse, and his thought sometimes halts till one is nearly tired of waiting for a movement. These sermons are thoroughly removed from everything sensational, spasmodic, startling, or paradoxical. They never condense a large amount of matter, and cannot impair the mental digestion of ordinary minds. There is seriousness, but it is rational; fervor, but it never loses its calmness; he is earnest, but ever subdued; effective, but always by means of a steady and continued pressure of some plain and practical thought home upon his audience. His sermons are much better adapted to quiet, scholarly Edinburgh, than to eager, bustling New York. Taken all in all, his essays seem to us to stand higher in their sphere than do his sermons in theirs. And yet there is both a charm and a value in this new volume which we could not consent to miss, and one can hardly rise from the perusal of any one of these discourses without feeling that he has been lifted into a holier atmosphere, where the passions are quieted, and the moral eye opens with new clearness upon the great truths of the spiritual world.

The work is issued in the same admirable style with the author's preceding volumes, which is saying quite enough in the way of praise of its mechanical excellences.

BROADCAST. By Nehemiah Adams, D. D. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863. 12mo., pp. 210.

The brief preface to this volume thus tells its origin and design :

"The author of these pages has been in the habit of putting down, in the briefest form, such of his own reflections as might serve him for hints in preaching. Having answered this purpose, the thought occurred of making selections from them, and turning them into the present shape and use."

We regard the habit referred to as one of great value; we have often found in such detached fragments great suggestive power, as, for example, Beecher's "Life Thoughts;" we presume these jottings signified much to the author, and were often expanded into instructive and valuable sermons; there is now and then what we recognize as a real ingot in this collection; but, as a whole, it seems to us as nearly a worthless book of its kind as any man of note has sent abroad. Three-fourths of what is herein contained wholly fails to rise above common-place study-talk, and there is scarcely anything really deserving to be quoted, or which will fasten itself upon the memory. If the author must write, a proper and patriotic regard for economy should have prompted him to wait till paper had become cheaper and plentier.

THE

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ARTICLE I.—EFFECTIVE SPEECH.*

Remembering that remark of Hume that "he who would teach eloquence, must do it chiefly by *examples*," one finds himself shrinking naturally enough from that sort of inquisitorial scrutiny to which the discussion of such a theme must necessarily expose the performance of him who has the audacity to undertake it.

As it requires a mathematician to discourse of mathematics, a philosopher of philosophy, a poet of poetry, so he who talks of eloquence, *should* be able to do it in an eloquent way,—fitly illustrating his subject by his own lucid and effective presentation of it. But if this cannot be, then he must comfort himself as well as he can by taking notice that that word "*examples*" is in the plural; plainly suggesting that when the teacher of eloquence cannot exemplify his subject in his own performance, he may still do it by a humble reference to the performances of others—enjoying in himself only that small modicum of happiness which our fancy has sometimes attributed to the substantial and reliable guide-post, that points others to a distant city, the paved streets of which it may never hope to walk.

* The rhetorical structure of this article is explained by the fact of its being originally prepared as an address before a Literary Society connected with one of our institutions of learning.

I have wondered that when Shakespeare put into the mouth of Hamlet that almost inspired utterance: "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a God!" I have wondered that, in this sublime though fragmentary outline of man's exalted being, there had been no more particular mention of that other of the crowning gifts of God to man—the gift of speech—the Divine expression of breathing thoughts in burning words. But he has made his hero illustrate that, and perhaps he deemed that sufficient—leaving it somewhat as the Washington letter writer who undertook some years since the description of the person of Henry Clay—after going through with his other striking features, he added: "As for his mouth, that can speak for itself."

The cultivation of eloquence has always been, and will always continue to be, in every civilized society—and the more so as civilization advances—a chief end and aim of education. We are very far, therefore, from subscribing to that remark of the ingenious and acute author of *Lacon*, in which he says: "Oratory is the huffing and blustering spoiled child of a semi-barbarous age. The press is the foe of rhetoric, but the friend of reason; and the art of declamation has been sinking in value from the moment that speakers were foolish enough to publish; and hearers wise enough to read." *Mere declamation*—a fictitious oratory all mere gibberish, balderdash,rodomontade, wish-wash,—that bombastic, inflated, frothy style, which is sometimes known as *hifalutin*, and which consists of "great swelling words of vanity"—that style of oratory is destined to pass away before the light of general intelligence, as the moving fog that gathers from the fen passes away before the sun.

But a high-sounding grandiloquence, or a pompous magniloquence, is at an infinite remove from true eloquence. The mire which gathers upon a coach-wheel, is no essential part of the vehicle. Whoever comes with that fustian stuff, brings the incense of Baal to the altar of Jehovah, and no heavenly fire shall ignite the unhallowed offering, albeit it may consume instead the sacrilegious offerer.

There is many a conceited Elihu, who comes with his wordy palaver, to whom the Divine voice speaks with an indignant repulsion: "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?" Such eloquence has had its day, no doubt; has it yet in the regions of the shadow of death; or where there come only a few straggling rays, from some beclouded new moon. But when men find out that they have been cheated by a base counterfeit, or imposed upon by worthless trash from wild-cat banks, they will still appreciate the genuine metal with the true stamp upon it; and find that they need *that* none the less than before for a circulating medium.

And so long as human society exists, words of truth and soberness and true eloquence must constitute the circulating medium between man and man. The art of printing will not supersede the art of speaking; books, in moving the world, will never be a substitute for living men, with subduing tones, flashing eye, and earnest action. If it be weakness to be affected by the personal presence of a living speaker, it is nevertheless just such a weakness as God has wrapped up in human nature, as one of its constituent and characteristic elements; and the human race will never outlive it. And when the reign of stupid nonsense, and brainless jargon, and incoherent rhapsody, and unmeaning verbiage, and empty platitudes, and dull, long-winded, rambling rant (I am illustrating my subject now) has come to an end, then will begin the reign of ideas—of noble thoughts expressed in fitting words, by the mouth of true, living, earnest men. Eloquence will not die—"vita brevis, sed ars est longa"—and the art of speaking will endure as long as any other.

The form in which I have announced my subject sufficiently implies that all speaking is not effective speaking. As Cowper has said of conversation, so it might sometimes be said of the public talking of Parliament, Congress, the forum, the platform, the stump, or even the pulpit, perhaps.

"Collect at evening what the day brought forth;
Compress the sum into its solid worth;
And if it weigh the importance of a fly,
The scales are false, or Algebra a lie."

In the Merchant of Venice, Bassanio says of his friend Gratiano: "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing—more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them; and when you have them, they are not worth the search."

Dr. Griffin, once President of Andover Theological Seminary, and afterwards of Williams College, used to say to his students in theology, by way of enforcing a lucid enunciation of thought, and using thereto as few words as possible—that it was like hatchelling flax; when the hatchel got filled up with tow, it produced little effect. "Take out the tow," gentlemen, "Sift out every word that you can possibly spare—every one that does not come fraught with meaning. Let your ideas stand out like the sharp teeth of a hatchel—then your preaching will be effective."

Dr. Lyman Beecher used a different though equally homely and characteristic illustration: "Let your ideas stand out like rabbits' ears, so that everybody can lay hold upon them. Let them stand out—don't bury them up in an avalanche of words.

Effective speech demands condensation. Wrap up as much meaning as possible in the compass of a few telling words, and you will deal effective blows. Men make bullets of lead, and cannon balls of iron—metals which are chosen because they are heavy and solid, and with this *multum in parvo* every shot does good execution. But for an artillery company to fire from a 200-pounder *feather bed*, would only be a grand fizzle, ending in "fuss and feathers." The difference between cannon balls and feather beds is only the difference between condensation and the want of it. Feathers are better than bullets for some uses, *but not to fight with*.

The little hard, knotty, knurled Anglo-Saxon monosyllables, with their immense specific gravity, have oftentimes told more in effective speech, than the round, sonorous, mouth-filling polysyllables of Latin and Greek paternity. [Not that I would depreciate what we have derived from these noble tongues. We could not possibly do without these rich acqui-

tions. But without loving these less, we may love the others more.]

There is greater sublimity as well as increased power in condensed speech. The Bible furnishes many examples. All critics from Longinus downward have marked the nervous energy and sublime simplicity of the historic narrative, with which the first chapter of revelation opens. He has told us how much more sublime the simple statement—"God said, let there be light, and there was light"—than all the adornments and epithets which frothy syllables of circuitous indirectness could give. Let us try it; and in the improved style of magniloquence we might have it thus: "And the Lord God Almighty, who is from everlasting to everlasting, issued high and glorious proclamation, as becometh the fiat of omnipotence—Let the deep and impenetrable obscuration that envelopeth this mundane sphere, be dispersed abroad, and let a radiant and resplendent luminosity float in its stead through the expanded ærial regions; and at the voice of the Divine behest, the tenebrious and caliginous adumbrations gave place to the dazzling coruscations of a relucant and effulgent transplendency!" Indeed! what was that that took place? Some imagine that to be a strong style, as though the attachment of ten pounds of adipose matter to every muscle did not encumber and debilitate him who has to carry it. This "*fatty disease*" of style becomes with some young men chronic and fatal. My paraphrase—scarcely worse than some I have seen and heard, contains seventy-eight words, and one hundred and forty-seven syllables—our translators have used ten words—all monosyllables—Moses in the Hebrew only six words. Eight syllables in the English would translate the Hebrew: "God said, let light be; and light was." And there stands before you Almighty power, without a rag of tinsel to take away from the sublime impression!

In speaking there always is, or always should be, *some end proposed*. Eloquence is *speaking out*—adapting the discourse to the end sought—"saying all that is necessary, and nothing but what is necessary." Some—young speakers especially—though the fault is not confined to them—seem to imagine that

they are successful in oratory in proportion as they are skilful in dilution—spreading a very little material exceedingly thin over a large surface; as if the material for execution in battle were sheet lead instead of balls. It is related that a young man who was excessively loquacious, was sent to Socrates to learn oratory. On being presented, the young fellow talked so incessantly, that even the patience of Socrates was severely taxed. When the bargain came to be struck, Socrates asked him double price. “Why charge me double?” said the young gentleman. “Because,” replied the sage, “I must teach *you two* sciences—the one, how to talk, the other, *how to hold your tongue.*”

Effective speech depends upon knowing, first, what to say; and, secondly, *when to quit saying it.* Words are meant to be the medium of thought—when the thought is expressed, let the words cease.

“Yet ’tis remarkable that they
Talk most that have the least to say.”

But this *diarrhœa* of words is a diseased action, resulting *from* weakness, and resulting *in* still greater weakness. But with some writers, and speakers, we fear, it is chronic, if not constitutional. A vigorous treatment with tonics and astringents is what such a debilitated style most needs. The rule is simple: When you have something to say, say it: when you are through, *stop!* Men will listen patiently even *for a long time* to a speaker who *really* has something to say, and who says it in a pointed way; but to

“Explain upon a thing till all men doubt it,
And write about it, goddess, and about it,”

only wrings from him who hears, such *encomiums* as one of Shakespeare’s characters (you remember) pronounces thus:

“O, he’s as tedious
As is a tired horse, a railing wife;
Worse than a smoking house; I had rather live
With cheese and garlic, in a windmill, far,
Than feed on cakes, and have him talk to me
In any summer house in Christendom.”

“ Words without thoughts never to Heaven go,” exclaimed the king in Hamlet, when he strove in vain to pray; and it is just as true of men as of God, that words *merely* meet no response; only such as are loaded with thoughts. All else is firing blank cartridges.

“ Words,” says Hobbes, “ are the counter of wise men; but the money of fools:”—a most suggestive comparison. A banker may have a counter, and be very poor; so let no speaker imagine that he is rich, because he has “ words—only words.” “ Literature hath her quacks,” says Lacon, “ no less than medicine, and they are divided into two classes; those who have erudition without genius, and those who have volubility without depth; we shall get second-hand sense from the one, and *original nonsense* from the other.” College faculties generally, I fear, encounter much of this *originality*!

Besides, plain, earnest words, not only do the most execution when spoken first, but they are the best remembered afterwards. For example: In one of John Randolph’s splendid speeches in the Senate of the United States, (and he sometimes made such,) he paused, and fixing his eyes on the presiding officer, exclaimed: “ Mr. President, I have discovered the philosopher’s stone—it consists in these four plain English monosyllables, ‘ PAY AS YOU GO ! ’ ” These words have been by far the best remembered and the most quoted of any which that splendid speech contained. THE SPEECHES AND THE BOOKS THAT CANNOT WELL BE SHORTENED, ARE THOSE THAT ARE DESTINED TO LIVE.

Akin to condensation is *brevity*. Sometimes a speech of six days, such as that of Burke in his impeachment of Warren Hastings, may be not only enduring, but tremendously powerful and increasing in interest and intensity from beginning to end. But ordinarily, and especially in these times of lightning expresses and magnetic telegraphs, a speech of even four hours demands for its apology and even for its patient endurance, a most remarkable occasion and most transcendent abilities. And it is probable, after all, that Sheridan’s speech of five hours in the case of Hastings, was more effective with the mass than Burke’s of twenty-five. One who listened to it, and who

was in the beginning prejudiced in favor of the accused, said to a friend at the end of the first hour: "All this is mere declamation." When the second hour was finished, "This is a most wonderful oration." At the close of the third, "Mr. Hastings has acted very unjustifiably." At the fourth, "Mr. Hastings is an atrocious criminal." At the close, "Of all monsters of iniquity, Warren Hastings is the most enormous." With most audiences the effect of a long speech is like that produced upon Cleomenes, king of Sparta, when the ambassadors of Lauges came to him with a very long and elegant oration, inviting him to assist them against Polycrates. He replied at the end: "The former and middle parts of your address were too long, and I have forgotten them. As to the latter part, being unconnected in my memory, with what preceded it, I do not see the propriety of it, and therefore your request is not granted." A part had been forgotten—the rest had no connection, and the whole failed!—a very common result of a long-winded speech. But (to apologize for the Laucians) it will be remembered that the Spartans were remarkable for their conciseness and brevity. *Laconic* is in our language their enduring monument.

That is effective eloquence which accomplishes its purpose. An Athenian who lacked fluency of speech, but who was an able and brave man, when one of his countrymen had in a brilliant oration promised great things, rose and said: "All that he has said, I will do!" The longer speech has perished—this stands on record. Who shall say that it was not the more effective of the two? We are told that when Cicero spoke, his hearers went away admiring and exclaiming: "What a splendid orator! What a magnificent oration!" But, when the far mightier Demosthenes thundered over Greece, the hearers, in their intensified devotion to the cause which he advocated, forgot the man, and shouted only in their fiery indignation: "Let us fight Philip!" That was a failure—this was splendid success. The orator who carries his point, and leads his hearers to grasp his subject, while he is himself forgotten—forgotten by others, because he was first self-forgetful,—BEARS THE PALM!

Dr. Franklin tells us that he went to hear Whitfield preach a

charity sermon, fully resolved to give nothing. After a while a thunder-clap fell upon him, and magnetized the copper—he concluded to give that. Another flash and another thunder-burst, and the silver clung to the magnet. Before the fireworks had closed, there came another and still another, peal on peal, until copper, silver, gold and all, leapt with electric speed into the contribution box as it passed around. Whitfield's orphan asylum was built, and Dr. Franklin helped to do it. I know of no other incident which gives me so strong an impression of Whitfield's eloquence, as its effect on the cool, practical, calculating, economic Franklin.

What farther I have to say will be upon *the conditions of successful oratory*; which I propose to consider with reference to the *speaker*—the *hearers*—the *circumstances*—the *matter*—and the *manner* of discourse. Briefly of each:

1. THE SPEAKER. "*Ex nihil nihil fit.*" You cannot get out of a man what is not in him. "A lady's purse," says the proverb, "cannot be made out of a swine's ear, nor a whistle"—you know the rest! Or if I give you a more classical one it shall be from the Latin: "*Ex quovis ligno mercurius non fit.*" And as Paul was called Mercury because he was the chief speaker, the proverb will fit well. The elements of oratory must be in the man, else they cannot be evolved. To extract the square root of —1 would be just as easy.

I do not mean by this that because a man does not succeed at once in his attempts at eloquence, he should despair of ever succeeding. Sheridan's first speech in Parliament did not quite satisfy his friends, and the Reporter Woodfall tells us that after its delivery the speaker came to him in the gallery and asked him, with much anxiety, what he thought of this first attempt? [That was itself evidence of a failure. A speaker never succeeds eminently without "*feeling in his bones*" that he has awakened a true response from those who have heard.] Woodfall replied: "I am sorry to say that I don't think this is your line—you had better have stuck to your former pursuits" (writing dramas). Sheridan rested his head on his hand for some minutes, and then exclaimed with vehemence: "IT IS IN ME, AND IT SHALL COME OUT OF ME!" It did come out, for it

was only seven years after this that Burke, having spent ten years in investigating the British atrocities in India, commenced the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and assigned to Sheridan an important part, as I have already explained, in which he acquitted himself so eminently, that Mr. Pitt remarked of the speech, that *an abler was probably never delivered*. Henry Clay blundered and stumbled, and came near to an utter failure in one of his early attempts at public speaking. And Daniel Webster says that he could never muster courage enough in his academical course to go through with a common declamation. Demosthenes was hissed from the stage in his first attempt. But it is just as true—“*Orator nascitur non fit*,” as it is—“*Poeta nascitur non fit*.” That is, there is just enough of truth in the proposition to make it true, and yet make it amount to a falsehood. The true doctrine would demand one monosyllable: “*Orator nascitur, et fit*.”

So far as pertains to the speaker, there are several particulars meriting attention :

(1.) Effective eloquence depends upon a certain energy of will, constituting what might be termed positiveness of character. I do not mean arrogance, nor conceit, nor assumption—all of these are derogatory always. Let a man come on with a flourish of trumpets, and, asserting his superiority over you, threaten to take you by storm; and at once human nature, that never likes to be taunted with its inferiority, places itself on the defensive,—porcupine-like, rolls itself up, with its spines radiating outward, and determines not to be captured. Let a speaker announce to you that he is going to move you to action, and he afterwards finds that it is harder to do it.

“If you have tears to shed, prepare to shed them now!”—and you don't do it. After such an unhappy challenge in the beginning of Anthony's speech over the dead body of Cæsar, it required a most touching and masterly oration to make it good. Nobody but Shakespeare could have written a speech for him, that would have brought forth tears after such a premonitory introduction; and the world has always wondered that he should have allowed Anthony to commence so unfortunately. But when he says, a little farther on :

“ I came not friends to steal away your hearts ;
 I am no orator as Brutus is :
 But as you know me all, a plain blunt man.
 * * * * *
 For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
 Action nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
 To stir men’s blood ; I only speak right on ;”

Then he carries you by storm : Yet not without that determined purpose, that self-reliant individuality of character to which I refer.

Eloquence is a sort of majesty—a species of kingly power ; and men acknowledge the mastery of no one who has not in his nature *a strong element of self-assertion*. A born king is acknowledged ; but none other. A strong man* went to the grave a while ago, whose chief element of power over men as a popular orator, was his imperial positiveness of character. The very authority, and even audacity, with which he asserted a thing, made half the world believe it true.

(2.) Closely allied to this is another essential constituent element of an impressive speaker, *strength of feeling*. “ *Si me vis flere, primum tibi dolendum est,*” wrote the Roman poet many centuries ago. This is sometimes translated : “ If you wish me to weep, you must first weep yourself.” But it will be observed that it is stronger than that : “ If you wish me to weep, you must first *wail* yourself.” If you wish me to feel *a little*, you must first feel *deeply* yourself.

It may safely be asserted that no orator ever lived who was deficient in this respect. A stoic might possibly be a philosopher—after a fashion, and within narrow limits—but he could never be an orator. His philosophy even must never traverse the department of the sensibility—unless he have such a department in his own nature. The volcanic fire which moves others, must be kindled in the soul of him who speaks. There are various ways of getting it out—sometimes in a calm, suppressed way—sometimes with more vehemence of manner. But that which kindles others is the fire which burns in the hid-

* STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

den depths of the orator's own being. "Logic set on fire," is somebody's definition of eloquence. I know not where—and care not—IT IS INSPIRED! Whitfield's emotional nature burst out in volcanic tides—his arms and eyes and whole body gave expression to what his words could not utter. Edwards read his tremendous revival sermons—for example, that terrific fulmination: "Sinners in the hands of an angry God"—without a gesture; holding his manuscript as he held his psalm-book, in the one hand, while he turned the leaves over with the other. A careless looker on might have described him as passionless; but in truth he was most intensely impassioned—not blazing out at the top, but hot, red hot, within—melted like the bowels of the earth to its very centre. Choate was intensely demonstrative; no orator in the country, unless it be Gough, had equal action to express his feelings. Webster seldom made a gesture; but his massive frame seemed charged oftentimes to its fullest capacity with the electric fire, begotten of his deep emotional nature; and sometimes trembled as a continent trembles when an earthquake shakes it—*the fire was there—only deeper*. Let no one undertake to be any other than himself. Webster would have been ridiculous to imitate Choate. Choate would have been a shorn Samson to have delivered his stirring speeches with Websterian attitude.

I recall the words of Dr. Beecher, the elder, delivered first some twenty-five years ago, but which I could not forget: "Let the head be furnished, and the tongue endowed with stores of language; and let there be a subject, and an object, and a *soul on fire* in high and arduous effort to accomplish an end, and when the time comes demanding eloquence, it will be there; and men will not need to practice before a looking-glass; but the soul will take possession of the body, and inspire intonation and look and gesture, and nature will be justified of her children."

"*A soul on fire*," it must be—and let the fire work according to its nature and the combustible material that gathers about it.

A storm-cloud may shoot out its lightnings like minute guns; or it may gather, in its majesty, slowly forging its thunderbolts into one Titanic mass, and issue that with concentrated and

overwhelming force; or it may silently diffuse its electric fires over a million acres—just as may be its nature. But the electricity must be in it—else it is no storm-cloud; and so the feeling which more than anything else makes eloquence, constituting its vitality, and its effective power, may manifest itself as it chooses or chances—but the feeling must be there, or it is no eloquence.

Coleridge described Fox, one of the most gifted of English orators, and “the most thoroughly English of them all,” by saying that “his feeling was all intellect, and his intellect all feeling”—a most graphic description, by a most competent and discriminating critic.

Place in array all the orators—the truly effective orators of all history, and you will find that though they have differed from each other in philosophical discrimination—in extent of learning—in vividness of imagination—in coolness of temperament—in readiness and force of utterance—in almost every physical and mental and moral endowment, they have all alike been characterized by strength and depth—not to say ardor and excitability of feeling. *No man ever said anything eloquently, till he felt it.*

This is one of the secrets of their superhuman efforts—or superhuman feats without effort, we might rather say—which have made the annals of extemporaneous speaking so brilliant. Webster never made such another speech as his reply to Hayne. He never could have made that speech except under the excitement of strongly aroused feeling. I doubt if the man ever knew himself before; and I wonder not that his generous hand gave to the lady who wrote it out a thousand dollar necklace as a testimonial of his gratitude. She had caused that speech to be to him for all time “as chains about his neck, and an ornament of grace to his head.” He was of a heavy temperament. It took much to arouse him. He had been assailed; his state maligned—he had a champion like Goliath of Gath—the boast of the Philistines;—he had slept remarkably well; he came into the Senate refreshed—intending as he told his friend Gales, to speak thirty minutes; he was advised to do more. He began—his brain worked admirably—*his head was furnished*—his

tongue endowed with stores of language (though that was the least of all his endowments)—he had a subject, and an object, and his soul was for once *on fire* in high and arduous effort to accomplish an end;—*the time had come*, demanding eloquence, AND IT WAS THERE! The occasion was great, and he was equal to it. Of that speech alone he might have said without vanity, "*Exegi monumentum ære perminus.*"*

The speeches which have most immortalized Cicero are those against Cataline—the most nearly extempore of any he ever uttered probably. But he was aroused. Luther's three hour's talk before the diet of Worms he never surpassed. But all that there was in him was poured forth "as hail-stones and coals of fire. He shot out lightnings also, and discomfited them."

Most of the greatest speeches which have ever been made have perished—except in the memory of those who heard them. They were called forth under strong emotion, and there were no reporters to register them. Mr. Fox once inquired in reference to a certain speech which was printed, "Did it read well?" Being answered in the affirmative he added—"Then it was a bad one!" We are far from subscribing to this; although there is much of truth in it, namely, that there is generally a wide difference between the written style and the spoken style. But to my taste, none read so well as the reported ones—none are so forcible, so effective, so stirring, so readable. So with reported sermons. No written sermons were ever so much read or so effective as Finney's, Spurgeon's, and Beecher's reported discourses—all of them extempore when delivered. Finney's Revival lectures were never equalled by any of the sermons which he has written. They are much more like him than those which he has written out with his own hand. The impressive emphasis—the abrupt transitions—the sudden flashes—in a word, the thunder and lightning are all there. Whitfield's written sermons are not Whitfield. He lacked a Reporter. All that we know of him as a preacher is from tradition. Robert Hall and Christmas Evans have in like manner

* I have erected a monument more enduring than brass.

passed away. Men who wrote their sermons—like Jeremy Taylor, and Chalmers, and Davies, and Edwards, remain with us. But oh! that we had these other sons of thunder printed and painted! But it takes an appreciative hearer to do the painting! Mr. Finney has said, that no man ever reported him but Joshua Leavitt. Posterity will do the Reporter deserved honor for leaving behind him those two volumes—Lectures on Revivals, and Lectures to Christians. A congregation of living men, with earnest eyes, and riveted ears, and electric sympathy are necessary to inspire the highest order of effective eloquence. Only this can possibly bring out all that there is in a man who was made to be an orator.

(3.) But the speaker needs not only will and sensibility; but every noble personal quality which he may possess contributes to give to his speech the highest effectiveness. Known integrity, for example, like that of Lord Chatham, whom four thousand pounds a year could not buy. High toned moral character like that of Burke—based upon the Bible—and which crops out in all his mightiest efforts, because it constituted the substantial substratum of the man. Take a single sentence to illustrate from the impeachment of Hastings:—"My lords, there is one thing, and one thing only, that defies imitation—that which existed before the world itself. I mean justice: that justice which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us; given us for our guide with regard to ourselves, and with regard to others; and which will stand after this globe is burned to ashes—our advocate or our accuser before the great Judge, when he comes to call upon us for the tenor of a well-spent life. * * * My lords, if you must fall, may you so fall! But if you stand, and stand I trust you will—may you stand as unimpeached in honor as in power! May you stand, not as the substitute for virtue; but as a sacred temple for the perpetual residence of inviolable JUSTICE!" Such a man's words are "in the demonstration of the spirit, and with power!"

But perhaps among all the traits that give effect to a speaker's words, there is none mightier than *true courage*. Luther before the Diet, Knox in the presence of the bloody Queen and

her dissolute Court, and Patrick Henry in the House of Burgesses, are familiar examples. Curran before the Court when personal violence was threatened, and a pistol was fired,—shouting with burning eye—"You may assassinate me, but you shall not intimidate me," and Erskine before the prejudiced Court of Lord Buller, where the justice said to him—"Sit down, sir; remember your duty, or I shall be obliged to proceed in another manner!" replying, "*Your Lordship may proceed in what manner you see fit; I know my duty as well as your Lordship knows yours; I shall not alter my conduct!*"—these examples in which the moral courage of the pleaders gained them complete triumph, are scarcely less familiar.

Men admire the heroic; and moral heroism—courage in speaking the truth—daring in the midst of peril, gives irresistible impetus to the words spoken.

Thus far of the speaker.

2. But effective eloquence must have reference to those who hear, as well as to him who speaks. Skilful oratory is *adaptive*. Whitfield preaching to the Court, and to the Colliers, would, from the same text, preach quite a different sermon. Words and illustrations that would be wisely adapted to the one, would be very ill-suited to the other. "Proper words in proper places," says Swift, "make the true definition of a style." "In addressing the multitude," says Lacon, "we must remember the advice that Cromwell gave to his soldiers—'fire low.' If our eloquence be directed above the heads of our hearers, we shall do no execution. By pointing our arguments *low*, we stand a chance of hitting their *hearts* as well as their heads. Would we warm them by our eloquence, we must come home to their wants, and their wishes: to their hopes and their fears: to their families and their firesides."

Eloquence which would have moved Athens, would not reach Boston. Modes of expression and illustration and appeal with which Peter the Hermit stirred up all Europe in the Middle Ages, would rebound ineffective upon the head of the poor simpleton who should undertake to use them now. "Words fitly spoken" are those which Solomon so beautifully commends—as being "like apples of gold in baskets of silver."

A musical rhythm in oratory which "brought down the house" when Demosthenes made a stump speech at Athens, would only awaken ridicule now. "*Cuique suum*", is the legal maxim:—to every age and people and audience that which is appropriate for it. "That Rhetoric," says Selden in his *Table Talk*, "is the best, which is the most impressive and the most catching." A blunt old captain in the battle of Cadiz, harangued his men thus—"What a shame it will be to you, Englishmen, who feed upon good beef, and drink strong beer, to let these rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat nothing but oranges and lemons!" He showed himself a good orator. The beef and the beer thus appealed to, were thoroughly aroused, and the oranges and lemons were badly whipped. That speaking is skilful which accomplishes its object. The manner of going to work must depend upon the material upon which the speaker is called to operate. A sympathy between him and his hearers, must form the electric wire along which the lightning must pass if there is to be any communication. Let this be wanting, and the charging of the battery will be useless.

A telegraphic operator in New York with a dozen wires centering at his table;—one connecting with Boston—another with Washington—one with Buffalo, another with Cincinnati—knows full well that he will fail to reach the Boston man by playing upon the St. Louis key. *He strikes the cord that sends the message home.* Many a speaker fails because he has not learned equal wisdom; and wonders why the Albany man makes no response, when he is sending his dispatches only to Chicago. *(He is a wise speaker who talks to his audience,)* be they who they may. *And if he doesn't,* they will not be there again to hear. A speech is for those that hear it; except when a man in Congress talks for Buncombe, or like him in John Randolph's time, to posterity.

Men do not make speeches for the sake of making them;—or if they do, *they always fail to be eloquent.* "There must be an OBJECT." Dr. Johnson was once asked by a lady what new work he was employed about. "I am writing nothing just at present." "Well, but, doctor, if I could write like you, I would be always writing, merely for the pleasure of it." "Pray, mad-

am," retorted the Doctor,—“Do you seriously think Leander swam across the Hellespont, merely because he was fond of swimming?”

A man speaks to carry a point; and Henry Clay was a wise lawyer, when he said, that in addressing a jury, he did so to secure judgment for his client. And as in a jury of only twelve persons there were those of various habits of mind, various notions, susceptibilities and prejudices, he had to vary his style of argument and appeal to suit their various peculiarities; and that he never sat down, till he saw written in the face of every one of them a favorable verdict.

Men are *not* cabbage heads as the French barrister found, quite to his discomfiture. They are living, thinking, feeling, remembering, imagining, hoping, fearing, willing, acting beings. They are to be influenced—convinced—persuaded—carried captive. It is a great achievement. It must be done by laying hold on some of the strong constituent elements of their human nature. Their memories and feelings, hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, desires and aversions, must be appealed to. And *you must take them as they are*. Your arguments and illustrations must come *home* to them. Classical allusions and poetical quotations would do for Paul at Athens; but for Christ among the fishermen of Galilee—or talking to the simple hearted shepherds and soil-tillers—casting a net into the sea, seed-sowing, reaping, vine-dressing, the beauty of the lily, and even the motherly care of a hen for her chickens, were more appropriate illustrations. He was a wise preacher—not above his calling—never below it. Jesus of Nazareth was as *learned* as Rev. Mr. Pompous, or Drs. Grandiose or Hifalutin of our day: but he knew enough always to speak to his audience. “He that winneth souls is wise,”—and every true orator shows his wisdom in carrying captive the hearts of men. Let no illustration ever be belittling—or demeaning; but dignifying and exalting. One end of it, however, must come down to earth, wreathing itself softly about the hearts of men, yet grappling them firmly, that the other reaching to Heaven, may draw them mightily upward.

3. Effectiveness of speech is conditioned upon the circum-

stances in which it is uttered. Though the eloquence must be in the man, yet it depends on the occasion to bring it out. Occasions themselves are sometimes eloquent—more impressively so than any *words* which man can utter.

The best speeches that were ever made, are not *declaimable*. Patrick Henry's is one of them. I have often heard it attempted, but never successfully; and never without feeling how preposterous the undertaking. The circumstances must be reproduced—the kindling wrath of the royalists must actually explode in the startling cry of "*treason*," "*treason*," before the closing sentences of that unequalled outburst could ever be *repeated*.

The speech of the first Pitt (Lord Chatham)—"the atrocious crime of being a young man," &c—of the second Pitt in reply to Fox upon concluding peace with America—Warren's speech at the Old South Church just before the battle of Bunker Hill, in which he fell—Webster's contest with Hayne—and his oration at laying the corner-stone, and again the top-stone, of Bunker Hill Monument—of Silas Wright in a Senatorial contest with Webster—of John Quincy Adams when threatened with a resolution of censure by the House of Representatives—are only memorable instances of the effect of great occasions.

The circumstances which bring out the resources of a great orator are various. Curran attributed his success to his poverty, and a distinguished English barrister some years since explained the success of the eminent lawyers then at the bar, by saying—"Most of them succeeded by beginning life without a shilling!" (Good encouragement for most of us!) Such was the success of Erskine as a pleader. It was his first case—and he was the junior counsel. His client was charged with libel. The senior counsel had made his plea, and it was far in the night—no expectation was entertained that the new-fledged attorney (though advanced in years, for he began his practice late in life) would speak at all. The court adjourned to hear the closing speech on the part of the complaint next day. The court opened—much was at stake. Lord Mansfield was on the bench—the Court Room was filled. Erskine was known to the Chief Justice, but beside that to few, even of the lawyers. The opposing counsel was rising to his feet, when Erskine addressed

the Court—"My Lord, I am likewise counsel for the author of this supposed libel, and when a British subject is brought before a court of justice only for having ventured to attack abuses which owe their long continuance to the danger of attacking them, I cannot give up my share of the honor of repelling and exposing so odious a prosecution." And so he went on, amid a pin-fall silence, lucidly arraying his case, and making his strong defence. In the course of it occurred that memorable passage—a word will explain it—Lord Sandwich had secretly urged on the prosecutors; but for fear of having his own wrongs sifted out and exposed, did not appear as a party to the record. As Erskine fired up, he said—"Indeed, Lord Sandwich has"—The Chief Justice called him to order, reminding him that Lord Sandwich was not before the Court—"I know it," responded the advocate, borne away by the strong tide which had swept him along—"I know he is not formally before the Court, but for that very reason I WILL BRING HIM BEFORE THE COURT!" And he did, and held him there. The plea was a brilliant success—seldom equalled in the opening career of any lawyer. Lord Campbell pronounced it the most wonderful effort in the annals of the English bar. The briefless attorney who entered the court without a shilling, left it rich. Thirty retaining fees were put into his hands before he reached the door! In a short period his practice was worth over fifty thousand dollars a year. Some one asked him years afterwards, how he dared to face Lord Mansfield so boldly in a point where he was clearly out of order; when he beautifully replied—"I thought of my children, plucking me by the robe, and saying, *now father, is the time to get us bread!*"

No better illustration than this need be given of these words of Webster—himself so great a master of the highest eloquence—words, oft quoted, I know, but my address would scarce be complete without them, and you will never tire of hearing them:

"True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way,

but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject and in the occasion. * * *

The clear conception, outrunning the deduction of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence; or rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence—it is action—noble, sublime, godlike action.”

4. As a fourth condition of effective eloquence, I speak of the matter. If men's hearts are to be moved, there must be something to move them. And he who would attain to great success, must have something worthy of the success at which he aims. Now and then a meteor flashes athwart the sky, fixing the gaze and admiration of all terrestrials, and then going out in utter darkness. A sky-rocket shoots up with a brilliant and dazzling effect, but comes down as quick; and all that you see is a little blackened mass, or a thimble full of ashes. He who would have a commanding eloquence, and enduring power of speech among men, must have something to say which is worth the hearing. Quintillian was not far from the truth when he said: “An orator must know everything.” The whole range of science, of art, of history, of philosophy, of literature, may be traversed, and laid under contribution to serve his purpose. There are no acquisitions which he can make, that will not some time or other avail him for purposes of argument, illustration, or appeal. The profoundest erudition, the widest range of knowledge, and the most liberal culture, may contribute to his success. “The head must be furnished, and the tongue endowed with stores of language.” Says Lord Bacon: “Reading maketh a full man, conversation a ready man, and writing an exact man.” The fulness must come before the readiness. The aspirant for oratorical eminence, who sneers at classical learning, or treats with contempt the dry and abstruse abstractions of metaphysics or mathematics even, will one day find his mistake. Whoever dreams of waking up some morning, after a Rip Van Winkle sleep, and finding himself all at once a distinguished orator, may dream on. The sheaves of Joseph's brethren may some day bow down to his, but it will

only be when, after long years of hardship, trial, and various discipline and sad experience, the hand of Providence has led him to the throne of the Pharaohs. Whoever would lay a foundation on which to build an enduring edifice, must dig deep, else his frail structure will have a transient and precarious standing. A little wind and rain and flood-tide, and it will be swept away.

Natural genius may do much to supply the place of hard toil, and of incessant and long-continued application. But whoever prides himself on such a possession, shows thereby his want of it. True genius is modest, and unassuming, and generally, too, *hard-working!*

Demosthenes, who copied Thucydides eight times with his own hand, that he might study vigor and condensation of thought and style, and shaved his head, and kept his cave, and talked with pebbles in his mouth, to overcome an imperfection of speech, is only a single illustration of that patient application which lays the broadest foundation for oratorical eminence. Take a few other examples: Lord Chatham, who wrote out again and again translations of Demosthenes, and other ancient classics, and who patiently went twice through the folio Dictionary of Bailey (the best English Dictionary of his time) examining each word attentively, dwelling on its peculiar modes of construction, and who travelled widely that he might enrich his mind with the history and literature of other lands—Burke, who had the widest and most varied learning of his times, of whom Dr. Johnson said: “No man of sense could meet Burke by accident under a gate-way, to avoid a shower, without being convinced that he was the first man in England. William Pitt the younger, who was Prime Minister at twenty-four, and who ten years before read Greek and Latin fluently, and of whom his teacher says that there was not a Latin or Greek author of any distinction the whole of whose works he had not translated in a most thorough and discriminating manner, before he was twenty—who had gone through the whole range of mathematics, even to Newton’s Principia; studied the abstrusest metaphysics; committed to memory large portions of Shakespeare and the other English classics—Robert Hall, the

first pulpit orator of his age, who studied Locke on the Understanding, Edwards on the Will, and Butler's Analogy before he was twelve, and to whom the whole range of science and literature was open—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, of whom it was said that he was the most learned man who was ever at the head of any nation—DANIEL WEBSTER, of whom a Congressman, belonging to the opposite party, for four years associated with him, said to me: "Webster knows every thing"—BROUGHAM, reputed the most powerful living orator of England, who, with all his varied learning in science, law, literature, and theology, is one of the wonders of any age—But why should I speak of more? For time would fail me to tell of Macaulay, and Chalmers, and Channing, and Edwards; of Sumner, and Emerson, and Phillips—all of whom have through much study and great learning attained to mighty eloquence; subduing kingdoms; working righteousness; swaying nations, and putting to flight the armies of the aliens.

Such are the men in the first regiment in the world's array of mighty orators. A man may be a respectable pettifogger or a tolerable stump-speaker, who has slept over the first volume of Blackstone; looked into the second; read a little of Greenleaf on Evidence, and some abridged treatise on Practico and Pleadings; but there is for him no great promotion ahead. There are many ranks above to which he will never attain. If he wants a *Master's Degree*, he must do more.

Lastly, I speak of manner as a condition of success. I will be brief. Let this be natural—EXACTLY EACH ONE'S OWN. One has much action; another little; yet both may be equally effective. Take hints from all, but be a servile imitator of none. Make no effort to say or do things just as somebody else does. David will appear best and fight best in his own dress and armor—not in Saul's. Many a good speech has been spoiled by *straining after something*. Say what you believe and feel in deepest sincerity, and your manner *will fit you*. When the soul (your own soul) takes possession of the body, it will inspire intonation and look and gesture, and nature will be justified of her children." *Nature will—affectedation will not; all her children will be a reproach to her.*

One speaker is a son of Thunder; Giddings and Wade of Ohio are most eloquent when Jupiter's blacksmith—old Vulcan—hands them out his hottest bolts. Others are sons of consolation, coming like the evening zephyr—I remember one such in my boyhood—he sleeps with the dead to-night:

“ When he spoke, what tender words he used;
So softly that like flakes of feathered snow,
They melted as they fell.”

Another I shall not forget—his voice was like the trump of Gabriel—I think only of the judgment day when I remember him. And as he appears to me, I see the Angel of the Apocalypse, standing with one foot on the land, and one foot on the sea, proclaiming that time shall be no more. Each was a master in his way, at least I thought so then. And so from the *same* lips there fall drops of honey and globules of melted iron, as occasion, and circumstances, and fitness, may demand. Read the 14th of John and the 23d of Matthew, and see. Yet each is perfect. The Great Teacher had nothing of that sickly affectation of softness which some assume always to wear. To his faithful and sorrowing disciples he could say, “ Let not your heart be troubled,” and you see the oil poured out upon the storm, and a great calm comes. But to the miserable, sanctimonious, whining, sneaking, snivelling pietist, he could say: “ Woe, woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees! hypocrites!” and you hear the Lord thundering in the heavens—and the highest giveth forth his voice—“ hailstones and coals of fire,” and you see them falling upon the long-robed dissemblers who devoured widows' houses, and for a pretence made long prayers—scorching them and singing them, until they have shrivelled up to their own appropriate dimensions.

Some orators are painters—you see what they describe, it is all on the canvass, and one dash of the brush has put it there. These word-painters are mighty geniuses in their way, always natural, fresh as the dawning day, and fragrant as the flowers. Henry Ward Beecher is one of them. We thank God for such a man, who handles so skilfully the wand of eloquence, and always, too, to lift men up to freedom and to God.

But such men are not to be imitated—nor least of all envied. We will gaze at their paintings, and bear away in our hearts the reflection of their beauty; and still be humbly willing to utter faithfully our own plain, straight-forward, home-spun words as well as we may; leaving them to paint the heavens with gorgeous sunset clouds, as only those who are masters can. The swan may be beautiful, although it cannot soar like the eagle. And Icarus, the son of Dædalus, with his wings of wax, must not soar too near the heat, lest his pinions be melted off, and he who had mounted too high, make a sudden and inglorious descent into the sea. It is given to but few to drive the chariot of the sun, and Phaethon must not aspire to that.

Every style in which thought and feeling naturally clothe themselves, has its beauty. How unlike the calm, smooth, silvery tide floating you to the boundless sea, which you find in Channing; and the broken, abrupt, jagged style of Theodore Parker:—yet masters both. The one is a sail-boat ride *with the stream*, smooth, but slow; the other a ride on the contractor's train over an unfinished railroad, rougher, but faster. The former might lull you to sleep, or into sweet dreams, at least; the latter would certainly keep you awake, to see where you were going, and to look out for a place to alight, if the locomotive should fly the track.

Some deal in chain-shot, like Lord Chatham. Some, like Brougham, gather materials from the four heavens, fuse them into one solid mass, hard and knotty, and then, whirling it round and round, (as some one has described his Lordship,) with a giant's arm, to give it an accumulated momentum, hurl it with the force of Milton's devils, at the object of their aim.

As to style and manner, the advice of Polonius to his son Laertes, may apply, in a figurative sense, to every orator:

“ Neither a borrower, nor a lender be,
To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”

But it is time that I was done. To be mighty in speech is a worthy ambition; it is, in truth, to be mighty in mind and in heart:

“ Come, I will tell thee of a joy which the parasites of pleasure have not known,
 Though earth and air and sea have gorged all the appetites of men,
 Behold, what fire is in his eye, what fervor on his cheek!
 That glorious burst of winged words!—how bound they from his tongue;
 The grasp of concentrated intellect, wielding the omnipotence of truth;
 The grandeur of his speech, in his majesty of mind!
 Champion of the right, patriot, or priest, or pleader of the innocent cause,
 How wide the spreading of thy peace, how deep the draught of thy pleasure!
 Verily, O man, with truth for thy theme, eloquence shall throne thee with archangels!”

So says Tupper: beautifully, but not more truly than in those other two lines, which it were quite as needful to remember:

“ Speech is the golden harvest that followeth the flowering of thought;
 Yet ofttimes it runneth it to husk, and the grains be withered and scanty.”

ART. II.—THE PROPHEITICAL DAYS OF DANIEL.

The prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelation of John, have been, for the most part, in time past, sealed books. Their treasures of wisdom, like the mines of the earth, have been kept in store for an age having the wisdom to discover, and the skill to apply them to its own practical purposes. They were given in such language as to require a fulfilment, in part, at least, before they could be fully understood. So far as that fulfilment has been accomplished, there seems to be a general agreement as to the significance of each figure or symbol; and it would seem that enough has now been fulfilled to enable the earnest seeker after truth to find the principles of interpretation, by whose application the whole may be explained. Although the efforts of former interpreters have, to a great extent, been somewhat discouraging, yet the reasons for their failures are sufficiently clear to enable those who follow, to shun their errors; while the events which have transpired during the present century, and the signs of the times, cast sufficient light upon what was before obscure, to enable us to give a tolerably correct interpretation to the most important event of prophecy.

The prophetical days are, perhaps, the most obscure and instructive portions of these books. Indeed, almost the whole difficulty attending the interpretation of them has arisen from not knowing to what events in history to apply them, and from a desire to make them justify and support some previously formed conclusion. For the present it may be sufficient to consider the "days" of Daniel, leaving those of Revelation for some future time.

The whole subject is outlined in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and in the interpretation thereof, given by Daniel in the second chapter of the book bearing his name. In this vision the leading historical events, from the beginning until the end of time, were represented under the image of a man; having a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, feet part of iron and part of clay; and lastly, a stone

cut out of a mountain without hands, smiting the image on his feet, breaking it in pieces, grinding it to powder and consuming it. The kingdom of which Nebuchadnezzar was the head was symbolized by the golden head of the image.

The Medo-Persian power, which, under Cyrus, overthrew the Babylonian kingdom, and became the second universal empire, was fitly represented by the breast and arms of silver;—the two arms joined together in the breast of the man, representing the union of the Medes with Persians in one kingdom. The belly and thighs of brass in like manner typify the Greco-Macedonian power, which, under Alexander, overthrew the Persians. After the death of Alexander, his kingdom was divided into four separate dynasties, but as only two of them came in contact with God's people,—the Egyptian and the Syrian,—it was sufficiently accurate to represent the fact by the two legs of iron. The feet and toes, partly of iron and partly of clay, correspond to the empire of the Romans, which was the controlling power when Christ,—the stone cut out of the mountain without hands,—made his appearance in the flesh.

“SEVEN TIMES.”

The first occurrence of what has been called the prophetical numbers of Daniel, is in the fourth chapter, twenty-fifth verse. Keeping the same general outline in view, which was given in the preceding chapter, Nebuchadnezzar, who before was the head of gold and the representative of the Babylonian kingdom, is in this vision a large and flourishing tree, cut down and doomed to lay prostrate until “seven times” shall pass over it. The prophet applies it in the following language: “They shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. This was literally fulfilled in the person of the king, as is duly recorded in this same chapter. But the *usus loquendi* requires us to consider the abasement and restoration as but typical of the overthrow of his kingdom and its future restoration. The

seven times signify seven years, of three hundred and sixty days in each year, according to Jewish reckoning. If, now, each day stands for a year, as all interpreters allow, the time for the abasement of the Babylonian kingdom is two thousand five hundred and twenty years. As it was overthrown by Cyrus five hundred and thirty-eight years before Christ, the period for its abasement will terminate in the year nineteen hundred and eighty-two; or in about one hundred and nineteen years from the present time. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the gospel may have been so generally promulgated, and the improvements of modern civilization so generally introduced, as to cause a resuscitation of that empire at about that time.

A TIME AND TIMES AND A DIVIDING OF TIME.

The next occurrence of prophetic numbers is in the seventh chapter, twenty-fifth verse. "And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hands, until a time and times and a dividing of time." That is, for three years and a half, or twelve hundred and sixty years. The following questions have been raised as to these numbers: First, To what historical event do they apply? Second, What point of time shall we fix upon from which to date our calculations? Third, Does Daniel teach that the judgment will immediately follow their completion?

In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the subject involved, it will be necessary to review the most salient points of the entire chapter. The same general outline of history is observed here, as in the second chapter. Instead, however, of an image composed of different metals, the symbols used are wild beasts. The first was like a lion, having eagle's wings, which fitly symbolizes the Babylonian kingdom, which fell upon its prey with the swiftness of an eagle, and the power of a lion. The next beast was like unto a bear, having three ribs in his mouth. The voracious character of the Persians is fitly represented by this figure; and if we are curious to find something in history to correspond to the three ribs, it may be

enough to observe that Persia subdued the kingdoms of Lydia, Babylon and Egypt. The third beast was like a leopard, having four heads and four wings. Corresponding to this symbol, the kingdom of Alexander arises, pursues its prey with exceeding swiftness, devours it with great greediness, and is soon after divided into four distinct dynasties. The fourth beast finds no representative in the animal kingdom; and the empire symbolized by it no parallel in history. It is thus described: "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts before it; and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things." Dan. 7: 7, 8. The interpretation given of this vision by Daniel renders it quite certain that it applies to the Roman kingdom; which was represented by the feet of the great image before referred to. The ten horns correspond to the ten toes of the image; but the little horn, having eyes, brings another feature into the general picture. The Roman empire was overthrown in the year four hundred and seventy-six, by Odoacer the barbarian; it then became divided into a number of small kingdoms. During this divided state, the popes of Rome assumed the right to become temporal rulers, became possessed of three of them, viz.: the Exarchote of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome. All history confirms this statement, and the tiara or triple crown, still worn by the popes of Rome, is a farther attestation of the same, while the whole history of popery is but a standing commentary on this part of the prophecy of Daniel. This, then, may be considered as a sufficient answer to the first question proposed.

The second inquiry deserves a careful consideration. When did Popery arise? or, what is the same thing: What date shall we select as the starting point from which to compute the twelve hundred and sixty years? Various epochs have been

selected as the starting point of popery. As early as the year two hundred and fifty-seven, Stephen, bishop of Rome, began to excommunicate all who would not acquiesce in his decisions. Some, assuming this as the true point from which to reckon the days of the "little horn," terminate them in fifteen hundred and seventeen, at the time when Luther nailed his theses upon the door posts of Wittemberg,—about the time when Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V., of Spain, and the Pope made prisoner. Others, regarding this date as too early, select a later one, and fix the year five hundred and thirty-three as the starting point. There is but little to commend this epoch, except that twelve hundred and sixty years after it, the Catholic religion was suppressed throughout the empire of France, the age of reason duly inaugurated, and shortly after Rome was taken and the Pope made prisoner again. This by others is not deemed sufficiently correct, inasmuch as it does not correspond to the facts of history; hence another period has been selected. About the year five hundred and eighty-three, Pope John assumed the title of "Universal Bishop;" twelve hundred and sixty years after brings us down to eighteen hundred and forty-eight, when Rome was again taken, and the Pope obliged to escape in disguise, to save his life. The year six hundred and six is assumed by others as the true time, for about this time Phocas, the tyrant of Constantinople, is said to have allowed the bishop of Rome to rank above the bishop of Constantinople; and twelve hundred and sixty years from this time reaches the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six, a time in which many look for the overthrow of this power, and, as they confidently expect, the general judgment to follow immediately after this event,—thus, only about three years more are allowed for this earth to continue in its present form.

But all these interpreters have made the same mistake,—that of confounding the spiritual with the temporal power of the Pope. In prophetical language, the symbol "horn" always means temporal power, and the only question we need to raise is: When did the Pope of Rome assume temporal dominion? In answer to this, almost all historians agree that it was in the year seven hundred and fifty-five, which year being taken as

the true epoch, the papal power will terminate about the year two thousand and fifteen.

A careful consideration of the number of the Catholics now in the world; the influence which they exert over rulers of the different nations of earth; the many calamities which this power has survived, will suggest that the time is none too long for the accomplishment of so desirable a result.

The third question proposed is: Does Daniel teach that the world will be destroyed at the end of the specified days? What he says upon the subject is recorded in the following quotation: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spoke; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." Dan. 7: 9—11. A hasty perusal of these verses might lead, and doubtless has led, many to suppose that the general judgment was meant. But Daniel asks for an explanation, which is given in the 26th verse: "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end." From this it would seem that the general judgment was not intended, but simply a judgment of the power represented by the "little horn." It is according to the usage of prophetical writings to enshroud temporal judgments with such a paraphernalia of language. See Is. 13th, 14th and 17th chapters, and throughout all prophetical writings.

The description given here is not such as can apply to the general judgment; inasmuch as nothing is said of the resurrection of the dead, or of the separation of the righteous from the wicked, nor of the destruction of the earth; the most that is spoken of is the transfer of the authority from the beast to other hands, and the burning of the beast.

Here, also, the Ancient of days is the Judge, whereas at the

general judgment Christ shall be Judge. Here the Son of Man comes unto the Ancient of days and receives of him "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom;" whereas, at the judgment, Christ shall deliver up unto the Father all rule and authority, that God may be all and in all. 1 Cor. 15:24. The most that can be said concerning the matter is, that it is reasonable to suppose, and the laws of interpretation constrain us to believe, that at the end of the usurpations of the papal power, there will be a general spread of the gospel in papal countries, which is here symbolized by the figure of the Son of Man coming to the Ancient of days to receive the kingdoms and nations; doubtless referring to those which had been under that power. And the statement that this power was to be consumed unto the end, implies that it should be overthrown by some gradual process, such as the preaching of the gospel.

TWO THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED DAYS.

The next occurrence of prophetical days is in the eighth chapter, fourteenth verse, in which place the number is two thousand three hundred days. By a process similar to that pursued above, we may be able to arrive at some definite conclusion as to the historical fact, to which these days apply, when they begin, and when they shall end. The prophet seems to keep in mind the vision of the image, also the visions of the wild beasts of the previous chapter; but he has another object in view, and another dynasty, to bring before the minds of his readers. He introduces his histories, for so they seem to us now, by representing the Medo-Persian kingdom, under the symbol of a very powerful ram having two horns, the one larger than the other. This well symbolizes that power; for although Media seems to have arisen before Persia, yet, as Cyrus was a Persian, he gave a great deal more prominence to that nation, which Daniel calls the more powerful horn.

A he-goat comes from the west upon the face of the whole earth, without seeming to touch the ground, and runs furiously against the ram, and breaks off his horns and destroys him. This he-goat has one notable horn between his eyes, which represents Alexander the Great. The same power which in the

image constituted the belly and thighs of brass; and under the former series of beasts was symbolized as a leopard with four heads. Presently the prophet observes that the one horn is broken off, and for it there come up four others, but not so powerful as the first; corresponding to this, history records the fact that, after the death of Alexander, his generals waged fierce wars for the possession of the kingdom, and finally divided it into four kingdoms: "Cassander reigning over Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; Ptolemy over Egypt; and Selucius over Syria."

"Out of one of these horns (kingdoms) came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, towards the south and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land: And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host," * * "and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. * * Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint, which spoke, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." Dan. 8: 9—14. A great many conjectures have been made as to what is meant by the little horn which arose out of one of these four horns. Bishop Newton, whom Dr. Clark and others follow, refers it to the Roman power. In answer to this, suffice it to say that the Roman power did not arise out of either of the four kingdoms into which Alexander's kingdom was divided.

Others identify this "little horn" with that which was considered above. But that horn arose out of the Roman empire after it was divided into ten different kingdoms; this arises at the last end of one of the four kingdoms. Albert Barnes refers it to Antiochus Epiphanes, who, being defeated in his attempt to subjugate Egypt, returned and vented his wrath upon Jerusalem, destroying many people, suspending the worship of God, profaning the temple, and causing great distress among the

Jews. But the reasoning by which he attempts to sustain this position, does not remove the difficulties out of the way, and it involves us in other difficulties as great as those it attempts to remove :

1. Greater wisdom, power, and success are required to fulfil all parts of this prophecy than Antiochus ever possessed or enjoyed.

2. To adopt this interpretation, we are obliged to depart from the *usus loquendi* in two respects; first, by limiting the signification of the symbol, "horn," to one individual, whereas, it usually denotes a dynasty or system of power; and second, by confining the time to literal days, instead of allowing a year for each day, as in other prophecies.

3. The time, two thousand three hundred days, or about six years and a third, does not correspond to the time which Josephus declares the sanctuary to have been polluted. The time specified by him being only three years and a half.

4. In verse 26, Daniel is commanded "to shut up the vision, for it shall be for many days." Many days, where a succession of empires, reaching back almost to the flood, and stretching forward many centuries, could not with any degree of propriety be restricted to a short passage in the life of a wicked king.

Dr. Cumming refers these days to the Turko-Mahommedan power, which arose in the eleventh century under Tagrul Bey, swept over the East, and finally established the Turkish empire, with its capital at Constantinople, but with a singular perverseness, characteristic of his interpretations, he dates the beginning of his days at the time when the Persian power was at its zenith, and ends them in eighteen hundred and twenty; at which time there were some considerable internal difficulties with the provinces, which constituted a part of that empire.

After so many attempts and failures at the exegesis of this passage of Scripture, it might seem wise for all subsequent writers to obviate the dangers to which their predecessors have been exposed, by refraining from any farther attempt at an explanation of the matter. But those who have gone before have tried to reach the harbor by every inlet except one, and

hence it follows that the remaining one is the true one, viz.: the Mahommedan power. There is a striking analogy between the "little horn" in this chapter, and the one in the preceding; and there is a corresponding likeness in their dominion;—both spring from the ruins of a previously destroyed temporal power, both magnify themselves against God; both become exceedingly great from small beginnings, both are hierarchies, or such as blend the religious and the temporal powers together, and both figure extensively in the book of Revelation, the one as the beast, and the other as the false prophet.

A careful examination of the subject involved, and a faithful comparison of the history of Mohammed and his successors, with the outline drawn by the prophet, cannot fail to show that this power fills out that outline in every particular. This little horn "pushed towards the south, towards the east, and towards the pleasant land." Mohammed began his conquests in the northern part of Arabia, which had formed a part of one of the kingdoms into which the empire of Alexander had been divided; he first turned his attention towards Mecca and the southern portions of Arabia, and was successful in subduing the whole peninsula, forming an empire about four times as large as France. This was his "push towards the south." After this his successor turned his arms towards the east, and conquered Babylon and Damascus; and eventually all Persia, to the walls of China, and the peninsula of Hindoostan. Soon after the fall of Babylon and Damascus, he turned his arms towards Jerusalem, besieged and captured it, and all Judea and Syria, to the very walls of Constantinople, fell into his hands. Thus the prophet, standing upon the banks of the river Ulai and gazing towards the "pleasant land," would see this power first moving south, then east, and finally, sweeping over his own native land; he would behold again the abomination, which maketh desolate, in the sack and pillage of Jerusalem, in the erection of the Mohammedan mosque on the very foundation of the temple of Solomon. All that he says of his waxing great even to the host of heaven, and of his casting some of the stars of heaven to the ground, and of his taking away the daily sacrifice, is amply fulfilled in the arrogant pretensions of Mohammed, in

assuming to be superior to Jesus Christ, in the overthrow of Christianity in all countries where his forces prevailed, in the conversion of all churches into houses for the advocacy of this false religion, and in the substitution of the vile name of the Arabian impostor for the holy name of Jesus, in all their supplications to God.

Again, says Daniel, "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up." Whoever carefully examines the history of the east from the death of Alexander the Great to the rise of Mohammed, will be convinced that the transgressors had come to the full; one bright spot only appears, during all these long ages, that one marked out by the light of the gospel: but even this was almost obscured by the substitution of the worship of the Virgin Mary, the twelve Apostles, and a host of saints, for the Saviour; and the endless jargon of the priests for the pure faith of the primitive Christians. The character ascribed to the founder of this dynasty, "a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences," corresponds exactly to the description given of Mohammed. He early led a roving life, following the caravans of the deserts; he delighted, even in his boyhood, in listening to the weird tales told by his comrades, eagerly grasped the historical facts connected with the places visited, studied the religions of the different people with whom he came in contact; and, at length, having come in possession of a considerable fortune by a lucky marriage, retired from active life, spent a great portion of his time in profound meditation, in a cave not far distant from his residence. As a result of his wide research and profound meditations, the world has received the Koran;—a book which claims the faith of more millions of human beings, than, perhaps, any other book ever published.

When David speaks of the "daily sacrifice" being taken away, and the place of the sanctuary being cast down, he cannot refer to what was done by Nebuchadnezzar, nor by Antiochus, nor yet to what was accomplished by the Romans, but simply to what was done by the "little horn" under consideration.

Having determined the power referred to by the "little horn,"

which arose out of one of the four, and which sprung up after the great one was broken off, there can be but little difficulty in fixing the dates. The first year of the Mohammedan era, corresponds to the six hundred twenty-second of our own. By adding the two thousand three hundred years to this, we find the terminus of that power to be in the year two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two; or in about a thousand years.

There are other prophetical numbers, as in the ninth and twelfth chapters. But the former, containing the seventy weeks, has been so often discussed as to require no farther consideration; and those in the latter stand so isolated as not to admit of any definite interpretation.

The "time, times and a half," correspond to the age of the Papal power. The thousand two hundred and ninety days from the taking away of the daily sacrifice is involved in much obscurity. The daily sacrifice has been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, and the Romans; but twelve hundred and ninety years added to either of these events does not seem to bring us to any event of any great importance. The worship of God was suppressed throughout Palestine by the Saracens in the seventh century; and Constantinople was captured and the eastern empire destroyed in the fifteenth century; it may be that some great event will transpire, in twelve hundred and ninety years from either or both of these events. Daniel intimates that these numbers are not to be understood until the time of the end of all these wonders.

By the assistance of these numbers, together with the light which passing events cast upon the subjects discussed, we are enabled to form a general outline of the work of the church for several centuries to come. The present century will hereafter be characterized in church history for its missionary labors, principally among the African and Indian nations. During the twentieth century the gospel will be spread over the countries once under the sway of the Babylonian princes, a portion of which now constitutes modern Persia. The opening of the twenty-first will witness the decline of popery, and a general revival of primitive piety throughout Catholic countries. From this time to the beginning of the thirtieth there are no certain

landmarks; but there is a mighty work to be done in China; much to be perfected in India and Africa, and it may be some great reaction will occur, until the church rallies all her forces for the overthrow of Mohamedanism. As those countries, which now comprise the Turkish empire, were the first to receive and depart from the gospel, it is fitting that they should be the last to come into the fold of Christian kingdoms. Thus has the church of Christ, a world yet lying in wickedness, to regenerate through her agency, and more than a thousand years in which to accomplish it. The task is great, and the time short, but God has appointed the task, assigned the time, employed the agents, and the work shall be accomplished; and then follows the long expected MILLENNIUM.

ART. III.—THE WEEKLY OFFERING.

The Christian duty of consecrating property to the cause of God, and of the liberal and wise distribution of it according to the numerous and often apparently conflicting claims of that cause, is one of the very highest practical importance. The duties and privileges springing from our stewardship over property as Christians, have been as yet but poorly impressed upon the church. Upon this general subject, however, we do not, at least at present, design to enter. We simply assume that the Christian reader holds it among his most sacred duties and counts it among his highest privileges, to devote his property according to his ability to the support of the Gospel at home, and to send it abroad, to raise up and sustain institutions of learning, and to contribute to the relief of the poor and unfortunate of mankind. From the bare fact that one is a genuine Christian, we have a right to assume that he accepts the words of the Bible upon this subject not less than upon any other subject; that he loves those precious words of Christ, the only Master, "It is more blessed to give than to receive;" and that

the study of the eighth and ninth chapters of second Corinthians is peculiarly pleasant,—those chapters in which Paul enforces the duty and privilege of beneficent bestowments on the ground of the Divine promise, “He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully,” and, upon the still more potent consideration, the divine example of the unspeakable gift of God’s dear son for human redemption.

We propose, rather, to make some suggestions showing that where the right disposition exists, it is possible for it to manifest itself in doing something quite appreciable in the great cause of Christian beneficence. Want of means is not the chief hinderance. Especially do we propose to explain that system which has been extensively adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, known as the Weekly Offering. It is some eight or ten years now since this system was adopted. It does not lose its efficiency with its novelty. By recent communications from Rev. John Ross, of Huckney, London, who seems to have been raised up by the Holy Spirit to promote systematic beneficence, we are able to say to the reader, that the system alluded to continues to gain constantly in those old countries.

The reader will pardon a word of personal experience here. In the year 1860 the writer saw this system in operation in many churches which he visited in England. So favorably was he impressed by the uniform testimony to its excellence and by its reported results, that upon his return to his old charge in this country, he explained the system to his church and advised the experiment of adopting it. But, being about to enter a new field of labor, he did not urge the experiment so as to secure its adoption at the time. He entered upon his new field of labor on the first Sabbath of October, 1861. On the third Sabbath of that month his new flock brought their weekly offerings the first time, so far as the writer is aware, that it was ever done according to this system upon this continent. The system continues to gain in the confidence of his people by its beneficent results. Its success was so much more than the writer anticipated, that attention was called to the subject in the *Morning Star*, and the same method has already been adopted by a goodly

number of churches in this country, and the writer believes with uniform success. At all events, the writer is frequently applied to by the pastors of our churches for information upon the details of the system, and it is partly to meet that demand that he prepares these pages.

The Weekly Offering system was suggested by 1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2. "*Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.*" Here is explained to us the mode adopted by the apostle Paul to raise money in the churches for the poor saints at Jerusalem. It seems practicable in itself as to the pecuniary ends sought. It seems to appeal to the Christian heart in the way best adapted to quicken his spiritual life in the holy act of consecrating his property to the service of the Lord who loves the cheerful giver. The Sabbath is holy time in a peculiar sense. It reminds us of the Saviour's resurrection for our justification. Every person is encouraged, if not commanded, to do his part, which he is to determine by the prosperity of the past week. If no immediate and pressing claim is at hand, it still remains his sacred duty to set apart, as an offering to God, a portion of property never to be taken back for secular uses. These offerings are to be stored week by week to constitute a sacred fund from which to draw according to the exigencies of God's cause.

The name, Weekly Offering, in recent time, arose from the simple incident of carrying a portion of this sacred fund to the sanctuary on Lord's day to meet the expenses of public worship. Mr. Ross, who has given his attention to the subject, says this system prevailed in the early Christian churches to the close of the second century, it declined in the third, and in the fourth, first by a change to Monthly Offerings, it disappeared almost entirely from the church. It is remarked, that without proper care, the term Weekly Offering, may divert attention from the essential element of the system, the weekly storing. This would be to exalt a mere incident into importance upon the penalty of taking the life of the system itself. One object

of the apostle was to avoid the unwholesome excitements of making hasty collections. He would have a sacred and conscious principle take the place of mere impulse. Weekly giving will soon fail without the weekly storing.

Besides, it is not contemplated that all the weekly storings are to be given week by week. It is only a portion out of this sacred fund, the worshipper is to take to the sanctuary week by week, to meet the expenses of worship. There are other claims upon his beneficent bestowments. It is by weekly storings each Christian can have at hand a sacred fund from which to draw in behalf of all the claims which come to his attention. This fund is to be provided for weekly as much as any other weekly expense, that, for instance, of his table. The bread of eternal life is not to be an object of solicitude inferior to the daily bread which is invoked from the Father of mercies. In this way each can distribute with least perplexity to himself the largest possible sum, and, besides, he may hereby have the largest spiritual incomes, and, moreover, all the time he is bestowing, he is acting upon a principle very potent to systematize and regulate his pecuniary affairs, the better to conduct his business in safety to prosperity.

The weekly offering of a portion of the sacred fund to sustain the worship of the sanctuary is a natural and beautiful outgrowth of the Bible practice of weekly storing. According to this system, each worshipper takes an offering in his hand when he goes up to worship on the Lord's day. He does not appear empty-handed before the Lord. The aggregate of these offerings is found to be sufficient to meet the weekly expenses of the sanctuary. The ministry is thus sustained by the weekly freewill offerings of grateful hearts. *Eighty persons, thus bringing on an average twenty-five cents each, furnish the annual sum of \$1040.*

The weekly offering is chiefly employed for the support of public worship. Sometimes the proceeds are devoted entirely to the salary of the pastor; sometimes by it all the current expenses are met, including the interest on debts. The latter item is, however, usually provided for in some other way; but, the simplest way and best way, perhaps, especially when the

congregation is large, is to put all the different kind of expenses into one sum, and raise enough for the weekly offering to cover it. This system is sometimes used in connection with pew-rents, and sometimes without them. Its easy adaptation to all these cases will be easily seen upon a more minute description of it. Also, its application to the raising of mission funds, will then require but a word or two.

This system proceeds upon the basis of a subscription at so much *a week*. So runs the subscription, whatever the practicable obstacles in the way of weekly payments, which are, of course, preferable whenever they are practicable. The ruling of the subscription book we will hereafter explain.

The money is put by each subscriber into a small self-scaling envelop, which he carries to the sanctuary upon the Sabbath when he goes up to worship, and which he deposits in a receptacle or box provided for the purpose and placed just inside the audience room, usually at the right hand, upon entering. There should be a box at each entrance into the audience room. It should not be placed so high as to be out of the reach of children, who should be instructed to bring their offerings as well as adults. The boxes need not be more than four or five inches wide and from six to ten long. There should be an aperture through the top just large enough to receive the envelops with ease. The box should be deep enough to receive all the envelops without difficulty, say from five to seven inches in ordinary cases. The most convenient way is to furnish the box with a drawer, into which the envelops fall. The box should be securely fastened, and the drawer should of course be furnished with lock and key. After the last service at which subscribers are expected to bring their offerings, these envelops can be opened and each subscriber credited according to his payment. In giving these credits, the committee, trustees, or deacons, having the matter in charge, are guided by numbers upon the envelops, which are usually furnished by the committee in packages of thirteen, that is, one for each Sabbath in the quarter. The first subscriber is "No 1," the second "No 2." In the accompanying table the writer has copied from the subscription book of his own church for the first quarter of the

present year down to the eleventh subscriber. The whole number, we may say in passing, is 115, one or two of whom promise not more than three or five cents each.

| Subscribers' Names. | Am't subscribed weekly. | JANUARY. | | | | FEBRUARY. | | | | MARCH. | | | | | Amount Quarterly. |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------|------|------|------|-----------|------|------|-------|--------|------|------|------|------|-------------------|
| | | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 | 1 | 8 | 15 | 22 | 1 | 8 | 15 | 22 | 29 | |
| 1 L. J. S. | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | \$5 50 |
| 2 Mrs. S. | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 3 00 |
| 3 G. N. | 1 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | | 2 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | | | 2 00 | | 13 00 |
| 4 J. M. T. | 50 | | 1 00 | | 1 00 | | 1 00 | | 1 00 | | 1 00 | | | 50 | 6 50 |
| 5 T. S. | 50 | 1 00 | | 1 00 | | | 1 00 | | 1 00 | 1 00 | | | 1 00 | 1 00 | 8 00 |
| 6 I. A. N. | | | | | | | | 5 00 | | | | | | | 5 00 |
| 7 J. H. P. | 50 | | 1 00 | | 1 50 | 50 | | | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 6 50 |
| 8 L. A. R. | 25 | | 1 00 | | | | 1 00 | | | | | | | | 2 00 |
| 9 J. D. | 25 | | 25 | | 25 | | 75 | | | | | | 50 | | 1 75 |
| 10 T. B. | 50 | | 50 | | 1 00 | 50 | 50 | 50 | | 50 | | 1 00 | | | 4 50 |
| 11 S. A. R. | 50 | | 2 50 | 2 00 | | 2 00 | | 2 00 | 1 00 | 1 00 | | | | | 9 50 |
| 12 Con. | | | 45 | | | 1 25 | 31 | 22 | 15 | 10 | 26 | | | 10 | 2 84 |
| Total weekly subscription | 4 75 | 2 75 | 8 45 | 4 75 | 3 00 | 8 00 | 5 06 | 4 72 | 11 40 | 4 85 | 3 51 | 5 25 | 2 75 | 4 85 | \$69.34 |
| Total Quarterly Receipts | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Our remarks upon this table will suffice for most of the points we need to notice.

It will be seen that before the names of subscribers are the figures 1, 2, 3, 4. L. J. S. is preceded by the figure 1. All the envelopes handed to him are therefore marked thus, "No. 1." The second subscriber's envelopes, for a like reason, are marked "No. 2," and so of the rest to the end of the list, according to their respective places in the list.

In No. 12, it will be noticed, "Con." is written for contribution. Some persons insist upon not letting the left hand know what the right hand doeth in the duty of supporting the ministry. They, therefore, insist upon dropping what they *feel* to give without envelopes or subscription. But that class of persons must not have the credit of contributing \$2,84 shown for the quarter in the table. It is more likely that at least three-quarters of that sum was contributed by strangers. It will be found convenient in keeping the accounts to assign a number to this class of contributions, for no individual account can be kept. Some persons have attempted to raise the money for their expenses by the weekly offering, without subscriptions. We believe that mode proves a failure universally. The correct principle seems to be this: That to meet definite weekly

expenses, there should be an equally definite and reliable basis.

The figures, 4, 11, 18, &c., under the names of the months, denote the days of the month upon which the Sabbaths fall. The months may be conveniently distinguished by a double line in ruling, like that which separates the subscriber's name from the amount subscribed.

If the reader will now give his attention to the figures 1 and 2, he will notice that L. J. S. and Mrs. S., his wife, paid, each, their weekly subscription, every week, rain or shine. L. J. S. is a hard working mechanic. He finds it much easier to pay out of his moderate wages a half dollar weekly than to pay \$6,50 at the end of the quarter, yes, easier than to pay \$5,00 at the end of the quarter. On any other plan of subscribing, he would not think it possible to pay more than \$5,00 a quarter, a difference of \$6,00 a year less than his present subscription. His wife, we will suppose, saves a trifle over *four cents a day* in marketing and shopping, and is thus able to pay twenty-five cents a week into the treasury of the Lord. It will thus be perceived, that daily she is conscious of devoting something to the Lord. Who shall say that influence is not equal in sustaining spiritual life to the influence of daily prayer? What a power the church would be in this world if each Christian were conscious in the same measure of so sanctifying an influence! Notice that \$9,75, a quarter of the two subscriptions, is at the rate of \$39,00 in the year. With such a spirit, and in such a system, what place is there in all our land that needs be destitute of preaching? With such conditions, how many pastors might be spared the pain of living at a "poor dying rate?" The writer is most happy to say that it is his pleasure to minister to more than one such family, and he believes that the weekly offering system has a natural tendency to lead families to this praise-worthy consecration of their means, and, if of their means, of their lives.

But we must pass more rapidly. G. N., No. 3, it will be seen, failed, for some reason, to pay his subscription on the last Sabbath of January; but he makes it up the next Sabbath.

See, however, he then had to pay two dollars instead of one to keep his score even. Perhaps he had been ill the Sabbath before, and then the double offering accorded with the gratitude of his heart for being able once more to go up to the house of God. If he had been absent unnecessarily, (which, however, is not supposable in this case,) the double offering might, in some measure, make him more conscious of his neglect. The reader does not see Mrs. G. N. at No. 4, though it is lower down in the list than here shows. We think it a matter of importance for the different members of the families to present their respective offerings as we have already hinted when speaking of children.

J. M. T., No. 4, is manifestly punctual, and towards the close of the quarter, you see that "change is casier." T. S., No. 5, overpays, and, moreover, he is probably better acquainted with the preacher's urgency for money, than some, as he pays before it is due, rather than after. He seems to be one of the few thoughtful men who thinks he can better be deficient one dollar than the minister can a dozen. If such a man expects to be absent a Sabbath, he pays beforehand, rather than to have the treasury suffer by his absence.

I. A. N., No. 6, presents a new case. He makes no subscription, but consents to take the envelopes, promising to pay *something*. You see he paid \$5,00 on the 22d of February. The weekly offering is often found to do well with these cases, exceedingly well. You see it saves the work of making out bills, almost entirely, and, likewise, the work of collecting. How many weary hours of disagreeable labor it saves some persons in this way! How much easier for each person thus to carry his dues to the church than to impose the thankless task upon two or three to collect them, whether quarterly, monthly, or yearly!

J. H. P., No. 7, is a punctual payer of his subscription, and you perceive in his payments something of the state of the currency. He is a very hard working blacksmith, and he once made a remark about the weekly offering worth repeating: He observed, that he had been accustomed, before the introduction

of this system, to pay \$10 a year, and that he *felt* that more in the way of a burden than he does his fifty cents a week, or \$26. a year.

Judging from the record before the reader, he would be likely to infer that the next three subscribers are not very punctual in payment, but we know they generally are, and, perhaps, they advanced something on the preceding quarter, which is paid off by the present apparent deficit. The next subscriber you perceive quite overpays this quarter; either by way of getting in advance of his subscription, or making up his deficit in the accounts of the preceding quarter. Why not, now and then overpay? Is there no such thing as a thank offering for unexpected prosperity.

Here is a good place to mention, that in England, the custom is when the next to the last Sabbath of the quarter is reached, to have the pastor read a notice from the pulpit to the effect that "next Sabbath closes the quarter and that it is desirable that each subscriber make his payment balance his subscription, before entering upon the new quarter." The writer can say that he knows such a notice has a charming effect. He has tried the notice and he has tried silence, and the difference is much more marked than he supposed it would be.

We will further observe at this point, experience in England has shown that it proves serviceable there to send to each delinquent subscriber, after the quarter closes, a printed notice with the blanks filled stating the amount of the deficit and further suggesting if for any providential reason the subscriber is unable to keep up his subscription, the committee is ready to cancel the past, and would be happy to receive any lower subscription adapted to the change in the subscriber's circumstances. This is meant in kindness and so taken, and not unfrequently prevents the bad appearance upon the books, and the worse effect upon character, which result from permitting the old subscription to run on unpaid.

You see the eleven subscribers promise a weekly sum of \$4,75. By adding together the weekly amounts paid, found at the foot of the columns, you find for the quarter the sum of \$69,34. Adding together individual quarterly amounts, found

in the extreme right hand column, you have the same, \$69,34, and thus prove the correctness of your accounts. If you divide this \$69,34 by thirteen, you have in the quotient the weekly amount paid upon average, and in this case it is a trifle larger than the amount promised. This is probably better than the rest of the subscription, but we presume that in many cases the amounts not subscribed, which come in, will quite make up for the deficits on the part of subscribers.

It is proper to mention that the derangement in our currency has worked adversely to the weekly offering, especially in preventing regularity of payments, but an inspection of the table will show how the subscribers managed in those times when it was so difficult to "make change."

The reader will readily distinguish between our remarks made upon knowledge of facts beyond what appears in the table, and those suggested by the table itself. In the table all the subscribers promise either a dollar, a half, or a quarter of a dollar, each. The thirteenth subscriber in our list, however, promised only six cents a week, but paid considerably more. It often turns out that those subscribing humbly, pay more than they promise. If any of our readers undertake this plan of subscription, or any other, we hope you will be fortunate enough to get none the "Do-Nothings" on your list, that is, we wish you better fortune than has fallen to ourselves.

In case pews are let, it is still a great gain to have the money deposited quarterly, or monthly, if it is not weekly, in the boxes in envelopes marked by numbers, as we have shown. Suppose pews are \$20 each a year, persons taking them will usually consent to deposit half a dollar a week, or \$26 a year. It often proves that those, who propose to pay by the month or the quarter, soon form the better habit of weekly payments, as they become convinced that is the better way. Men of abundant means had better set this good example for their less fortunate neighbors. If any church prefer it, of course, the envelopes can be gathered by passing collection boxes in the usual way of taking collection around to the pews. In this case you can dispense with the stationary boxes. We know some practice this

way in this country, but most congregations prefer the quiet way of stationary boxes.

This system is best applied to missionary collections by having the weekly subscriptions payable monthly. Suppose, to illustrate, the subscription be one cent per week, then at the end of the month four cents, and sometimes five cents, will be due. If your monthly missionary meeting be a distinct service, say in the evening, in the same room of the usual Sabbath service, the same boxes can be used to receive the monthly dues in envelopes, numbered as in the case of the other subscription. If the monthly missionary meetings are held in the vestry, you can either have boxes or collect the envelopes in ordinary collection boxes or plates. If all our pastors would heartily enter upon the work, it is perfectly feasible to collect in this way, in our denomination of 60,000 communicants, \$30,000 for missionary purposes. This is a trifle less than a cent per week per member. Such supplies are reliable from year to year. All other modes will prove, in comparison with this, pitiable failures. Very few Christians, if any, are so poor, especially in this country, that they cannot without embarrassment "lay by them in store" for missions, *one cent* a Sabbath. But there must be system in subscriptions and collections, and that can be secured if the pastors will it; and not otherwise.

The mode in which the writer introduced this system into his congregation is briefly as follows: On the Sabbath he preached upon the general duty of supporting the gospel, enforced as best he could the benefit and blessing of "*paying as you go,*" the benefit and blessing of a system by which each one may contribute his share, however much or little, irrespective of the price of pews; explained the Weekly Offering in detail; and invited the congregation to come together on Monday evening following to consider the subject, either to adopt or reject the plan. On the Monday evening additional explanations were given in answer to inquiries. The system was unanimously adopted; about every one present made subscriptions; a committee to solicit subscriptions was appointed.

In England they have small envelopes with "Weekly Offering" printed upon them. Hitherto the common drug envelop

has been used in this country, the expense for it being about one dollar a thousand. At present we presume they cost a trifle more. A cabinet maker will furnish the boxes, and they had better be lettered "Weekly Offering." Two sheets of large paper (which one can rule for himself to suit the purpose,) will suffice to keep the accounts for a year, even for a large congregation. If the accounts are thus kept it is well to have these sheets placed within covers, even if they are only of common pasteboard. Some take the pains to have paper ruled and bound like ordinary blank books. A valuable record is thus preserved.

Rev. O. T. Moulton, pastor of the Freewill Baptist church in Saco, Maine, who was one of the first to adopt this system, has procured large printed cards for the purpose of framing, to suspend at convenient places about the entrance of the sanctuary. These cards, printed in characters so large that he that runneth may read, briefly explain this system in the following terms :

"THE WEEKLY OFFERING. The worship of God in this house is sustained according to 1 Corinthians 16 : 2. *'Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.'*

HOW ALL CAN AID IN THE GOOD WORK.

1. Call on the sexton for a package of envelopes which you will find are numbered, and subscribe a specific amount weekly.
2. Enclose in one of these envelopes, each week, the amount subscribed weekly, seal it, and, on the Sabbath, deposit it in the **WEEKLY OFFERING BOX**, at the door of the audience room.
3. If from any cause, you fail to pay weekly, (or if you prefer to include the whole subscription at longer intervals,) enclose the whole amount due, in a single envelop and deposit as above.

N. B. The Number, Name, and Amount subscribed by each person are passed to the **WEEKLY OFFERING RECORD**, where the date and amount of each person are faithfully credited.

GENERAL RULES.

1. 'Every one' is solicited to contribute *something*.
2. Every one is asked to give 'as God hath prospered him.'
3. Your offerings bring with a right good will,
Which makes the banquet sweeter still.—2 Cor. 9 : 6, 7."

These cards essentially aid in the introduction of this plan. Our brother will forward them, prepaid, by mail to those who apply for them at the simple expense of the paper and printing, only ten cents for a single card and five cents for each additional card sent at the same time.

Many of our pastors, even in churches abundantly able, are not adequately supported. They are not able to procure the books which are absolutely necessary for their own intellectual improvement, which is so necessary to enable them to present the requisite variety and strength of thought for the growth of their churches in spiritual things. This state of things results more from want of system than from want of disposition to do better. Many of the pastors themselves are, no doubt, in fault for not presenting sufficiently the duty of consecrating property to the Lord, and in not devising ways of collecting for missions and other causes what their people under the pastor's influence are willing to give. In this way even the spontaneous Christian liberality, so far from being developed into a settled principle, is stunted, and, finally, amidst increasing cares and wordliness, it disappears. The want of consecrating property truly and heartily to the Lord is to-day the bane of the church. Souls by millions perish through this crying sin. Pastors and people are hastening to a fearful account.

One of the chief hinderances in the way of the pastor when he attempts to bring his people to the duty of sustaining missions, and other causes away from home, is the fact that his own people are usually in arrears on the pastor's salary and other home demands. His very best men fear for the cause at home if any thing is attempted for the cause abroad. Thus every benevolent effort is checked from time to time till from increasing penuriousness the dreaded evils actually fall upon the church.

In the weaker churches, especially such as demand and receive aid from the Home Mission Society, there is often the same lack of system in raising funds for home purposes, and in some cases they lift their hands in holy horror, if they are asked to impart as well as to receive. There is a danger that such churches fall into mendicancy, which in the common citizen is usually the worst crime. In church matters, it operates to

stint the contributions of the churches best able to give, if the feeble churches fail to help themselves to the utmost, and quite as much, if they fail to share the burden of sustaining the denominational causes.

Another great evil resulting from the causes alluded to is the fact that usually our truly benevolent friends are greatly overburdened and frequently fail or weary under their burdens. This of course results chiefly from the negligence of those who do nothing because they can do but little. If these fragments might be gathered up, the treasury of the Lord might be full, at least not empty.

We most earnestly commend to the attention of all pastors the system which we have so imperfectly delineated. We believe, upon reflection, you can present this system as sanctioned by the Scriptures from which you may draw innumerable arguments and illustrations to commend it to the attention of your people. From experience and observation we heartily believe, that in this way, you may most efficiently aid your people "to pay as they go." Their hearts are thus made light, and even filled with joy, when they find they can so easily to themselves throw off what they have hitherto dreaded as an intolerable burden. As a result your people will become more liberal both in salary and donations for the support of the Gospel at home. They will the more readily and heartily, as well as liberally, cooperate with you in sustaining the denominational causes. Those who have hitherto excused themselves from doing anything on the ground of poverty, will pay respectable sums; they will grow in enterprise and worldly thrift as well as in grace. They may even shame into respectability some of those pests of religious society, *rich, stingy professors of religion*, and thus at home save souls as much in danger of hell-fire as the souls of the ignorant, degraded heathen. By salvation at home we have the wherewithal to send salvation abroad.

ART. IV.—THE SARACENS.*

The Saracens have contributed a strange chapter to the world's history. Contemporaries of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Jews, they yet remained in obscurity till not only these had passed away, but the kingdoms of Persia, Macedonia, and Rome had each in turn grasped the sceptre of the world, borne it proudly for a time, and then let it fall from its withered hands. Independent from the very first, the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, Pompey and Trajan, were vainly turned against them. And yet, with all their power to resist invasion, and with all that passion for robbery and conquest whose ancient fruits we find in their attack on Job's possessions (Job 1 : 18), unlike their neighbors, they waited century after century before they ventured forth in a career of foreign war. Not till the darkness and stagnation of the middle ages had settled down upon the world, did they leave the covert of their native deserts. But when they did appear, their coming was like the fiery glare of a meteor in the midnight sky. Men gazed and wondered, paralyzed with fear and powerless for defence, even when the lurid blaze threatened their own dwellings. Such a career of conquest the world has never seen. In the short space of eighty years, the Saracens had overrun a wider extent of territory than the Romans had done in eight hundred.

Stranger still than the rapidity of their conquests is the motive power which made them possible at all. Neither ambition, avarice, nor revenge, but religion, was the main spring of their terrific energy and wonderful achievements. Its magnetic influence bound together their scattered and independent tribes, and from its lips they received the watchword that gave them endurance on the march and courage on the battle-field.

Viewed in either light, their history is not unworthy of our

* The facts presented in the following essay are gathered from various sources, the chief of which are Crichton's *History of Arabia*, Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. To the first named we are especially indebted.

attention; though it is more especially in the latter that its discussion seems now most fitting. A brief account of their native country, early history and national characteristics, will be a useful preliminary to the main points in our sketch.

Arabia is well known as a peninsula in Southwestern Asia, one thousand four hundred and eighty miles in length and eight hundred in middle breadth, with an area larger by a hundred thousand square miles than all that part of Europe which lies west of the Vistula. Its chief divisions are Hejaz, extending along the Red Sea nearly its whole length; Yemen, occupying the angle formed by the Red Sea and the Strait of Babel Mandeb; Hadramaut, stretching nearly across the southern part of the peninsula, and bordering on the Indian Ocean; and Nejed, which comprises most of the interior. On the coast, the soil is in many places fertile, and considerable attention is paid to agriculture. The interior is little else than a vast desert of loose shifting sands, intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and exposed to the fierce blaze of a tropical sun and to the desolating winds which sometimes cover up with sand whole caravans and even whole armies. It is utterly destitute of water and vegetation, save where an occasional oasis cheers the eye and furnishes a resting place for travellers. Altogether, it is a dreary, uninviting region, though the picture has been often overdrawn. Wide apart as they are, the oases form an aggregate not generally appreciated. Smiling cornfields, pleasant villages, and a thrifty and contented population, mark thousands of spots "to which the eternal boundary of the desert blinds all but the keenest observers."

The Saracens* have a two fold origin. The elder branch is

* The word Saracens is of doubtful etymology. It is probably derived from *sara*, a desert, and denotes the dwellers in the desert. It was used by Pliny as the name of an Arab tribe, whose description agrees perfectly with the Bedouins. "It was afterwards," says the New American Cyclopædia, "applied to all the Arabs who embraced the religion and spread the conquests of Mohammed; and by the Christian writers and the crusaders of the middle ages it was extended to all the Mohammedans of various races who invaded Europe, and against whom they fought in the East." We shall use it, however, in what we consider its true sense, as synonymous with "Arabs,"

the tribe of Khattan, a name identified by genealogists with the Joktan of the Bible. "The second is the tribe of Adnan, sprung from Ishmael, an invader and intruder on the birthright of the other." Having no reliable historic records before Mohammed, our researches into their early history present us little that deserves attention. Traditions are abundant, and some of them quite curious. The Ishmaelites, for instance, tell us that Mecca was the very spot where their ancestor was miraculously preserved, when driven forth with his mother from Sarah's presence. The sacred well they call the Zemzem, is the very one at which he drank. The famous Kaaba, or sacred temple, was built, or rather rebuilt, by his father Abraham and himself. The small black stone which is fixed in the southeast corner of the wall, and is an object of devout homage from the multitude of pilgrims that yearly visit it, was that on which Abraham stood while building. "It is alleged to have descended from heaven and served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of its own accord, as suited his convenience. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long ago by the crimes or the kisses of so many generations of sinful worshippers." Ishmael was the prince and first high priest of Mecca, an honor which remained in his family, with the exception of an interval of three hundred years, till the time of his illustrious descendant Mohammed.

Of the other branch of the early Arabs, even tradition gives us but a meagre record. We have little else than long lines of petty princes, whose reigns, with two exceptions, are destitute of interest. The first exception is a successful plundering expedition to China, and the second an interruption of the line of Hamyarite princes in Yema, which is worthy of notice, both intrinsically and from the fact that it furnishes our faith a better resting place than mere tradition. The prince Zirash ascended the throne in the beginning of the sixth century. His ancestor, Tobaa, had been converted to Judaism two centuries before,

deeming its extension to the Turks and others unwarranted. We use it, rather than its synonym, in the heading of our article, because it was under this name that the inhabitants of Arabia performed their mightiest exploits.

while quelling a revolt in a Jewish colony. Adopting likewise the Jewish faith, the new king signalized the beginning of his reign by a bitter persecution of the Christians in his realm. He even went so far as to put twenty thousand of them in a huge trench and surround them with combustibles, which were then fired, destroying the whole multitude in the flames. One of the intended victims, escaping to the Christian king of Abyssinia, invoked his aid. It was promptly given. An army of seventy thousand men invaded Yemen and conquered it, and the sceptre passed forever from the dynasty which had held it upwards of two thousand years.

With the era of Mohammed, we have a transition from doubtful legends to more authentic history. Not quite as marked and perfect, however, as we might wish. Even among the transactions of that age there are many shaded more or less with doubt. Nor can we wonder, when we reflect that none of its historians wrote till one or two centuries after its close. And yet, our records may on the whole be trusted as reliable.

A survey of the Saracens at that period presents us with the following results. The two divisions already named, instead of being welded together by the lapse of years, still maintained distinct existence. With many characteristics common, they yet presented one great diversity. The men of Khattan were more disposed than their brethren to the arts and comforts of civilization. Hence their choice of Hejaz and Yemen—the most fertile divisions of the peninsula—for their dwelling place. The cultivation of the soil was not enough for their restless energies, and we even find them plying the Eastern seas as merchants, and “bartering their native spices against the varied articles of rich price to be found in the markets of Rome, Byzantium and India.”

The men of Adnan, on the other hand, disdaining the restraint of towns and the toil of artizans and merchants, led a wild and roving life, with the desert for their home. Nor did they care to better their condition. “Restless with passions, wayward like the shifting sands of their native haunts; their nature defied all progressive influence, just as their deserts preserved their immemorial monotony through all the convul-

sions of perpetual storms." What cared they for wealth? Their flocks and camels—with now and then the addition of a choice steed—were wealth enough. What to them were houses and soft apparel? Their tents of camels' skin and robes of camels' hair suited them far better. And so—in the words of a recent writer in the *Edinburg Review*—"the children of Ishmael followed their propensities as rovers, broken up into as many communities as there were families; each clustered about its own patriarch and crossing at all moments each other's path,—men whose hands were truly turned against every one and every one's hand against them. It is true that a few Adnanite families—amongst them the illustrious one of Hashem—are found in fixed settlements. The exception, however, was so very rare and partial that the division into its two tribes may fairly be considered as severing the Shemitic population of Arabia into townsmen and rovers—the only distinction to be detected in its simple and uniform mold."

They possessed in common, on the other hand, a very primitive political constitution, several peculiar traits of character, the same forms of idolatry, and a language essentially one, though broken into many dialects.

Their political constitution was in substance nothing else than the simple bond of family. As found among the Bedouins, it is thus graphically described in Amaris' "*Mussulmans in Sicily*":—

"The unity constituting society does not rest here in the individual, but in the family, and true authority dwells only in its head. He has absolute command over his children and their offspring—over slaves, whether taken or bought—over freedmen still abiding in a dependence. . . He provides for their sustenance, defends them against aggression, and, when they commit such acts, he makes good the wrong done, or himself encounters vengeance. The amount and zeal of his followers constitute the force of the chief—their services, chattels, and flocks his wealth: nor is there any want of laws to keep together a body of this kind. Beyond the family begin the associations, which though quite voluntary, still follow the order of kinship. Several families form what the Arabs, from their habit of pitching their tents in a round, call a circle, over which a sheikh or elder is set, who

is rather pointed out for the office by his personal repute, or his family's importance, then chosen by a vote, so that it often becomes hereditary for some generations. He is the emblem of the head of the kindred—a magistrate with no power over individuals, and with no authority over the ordinary affairs of the circle, in which he has to follow the vote of the fathers of families. Lastly, to use a modern phrase, the sheikh represents his circle in the tribe, which unites various branches of the same line, and is itself disposed, like the circle, under the direction of a chief, acquiring his position partly by consent, partly of necessity, who governs the general matters of the tribe, as a change of encampment, and the making of war and treaties; but always with the assent of the sheikhs, and possibly of other powerful heads of families."

Much the same was the political constitution of those that dwelt in towns, except that, in some cases, the chief of the tribe, under the title of king, seems to have possessed a rather wider and more vigorous authority. In both, the administration of justice was chiefly in the hands of the family, and in both, capital offences were avenged by the next of kin to the victim. The quarrel, however, was often taken up by the circle or tribe, and sometimes resulted in a bloody feud, prolonged for centuries and marked by scores of fierce and sanguinary battles.

The character of the early Arabs, like that of their descendants, was a combination of curious and sometimes inconsistent traits. One of the most prominent was their stalwart, defiant independence. Brute force or accident might place them for a time in the power of their foes, but they could never serve as slaves, nor long endure the position of mere tributaries. This spirit was fostered and maintained by the facility with which, when beaten in battle, they could fly to their deserts and laugh at all pursuit.

Noted for their rapacity, they were yet proverbial for their hospitality and benevolence. On the one hand, the most unscrupulous of cheats, and the most daring of robbers, whenever opportunity offered—gaining, indeed, a large part of their support by plunder;—on the other they seemed wholly unable to refuse alms or turn aside an appeal for food, lodging or protection. So eager for money, that they have in many instances

been known to give up for a bribe even the privilege of revenge—the sweetest of all enjoyments to a true Arab;—they have also been known to share their last dollar with a destitute pilgrim.

Their early religion seems to have been Sabianism or star worship. They dedicated seven magnificent temples to the seven planets. The sun and moon were also objects of worship. But in addition to these, they had a great variety of minor idols—so large that no less than three hundred and sixty are said to have been accumulated in the Kaaba of Mecca—the common shrine of all the tribes. At the time of Mohammed, many Jews and Christians had settled in Arabia, the latter mostly heretics exiled by persecution.

Morality was very low. Besides the spirit which could justify the robbery of a single unarmed traveller, by confounding it with lawful warfare, there was a fearful prevalence of licentiousness and infanticide.

As already intimated, their language was essentially one, though almost every tribe would seem to have had its peculiar dialect. It was spoken in its greatest purity at Mecca, so that the Koran was written in no debased or ignoble tongue. It is a branch of the great parent stock of Semitic languages native to western Asia. It is akin to the Hebrew, Aramæan, Ethiopian, Phœnician and Syrian. Its sister tongues have long since passed into the number of “dead languages,” leaving it the only one that would justify such a remark as that of Gesenius, that “it has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but has encroached in all directions upon the domains of other tongues.”

Prior to Mohammed, the literature of the Arabs was extremely limited. Poetry and eloquence, however, had received much attention. The latter would seem to have been marked rather by gaudy figures, such as the Orientals all admire, than by those solid qualities the western world demands. An orator, for instance, on beginning to speak, proceeds “to weigh his stored pearls in the scales of delivery,” or “lifting his head from the collar of reflection, he removes the talisman of silence from the treasures of speech, and scatters brilliant gems and princely pearls

in his mirth-exciting delivery." So fond were they of poetry, that there was held every year a literary convocation in connection with the large and well attended fair of Ocadh. Here, for thirty days, the rival poets, addressing the multitudes by turns, contended for the prize of excellence. To conquer in this literary arena, was the highest ambition of the bard. The victorious compositions were inscribed in characters of gold upon Egyptian paper, and hung up for public inspection in the temple at Mecca. Seven of these successful performances have been preserved, forming "the encyclopædia of their literature, where their whole stock of useful and entertaining knowledge was treasured up." In this respect, as well as others, they bear a great resemblance to the poems of Homer and Hesiod among the Greeks.

Such was Arabia, and such the Arabians, when the founder of their future greatness appeared upon the stage. Warlike by nature, and numbering at least fifteen millions, but so divided into feeble tribes, so lacking in national spirit, and so tenacious of ancient feuds, that a combination for offensive war appeared impossible,—they were yet only waiting the touch of some master's hand to mould them into one, and change their weakness into giant strength. Idolaters by education, and superstitious and immoral to the last degree, they were yet in a state sufficiently plastic for a bold reformer to turn them to the worship of one God, and change entirely their habits of social life. Destitute of literature, they needed but the kindling of a national spirit to waken their dormant intellects, and make them lights in the mental darkness of the times.

Mohammed was just the man to make these changes. He did it, and the power of the Saracens was no longer like the rivers of the Persian deserts, spreading out into countless rivulets, and sinking forever in the barren sands, but rather like the majestic Amazon, perpetually gathering new forces, and rolling on resistlessly to the dominion of the world.

As the founder not only of Saracen rule, but also of Saracen nationality, the personal career of this extraordinary man now claims attention. We shall yield to the claim with little hesitation, for the student of history who neglects biography, or

fails to find his chief points of departure in the characters and doings of the men of real greatness it sets before him, is working at a needless disadvantage. And while the boundaries between an essay like this and a memoir of Mohammed are obvious and well defined, it is equally obvious that the former must include the latter and give it special prominence.

Mohammed was born at Mecca, the sacred city of Arabia, the worship of whose idols and the maintenance of whose authority were among the few things on which the jarring tribes were thoroughly agreed. The year of his birth is not quite certain, being fixed by Muir at A. D. 570, by others at 567, 569, and 571. He was the son of Abdallah, "a younger son of the hereditary chief of the Koreish clan, and therefore of the highest and purest blood possible in Arabia, of the only blood, in fact, in which resided any claim, however slight, to superiority, throughout the entire peninsula." Its prestage was especially marked in the family of Hashem, from which Mohammed sprung, from its having a hereditary dominion over the holy city and guardianship of its sacred shrine. The nobility of his descent, however, had no slight offset in the poverty of his parents. The sum total of the possessions left by his father—who died a little before Mohammed's birth—is said to have been a house, five camels, two slaves, and a few sheep.

Being left at the very outset to the sole care of his mother, according to the customs of his clan, he was put at once in the charge of a woman belonging to one of the wandering tribes of the desert. This will seem less strange when we recall the fact already noted that the Koreish, though dwelling in a town, were really members of the wandering branch of the nation, and held in high esteem the pure air which their wild kinsmen breathed. Being attacked with symptoms of epilepsy at the age of five, his nurse, Halima, returned him to his mother. Many miracles are said to have attended his sojourn in the desert, one of which we will mention. Being at play one day, he was suddenly seized by two angels, who cut him open, took out his heart, and squeezed out of it that black drop which is "the consequence of original sin, and the source of sinful thoughts,

being found in the heart of every person descended from Adam, excepting only the Virgin Mary and her son Jesus."

At the age of six, his mother died, leaving him to the care of his grandfather, whose speedy death left him, in turn, to the nurture of a wealthy and powerful uncle, Abu-Taleb. From this time to the age of twenty-five, his life presents nothing of interest, except a visit to Syria, and regular attendance on the annual fair, already named, where poets and orators were wont to contend for the palm, and where he doubtless heard the preaching of the eloquent Syrian Bishop, Koss.

We next find him in charge of a caravan to Syria, belonging to Khadijah, a wealthy widow of his race. Proceeding to Bostra, a town some sixty miles beyond the Jordan, he disposed of his merchandize at a fair profit, and returned without adventure. It proved, however, the beginning of an acquaintance with Khadijah, which ripened into a mutual attachment. His position forbidding him to ask her hand, she removed the difficulty by asking his, which, of course, was promptly given. The marriage was a happy one, though Khadijah was fifteen years the elder.

Of the next fifteen years, we have little record, save that a large part of them was spent in solitude, among the mountains of Hira, which overlook his native city. He is said to have spent months together in a cave, with either no companions, or only a few domestics. As the result of his long meditations, we have two doctrines—one destined to overthrow the idolatry in which he had been educated, the other to place him at the head of a new religion. The first was the *unity of God*; the second, that *he himself was the apostle of God*. These two ideas are the central points in the Mohammedan faith, and to these he clung, whatever pressure of temptation or adversity threatened to wrest them from him. Indeed, it was henceforth impossible that he should let them go, for his long brooding over them—as is wont to happen in the East—had made them "part of the fibre of his mind, something on which argument was lost, and on which, at all times, and under all circumstances, he based immediate action."

At the age of forty, he is said to have seen in a vision the angel Gabriel, who presented him the Koran, having brought it down from the seventh heaven, and bade him read it. He plead in vain his ignorance of letters, alleging that he had never learned to read.* The command was repeated, and this time he found himself able to obey. There being no testimony but his own to this revelation, it might have been thought a hard matter to gain converts. The very first, however, to whom he told it—his wife Khadijah—received it without hesitation. This trustfulness made a deep impression on the prophet's mind, as we may judge from his list of perfect women: "Among men, many have been found perfect; but of women, only four—Asia, the daughter of Pharaoh; Mary, the daughter of Amram; Khadijah, the wife, and Fatima, the daughter, of Mohammed." His next convert was a mere boy—his cousin Ali, the son of Abu Taleb. His third was his freedman, Zaid. The next was a person of more consequence—Abdallah, surnamed Abu Beker, one of the wealthiest citizens of Mecca. Through his zeal and influence, five more of the principal men of the city soon joined Mohammed.

In this way the time passed till he had reached his forty-fourth year, when another revelation directed him to announce his mission openly. Accordingly, he gathered to an entertainment forty guests of the race of Hashem, and, after the repast, unfolded to them his religion, invited them to his service, and demanded who of them would be his vizier, or chief companion of his mission. The proposition was the exact opposite of their apparent interests, for the abolition of idolatry would do away also with their chief dignity, as guardians of the Kaaba. It was listened to in silence—a silence broken first by the impatient Ali, who cried out in his youthful zeal, that he would be the prophet's vizier. "Behold," replied Mohammed, turning to the company, "my brother and vicegerent! Listen and obey him." Shouts of derisive laughter welcomed this announcement, and thus ended his first attempt to spread his doc-

* To our mind there is no proof whatever that he was thus illiterate. We think it rather a claim that he and his followers set up, for the sake of enhancing the miraculous value of the Koran.

trines publicly. But he was fixed in his purpose, and, neither daunted nor discouraged, he began at once to preach at the solemn festivals, and wherever else he could gain a hearing. Nor was he destitute of power as a public speaker—at least if we may trust the picture Gibbon draws, of “his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures, that enforced each expression of his tongue.”

After four years' preaching, the number of his converts was less than a hundred, but yet enough to alarm the Koreish. Two years later, the conversion of Omar and Hunza—two more of the prominent citizens—so roused their fears that they demanded of his family to either silence him, or give him up to punishment as a criminal. His uncle, Abu Taleb entreated him, accordingly, to desist from preaching. But neither threats nor entreaties could avail. He still kept on, with a resolution worthy of the character he had assumed. The next step was to put all the Hashemites under a ban till the offender should be given up. This comprised a refusal to trade with them, intermarry with them, or even furnish them with food. Forced to withdraw to the quarter of the city occupied by Abu Taleb and his relatives, they were cut off from the rest, “none venturing to sell them anything except by stealth, and none of them daring to go out, except during the holy month, when Mecca was a sanctuary to all Arabs. In this imprisonment, the prophet and his followers remained three years, until his enemies, wearied out, accepted the accidental destruction of the paper on which the ban was written, as a sign that God willed the interdict to be lifted.

Mohammed's joy at his release, however, was soon dashed with bitterness. His uncle, Abu Taleb, who had ever been his friend and protector, though too incredulous to become his disciple, and his faithful wife Khadijah, who had done more to advance his mission than any other person, were snatched away by death, within a month of each other.

Overwhelmed with anguish and discouragement, his preaching ceased, or was confined to a repetition of the haughty sen-

tence, "Whoso obeyeth not God and his prophet, verily to him shall be the fire of hell." He would seem to have been cheered, however, by several remarkable visions and revelations. The most extraordinary was his famous journey to heaven, in which he passed through one after another of the seven heavens; made the acquaintance of Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, and Solomon; and at last stood in the presence of God himself, who condescended to talk with him familiarly face to face, renewing his commission, and giving him instruction in his future ritual.

Meanwhile he waited for a band of reinforcements from Medina, whom he expected at the next annual pilgrimage. At length it came, seventy-three in number. Meeting them at midnight without the city, in the stony valley of Akaba, he received their oath to obey and defend him with their lives. The meeting was intended to be secret, but in some way or other the Korcish were soon in possession of a full report of its proceedings. The result was a plot for the prophet's assassination. He, too, appears to have had his spies in the councils of his foes. At all events, he took the alarm, and, having sent forward his disciples secretly, by twos and threes, to Medina, he himself followed as speedily as possible, in company with Abu Beker. Being pursued, they fled to the mountains, and at one time actually heard their pursuers pass over a cave in which they lay concealed. Escaping these and other dangers, he hastened on to the promised refuge.

The date of his arrival in the outskirts of Medina is June 28, A. D. 622. Many of the inhabitants were waiting for him with impatience, some of them being already his disciples, and the rest being ready to receive the distinguished stranger with mingled curiosity and awe. Waiting a few days to learn more fully the feelings of the citizens, he entered the city on Friday—"a day thenceforward set apart for worship throughout the Moslem world,"—and at last dismounted in an open court-yard, where his camel halted, her course in the city having been left to chance instead of the guidance of her master. The journey was complete, and the Hejira—"the flight from which one-fourth of the world compute time"—a fact of history.

His first care was to build a mosque and a house for his own use, the ground for both having been marked out in the open court-yard, the very hour of his halt. These he surrounded with nine other houses, one for each of the wives with whom he had endeavored to console himself for the loss of his beloved Khadijah.

His next step was to assemble all his followers, and bind them together in a league of perpetual brotherhood. This was the more needful, since they not only embraced in their number citizens of two different cities, but also members of the two great and hostile branches of the Arab race.

The next six months were spent in the completion of his creed and ritual. "The practice of lustration was regularly introduced. The daily prayers were reduced to five. The *Kebalah* [or point towards which the faithful must turn their faces when they pray] was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, thus linking Islam with the ancient Pagan cult, instead of Judaism, and the month Ramadan was selected as the period of annual fasting. The day of fast breaking was also appointed, and finally Mohammed, in obedience to a dream related by a disciple, bade a negro slave ascend to the top of a lofty house, and there cry aloud at the appointed times: "Prayer is better than sleep; prayer is better than sleep." Even Alexander the Great is, in Asia, an unknown personage by the side of the slave Bidad, whose cry to this day summons at the same hours a fourth of the human race to their devotions. As soon as the mosque was completed, Mohammed recommenced his personal teaching, preaching from the top of the steps of a high pulpit, in the modern Protestant style. The religious life of Islam was then complete, and to the day of his death the prophet added only what may be called the dogmas of jurisprudence." The Koran was finished, so far as all essential parts are concerned, and so far, too, as that could be called "finished," which was a mere mass of loose leaves, thrown promiscuously together in a chest, and waiting the arranging hand of whoever should take charge of it at the prophet's death. At all events, the state of things was different from that of earlier days in Mohammed's ministry, when any part of the sacred book was

liable to be changed at any time by a fresh and contradictory revelation.

This completion of his religious system impels us so far to interrupt our narrative as to give a summary of its main points. The reader will the more readily pardon the digression, because a thorough understanding of Moslem faith is no mean auxiliary in understanding Moslem history.

We have had some glimpses of it before, and in particular have noticed its great foundation stones—*God's unity, and Mohammed's mission as his prophet*. Of the future life there are vivid descriptions given, abounding in the imagery of such Jewish and Christian writings as were current in Arabia in the prophet's time. It is wholly stripped, however, of its spiritual meaning, mixed with heathen notions, and every way so perverted as to represent a mere physical heaven and hell. Still it is worth examining.

. At the judgment day—whose length one passage in the Koran fixes at 1000, and another at 50,000 years—the good and evil deeds of every man will be weighed in a balance, and the slightest preponderance either way will decide his fate. On leaving the great tribunal, he must cross “the bridge which spans the narrow abyss of hell, and is represented as being finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword. This frightful path is beset with briars and thorns; but the good will find no impediment, and will cross with ease and safety—Mohammed and Fatima leading the way. To the wicked, these obstacles will prove fatal. Involved in darkness and dismay, they will miss their narrow footing, and plunge into the fathomless gulf that yawns beneath them.” Here unbelievers of every name, Jew, Christian, or Pagan, will suffer endless torture, proportioned to their guilt, while all disciples of the prophet will be at length released, after a purgation varying from 900 to 7,000 years.

The Mohammedan notions of paradise are given in so lively, yet accurate a manner by Crichton, and withal are so full of interest to the Christian reader, from their contrast with the New Jerusalem of the Bible, that we will quote his description at length :

“ The celestial joys of Mohammed were addressed chiefly to the indulgence of luxury and appetite. Rivers of water, trees of gold, tents of rubies and emeralds, beds of musk, garments of the richest brocades, crowns set with pearls of matchless lustre, silken carpets, couches and pillows of delicate embroidery, are among the rare treasures provided for the gratification of the external senses. Other entertainments are on a scale of similar magnificence. Whatever is subject to waste requires sustenance ; and the hungry saints will find an abundant supply in a loaf as large as the whole globe, in the flesh of oxen, and in the livers of fishes (delicious among the Arabs) one lobe of which will suffice seventy thousand men. While eating, each will be served in golden dishes to the number of 300, and waited upon by as many attendants. Wine, forbidden in this life, will be freely allowed in the next ; and may be drunk to excess without palling on the taste, or incurring the risk of intoxication. The Tooba, or tree of happiness, so large that the fleetest horse could not gallop in a hundred years from one end of its shadow to the other,—bearing dates, grapes, and all manner of fruits, of surprising bigness and inconceivable relish,—will extend its loaded boughs to the couch of every believer, bending spontaneously to his hand, and inviting him to pluck of its vintage. And should his capricious desires incline, its branches will yield the flesh of birds or animals, dressed according to his wishes ; while from its expanding blossoms will burst vestures of green silk, and beasts to ride on, ready saddled and adorned with costly trappings. That every sense may have a congenial gratification, the ear will be ravished with the melodious songs of angels and houries—with the vocal harmony of the trees and the Æolian chime of the bells that hang in their branches, moved by the soft winds of heaven. When to this train of gorgeous and sensual luxury, are added the seventy-two damsels, (the portion of the humblest of the faithful,) whose charms shall eclipse all other glories, whose complexions are bright as rubies, and whose eyes, resembling ‘ pearls hidden in their shells,’ shall never wander to any but their husbands ; we may form a tolerable conception of those delights to which the voluptuous Mussulman looks forward as his chief felicity in another world.

“ The most exquisite and artificial pleasures of this life become insipid from long possession, or superfluous from the limited capacity of their mortal owner. Mohammed has made provision for both contingencies. At whatever period believers may die on earth, in heaven they shall never exceed the potent and animated age of thirty. A moment of happiness will be prolonged to a thousand years,

and the enjoyment will be enhanced by an increase of abilities to the extent of a hundred-fold."

Some of the more fastidious of the Moslems, indeed, interpret these things as figures and allegories, but the vast majority, more orthodox, "adhere to the literal interpretation of the text, and would consider the highest metaphorical enjoyments a worthless substitute for the luxuries of the Tooba tree."

Of other doctrines, that of an irresistible fate, by which every one is ruled, and which fixes inexorably the hour of his death, is said to have been made quite prominent, and to have had no little to do with the recklessness of the Saracen soldiery. Some ascribe its origin, however, at least in its present form, to a later teacher than the prophet.

The chief practical duties he enjoined were, "justice, brotherhood among the faithful, abstinence from the breaches of the universal moral law, the sexual law partially excepted, and persistent and regular public prayer." Wine was forbidden, under a penalty of eighty stripes for each offence, though many of his followers have found means to evade it.

To these were added fasts, alms-giving, pilgrimages to Mecca, certain ablutions before prayers, and the observance of Friday as a sacred day.

We must now add one further and closing revelation, which altogether changed the character of his mission. It was in the period under consideration, that he uttered the remarkable saying which is the foundation of all the military glory of the Saracens. "The sword," he exclaimed, "is the key to heaven and hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months' fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and oderiferous as musk, and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." From that day to this, no other revelation of the prophet has been so eagerly believed, and even now "it exercises a power over inferior races almost as extraordinary as the sway Christian truth can sometimes attain." So completely does it fill the hearts of the Hindoo Mussulmans, that in every battle, where they even

fancy they are fighting for their religion, it is said that the most debased among them—"men utterly lost to every call of honor, patriotism, or family affection, whose only occupation is eating, and whose only recreation is women—still thrill with excitement at the summons for the faith, and meet death with a contempt the red Indian could only envy."

A dogma thus powerful could not long lie idle. There were foes in abundance, and, the principle of war upon infidels being once established, it was but natural that at least the Koreish should speedily feel its rigor. Indeed, Mohammed seems rather to have been driven to its utterance by their enmity, than led to it by deliberate study of his mission as a destroyer of idolatry. They were, accordingly, its first victims.

The first exploit of moment was the capture of a caravan of a thousand camels, on its return from Syria, heavily loaded with grain and other valuable commodities. The attack has an air of recklessness, when we remember that the Moslems numbered scarce one-third as many as their enemies, and were so poorly equipped that they could muster but two horses and seventy camels in a band of men that numbered 313. But they were victorious, as might have been expected. The desperate ardor and unflinching faith of fanaticism seldom fail. Besides these, however, it is said that near the close of the fight they were aided by a reinforcement of three thousand angels,—a statement of Saracen historians, in which the reader may put what faith he pleases.

A second caravan was taken not long after. The Koreish were so exasperated that they gathered in haste an army of 3,000, and sent them against Mohammed. The army of the latter numbered but 1,000, and even this small number was diminished by the desertion of three hundred troops commanded by Abdallah. They met in front of the city of Medina, and, in spite of all discouragements, the Moslems fell upon their opponents with such fury that the battle was well nigh won at the very outset. Some archers posted in the rear, however, who had been told on no account to quit their place, were tempted into disobedience of orders by their anxiety to join their brethren in plundering the enemy's baggage. This left

the rear exposed. The Karcish seized their advantage, surrounded the army, threw it into confusion, and routed it completely. Mohammed himself barely escaped with life, having been unhorsed, severely wounded, and only saved from a fatal blow by the timely interposition of a faithful follower.

Had the Koreish followed up their advantage, they might have taken Medina, and greatly weakened Mohammed's power, if not insured its total overthrow. But instead—Mohammed having fled to the mountains, where pursuit was useless—they spent the golden moment of opportunity on the field, in stripping, maiming, and otherwise insulting the slain.

Though saved from annihilation by this unseasonable overflow of rage, the prophet found the ill effects of his defeat in the discouragement of his followers, and even a rising doubt as to his Divine authority. But he was not the man to flinch or be discouraged in such a crisis. Boldly throwing the whole blame upon their sins, he rallied them at once for an attack on a Jewish fortress in the neighborhood. They were successful, and a judicious use of the booty tended to restore their courage and good feeling.

The capture of another Jewish garrison, in the fifth year of the Hejira, was followed by an act so barbarous, and yet so much in keeping with the bloody creed of the new prophet, that we cannot pass it without notice. There had just been another siege of Medina by the Koreish, which had put Mohammed in the highest jeopardy. During its continuance, the strong Jewish tribe of the Koreitza renounced their allegiance, and sent word secretly to the army of the Korcish before the city that they were ready to aid them. The prophet, however, learned of the plot, and contrived by stratagem to sow distrust between the new allies. They failed, in consequence, to coöperate, and the seige was shortly abandoned. No sooner was the danger past, than he had a revelation, commanding chastisement of the Koreitza. The army was at once assembled and marched against them. Nearly a month's resistance only made their case more hopeless, and they at length surrendered, stipulating that their fate should be decided by the Beni Awas, a tribe in alliance with both themselves and Mohammed. Mohammed

chose as judge an aged chief of this tribe, Sad ibu Muadz, who was still suffering from a wound he had received in the late siege. Smarting under a sense of injury, and hating the Koreitza for their treachery, perhaps no other man could have been found in the tribe so little disposed to mercy. The rest, indeed, entreated him most earnestly to spare the lives of their old allies. But when he reached the camp, having bound the people—still pleading the claims of mercy in behalf of the prisoners—to abide by his decision, he uttered, as Mohammed had foreseen, a sentence of dark revenge: “This, verily, is my judgment, that the male captives shall be put to death, that the female captives and children shall be sold into slavery, and the spoil divided amongst the army.” Mohammed promptly ratified the decree. Eight hundred victims were dragged in chains to the market place of Medina, slaughtered like so many beasts, and hurled, one after another—often before the spark of life was quite put out—into a vast pit dug for the purpose. The prophet looked calmly on till it was done, then “turned him from the ghastly sight to a beautiful Jewess, all of whose male relatives had just before been butchered in cold blood, and invited her to become again a bride! She refused, and was retained by him as his concubine and slave.”

This act of vengeance—evidently deliberate, for it is applauded in the Koran—is one of the darkest in Mohammed’s whole career. The Kareitza were doubtless treacherous, but not so much worse than himself as to give him a right to take such measures.

The capture of still another Jewish fortress was followed by an attempt to poison him by means of a leg of mutton, on which he was intending to sup within its walls. A companion ate of it, and died on the spot. Mohammed escaped, having stopped, as some say, with the first mouthful, though it is more likely he did not taste it at all. A very bold and sensible answer is ascribed to the assassin—a woman—when brought to an account: “Had you been a true prophet, the poison was harmless, as it must have been easily discovered; if not, it would have freed the world of a tyrant.”

In the sixth year of the Hejira, he went to Mecca, at the

time of the annual pilgrimage, but was refused admission to the city for that year. A truce was made, however, by which they granted him the privilege of entering, with his followers, for the next ten years—the sacred shrine to be wholly given up to them three days each year. Meanwhile, he was to make no more attacks on their property, or themselves.

The eighth year was made memorable by the battle of Muta in Syria—their first conflict with the Greeks, and the beginning of a strife that raged eight hundred years. As often happened afterwards, they won a decisive victory in spite of fearful odds against them.

About the same time Mohammed captured Mecca—a feat on which his mind had long been set, but from which he had hitherto been barred by fortune. Though only one-fifth the time included in the ten years' truce was gone, he found himself released from its obligation by a violation of its terms on the part of the Koreish. He improved his opportunity, and marched suddenly to Mecca with an army of eight thousand. The frightened inhabitants admitted him with little opposition, and he "stood at last lord of the city from which eight years before he had fled, a hunted fugitive. It was still filled with enemies, but the magnitude of the triumph had softened his heart, and he spared all save four—the exceptions being men who had injured or insulted him or his family, and a woman who had circulated satirical verses—an offence Mohammed never forgave."

Once within the city, his first visit was to the Kaaba. Having performed his devotions, he vented his hatred of idolatry on the various idols that defiled it. A mass of fragments was soon their only memorial, nor could they ever be replaced by others, for a decree was uttered that only Mohammedans should henceforth even visit the sacred shrine, under pain of death.

Having gained possession of the capital—so far as such a country could be said to have a capital—he soon received the allegiance of all Arabia. The rest of his life was spent in comparative peace and inactivity. The time was short, however,—only two years. In the year 632, worn out by a fever,

he breathed his last in the arms of his faithful Ayesha, the best beloved of the many wives he had taken after the loss of Khadijah. His last words were mere exclamations: "The Lord grant me pardon," "Pardon," "The blessed companionship on high."

Of Mohammed's character, we would gladly speak at length did space allow. We will notice one point only. It is a question yet unsettled, whether he shall be ranked with impostors or fanatics. We are inclined to the latter view. Despite the fabled interviews with the angel Gabriel, with which he chose to deck his narrative of the origin of his doctrines—doctrines whose real sources were unquestionably the Jewish and Christian writings—especially the apocryphal gospels and epistles—together with the old superstitions of the country—he gave what we regard with Mr. Muir as conclusive proofs that he believed them. Charge him with what other faults we choose, he does not seem to have lacked sincerity. When, for example, in the only instance where he ever took counsel of fear, he sought the favor of the Koreish by a slight admission in behalf of Ozza and Lat, the chief gods of Mecca, "sober second thought" brought in its train not only a public recantation of his error, but also an admission that his course had been prompted by the devil. Thus—poor and friendless as he was,—he both deliberately renounced the supreme leadership of Mecca, and, consequently, of Arabia, which his change of teachings had placed in his power, and also armed his enemies with a new argument against his former inspiration—and all, apparently, for the sake of satisfying conscience. Would a downright impostor have done this? Or, again, would any but a fanatic have made the famous visit to Tayif? At a time when his disciples were few, and he was beset on every hand with persecution, disaster, and discouragement, he determined on an appeal to the citizens of Tayif, a town some seventy miles from Mecca. With no companion but Zaid, he proceeded on his mission, and explained it first to the chiefs and then to the common people. The former heard him with indifference. The latter stoned him from the city. For an hour, the agony of disappointment overwhelmed him, but soon he rallied, and looked calmly up to

God, with the prayer: "If thy wrath be not upon me, I have no concern." We agree with Mr. Muir in his comments: "There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Mohammed to Tayif: a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God—like Jonah to Nineveh—and summoning an idolatrous city to repentance and the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light upon the intensity of his own belief in the Divine origin of his calling."

We have now reviewed the first two stages of Saracenic history—the long, dark period of torpor and chaos; and the brief, but stirring one of organization into a living whole, under the influence of a new faith, and the power of a new leader. The third now claims attention—an era of glory and dominion, closed at last by remediless decay. We shall follow, as well as we are able, the progress of their arms, at the same time warning the reader that here, as in the second period, it is sometimes hard to draw the line between legend and veritable history. And this for two reasons:—1. The habit of exaggeration which we have already noticed as characteristic of Saracen historians. 2. The difficulty our own minds feel in fixing the true importance of what is seen through the mists of the dark ages. But with all these drawbacks, there is enough of real, undoubted moment, to reward the labor of the historian—events of real magnitude, which only stand out the more boldly, the intenser the light that is thrown upon them.

This third era may be in turn divided into three subordinate periods, well characterized by Hallam as "one age of glorious conquest; a second of stationary, but rather precarious greatness; a third of rapid decline."

At Mohammed's death, the question, who should succeed him, at once came up. Strangely enough, he had made no provision for its settlement, nor even pointed out the mode. Had he left male offspring, it might have made no trouble. But his only surviving child was Fatima, the wife of Ali. Accordingly, no sooner had the chief men assembled—and that, too, on the very day of his death, for a point so vital could not possibly be deferred—than a fierce dissention broke out among them.

Ali claimed the office as his by hereditary right, but failed of an election, through the opposition of Ayesha and several of the nobles. Omar and Abu Beker were also proposed, but neither deemed it prudent to press his claims, as long as the other was his rival, especially since the very right of appointment itself was a matter of dispute, being claimed by both the Meccans and the Medinese. The contest grew fiercer, swords were drawn, and Saracen power seemed likely to be rooted up by the whirlwind which thus early came upon it. Omar's moderation saved it. Withdrawing his own name from the list of candidates, he took the oath of allegiance to Abu Beker. His example was followed by all but the Hashemites, with Ali at their head, who publicly refused. In this election of another than the prophet's son-in-law, a temporary peace was secured, at the expense of sowing the seeds of future division and strife. Their germination at a later day sundered the Moslems into the two great sects of Sunnites and Shiites, whose bitterness has been the cause of untold bloodshed.

Abu Beker having been installed in office as "caliph," or *successor* of Mohammed, signalized the opening of his reign by putting down a slight revolt in Yemen, and at the same time extending the arms of the nation, and increasing its revenue by an annual tribute of 70,000 dinars.* Next came a general call to arms, to carry out the only scheme of foreign conquest matured by the prophet—the taking of Syria. It was answered by many thousands, eager for the strife.

The first city they took was Bosra, which fell into their hands through the treachery of its governor, Romanus. Damascus was threatened next, and the Greek emperor, Heraclius, sent to its relief an army of 70,000 men. Before they joined battle with the 45,000 Saracens that opposed them, an attempt was made to purchase peace, by offering each Moslem soldier a gift of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold, with proportion-

* A "dinar," or piece of gold, was equal in weight to what is now worth a little upwards of two dollars, and is usually reckoned at this sum. The value of the precious metals, however, was so much greater then than now, that twenty dollars would be nearer its true worth.

ally larger presents for the officers, and a thousand pieces of gold for the caliph. The bribe was scornfully refused, and a battle fought, in which 50,000 of the Christians are said to have been slain, inestimable spoil taken, and the way opened for a return to the siege of Damascus.

After the siege had lasted some six months, Abu Obeidah, the Arab general, was visited one night by a deputation from the chief citizens, offering to capitulate on the condition that all who chose might leave the city, with such of their effects as they could carry. Agreeing to the terms, the gates were opened, and he proceeded to take possession. At the same time, however, and, of course, in total ignorance of this transaction, Caled, his daring lieutenant, had forced a gate on the opposite side, and was busy with slaughter and pillage. The two generals met near the middle of the city. As soon as the latter heard of his master's leniency, he flew into a towering passion—all the bitterer, no doubt, for his personal disappointment in regard to spoil. But Abu Obeidah was firm, and their angry discussion ended in a decision to respect the truce, but restrict its benefits to three days, and reserve the right to pursue the fugitives at the expiration of that time. The majority of the inhabitants concluded to remain, but multitudes chose exile rather than either tribute or abandonment of their religion. Among them was Eudocia, a lady who was soon to have been married to a citizen named Jonas, but who now found reason to dismiss her lover as an apostate from the Christian faith. As soon as the three days of grace allowed the fugitives were gone, Jonas, angered by the scornful treatment of Eudocia, urged the Saracens to carry out their menace of pursuit. They had nearly given up the thought, but yielded to the zeal of this new convert, and a band of four thousand cavalry was detailed for the task. After a daring march of a hundred and fifty miles, straight into the heart of an enemy's country, they overtook the flying Christians. Worn out as the latter were by the journey, they fell an easy prey to the fury of the Moslems. But one escaped the massacre alive—so well had the lesson of death to the infidel been learned.

It should be added that Eudocia, rather than fall a captive into the hands of Jonas, took her own life with a dagger.

About this time, the caliph Abu Beker died, and was quietly succeeded by Omar, according to the terms of the will he had taken the precaution to make.

Other Syrian cities fell in quick succession, till at length the emperor was fully roused to the magnitude of the danger that threatened the province. This time, an army of 100,000 men was sent, including 20,000 Christian Arabs. They met the Saracens at Yarmouk, near Emeca. More than half the Christian army, are said to have been left upon the field, and many thousands more to have perished in the fight that followed. This battle decided the fate of Syria, and left the other towns defenceless. Jerusalem was next besieged, and suffered terribly. "The number of the slain and the calamities of the besieged were greater than when taken and sacked by the legions of Titus." At last it yielded, on the strange condition that the caliph Omar should himself come thither to receive its surrender. He came, and improved the occasion to prepare the foundation of the temple of Solomon for the mosque that occupies the ground to the present day.

Little more was to be done in Syria. The work of six sanguinary years was completed, and they turned to another field. A powerful army being sent to Persia, the fate of this empire, too, after some preliminary engagements, was decided by a single battle—that of Cadesia. The fight was long and bloody. For three days both parties were content to carry it on by day alone, resting at night. On the fourth, however, instead of ceasing, the contest only grew more bitter as night came on, and was kept up by the light of flambeaux through all the hours of darkness. About noon on the next day, the Persians were thrown into confusion by a cloud of dust that a whirlwind blew in their faces, and the battle was won by the Saracens. The loss of the latter is stated by their writers at 7,500, and that of the former at 100,000. The spoil was well nigh incredible. It is said to have included a girdle worth 80,000 pieces of gold, and two shields, each valued at 57,000. The conquerors,

however, were not aware of the true worth of all their plunder. They offered, for example, to exchange large quantities of gold for tiny bits of silver—a metal they rarely saw in their native land.

With Saad at their head, and ranks constantly increasing by reinforcements, they pushed on toward the capital. The king and citizens fled, and they entered the “white palace of the Khoosros” unopposed. The splendor and riches of the capital were amazing. Elmacia, an Arab writer, values the booty at 300,000,000 pieces of gold—not far from \$6,937,000,000—a sum which to us looks more like the result of a vigorous and remarkably successful effort of Eastern imagination, than the sober truth of history. It has been calculated to exceed the whole product of the American gold and silver mines, from the discovery of the continent down to 1803.

The most gorgeous prize was a carpet of silk and gold cloth, sixty cubits square, which decked the floor of a room in the palace. The most exquisite pictures of trees, fruits, and flowers had been wrought in it by a skilful array of costly jewels, and nothing had been left undone to place it beyond the possibility of a rival. Instead of dividing it, like other spoil, and sending Caliph Omar but one-fifth, the army presented him the whole. In his rigid impartiality, however, he ordered it to be cut in fragments and distributed to the chief men of the nation. Of its richness we may judge, from the fact that a piece no larger than a man’s hand was afterwards sold for \$2,200.

A few more conflicts placed the rest of Persia in their power, and thence they crossed the Oxus, overcame the Turks, conquered the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes and the Caspian, imposed upon the inhabitants a tribute of two million pieces of gold, and so spread their fame as to receive overtures of friendship from even the emperor of China.

No sooner had the crown of Persia been laid at his feet, than Omar sent his restless hordes to Egypt,—a land, like Syria, of whose ancient fertility and populousness its present aspect gives us but a faint idea.

Here, as in many other parts of the Eastern empire, the

fierceness of religious controversy had paved the way for the invaders. The Monophysite schism and persecution on the part of the emperor had alienated Egypt from its government. The Jacobites were all ready to accept the alternative of tribute, and become allies of the Arabs. The chief event in the conquest of Egypt was the fall of Alexandria. Founded by the conqueror whose name it bears, and enriched by the Ptolemies, it had been for nearly a thousand years a centre of commerce, art and literature. It was the only point of attack in the whole country that presented any special difficulty. Defended as it was, however, by Grecian arms, as well as by nature and art, the siege was undertaken. The siege lasted fourteen months and cost the besiegers twenty-three thousand lives, when it was ended by a surrender.

An incident connected with it is a good illustration of the quickness of Arab wit. In attacking one of the towers, Amrou, the general, chanced to be taken prisoner by the Greeks, together with one of his chief men, and Werdan his slave. Being questioned in the presence of the governor as to the object of the expedition, he boldly answered in the usual formula, that "they designed to make them either Mussulmans or tributaries before they had done." The tone of the answer convinced the governor that he was a man of considerable rank, and he ordered him to be beheaded. Werdan, however, seized him by the collar, boxed his ears, and scolded him for putting himself forward and prating in the presence of his betters. This changed the governor's opinion of his rank, and he revoked his order, thinking he should get little honor from beheading a menial. The equal tact of a third in the party, who told of an imaginary embassy that was soon to be sent, secured the release of all three. Nor did the governor learn his blunder, till he heard the shout of welcome with which the whole Saracen army greeted their return.

How great a prize was this ancient city, may be judged from the terms in which Amrou announced its capture to Omar: "I have taken the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains four thousand

palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres, or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews."

The city itself was spared as a source of revenue, but the world has ever since had reason to mourn the loss of the vast library it contained. It had been gathered by a long line of princes, having been founded, it would seem—if not by Alexander himself—at least as early as the Ptolemies, whose love of learning is well known, and by whose encouragement the Septuagint is said to have been translated. In the time of Julius Cæsar, it had so increased that a loss of 400,000 volumes by fire had failed to destroy its reputation. Subsequent additions had brought it up to 700,000 volumes, all of which perished by Mohammedan bigotry.

John, the grammarian—a man of great learning—having secured the good offices of Amrou, sent through him a petition to the caliph for the gift of the library—its value being very small in the eyes of the conquerors. The answer of Omar was as follows: "What is contained in the books you mention is either agreeable to what is written in the book of God, or it is not; if it be, then the Koran is sufficient without them; if otherwise, it is fit they should be destroyed." They were accordingly distributed to the keepers of the warm baths in the city for fuel—an ignoble use, most surely, for what would be a priceless treasure to the literary world at the present day.

Gibbon doubts the whole transaction, and especially the vast size and importance of the library, but later and better informed writers have proved that his doubts were groundless.

With the capture of Alexandria, the conquest of Egypt was essentially complete. The acquirement of such a granary was very opportune, Arabia being visited by a famine. Egypt sent to its relief a train of camels, extending in a continuous chain from Memphis to Medina, or over three hundred miles—all loaded down with the surplus products of her fertile soil. It furnished, too, an annual revenue of 4,300,000 pieces of gold.

Not long afterwards, Omar died by assassination at the hands of a Persian slave. Next to that of Mohammed, his reign

may be counted the most illustrious in Saracenic annals. In the ten years it occupied, his armies completed the reduction of Syria—begun by Abu Beker—and conquered the whole of Persia and Egypt, taking, in their various campaigns, some thirty thousand cities and castles, and destroying about four thousand Christian churches.

Though—as Gibbon has justly said—“the uniform ascent of Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation, rather than the abilities of the chiefs,”—Omar must be credited with no small share of talent and real greatness. The campaigns planned under his direction prove him to have been a general. His executive power was manifest in the energy with which he pushed them forward. Nor can we assign him a low rank as a legislator, when we examine his attempt to meet the conscious wants of the nation, and complete the solidifying process Mohammed had begun. In the fifteenth year of the Hejira, he formed a great muster roll of all believers, in which he purposely “trampled under foot everything valued hitherto as a genealogical distinction.” So sweeping and thorough was the work, that he left in being but one of the social distinctions of the Arabs—the only one it was beyond his power to efface—the original and inveterate division into men of Adnan and men of Khattan. As a man, he was marked, like Mohammed and the other early caliphs, by singular freedom from pomp and luxury. His usual food, for instance, was dates, or coarse barley bread and salt, and he was wont to preach in a tattered gown, torn in a dozen places.

The six men he had appointed to choose his successor met without delay. Ali would doubtless have been chosen, had he been willing to accept their condition of binding himself to follow the example of his predecessors. But his haughty spirit could brook no conditions, and he withdrew from the contest. Othman was then chosen caliph.

His reign was short, marked by no military exploit of consequence, except commencing the conquest of Northern Africa, and closed by a violent death at the hands of a mob his own folly had raised, and his own acknowledgment of weakness invited to the attack.

Being now left without a rival, Ali was chosen to the caliphate for which he had so long waited. It proved, however, but a stormy and uncomfortable honor. His reign was marked by convulsions and revolts, by a development of the schism, whose germs we have seen were planted on the day of Mohammed's death, and at last by a successful effort to infringe upon his power.

Ayesha, Mohammed's widow—always an enemy of Ali, and now grown meddlesome and vengeful beyond measure—was the first to stir up a rebellion. She was soon a prisoner, but, through the generosity of Ali, was dismissed unpunished. A more formidable foe was Moawiyah, governor of Syria, whom the caliph tried in vain to subdue, and was compelled to leave in possession of the authority he had usurped, until his own death, by assassination, placed the whole dominion in the rebel's hands.

The caliphate being now assumed in full by Moawiyah, and changed from an elective to a hereditary office, from this point we must date the commencement of the dynasty of the Ommiades.

As to the cause of the revolt that thus changed the character of the government—at no small cost, too, of life, for the loss of Ali was 25,000, that of Moawiyah 45,000 soldiers—it is not enough to refer to the personal hatred of those who had so long barred Ali from the caliphate, and the fierce jealousies between their followers and his. We are inclined, with Amari, to trace it rather to the inherent and quenchless enmity between the men of Adnan, and the men of Khattan. Especially as the pride of the latter had just been wounded by having a secondary place assigned them on the great muster roll of Omar. Men in such a frame of mind are usually ripe for rebellion.

The reign of Moawiyah was not more peaceful than that of those who had gone before him. "It was occupied with little else than deposing chiefs and governors whose loyalty he could not trust, and heaping favors and emoluments on others, whose passions could thus be made subservient to his own interests." Among his opponents, we find the restless, scheming Ayesha.

She did not trouble him long, however. Her end was in keeping with the times. As the Persian writers state it, she was invited to a banquet, where her chair was placed over a deep well or cistern, with a thin, deceptive covering. The moment she took her seat, "she sank to everlasting night." The only foreign expedition of consequence which he executed, was one against Constantinople, in the year 668. The siege was renewed seven summers in succession, and then abandoned. Thirty thousand Moslems fell, and a truce of thirty years was exacted of the survivors, during which they were to pay the Greeks a heavy annual tribute.

Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, inherited the throne. He, too, was confronted by a rebellion, headed by Hosein, the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed. The citizens of Irak, to the number of 140,000, sent him word that they would join his standard, if he would come to them. He came, accordingly, but when almost to Cufa, he found himself betrayed, and left to meet a force of four thousand enemies, with no other aid than his little band of seventy-two. Choosing to stand his ground, he fought till he had seen his last man slain, had had his infant son and nephew killed in his arms, and had himself been wounded in the mouth, as he stooped to drink from the Euphrates. And even then, this dauntless hero kept his foes at bay till forced to yield by over thirty wounds. His head was carried in triumph to Yezid, who struck it on the mouth. "Alas!" exclaimed an old man present, "on those lips I have seen the lips of the apostle of God." The Persians still observe the day of his death as one of mourning, and make pilgrimages to his grave.

The succeeding caliphs of this dynasty—which held the sceptre till the year 740—were chiefly busy in quelling petty insurrections. In the reign of Walid, however, who ascended the throne in 705, there was a renewal of the foreign conquests so long interrupted by civil war. His armies completed the subjugation of what has since been known as the Barbary States, in Africa, as also a large part of central Africa. For a time the fortress of Genta, on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar, but occupied by Spain, and commanded by Julian, a

Spanish general, held out against them. But it was not long before they were astonished by a proposition from this same Julian—acting under the impulse of revenge for an injury done him by his sovereign—to make his fort a base of operations against Spain itself. The invitation was promptly accepted, and seven thousand men were sent over into Spain, under the command of Tarik. They landed in the year 711 at Gibraltar—a place which still bears the name of the Saracen general—Gebel al Tarik, or Hill of Tarik. Spain was at this time in the hands of the Goths, whose sturdy manhood had degenerated into effeminacy and weakness under the influence of luxury. As might have been expected, their resistance was feeble, and in a few months the invaders stood on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. With the exception of a little district among the mountains, whose inhabitants preserved their liberties and the national name for centuries, the whole country was overrun with a swiftness almost incredible.

After a few years spent in confirming and arranging their Spanish dominions, the Saracens resumed their onward march, under the command of the famous Abderama. Having already crossed the Pyrennees, and taken the province of Burgundy, in 731 he formed the daring project of conquering the rest of France and of Europe. He proceeded at once to carry it into effect. Province after province was desolated, and at length the whole country from the Gibraltar to the Loire—a distance of more than 1000 miles—was subject to the caliph. “The repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the highlands of Scotland. . . . Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran might have become the scholastic divinity of the halls of Oxford and Edinburgh. Our cathedrals might have been supplanted by the gorgeous mosque; and our pulpits employed in demonstrating to a circumcised people the truth of the apostleship and revelations of Mohammed.”

From this frightful destiny, Europe was delivered by the valor of Charles Martel. He was at this time “mayor of the palace,” an office second to royalty only in name. Hastily gathering an army of Franks and Germans, he gave the enemy bat-

tle somewhere between Tours and Poitiers. After a desperate and bloody conflict, the Moslems were beaten, and retired at night to their camp, exhausted and discouraged. During the night, a mutiny broke out in their own ranks, and the various tribes, each by itself, sought safety in flight. Thus France was saved, if not civilization and Christianity themselves.

This repulse put a final limit to Saracen conquest in this direction. Nor, indeed, was it so rapid afterwards in any, though Sicily, Tartary, European Turkey, and a large part of Hindoostan must be numbered among the subsequent additions. An attack was made on Rome, but proved successful only in giving the Pope and his subjects a thorough fright.

A little later, under the last of the Ommiades, "the Saracen empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west; and though the long and narrow province of Africa—the sleeve of the robe, as their writers style it—was withdrawn, the solid and compact dominion within the Jaxartes, the Hellespont, and the Indus, would spread on every side to the measure of five months of the march of a caravan in length and four in breadth."

Having reached this point, and meanwhile suffered a severe repulse before Constantinople—occasioned not so much by the valor of the Greeks, as by their use of the famous Greek fire to destroy the fleet of their enemy—the Saracen empire remained awhile nearly or quite stationary, and then, like other mere aggregations, began to crumble. And yet this period of opening decay was, in some respects, the most brilliant of its whole history.

Towards the end of the eighth century, it was split into three distinct and independent sovereignties. The dynasty of the Ommiades was confronted by the Abbassides, or descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. The fourteenth and last of the Ommiades, unfortunate in battle, perished at their hands. His relatives, too, were hunted and exterminated, one by one. One of them, however, escaping to Spain, was there proclaimed caliph, and established his throne at Cordova, thus founding the dynasty of the Spanish Ommiades, who governed Spain for more than two hundred and fifty years. The Fati-

mites of Africa and Egypt followed the example of the Spanish rebels, put forward still a third caliph, and claimed him as the only true successor of Mohammed.

The Abbassides, retaining undisputed sway over the Asiatic fragment of the vast empire thus ruptured, chose the banks of the Tigris as the site for a new capital, and built there Bagdad, a city whose splendor has seldom been equalled. The royal palace is said to have been adorned with more than thirty thousand pieces of tapestry, over twelve thousand of which were of silk, embroidered with gold. Nor were these the chief attractions. "Among other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony."

Like other dynasties, that of the Abbassides appears to have included men of widely different characters. Some of them were wholly destitute of either ability or influence, especially in the latter half of its dominion, when the power had really departed from its hands, though wealth and luxury still lingered. In earlier days, there was now and then a man of talent and energy, worthy of a king. Such was Haroun al Raschid, the fifth in the series, who commenced his reign in the year 786. A single incident will show his character. The Greeks determined to throw off an annual tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold, which had been imposed a few years before. By way of bravado, the message announcing their decision was accompanied by a present of several fine swords. Haroun smiled, drew his scimitar, cut them in pieces one by one, without apparent effort, or the least turning of his own blade, and then dictated the following epistle to the emperor: "In the name of the most merciful God! Haroun al Raschid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear—thou shalt see my reply." In the campaign which followed, the Greeks were beaten, several provinces pillaged, and

the annual tribute of the Greek empire increased to 300,000 dinars.

The Omniades of Spain were quite as noted for their luxury and splendor. Their capital, Cordova, was enriched with a liberal share of the twelve million pieces of gold that annually flowed into the royal treasury. Nothing that art could devise for its adornment was neglected. And when the city proper, with its six hundred mosques, and its vast array of palaces, seemed too narrow a field for the display of royal magnificence, a spot was chosen three miles distant, and the new city, palace, and gardens of Zehra sprung up as if by magic, at a cost of more than fifteen million dollars. "The hall of audience was encrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavillion of the garden, one of those basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished, not with water, but with the purest quicksilver." Nor did the prosperity which centered in the capital, bestow its blessings there alone. The whole country shared it. On the banks of the Guadalquivir alone, there were at one time 12,000 thriving towns and villages.

The Fatimites of Egypt passed through a similar season of luxury and pomp, though less noted in this respect than their rivals.

This time of princely revenues and outward splendor was also the period of Saracen learning. The first caliphs were by no means patrons of literature, as may be judged from the course of Omar in regard to the Alexandrian library. Neither were the first Omniades. The political convulsions that shook their realm left little time to either them or their subjects for other studies than the interpretation of the Koran. It is said, however, that Moawiah, their founder, was a friend of science, and called around him the most distinguished scholars in the country, thus sowing seed whose harvest should spring up in later and less troublous times. But in the dynasties of which we have just been speaking, there were those who brought new light to the world of letters, and spread the strange glow of Saracenic learning over the darkness of their times.

Amari is disposed to give the Persians credit for this bias of the Abbassides to literature. The revolution which placed them on the throne was essentially Persian, having been plotted in a Persian province, and carried out mainly through the agency of people of that race. "Hence," he says, "the literary glory that made the Abbassides illustrious; for the Persians, attaining under them office at court and throughout the provinces, disseminated science, cultivated it exclusively, brought it into esteem with the caliphs, and, by their example, attracted Mussulmans of all races." Thus far we think his views correct, though somewhat novel. The love of learning was not a plant indigenous to Arabia, but rather one transplanted by Providence, from Persia, as soon as the soil had been prepared for its reception. As for his further statement, that the Arabs as a race shared less than others in the new movement, we think it groundless.

Be this as it may, the Abbassides unquestionably took the lead in the good work. Almansar, the founder of Bagdad, first set the example of attention to astronomy. His grandson, Almamone, carried out the policy thus begun. From childhood, fond of learning, he chose as his companions the most famous Greek, Persian, and Chaldean scholars. After his accession to the throne, "Bagdad became the resort of poets, philosophers, and mathematicians of every country and of every creed." So great was his zeal for collecting books, that he employed the aid of his ambassadors, foreign consuls, and even generals, and hundreds of camels yearly entered the city loaded with volumes of Greek, Hebrew, and Persian literature, all of which were carefully examined, and many of them translated into Arabic. Bagdad had two or three colleges, with vast endowments, and inferior schools almost without number. For several years, it abounded with poets, historians, physicians and astronomers. The influence of the capital was felt in other places, and there were soon schools, academies and libraries in every important town.

From the realm of the Abbassides, this enthusiasm for learning spread rapidly to the other Mussulman dominions. Alexandria had more than twenty schools of philosophy; Cairo boasted

numerous colleges, and even Fez and Morocco had their vast libraries and magnificent resorts of learning.

Spain excelled, however, all the rest in this respect. Cordova, Seville and Granada had each its splendid array of colleges, schools and libraries—one of the latter at Cordova comprising over 400,000 volumes. The studies in their colleges seem to have been grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, astronomy, theology, jurisprudence and poetry. Besides constituting a study by itself, poetry was made a vehicle for other branches, even to grammar and mathematics. Contrary to the ancient spirit of the Arabs, history was cultivated with considerable assiduity. One history of Spain alone was written by six authors in succession, and consumed the labor of one hundred and fifteen years. The chief historians wrote in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In philosophy and metaphysics the Saracens made great attainments, adopting as their basis the philosophy of Aristotle, of whose works, together with those of Plato, they secured a translation through some of their Christian subjects—they being themselves incompetent to the task, through a strange aversion to the study of the ancient tongues.

The natural sciences were cultivated with great diligence and success. Medicine received particular attention, and many valuable discoveries were made, although dissection was forbidden by religious scruples. As an aid to medicine, botany received some notice, but was not carried far.

They excelled in chemistry, of which, in fact, they seem to have been the real inventors. Alchemy, indeed, had flourished long before, and had furnished the world with some few chemical processes, but there was nothing resembling a true science, till the Saracens called it into being. Their chemistry, it may be added, has transmitted proofs of its vitality even to ourselves, in the terms *alembic*, *alcohol*, and *alkali*.

As to astronomy, besides making it a mere servant of astrology, they adopted the Ptolemaic system, and of course made little real progress. They went so far, however, as to measure accurately a degree of a great circle of the earth, and determined the annual movement of the equinoxes, and the

length of a solar year. To them we owe the terms, *zenith*, *azimuth*, and *nadir*.

Besides some other services in mathematics, they "simplified the science by the adoption of the original Indian system of decadic numbers and ciphers, and of the sines in geometry; reduced the trigonometric methods of the Greeks in number; and enlarged, if not invented, algebra."

In agriculture and the working of metals, they showed great care and skill, their proficiency in the latter being proved by the exquisite temper of their famous Damascus blades. They also introduced the manufacture of silk and cotton into Spain, and made the world familiar with the production and use of paper.

"In short," says Crichton, "without exaggerating the labors of the Arabs, it may be said that we are indebted to them, not only for the revival of the exact and physical sciences, but for most of those useful arts and inventions that have wrought so total a change and given so beneficial an impulse to the literature and civilization of Europe."

Saracen science being thus coeval with two or three of the darkest centuries of European literature, and having furnished the sacred fire at which the torch of Western scholars was re-kindled, we can but mourn its own decline and ruin. And yet, we might well have expected—so truly was it an offshoot of the national power and glory—that when these went down, the same dark waves would engulf both it and them. And so it was. When the Moguls poured in their savage hordes, and made Bagdad a desolation, and the Spanish disasters, which followed not long after, closed up the second subdivision of the era of dominion, with it the light of Arabic learning went out forever. The nation has still, indeed, a few learned men, mostly grammarians and commentators on the Koran, together with here and there a fourth rate poet, but nothing worthy to bear the name of literature or claim descent from the times of the Abbassides and the Omniades of Spain.

Quitting the literary history of the Saracens, we will briefly notice their political decline, the causes which produced it, and their subsequent condition. The very brightness of the literary

light among them was really but the phosphorescent gleaming of decay. Unlike what it has been in other countries, it was there, in too great a measure, a mere outgrowth of the luxury which weakens and makes way for final disintegration, even when it charms the most with its ease and splendor. No nation can lay down arms after a long campaign, as did the Arabs, and give themselves up to its bewitching power, with nothing to impel them to vigorous activity, save at the cost of sinking into a premature and powerless old age. And when old age has once fastened upon a nation, and its vigor and vitality are gone, it may be sure its neighbors, instead of revering it the more, will only take advantage of its weakness. So it was with the Saracenic nations, though, in the case of the Abbassides, a worse thing happened than the mere loss of manly energy. As if prompted by some evil genius, they made the first symptoms of that loss an occasion for introducing to their palaces the very power that should take advantage of it, and supplant them. Motassen, the eighth of their number, first trained and trusted a guard of Turkish slaves, brought down from the wild regions of the Northeast. His successors followed his example. It did not take these strangers long to learn the weakness of their masters, and their own ability to use them as a cover of their designs. In fact, under the name of servants, they soon became the real sovereigns, deposing and installing at their pleasure those who were nominally such. Religious dissensions, too, now raged with fierceness, and at one time a sect of heretics actually pillaged Mecca. Besides, the viceroys of distant provinces found themselves, one by one, in a condition to revolt, and assert their independence, till at last the once illustrious dynasty that ruled at Bagdad was scarcely owned as royal beyond its city walls.

Now was the time for foreign inroads. Invited by their brethren already there, the Tartars came and seized on all that was left of either wealth or power. In 1258, the last of the Abbassides was conquered by the Tartar general, Hoolaku, and with him may be said to have closed the history of the Saracens as a military and political power. Their shattered strength had given way forever in their primal and chosen seat,

and though in Spain its last traces did not all die out till the lapse of two more centuries, we can hardly speak again of the Saracens as a nation.

Turning a moment to Spain, we find that the same luxury and folly produced the same legitimate results. The central power daily growing weaker, province after province became an independent sovereignty. But they did not long remain such. Too weak for resistance, one after another was forced to yield to the returning vigor of the Spaniards. Cordova and the rest of Andalusia were captured in 1231. Others fell soon after, and at length the kingdom of Granada—the last to which they clung—was wrested from them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492—thus adding to that year, besides the fame of having opened the Western world to the astonished nations, the almost equal fame of having witnessed the final downfall of a power that had awed all Europe for eight centuries.

Expelled from Sicily and Spain, and overwhelmed and lost in the tide of foes that swept over Syria and Egypt, the Saracens appear henceforth as simple Arabs, confined to their own peninsula, and split up, as before Mohammed, into countless tribes and kingdoms. The chaotic period once more returned, and Arabia is to-day, in all but faith, essentially the same as Mohammed found it—equally powerless, equally independent, and, alas! equally illiterate. Instead of sending out armies to terrify the world, it merely, as of yore, exposes the traveller within its borders to the terrors of its Bedouin robbers. Mecca, as then, is under the dominion of the Hashemites, in the person of descendants of the prophet, their allegiance to the Sultan at Constantinople being merely nominal. The city itself, however, is marked by the superlative ignorance of its citizens, and would long ago have sunk into total insignificance, had it not been for the crowds of pilgrims that still throng its streets, and annually galvanize it into a little temporary life.

One ripple in the monotony of the scene presented for the last three or four centuries, by what was once the nation of the Saracens, deserves a moment's notice before we leave the sub-

ject. In the latter part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries, the most of Arabia was again united under one government by the Wahabees—a sect of reformers so named from their founder, Abdel Wahab. The strictness of the Mohammedan ritual had become sadly relaxed, and the “most gross, corrupt, and licentious practices had crept in, even to the worship of the holy places, Mecca and Medina.” Successful in their efforts to create dislike of such a state of things, and to build themselves up into a powerful sect, the Wahabees at length attracted the attention of the Ottoman government. It undertook to put them down, and was successful after a war of several years’ duration. With their overthrow, the temporary bond of union they had formed was broken, and the affairs of Arabia settled down again to their previous dead level. And there we will leave them.

What part this strange power has taken in the world’s advancement, how far its influence was salutary, and how far it only served to block the wheels of progress, are questions we shall not venture to decide, but rather leave them as problems, to be solved by others. We have simply endeavored to portray the Saracens as they were. If our humble sketch shall accomplish nothing more, it may well bring a blush to the cheeks of our Christian readers, to mark the zeal and intrepidity of the votaries of a false religion, in comparison with that manifested then and since by the followers of the true.

ART. V.—TWO YEARS OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

The trials, responsibilities and acts of the Executive and Congress, during the last two years, will hold a distinguished position in the annals of the Republic, in all future time. They presided at an era in our nation's history. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency involved a resurrection and a revolution. The ancient, legitimate birthright of the nation had long been buried under the black flood of slavery, and the aim and effect of this election were to roll back this vicious tide, and impart vitality and controlling power to excellent principles of republican liberty. Slavery felt the shock, understood the intent, appealed to the sword, brought untold responsibilities, cares, dangers and duties to the new administration, and ruin upon itself.

Secession gave the new party a working majority in Congress, and abundant work to do. No previous administration had faced anything like the dangers and difficulties that confronted this; and the solicitude, fear and anxiety of the loyal people that these dangers should be mastered was most intense. The responsible officers were mostly new men, and the interests committed to them were so vital, so sacred, that the most hopeful and confiding were painfully anxious, and feared the result of trial. The same feeling also pervaded these same public officers. They saw, appreciated, and trembled before the work committed to their hands. The crisis was upon them, the fate of liberty was pending, and they exclaimed, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and imploringly appealed to the Christian patriots, "Pray for us."

We can only hint at the mighty work before them. Every member, branch, artery, and function of the government had been perverted from its true spirit and constitutional intent, and permeated by the hateful spirit of slavery. For years and years, slavery had been the brazen god, before which every principle, interest and policy was forced to bend. Of course the whole current, life, nature and aim of the republic, as cre-

ated by the revolutionary patriots, was reversed, and depraved. To purge out this poison, to restore the true life of liberty, to influence, to change the whole policy and aim of the nation, and infuse a devotion for human rights into all the functions and operations of this great nation, in the face of a *peaceful* opposition, strong, crafty, cunning and unscrupulous as it was certain to be, was a task demanding a high order of talent, foresight, administrative and constructive skill, and resolute, well-poised executive ability. But to do this work in opposition to all of this partisan craft, and then face the most tremendous rebellion the world ever knew, was the unexpected task of the hour, and they could not escape it.

Secession opened the discussion of fundamental principles of our Federal Union, new and difficult questions came up, and could not be set aside, a policy must be chosen, vital doctrines must be settled, novel and important principles were to be established, and complicated difficulties disposed of. The extent and limitations of the powers of the General Government; the rights of the States; the war power as against rebel States and rebel citizens; the right of secession, and the right and duty of coercion; the power of the Executive; his relations to Congress, to the courts, to the people, and many other vital principles involved in our federal system, came up in new forms, and exacted a settlement that should stand as law, and just and safe to liberty, in all future trials of the Republic. Were our rulers equal to the task? Had they the talent, the wisdom to canvass this vast field and evolve the truth?

An army, navy, millions, and perhaps billions, of money, and all the machinery of a tremendous war, on proportions unknown to modern nations, were to be created, and all the laws and regulations incident to this work, constructed and wisely adapted to this new and complicated situation; all of which required great industry, large experience, extensive learning, and sound judgment, to render the resources of the nation available, and direct these vast concerns without utter confusion and general ruin. They found the nation without money, credit, or material for defence, and no means at hand, or plan

to get means, to meet the fearful exigency which confronted them. If it required strong men to conduct the government in ordinary peaceful times, what class of men was essential to avert disgrace and destruction now? Could the ship of state be directed and saved in this exigency without the first order of talent and executive power?

We entered upon the trial of skill with fear and trembling. The most hopeful felt a stifling dread of failure; and the distrustful annoyed the world with their croakings; while the enemies of the new administration confidently gloated over the disgrace which they regarded as certain to befall it. The trial has been severe, the difficulties have been greater than any one expected, and the skill with which they have been met is now a matter of history. There have been loud complaints, bitter criticisms, emphatic condemnations, but this proves nothing. The wisest and best men of all generations have been most abused by contemporaries, and the *heroes* of history were generally *martyrs* in their own day and generation. The wiser and better the measures, the more violent and bitter the opposition of certain base elements which always abound in society. By their works we must judge them. They must be honored or condemned, according as they have done well or foolishly; served and blessed the nation by just and honorable means, or sacrificed humanity and the nation, either in their weakness or wickedness.

The tide of events has rushed rapidly along; we have lived a century in two years; the work which has been done is wonderful; the seed time and harvest have come close together; the doctrines, policy, skill, and the consequences of the new administration already appear, and the public verdict is made up. A few continue to croak, but the solid sense of the nation decides that Congress and the Executive officers of the government have met the crisis with singular ability, industry, loyalty to liberty and justice, and comprehensive statesmanship. Mistakes and blunders have occurred. The contrary would have been a miracle. But upon the whole the nation and the world may well hold thanksgivings, that men so able and true were placed in power at this perilous and important crisis. It

is not with a shadow of party bias that we write these convictions, but standing at the point where acts are valued alone for their service to humanity, we thus judge, and gratefully record our conviction and gratitude that God did peculiarly bless this nation by giving us such a class of rulers in this time of trial and danger.

The wise legislation of the Thirty-seventh Congress will ever constitute an epoch in the nation's history. But what they said and did at Washington is attributable, perhaps, quite as much to the central idea, the generic principle, which inspired them, as to any other cause. Indeed, had the old despotic ideas which were so long dominant among those in power, actuated the recent Congress, the measures which they did adopt would have been impossible, while partial, selfish, discreditable measures would have been inevitable. But inspired by love of liberty and reverence for the inalienable rights of humanity, they could not easily fail to act wisely, justly, and for the weal of all the people. Under the old ideas, the new administration must have utterly broken down in disgrace; the crisis was such that honor and success were impossible without radical reform in the principles of action; and the influence of the old order of things has all the time been the most dangerous enemy with which our rulers have had to contend. This has acted like a break, a tormenting drag, upon the efforts of the party in power.

A brief review of the acts which became laws during the Thirty-Seventh Congress, excites surprise at their number and magnitude. Never before were so many acts, so weighty, involving such immense and general interests, bearing so gravely upon the welfare of the nation in its future history, and upon the welfare of humanity at large, matured and passed by any one Congress. We can do no more than briefly allude to them in this paper.

The special session of this Congress was concerned mostly with provisions to suppress the rebellion. It has been charged that they did not appreciate the magnitude of the work before them. That may be, to some extent, true. The leaders of the rebellion confess that they did not expect a war of such

large proportions. But our public servants so fully comprehended the work before them as to provide for an army of five hundred thousand men, and an expense of four hundred millions of dollars. This was certainly a bold beginning for men who never had thought of an army in this republic exceeding fifty thousand men.

By this Congress the tariff was adjusted so as to increase the revenue, loans were authorized, and treasury notes were likewise provided for the public exigency.

In adjusting the tariff, a new order of things obtained. The doctrine that home industry should be exposed to the sharp competition of foreigners was eschewed, and home protection fully inaugurated. The doctrine of free trade is specious, but fallacious. Neither patriotism nor philanthropy is served by it. It is no permanent benefit to the world, but a positive loss, for a people to waste their means in dealing with a distant market, when, by a moderate investment in their own country, they can increase production and bring the market near their homes, and save the expense of transportation. Protection is wise and just, because it induces a people to develop the wealth of nature, and thus add to the riches of the world; it saves the waste of transportation, and adds to the force of production; it remits the tax of transportation, and accumulates that per cent. for use in production; and in the end, of course, cheapens production, and multiplies the wealth of the world. This is the policy under which we now live, and by which we are sure to prosper; the old policy is set aside, and will no longer seal our iron mines, and prohibit many forms of creative industry.

An act more particularly to be credited to the President and Senate, deserves mention here. The slave-trade had long been more than winked at by our government, to our guilt and shame. But the new officers improved the first months of power to strike a death-blow at that traffic, and earnestly set this nation in opposition to its continuance. It was a day of glory to this nation when that deed was done. Every true-hearted man breathed freer and happier. The stifling sense of a crooked, hypocritical, selfish, cruel policy, was removed, and we could look the world in the face, and claim credit for

honesty, and love of justice and humanity, in our treaties respecting this crime.

Much time, study and discussion had formerly been devoted by statesmen to discover how slavery might be allowed to curse all the territories of the nation. Various theories have been invented, the power of Congress over the question has been denied, the guaranty of the Constitution that slavery may go where it will in our national domain, asserted, and many other devices invented to open the door for its unlimited extension.

The late Congress returned to the sacred doctrines of the Declaration of Independence; all the sophistry of modern times vanished like mist before the sunlight; a law was passed forever prohibiting slavery in any and all territories now possessed, or that may be possessed, in the future, by the nation; this law assumes and asserts that liberty is the normal state of man; that slavery is unlawful, a violation of the laws of nature, and of the Constitution, and impossible in all the territories under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. Henceforth, liberty has the advantage, the law protects it, as it ought to; the thin pretence that if liberty is a natural right and God's decree, Congress need not reenact it, is dissipated, common sense and justice prevail; civil law and the Divine law agree; Congress decrees what nature demands, and liberty is forever to hold the sceptre in our vast territorial domain.

The theory of our government involves the right of the people to enter upon, own and cultivate, the unoccupied lands within the national boundaries. All aristocratic governments assume that the sovereign *owns* the soil, and may grant, give, or sell it, or refuse to sell, at pleasure, while our government holds the land only as a trustee, and is in duty bound to dispose of it for the good of those who wish to cultivate. The old antagonism between despotism and freedom shows itself here. One claims that all rights subsist in the ruler, and are given to the people as a grace, a donation, not as a right; while we hold that all rights are in the people, and rulers are only trustees, agents, servants, chosen to guard, protect, and administer those rights for the general good. Hence the

friends of human rights, the true republicans, have contended that the public lands should be given to actual settlers, and kept from the grasp of monopolies and speculators; but the despotic, the slavery element, true to its ancient hatred of popular rights, has always opposed the gift of land to the landless, and favored land monopolies.

The last Congress ordained that landless men or women may enter upon, cultivate, and own a portion of any unoccupied lands, by merely paying to the government the expense of surveying and administering as trustee. This is the first legal, practical assertion of man's right to the earth, since God gave it to him by special grant. Governments have heretofore usurped the right to the soil, which God at the beginning gave to all men. Our organic law declares the inalienable rights of man, but until now this important feature of these rights with which God has endowed him, has been opposed, denied, and its friends have before utterly failed to secure its recognition in law. But now the right is asserted in the form of law, man may obey the command of his Maker, "cultivate and subdue the earth," without paying a tax to usurpers; our government no longer acts as a tyrant, as the owner and disposer of human rights, but as guardian and protector of those rights; and every person is now warranted a home, a portion of this earth that he can call his own, if he chooses to occupy and cultivate it. This is one step, and an important one, in advance of anything in our former legislation, or that of any other people. For this wise and beneficent act, we are indebted to the influence of the dominant idea which the party in power represents. Standing up for *human rights*, this act was inevitable by the law of affinity; having the key note, the entire staff of harmony is naturally filled.

Local jealousies, hatred of freedom, and fear of its rapid growth; selfish, narrow, triangular politics, have long defeated the project of a railroad to the Pacific. Mean and false theories, motives and thoughts, inspire others like them, while noble purposes and deeds, and magnanimous undertakings, give courage and a relish for other deeds of like spirit and nature. The last Congress were elevated by their own noble deeds, fit-

ted for and inspired to undertake and complete enterprises of vast dimensions. Notwithstanding the tremendous burdens growing out of the war, they found time to digest, perfect and pass the bill for the construction of the greatest of all railroads yet projected, and one that is actually sublime and far-reaching in its effect upon the commerce and civilization of the world.

Many have scornfully asked: "Where are your strong men? Where are your Clay and Webster? Where your evidence of talent in the Thirty-seventh Congress?" If great and useful acts are any evidence of the ability of a Congress, the Thirty-seventh outshines all others in talent and industry. What Congress, since the formation of the government, has matured and passed so many important and wise measures as this? The Pacific Railroad Bill itself is enough to immortalize any Congress, were it not found in company with so many other measures equally grand and excellent.

The heart of every true Democrat has burned with indignation and shame, that the capital of the republic was accursed with slavery, and the lie given to our declaration of liberty, by the laws and practices of our own government. Prayers, protests, appeals to former Congresses, have availed nothing. President, Senate, and Assembly have unitedly and separately opposed liberty in the District of Columbia. But at last the right men hold the seats of power, and freedom is proclaimed, the crying shame is wiped away. Are not those men who made Washington a free city, who swept slavery from our national capital, worthy of immortal honor? Their names deserve to be cherished reverently, and shall be cherished so long as America is the "land of the free." What a burden that one act of emancipation lifted from the hearts of philanthropists and friends of freedom the world over? It shall be written: **THE THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS DECREED LIBERTY TO ALL MEN IN THE CAPITAL OF THE GREAT REPUBLIC;** and that shall secure to them immortal honor.

Radicals and conservatives have bitterly assailed the President and Congress for their course upon the slavery question. Perhaps they have not pursued the wisest and best possible policy; perhaps others might have bettered the case; but a

candid review of the two years of their service that have now passed, ought to satisfy all parties that they have endeavored conscientiously to act under and within the provisions of the Constitution; to by all means save the nation from destruction; and to give to liberty every advantage that the circumstances would permit. The laws confiscating rebel property were inspired by love of liberty, hatred of rebellion, desire to save the nation, and were modified by reverence for the provisions of the Constitution. The acts touching the return of escaped slaves, the disposal of the slaves of rebels, the employment of fugitives in the army, and their enrollment as soldiers, and the Proclamation of Freedom to all slaves in rebel States, have the same characteristics, and reveal great respect to the Constitution, and zeal for the liberty of all men. The situation was one of serious difficulty, requiring deep study, perception of numerous impediments, such as prejudice, self-interest, partisan jealousy, legal technicalities; and skill to manage, control and placate these elements, without detriment to human rights, and the safety of the nation, is no ordinary endowment.

Whoever might have done better under the circumstances, we are certain that such officers as had previously been in power, would have done infinitely worse, for the very good reason that they occupied a wrong stand-point, acted from wrong principles, lacked the genuine love of liberty. And when time has transpired for results to appear, the measures touching the slaves of rebels will, no doubt, be generally approved as just, politic and able. One thing is already certain, that these measures cost immense study, careful thought, and were prompted by noble patriotism, love of the Union, of justice and liberty, and have been largely serviceable in strengthening the government at home and abroad, and in weakening the rebellion. They have enlisted the approval and sympathy of the noblest elements of all nations, and secured their prayers and best wishes for our success against this slaveholders' rebellion; they have made intervention so difficult and dangerous that no foreign government dare undertake it; they place the Union unequivocally on the side of justice, and give it the

advantage of a settled policy, that God and all good men heartily approve.

Money makes the sinews of war. Brave men, who face danger without fear, who will fight with desperate courage, cannot endure the power of hunger and nakedness, and must be supplied with the munitions of war. When the rebellion began, the government was literally bankrupt; there was no money in the treasury, and credit was so low that none could be borrowed except at ruinous discount. To provide funds, to raise hundreds of millions of dollars yearly, was no trifling task. Every department of the government was concerned in this matter; and the fact that the credit of the treasury has been kept good, better than it stood before the rebellion, and is still strong and growing stronger, shows that our public servants have worked with great energy and singular ability in this department of their labors. Those are no ordinary men who have had these interests in charge. Financiers at home and in the old world are astonished at the skill with which this whole matter has been managed. The difficulties were formidable, the dangers portentous, but the Secretary, and the Committees of Congress, proved equal to the occasion, have improved confidence, and supplied funds in abundance to meet the extraordinary demands.

The Internal Tax Law is the fruit of great labor, and bears marks of profound ability and extensive knowledge. The measure is a novelty in this country; the examples of other countries were of little value to us in the construction of a tax law; our situation is peculiar, to construct a tax law by which hundreds of millions would flow into the treasury, and that would be acceptable to the people, was regarded by many as impossible. But the wisdom of Congress and the patriotism of the people have triumphed. Amendments and improvements in the law are possible and are demanded; but we point to the act and its success, and to the successful management of the entire financial concerns of the nation, as proof that we were exceedingly fortunate in having such men, to whom these interests were committed.

But the great measure of finance which promises the largest

benefits, and excites the warmest admiration, is the provision for national banking. Every one has felt the absurdity and burden of having a thousand or two kinds of currency in one nation; and profound scholars in finance have studied and labored to produce a uniform system, that would not prove a dangerous monopoly, nor an unsafe medium of exchange; but until now no satisfactory solution has been reached. At last the nation can cry, "Eureka," the solution is discovered. It really appears as if the law of the last Congress could not fail of meeting the great want of the people in this case, in a way that obviates the evils which have proved fatal to every other system which has ever been tried or suggested. This law cannot fail to mark an era in the finances of the nation; it is a tower of strength, giving stability and regularity to our money matters, and must also yield many incidental benefits of great value. It will give us a currency that is as secure as our government itself; and of uniform value in every part of the land; it can never be used for political or partisan purposes; every section of the country and class of people are equally entitled to enjoy its provisions, (for the people will undoubtedly prefer it to any other,) it will push all unsound currency from circulation; the amount put into circulation is carefully limited to the amount of public stocks deposited for security, so that the bills must be perfectly safe; it will relieve the people from the loss of discount, and the shave of brokers on uncurrent money; it will render counterfeiting practically impossible, as all the bills of the same denomination are to be alike, and the people will soon become so familiar with them as to detect counterfeits at sight; and it binds the whole nation together in common interest; for when all the money in circulation is based upon United States stocks, all will be pecuniarily interested to sustain and defend the Union; whatever militates against the stability or credit of the Union, will strike at the personal interests of every man who holds a dollar of the money issued by these national banks. Thanks for such a law.

That any laws may be useful to us, we must have a country; if rebellion ruins the Union, then all our legislation is in vain. The President, Secretaries, and members of Congress

appreciate this fact, and have resolutely, by legislation and execution, determined by all means to save the Union. For this purpose, what untold efforts have been made to create, organize, furnish, command, and protect, a great army and navy. For the present the impatient and inconsiderate may grumble and complain that little has been done, but the future generations will review what has been done during the two years past with wonder and admiration. What the President has done, what Congress has done, what the heads of departments have done, cannot be easily narrated; they have performed wonders, and we are surprised that, doing so much, they have done it so well. How well have they provided food and clothing and pay for the soldiers! How generously provided for the sick, the wounded, the relatives of the slain! On what a stupendous scale have they conducted all of the affairs of the war! Mistakes and blunders have occurred; they were inevitable; who would have made fewer of them? It is easy to find fault; it is difficult to better the task; we can more easily see errors in the past, than avoid them ourselves in the future.

The Militia Law is characterized by great earnestness to save the Union, by tender regard for the poor, the dependent, the aged and infirm. Partizans have raised an outcry against it, but having studied it as a philanthropist, a lover of liberty, and a patriot, we conclude that no other militia, or military law, that has ever been placed upon the statute book in this nation, or any other, compares with this in its equity, regard for the helpless and dependent, and the wisdom of its provisions generally. This law is a promise that the rebellion will be suppressed, the Union preserved, and all the wise and excellent laws and institutions of our country prove a lasting benefit to us and our children.

Our sketch of the measures which have characterized the government during the last two years, is brief of necessity; but it shows the animus and ability of the men in power. Do any insinuate that nothing has been done? that weakness and fanaticism have held the reins of government? that the nation was unfortunate in the man at the helm? Ask them to review the work of two years, and compare it with what any former ad-

ministration, or any other government on earth, ever did in the same time, and then decide. Has nothing been done? Have no laws of great importance been matured and passed? Have not hundreds of thousands of men been marshalled and converted into well-trained armies? Has not a mighty navy been created? Have not hundreds of millions of money been raised to pay the expenses of this tremendous war? Have not mighty battles been fought? Forts, cities and States been taken from the rebels by sword and gun? Have not the army and navy gained great conquests, held all they have gained, and been constantly gaining more? Have not the opposition, complaints, poisonous criticisms, and false accusations of political demagogues been endured with patience, and the work of saving the country pressed forward, in spite of this ingenious and tormenting opposition? Has not the government labored with ceaseless zeal, and oneness of purpose, to save the Union? Has it not sought for the best officers to command the armies, and to serve in civil stations, irrespective of party, and never abated one jot or tittle of effort, because of disappointment in the character of the men selected, or on account of the failure of plans laid with care and great expense of labor and material? Has it not done more for the lasting good of the nation, in the passage of civil acts of stupendous importance, than any other Congress since the foundation of the government?

The genius of our institutions is peculiar. We call men from the various industries of life, to conduct the vast affairs of the nation, for which they have never been trained by long experience, as in aristocratic governments. Of course the work to them is new, the ways and means must be studied and learned, and the parties must labor under great disadvantages for a time. When, however, all is peaceful, and the machinery runs on in its usual course, this embarrassment is soon overcome. But when war, civil war, of formidable proportions, bursts suddenly upon the nation, when all the power of the nation is to be developed and marshalled into service on an immense scale, how are lawyers, and merchants, and common citizens to fill the seats of power and guide the ship of state? We have seen how they may do it. The practicability, the wisdom, the safety

of our institutions and form of government are vindicated; citizen rulers, with popular support, have proved equal to the most trying crisis.

It is true that the rebellion is not quelled; disasters and disappointments have befallen our armies to some extent. But this should excite no surprise. The wonder is, that we have achieved what we have. Could the South have invaded the North with the same success? Why have they not done it? Why could they not do it? We have made progress against them; they are more and more closely and severely pressed; if we make the same progress in the year to come as we have made during the two years past, the South must submit to the Constitution against which they have rebelled. And yet some say that the war has not been wisely nor vigorously prosecuted; that the government has proved incompetent. If the rebels had made anything like the same progress against us, would these croakers have judged them incompetent? Had they ever held their own on their own territory, would they thus judge them? Do they not even now award them great skill, bravery, strategic power, in conducting their cause? Why do they praise Davis & Co. and sneer at Lincoln & Co.? Why is it said that the rebel government is managed by the abler man? We can imagine only two causes for such assertions: Impatient, ignorant zeal for the Union may cause some to do injustice to those in power. Positive sympathy for the rebellion, no doubt, does inspire most of these damaging complaints. But facts will outlive their unpatriotic criticisms, and these vindicate the government as wise to legislate, resolute, discreet, and honest in executing; as conscientiously patriotic, and determined by all means to save the nation, and *competent* to marshal and direct the resources of the nation so as to accomplish the herculean task; as far-seeing and statesmanlike in policy, enacting laws for the lasting good of the whole nation, rather than in the interests of a section or party; as devoted to justice, human rights, the weal of humanity, and thus, by their acts, setting the Republic before the world as a model of Christian civilization. Such rulers, God will bless and posterity will honor.

ART. VI.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THE LIFE OF OUR LORD upon the Earth, Considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By Samuel J. Andrews. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

[This and several of the following notices were unexpectedly crowded out of the last number.]

Strauss, when he wrote the *Life of Jesus* for the purpose of promoting infidelity, was the occasion of blessings to the church, of which he little dreamed, and which he desired less. Since the publication of that book by Strauss, the history of Jesus has become the study of the church more than it had been before since the first centuries of the Christian era. Neander soon put to press his excellent work, "*The Life of Christ*," a work that ought to have more readers in this country. More recently, "*The Life of Christ*," by Eliott, of England, has appeared. This book, on the same subject, by Andrews, is not too late to have many excellent points peculiar to itself, as well as to go over the whole ground with ability, and with profit even, to those familiar with the other works named, and others that might be named.

LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in April, May and June, 1861. By Mux Muler, M. A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford: Corresponding Member of the Imperial Institute of France. From the Second London Edition, Revised. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

This is one of the most remarkable and valuable books of our times. The investigations in the department of study to which it is devoted have already done much to throw light upon one of the most difficult portions of Genesis, in relation to the confounding of languages. Enough has been done to show that the more rigid the investigations, the more the Bible appears to be a book, in that part so often ridiculed, possessing more than human wisdom. There is no class of persons who can read at all but may be profited by this work. It will be a decided defect in every literary man's library to be without it; to the preacher who means to do his whole duty in these times, it is absolutely indispensable. What shall we say more: We urge the benevolent persons who make presents to pastors, to be sure to include this book among the things which are certain to make glad the heart of the receiver.

PRAYING AND WORKING; Being an account of what Men can do when in earnest. By Rev. William Fleming Stevenson, Dublin. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863.

We have here an account of John, Immanuel Wichern, Theodore Fliedner, John Evangelist Gossner, and Louis Harms, in their wonderful works done by the faith of the Lord Jesus in building up his kingdom. The book is, in the main, made up of interesting details, showing how these men have founded schools and hospitals, and various other humane institutions. We know of no other account of missionary operations so cheering and stimulat-

ing to the believer. If these characters had been described in a work of imagination, they would have been everywhere criticised as out of the range of possibilities. Unnatural characters they would have been called. He that reads this description will be constrained to say that they acted under the guidance of supernatural wisdom.

THE RISEN REDEEMER: The Gospel History from the Resurrection to the Day of Pentecost. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elijah the Tishbite," Translated by John T. Betts, with the sanction of the Author. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863.

To those who have read "The Suffering Saviour," and "The Tishbite," the name of Krummacher is enough to recommend anything he writes, especially upon "The Risen Saviour." "The Suffering Saviour" is one of the few books which we read over and over, and we most gladly welcome "The Risen Saviour" as the fitting sequel of the former. We opened the book with eagerness, and can say we have not been disappointed in our anticipated feast.

"The Last Day of our Lord's Passion, by Rev. William Hanna, LL. D., Author of the Life of Dr. Chalmers," from the same House, is a volume from an able pen, and very welcome to those interested in "The Suffering Saviour." These are for laymen not less than for preachers, and it will be a good day for the church when this class of books shall be more generally read by both.

A PRESENT HEAVEN. Addressed to a Friend. By the Author of the "Patience of Hope." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863. 12mo., pp. 172.

This little volume presents an admirable discussion of such questions, pertaining to Christian experience, as will always interest earnest minds, and awaken the emotion of devout hearts. In a way that is both calm and reverential, it brings home the vital truths of religion to the understanding and affections of the reader, and invests with freshness and reality the truths which all Christians endorse and very few realize. Its tone is eminently healthy, the faith which inspired it is both vigorous and child-like, and few could read it in the right spirit without finding the shadows that fall on the pathway of the Christian life disappearing, and in their place would come a serener light, and a balmy air. It rises above all controversy, but it will do much to scatter doubts; it stirs no mere enthusiasm, but it will not fail to help many a soul to endure as seeing Him who is invisible.

THE CANOE AND THE SADDLE. Adventures among the Northwestern Rivers and Forests; and Isthmiana. By Theodore Winthrop, etc. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863. 12mo., pp. 375.

Winthrop has won a place in our temple of letters, as well as in the annals of our patriotism. One after another of his works, left in manuscript, are finding the light, and his readers are numbered by thousands. Of him and his style we have already spoken. The present volume is chiefly devoted to an ac-

count of a brief experience among the Indians of the Northwest. It exhibits the same love of nature, the same elasticity of spirits, the same keen perception of the ludicrous aspects of life, the same independent style of thinking and speaking, the same appreciation of manliness and scorn of meanness and cant, which have marked all his previous works. His books exhibit great mental activity, and indicate the existence of the elements of unusual vigor and power. The present volume has interested us less than one or two of its predecessors,—partly, perhaps, because he is no more a stranger, but speaks to us with what is now a familiar voice. Still, few readers who commence the work will lay down the volume until it is thoroughly read.

THE STORY OF THE GUARD: A Chronicle of the War. By Jesse Benton Fremont. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863. 12mo., pp. 227.

The "Body-Guard" of Gen. Fremont has had a history in the progress of this war. Its brilliant dash, under Zagonyi, upon the rebel forces at Springfield, Missouri, awoke an enthusiasm throughout the whole loyal North. The treatment which both the General and his Body-Guard met at the hands of the military authorities is differently judged, and probably only partially understood by the public. But Jesse Fremont has very great confidence that she understands the merits of the case, and, as might be supposed, she has very definite opinions, which find expression in the most positive and unequivocal way. It is a woman's book, written from a heart full of the sense of wrong done to those dear to her, and resolute to vindicate the injured. She is not a smooth nor an accurate writer, but there is no lack of vigor, intensity, or pluck. It is a valuable chapter contributed to the true history of our great struggle, yet to be written. The Hungarian-English of Zagonyi is preserved in his letters, which are here freely inserted, and they serve in an admirable way to give us an insight into the character of the man and the movements; and the correspondence of the General, unstudied, simple and often descending to little details, presents him and his work in the Department of the West in an eminently favorable light. The truth respecting Fremont will probably come out in time, and he will be assigned his true position among the significant men of this period. The profits of the book go to aid the families of the Guard, many of whom have been left destitute by the calamities of the war.

THE POEMS of Adelaide A. Proctor. (Blue and Gold.) Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

There are none among this large number of poems, on miscellaneous topics, that are worthless or poor; many of them are marked by smoothness of versification, elevation of sentiment, and delicacy and beauty of expression; while a few are the fruits of a true poetic genius. She is happiest in dealing with sacred themes; while her method of handling them often seems to show decided Romish proclivities, if not a thorough devotion to the creed and ceremonialism of the Catholic church. But it is a pleasant little volume, full of the sweetness of a devout and musical soul.

THE PENTATEUCH AND THE BOOK OF JOSHUA Critically Examined by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D. D., Bishop of Natal. D. Appleton & Co. New York: 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

We gave so much space to the bishop in our last issue, that we need only say that there is nothing in this book nor the position of the man, as indicated by his titles, to one who has become acquainted with the rash and weak statements which so abound in the former volume of this infidel author. The more one reads his books, the more one loses confidence in his candor.

THE GENTLE SKEPTIC; Or Essays and Conversations of a Country Justice on the Authenticity and Truthfulness of the Old Testament Records. Edited by the Rev. C. Walworth. D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

This is a decidedly able book. Though undesigned, it replies satisfactorily to many of the objections of Colenso and other infidels. The author shows, in some parts, his papal prejudices and weaknesses; in others, he ventures upon untenable and latitudinarian grounds, but it is not only, on the whole, able, but on some important points is decidedly original, and contributes more than most books on these topics to the valuable knowledge of mankind.

ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES: Or, the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature. A Course of Six Lectures to Working Men. By Thomas H. Huxley, F. R. S., F. L. S., Professor of Natural History in the Jermyn Street School of Mines. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

This little volume is intended chiefly to give a popular statement of Darwin's theory of the "Origin of Species," and regarded in this light, is a success to be admired. In brief space, and in language intelligible to the common reader, much valuable information on several branches of Natural History, and on Geology, is communicated. The author, though so scientific, shows himself subject to prejudices against Divine Revelation; all readers in these days have need to distinguish between oysters and their shells.

PARISH PAPERS. By Norman Macleod, D. D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains, Author of "Wee Davie," "The Gold Thread." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863.

The freshness and vigor of these "papers" will not fail to commend them to all, especially to preachers. "What is Christianity? Who was Jesus Christ? What can we believe if we do not thus believe in Jesus? What if Christianity is not true?" are the questions answered in the first chapter, entitled, "Thoughts upon Christianity." "Thoughts upon the Final Judgment," is the second, of which "The Judge," "Who are to be judged?" "The Books shall be opened," and "Results of Judgment," mark the divisions. Next he speaks of "Our Future life," "In Heaven," physical, intellectual, devotional, social, active; "Of Future Punishment;" "What after Death;" "Moments in Life;" "Laborers together with God;" "Of Revivals," their need and objections to them; "The Christian congregation;" "Cure for Schism;" "The Union of Man with Man;" "Progress of Mis-

sions;" "The Mystery of Sorrow;" "The Beginning of a Year;" "Advices on entering a New Year." "The Close of the Year." Old themes truly, but they are, for the most part, put in a clear and striking light. No one who is obliged often to speak publicly on these themes, need be told how desirable and difficult it is to find anything new upon them.

MADGE: Or Night and Morning. By H. G. B. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

One of the most chaste, natural and interesting works of imagination we have fallen in with for a long time. The little daughter of a drunken father, bequeathed to the poor house by the widowed mother, who had been brought up in opulence, finds herself cruelly dealt with by the avaricious woman to whom she was bound. She is encouraged to read and to hope by the good pastor and his wife. At length she becomes a factory girl, and then a student, and then, of course, the happy wife of a worthy young man—the son of the avaricious mother who, not repenting, died in despair.

In this novel, the progress of public sentiment against slavery—one good result of the war—is plainly seen. Two or three years ago, this book would have shaded off in a very different direction from what it now does. The New England poor-house would have been worse than the slave-pen, and such like, to the end of the chapter.

THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Vol. XVI. V—Zwirner. With a Supplement. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

Five years ago the first volume of this Cyclopædia appeared, and, notwithstanding commercial revulsions and civil war, we have the last volume at the appointed time. In addition to this, we have, from the same House, two volumes of an Annual Cyclopædia of rare value, and which hereafter may be regarded as a sort of continuation of the Cyclopædia itself. This great work is a library in itself, and regarded as such, it is pecuniarily the best possible outlay. The same amount of money will not go so far in any other way, either in quantity or quality, to say nothing of the completeness. It should be one of the first works procured in all public libraries.

The leading articles are thorough, and most of them singularly complete. A goodly number of the best writers of our country have been employed upon it. The lamented William Law Symond, who gave great promise, and who had accomplished so much though he died so young, it seems had prepared an article on Wordsworth, which appears in this volume. We are glad to see his work in this closing volume. It is grateful to the feelings.

In the supplement are articles on several of the battles in the present war, as Antietam, Ball's Bluff, Baton Rouge, Bull Run, Cedar Mountain, Corinth, &c. The campaign of Chickahominy receives quite an extended notice, and, indeed, we may say that the supplement is, in the main, concerned with persons and scenes connected with the war.

We congratulate editors and publishers, for the sake of the literature of our country, upon their successful completion of the *New American Cyclopædia*.

THE ASTRONOMY OF THE BIBLE. By O. M. Mitchell, LL. D., formerly Director of the Cincinnati and Dudley Observatories; Author of "Planetary and Stellar Worlds," and "Popular Astronomy;" Late Major-General of United States Volunteers. With a Biographical Sketch. New York: Blakeman & Mason. 1868.

We were permitted to listen to a goodly portion of this Course of Lectures in New York, as they fell from the lips of their lamented author. Upon looking them over in print, we are pleased to find the popular language and illustrations are happily preserved. Though the lectures deal with the most sublime themes, the author, by his wonderful gifts, had the power to bring them down to the comprehension of those least accustomed to read and think.

The course consists of seven lectures. The first, "Astronomical Evidences of the Being of a God." This would make an excellent introduction to a treatise upon Natural Theology. It would seem impossible for any one to rise from its perusal without a profound sense of the Divine presence.

Lecture second, "The God of the Universe is Jehovah." This lecture treats of the unity, omnipotence, omniscience, eternity and omnipresence of Jehovah, showing that the deductions of science completely accord with the doctrines of the Bible.

Lecture third is upon "The Cosmogony as Revealed by the Present State of Astronomy," and the next upon "The Mosaic account of Creation, compared with the Cosmogony of the Universe, as Revealed in the actual condition of Astronomy." These are followed by the three following: "An Examination of the Astronomical Allusions in the Book of Job," "The Astronomical Miracles of the Bible Miracles of Power," and "The Language of the Bible."

The lamented author being dead, yet speaketh for the cause of science, of patriotism and of the Christian religion. It would have been no small benefaction if the whole life of the author had produced but this single volume; but how much greater that, by his noble life, he introduces it to the attention of millions, all of them to be made better for this world and the next, at least so many as read it.

THE EVIDENCE AS TO MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE. By Thomas H. Huxley, F. R. S., F. L. S., Professor of Natural History in the Jermyn Street School of Mines. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

The aim of the author in this book is to prove that man differs less in structure from the man-like apes than the said apes differ among themselves. This point being gained, the inference is that man is only one family in the same order with the said apes. Next, according to Darwin's theory of the origin of species, it is to be proved that the higher order of apes sprung from the

lower. It naturally follows that man might more easily spring from those exalted apes, than that the said exalted apes should spring from the degraded apes. The degraded apes sprung from some lower organization of animal, and the lowest animal organization from the highest vegetable organization. Vegetable life in like manner sprung from a combination of chemical elements, and, thus, it follows that the vegetable and animal kingdoms are the natural ultimate products of inorganic elements. Animal and vegetable life, with all their varied forms, are but the ultimate outgrowths of inorganic elements, without the intervention of the creative hand. In other words, the animal and vegetable kingdoms are to be wholly attributed to the development of nature alone.

The only hinderance in proving this theory seems to be that there are certain stubborn facts which are not for accommodating themselves to it. Some of the advocates seem to be ready to say with the impatient Frenchman, "so much the worse for the facts."

But putting aside for the moment these ultimate aims of these investigations on the part of infidels, we are able to say that the investigations are interesting and worthy of attention. They will, no doubt, result very differently from what some of these ardent students suppose, for they expect to bring the Bible into discredit by their learning.

It is amusing to find Huxley among the prophets. He becomes very pious and devout, as well as "progressive." "It is as if nature herself," piously remarks the author, "had foreseen the arrogance of man, and with Roman severity had provided that his intellect, by its very triumphs, should call into prominence the slaves, admonishing the conqueror that he is but dust." That is, by man's triumphs in science, he at length makes the discovery that he is but the descendant of an ape, and at once he is humbled, as when the peacock catches a glimpse of his uncomely feet.

"But if man be separated by no greater structural barrier from the brutes than they are from one another—then," says the author, "it seems to follow that if any process of physical causation can be discovered by which the genera and families of ordinary animals have been produced, that process of causation is amply sufficient to account for the origin of man. In other words, if it could be shown that the Marmosets, for example, have arisen by gradual modification of the ordinary Platyrrhini, or that both Marmosets and Platyrrhini are modifications of a primitive stock—then there would be no rational ground for doubting that man might have originated, in the one case, by the gradual modification of a man-like ape; or, in the other case, as a ramification of the same primitive stock of those apes." p. 125.

On "progressiveness," on page 131, we have the following conclusion:—"Nay, more, thoughtful men, once escaped from the blinding influences of traditional prejudice, will find in the lowly stock whence man has sprung, the best evidence of the splendor of his capacities; and will discern, in his long progress through the past, a reasonable ground for his attainment of a nobler future."

That is, since Newton was "the gradual modification of a man-like ape," "or a modification of the same primitive stock of those apes," we should be

encouraged to hope that we may become as much greater in science than Newton, as Newton was greater than "the primitive stock," and, possibly, we may grow into immortality. "The blinding influences of traditional prejudice" alluded to, are the influences of the doctrines that man was made in the image of God; that he was made a little lower than angels, and set over the rest of creation.

The volume closes with a notice of "Some Fossil Remains of Man." In this part of the book, there is an account of human remains in certain Belgian caves on the river Meuse. It was, no doubt, hoped that these remains would prove the great antiquity of man, so as to dispose of Moses forever, and, furthermore, that they would furnish the intermediate link to bridge over "the gap between Homo (man) and Troglodytes" (apes.) On the latter point, the courage does not quite come up to the demand, but, on the former, these lovers of science have scarcely a doubt that at last they have "Fossil Remains of Man." From their own statements, however, it is plain to be seen, they believe here because they want to believe. If believers in the Bible showed the same facility to manufacture the desirable evidence, which is shown by some of those who boast of their science, they would deserve to be considered the descendants from "the same original stock of those apes."

FAMILY SERMONS. By Horatio Bonar, D. D., Kelso. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1863.

The author of "Hymns of Faith and Hope" here presents fifty-two sermons, not upon domestic duties alone, but upon the gospel in general. They are each brief, to be the better adapted to family reading—one for each Sabbath during the year. Those who are acquainted with the author's previous productions, will see he has chosen his favorite themes for this volume, and with most of them he has dealt in the happiest manner.

"I WILL:" Being the Determinations of the Man of God, as found in some of the "I Wills" of the Psalms. By Philip Bennett Power, M. A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Worthing, author of the "I Wills" of Christ. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1863.

In a notice in this volume as the American edition, it is stated that *fourteen thousand* copies of this work have been sold in England. It is devotional in its spirit. Its illustrations have been gathered from much reading and observation.

First, we have the "I wills" of trust, in the treatment, or rather application of passages like the following: "I will not be afraid of ten thousand of people that have set themselves against me round about." "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." "As for me, I will call upon God, the Lord shall save me. Evening and morning, and at noon, will I pray, and cry aloud; and he shall hear my voice." "For I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me."

From these passages is derived the theme, "Trust in God despite appear-

ances." This is illustrated by scenes from the lives of those who have trusted, as Paul in shipwreck, and Luther at the Diet of Worms.

In like manner we have the treatment of the "I wills" of Ministry and Testimony; of Converse; of Teaching; of Prayer; of Prayer in Time of Trouble; of Continuance in Prayer; of Intense Prayer; of Action; of Praise; the Different Attributes of Praise; the Willing Spirit and Weak Flesh.

THE NATURAL LAWS OF HUSBANDRY. By Justus Von Liebig. Edited by John Blyth, M. D., Professor in Queen's College, Cork. New York: D. Appleton & Co. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Maine.)

When such men as Professor Liebig devote themselves for a long series of years to the study of the laws of husbandry, it indicates that that calling is beginning to be understood somewhat according to its importance. One of the strangest things in civilized lands is the fact that the calling by which the food of man and beast is brought forth from the store-house of nature should be left so much to the purest chance. The last fifty years give indications that it is not always to be so. Professor Liebig, in the introduction of this book numerates some of the hinderances to be overcome in introducing a more intelligent era in agriculture. The chief is, the indisposition of agriculturalists themselves to depart from hereditary notions.

"The opinions of practical men," he remarks, "seem to be inherited like some inveterate disease. Each regards agriculture from his own narrow point of view, and forms his conclusions of the proceedings of others from what he does himself."

The translation and reprint of the work before us are of valuable service to the agricultural interests of our country. Many agriculturalists in this country have quite overcome the prejudices to which Liebig refers, and are quite ready to welcome any light he and others can shed upon their calling. In this work he treats of the plant, the soil, action of soil on food and plants in manure, farm-yard manure, the system of farm-yard manuring, Guano, Poudrette—human excrements, earthy phosphates, ground rape cake, wood-ash, ammonia and nitric acid; and common salt, nitrate of soda, salts of ammonia, gypsum and lime. The subjects are so treated that the mere practical man can understand and apply what is communicated.

Plants are composed of two classes of constituents; one class is of combustible elements, the other of incombustible, that which remains as ashes after combustion. The combustible constituents are derived from carbonic acid, ammonia, sulphuric acid, and water. The incombustible elements are phosphoric acid, sulphuric acid, silicic acid, potash, soda, lime, magnesia, iron, and chloride of sodium.

In the process of vegetation, the plant, under proper conditions of light and heat, absorbs these constituents, which are, properly speaking, the food of plants, from the earth and air. The gaseous constituents are absorbed from the air, while the others are absorbed from the earth. The soil must contain these, or the plant cannot thrive. On this depends the whole work of

manuring the soil suitable to the given plant. Some plants require in preponderance one class of these elements, other plants another class. So, in certain soils, certain of these are present, and others absent. Thus, in adapting a given soil to a given plant, both the nature of the plant and the soil needs to be understood. Manures of a mixed kind are frequently put upon soil which requires but one or two particular constituents, and so two-thirds or more of the labor and expense are sheer waste. Hence, the analysis of soils, of manures, and of plants, is of the utmost importance in adapting soil to plants. If an apple tree, for instance, be analyzed, and its constituents ascertained, you know precisely the kind of food required to be in the soil.

The excrements of man, it is evident upon a moment's reflection, contain all the mineral matter not only of the breadstuffs, but of the meats also. It is equally evident that if these could be restored to the soil, a perfect circulation of the conditions of the life and growth of plants and animals would be established. In our country the chief portions of these excrements, especially in cities, are carried by sewerage into the sea. In older countries this is not permitted to the same extent it is in this country. The problem of returning to the soil from the sea the fertilizing agents carried thither by sewerage, is one of the greatest on the whole subject of the production of animal and vegetable food. It is a problem that does not seem to be near solution.

This book should be read by all persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. Students will find it furnishes much food for reflection. It is the result of many years of toil on the part of one of the best minds of the age on a subject of vast importance, either directly or indirectly, to all.

THE RESULTS OF SLAVERY. By Augustin Cochin, Ex-Maire and Municipal Councillor of Paris. Work Crowned by the Institute of France. Translated by Mary L. Booth. Boston: Walker, Wise & Company. 1863. 12mo., pp. 413.

This is the other part of M. Cochin's work on slavery,—the volume on the "Results of Emancipation" having been first issued in this country, and recently noticed in the *Quarterly*. Naturally, perhaps, the order of the volumes should have been reversed; but as our American statesmen and people were beginning to busy themselves in earnest with the problem of emancipation, which they were forced to undertake, the publication of the previous volume was hastened as a politic measure; while our own experience was probably giving us a more impressive view of the evil "results of slavery" than any array of facts and reasonings could possibly do. But the volume is timely even now; it can never be otherwise than instructive; while the ability displayed in it, as well as the thorough and exhaustive treatment which the subject here receives, entitle the work of Cochin to the most serious attention and the most patient study. The volume is issued in a style uniform with that of its predecessor, and they constitute, taken together, an exposition of the whole subject, at once fresh, full, reliable and convincing.

The author is a man of rare powers,—deserving, both by his scholarship and candor, his breadth of view and his philanthropic spirit, to be classed

with DeTocqueville and Gasparin. One hardly knows whether to admire most, his patient study of statistics, his skilful elucidation and grouping of facts, his keen and penetrative analysis, his logical vigor, his epigrammatic force of statement, his prompt and brilliant retorts, or his marvellous combination of self-poise and fervor. The high moral and religious tone which distinguishes him, in all the moods of his mind and all the methods of his effort, stands out conspicuous as the crowning glory of the man, and the noblest feature of his work. He seems to have read everything on the subject, and to have digested and assimilated the whole mass of material. He seems as familiar with the whole history of the anti-slavery struggle in this country as William Goodell himself; and there is not a plea in behalf of slavery, made by a religious or political partisan, that escapes his notice or fails to get his answer. With none of the personalities or the bitterness which disfigure the most sterling of our anti-slavery literature, he shows scorn of all the inhumanities and sophistries which despotism has begotten or paraded, equal to that which comes from the iron tongue of Garrison or the golden lips of Phillips. Here is an extract, showing how thoroughly he comprehends our American political life :

“ There is a powerful reason which alone explains why the South, despite so striking a social inferiority, preserves its political superiority. This is, that the North has manifold interests, is obedient to interests which conflict among themselves, is divided into parties which do not attach the same importance to the same questions; while to the South, the maintenance of slavery is a point which rules over all others and silences all secondary divisions: the men of the North vote in different ways; the men of the South vote as one man. . . . It results at once from this preponderance of the South, and the brutality of parties, that men of intellect and heart, of noble character and refined talent, inspired with a disgust of public life, have abandoned it, and live in retreat, devoting themselves to isolated labors. A handful of merchants produced Washington and his illustrious contemporaries. A rich and powerful nation has hardly a single statesman !”

Here is a specimen of his promptness at logical and epigrammatic retort :

“ Nothing is more common in American books than the following sentence: ‘ The slave is not unhappy; he would have been much more wretched in Africa, France, or England; is the free laborer less to be pitied ?’

“ I am ready for every admission, every temperament, every concession that may be wished; let us keep to the truth,—the truth, alas! is lamentable enough.

“ I am willing, therefore, to believe that the negro was more unhappy in Africa; but the question is, not to know how he was treated in the land of Mahomet, but how he should be treated in the land of Jesus Christ.

“ If our cities contain wretches more to be pitied than some negroes, it is a reason for ameliorating the condition of the whites, by no means for maintaining the condition of the blacks.

“ But we will not dispute; we will draw the same picture of the slave that he willingly draws to himself of the rich man,—the negro is happy; he eats well, he sleeps well; during his whole life he has no care for the future; no suffering to endure; he is almost constantly singing, drinking, and dancing light-heartedly, while his master lives in peace.

"This happiness is the most revolting thing of all!
"Yes, it is this which renders me indignant. because this mutual blindness is the lowest degree to which the wretch and the culprit can descend through the fatal habit of the wrong which the one endures and the other inflicts."

The following words seem almost like the cheering utterance of a prophet over our misgivings and fears:

"I write in 1861. Before the rapid course of time shall have borne away the last year of the nineteenth century, Europe will celebrate the hundredth anniversary of 1789, America will have witnessed the dawn of that of 1787. Among the men who have served the cause of justice, equality, Christian fraternity and liberty, in both worlds, more than one, perhaps, will be sleeping sadly in the tomb, despairing of his work, and prophesying to his country an inevitable descent into those two abysses which follow each other in a never-ending round, anarchy and despotism. I dare believe, I dare affirm, confiding in God, despite so many adverse appearances, that the despondent will be mistaken; and the hopeful in the right. I dare believe, I dare affirm, that, before a quarter of a century shall have passed, there will be no longer in Europe a single despot, in America a single slave."

It may be added that, instead of devoting his entire attention to the political aspects of slavery in this country, the author takes us to the Spanish colonies, to Portugal, to Brazil, to the Dutch colonies, and to Africa; and devotes a hundred pages to a discussion of the relations of Christianity and slavery,—dealing with the subject as a historian, a critic, and a Christian philosopher, happily condensing what others have said, and adding and interpreting much that is original and suggestive from his own mind.

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ARTICLE I.—THE DISCIPLINE OF LETTERS AND OF LIFE.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

The first feeling with which one comes up to a literary festival, in these days of agitation and strife, is that of relief and gratitude. The season and the surroundings add to the satisfaction. The high noon of summer lights the landscapes; the rivulets sing through the listening grasses; the forest foliage rises and swells in long undulations like a sea of liquid emerald; and the vegetation of the fields hastens through its greenness into gold. We leave the battle-fields behind us;—the desolated towns reach us with no cry of agony, and the recruiting-call, dying in the distance, leaves the ear free to fill itself with better voices. Wearied with the ceaseless din of our intense and turbulent life, it seems no common joy to sit down at the bidding and renew the fellowship of letters. It is like

* It is with real reluctance that the author finally yields to solicitation, and allows this Address, delivered before the Literary Societies of *Maine State Seminary*, at their recent Anniversary, to appear as an article for the *Quarterly*. Besides the fact that such productions have quite frequently appeared on these pages, there is an objection arising from the general want of adaptation in the style of the spoken address to the careful reader. But being published for what it was, it is left without revision.

stacking our arms to bivouac for a season beyond the call of the bugle, and the challenge of the sentry,—to live over our brighter days in meditation, and feed on the beauty and grandeur of our best ideals, not yet lost or abandoned, however far from being realized. We may well be grateful that literature still keeps its temple and holds its court,—daring still to say, in the presence of a million struggling warriors,—“The pen is mightier than the sword.” And when the *Alma Mater* sends out the annual call to her scattered children,—and is answered here only by the drum-beat and the shout of charging squadrons, and there only by the silence that settles upon the soldier’s grave where many of her best and bravest are sleeping,—we who can, may well come up with thankfulness and fill our narrowed circle with a feeling whose only fitting language is silence and tears.

The first impulse of the occasion, moreover, is to select some theme belonging to the domain of pure and genial scholarship, and thus shut out for the time all those agitating and painful topics which crowd our days and nights full to overflowing. We are prompted to say,—“Let the rebellion and the war take care of themselves, at least for the half of one week, while we seek to do such justice as we may to the claims of learning. We are here to deal, not with slavery, but with science; not with elements of civilization, but with the erudition of the classics; not with politics, but with philosophy; not with life, but with literature. Soldiers may strive,—scholars should study; bayonets may belong to war,—books are the proper tools for true workmen.”

But there is another side to this picture of literary life, and a second thought for the scholar’s consideration. Is that a true manliness which would blind the eye to sober realities in life because the sight is painful, and stop the ear against the plea of the suffering country because there is agony in the tone? Would our scholarship hold a festival and shut the doors in the face of all public spirit, and drown all human sympathies in the cup of literary gratification? In the great struggle of Christian civilization to gain and keep the mastery of the Western continent, shall our learning take no interest, and bear no part?

Our brothers are in the field; shall we give them no place in our recollection, no word of cheer in our utterances, no recognition in our inventories of life, no mention in the roll-call of those who have been schooled into nobility under the tuition of American republicanism? What are educational appliances worth without a country? and who cares to claim a country where anarchy and despotism take the place of government, and liberty scoffs at both equality and law? Who pleads for a learning that does not intensify and enlarge and elevate life? and who does not scorn the study which builds up heartless pedants instead of producing men? The only apology for our being here to-day, instead of being in Virginia or Mississippi, is to be found in the fact, if it be a fact, that we can serve the country and its cause more truly and largely by sowing the seeds of a true manhood in northern soil, than by vitalizing the Southern with our patriotic blood. There are chasms and shadows in half our homes, caused by the departure of those whose presence was a light, and who are sanctified now by the altar on which they laid themselves as gifts to the country. We only impeach learning, and show ourselves treacherous to the best instincts of the heart, when we hide our faces from the great struggle of history, and seal up our lips with silence while the moral heroism of the century marches by to glorious martyrdom.

We are summoned here by Letters, and we come from the midst of Life; we cannot disregard the call, and we cannot forget the thrilling experiences that are making us live a century in a year. A literary reverie were unworthy of us as citizens at such a crisis; a heated harangue upon the war, from any standpoint, were an impertinence on such an occasion. Let us find our theme in this two-fold claim, and the method of its treatment in the circumstances and necessities of the hour; and so consider *The Discipline evolved from Letters and from Life.*

I do not propose to revive the old controversy between practical and theoretic education,—between self-culture and the culture of the schools,—between personal experience and foreign instruction. It has often been more a war of words than of ideas. A clear definition of terms would have taken away

more than half the area of the battle-ground, and spiked some of the very heaviest of the logical guns, in the opposing batteries. The first fact is, that no man is ever really educated who does not, by the exercise of his own personal powers, reach out and take hold of the elements of mental life, and appropriate and assimilate them. No teacher, however competent, or patient, or skilful, can educate a drone. A passive mind is doomed to be a weak one. However capacious a soul may be, if it is nothing but a reservoir, without absorbents or strong digestion, it only grows feeble and dyspeptic by being crammed. Put Agassiz and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* into it, and it is rich only in its contents,—itself remains poor and despicable. All the Colleges and Faculties in the country will fail to make a scholar and a man of one who refuses to put forth his own mental powers in research and analysis, in self-development and mental appropriation. The universe is an eternal enigma to thoughtlessness, in spite of orreries and diagrams and experiments; and a college diploma is nothing but a fool's cap to one who has sought simply to suck up the stream of knowledge like a sponge, instead of turning it into fibre and fruit like a thrifty tree. In this sense, every man is self-educated who is educated at all.

On the other hand, the second fact is, that every man receives the chief elements of his educational discipline from sources—and very largely from human sources—lying without himself. One may read and become familiar with history in his own kitchen; but what would he have done without Liddell and Grote, Gibbon and Prescott, Hume and Bancroft? He may gain a mastery of the English language and literature, outside of schools; but what could he have done without the grammarians and lexicographers, the literary executors and publishers? He may revel among the classic authors, without listening to the prelections of a Greek and Latin professor; but where does he get his editions of the *Anabasis* or the *Commentaries*, the *Iliad* of Homer or the *Odes* of Horace? Does he follow the march of the constellations, and weigh the planets in his mathematical scales, without the help of the astronomers; or read the record of the older creations in the rocks without asking

Lyell or Hitchcock to interpret the writing, or Hugh Miller and Dana to illumine the misty pages? Does your self-taught man search out and classify for himself all the facts which he employs in every step of his career; and did he charge the atmosphere about him with the intellectual vitality that stirs his brain and thrills his spirit like a current of galvanism? There is but one answer. Every educated mind takes each onward and upward step aided by the arm and guided by the light of whole generations of teachers; and if he be either modest or just, he will recognize his obligations, and hasten to speak his gratitude.

It is not easy to decide which is the sorrier sight,—a strutting pedant, flourishing his new diploma as though that had changed him from a stupid undergraduate into a genuine literary aristocrat, or a merely decent, home-bred rhetorician, trying to ridicule the thorough scholarship which he cannot appreciate, or firing smutty sarcasms at the University whose refuse thoughts make up half his mental capital. A true scholarship, however and wherever developed, has no such petty prejudices and no such insufferable egotism. Hugh Miller and Sir William Hamilton admired each other like heroes, and loved like brothers; and the republic of letters has shown us few nobler or more touching scenes than that which was not long since witnessed at Cambridge, when Nathaniel Banks,—who had grown up from the “Bobbin Boy” to be the honored Governor of Massachusetts,—put into his magnificent address the modest regret that he could not call Harvard University *Alma Mater*; and Edward Everett, the consummate flower of our literary culture, generously responded for that venerable seat of learning, in the language of a classical quotation: “*Nothing is wanting to his glory, but he is wanting to ours.*”

Whether one shall study, and grow wise and strong, in the schools or out, is sometimes determined by peculiar tastes, sometimes by surroundings, sometimes by early training, sometimes by peculiar experiences, which create an attraction for one sphere and a repulsion from the other. Some natures, from inner build and chosen sphere, may get a more valuable training for themselves outside the schools than within them;

with others the question, whether they shall be bundles of weakness or sources of strength, turns upon the other question,—whether they are quickened and put upon the proper path by wise and systematic instruction.

That, however, is not the precise point to be considered. Every susceptible and teachable nature, however much it may derive from letters in the way of discipline, finds, sooner or later, that the experiences of actual life, where its forces throb and its social elements freely play, have much to do in its training. If these do not fashion, they at least modify and impress. Letters have their office, and they do their work in the discipline of minds and the training of powers; so also does life lift up its myriad voices, and touch us decisively with its more than hundred arms. The silent teachers in the library stand motionless on the shelves, but when we touch them they distil their lessons into the soul with marvellous effect; and the vocal teacher in the lecture-room keeps us hanging upon his lips as he will, while his thoughts flow along the channels of our being till the very banks are overflowed; but when we pass into the living world of men, where antagonists contend, and rivals struggle, and athletæ run; where merchants manage, and politicians plot, and generals manœuvre; where enterprise strikes into the forest, and treachery lies in wait for its prey, and piety sends up its patient prayer to heaven, straight through all the jargon of men;—then we find ourselves in another school, where the teachers fill all the air with shouting, where reveries are broken by the push of violence, and lessons come to us in the form of deeds. One is the school of letters; the other is the university of life. One disciplines by set methods, and in accordance with a prearranged plan; the other stirs and impels us, now pressing this way, now drawing that, mingling exhortation and protest, the promise of paradise with the threat of purgatory. These are the two kinds of training which offer us their ministry and bring their discipline.

They are widely separated in character and diverse in method; and there are equal differences in the estimates put upon these two schools of discipline. One chooses letters,

another prefers life. Here manhood is sought through patient study in literary quiet; there the school-room and school appliances are regarded simply as so many expedients for keeping young minds out of mischief and danger, until the time comes for putting them into the real school furnished by the stirring, practical world. One father sends his boy of fourteen off among the hills to the academy, and thence to the college and the professional school, as the surest way of building him into a real man; a neighboring father puts his son at the same age into the store of some merchant prince in the heart of the metropolis, as the only school where he is likely to rise to a mastery among his fellows.

And the products of this diverse training meet a varying reception. The pale and patient student, carrying half a score of sciences in his overgrown brain, and as many languages folded up in his flexible tongue, receives in one circle an homage only a little below worship; while a Wall street banker, or a leader in Congress, is elsewhere hailed as the highest human product of the nineteenth century. In one case we glorify letters; in the other we are framing panegyrics upon life.

There must be reasons for this profound respect awakened toward both schools of discipline,—there must be something in them and in their products deserving of regard and answering to human wants, or they would have long since been put away. Forgetting their rivalries, and listening to them without prejudice, let us hear, first, what may be pleaded in behalf of letters, as a means of human discipline, and then listen to the claims of life. The arguments shall be epitomized for the sake of brevity.

In the sphere of letters we are put in possession of the treasures accumulated by the past. In our libraries are stored the vast results of previous study. There the by-gone ages tell us what they thought, and planned, and attempted, and accomplished; and also what they hoped for without realizing; and so, through both their successes and their failures, they come to aid us in our proper undertakings, and warn us against Utopias. There whole generations give us the benefit of their experience,—workers in the fields of life pass over to us their

implements and their products, explorers report from the fields they have surveyed, souls that have been wrecked set up beacons to warn us against their fate, and great conquerors tell us how their noblest battles were won. Through letters time reports to us six thousand years of human struggle and effort. The wisest lips of all antiquity distil instruction through letters, and the great workers build their monuments on that broad domain. And thus we get the teaching of a broad experience to chasten our untried confidence and direct our presumptuous speculation.

And then, too, we are calm and thoughtful under the discipline of letters. We listen in a meditative mood; we study and accept the tasks assigned us with deliberation and care. We are appealed to on the side of reason rather than on that of impulse. The passions part with their heat in the quietude of patient study, the eye of reflection is clear, the outlook upon life is from a point removed from the excitements which come of its turmoil. There is no fierceness in the tone with which the ancient worthies speak to us from the volumes that enshrine their thought,—even the Philippics of Demosthenes put no wild fever into the blood, the struggles between patrician and plebeian draw us into no headlong partisanship, and the fierce battle of the dictionaries is only a manifest war of words.

Besides, through letters, we may choose our teachers, selecting only the wisest and best, and be sure of getting even their highest utterances. The chaff of their speech is winnowed from the wheat, and they offer us the plump, nutritious grain. We keep company only with the nobility of literature, and we sit with them chiefly in their hours of inspiration. When Homer nods we cease to listen or look; when we perceive “his eye in a fine frenzy rolling,” and his bosom heaves under his singing robes, then we wake both eye and ear to gaze on his rapt countenance, and drink in his entrancing music. We do not wait on these monarchs of thought as *valets des chambres*, where they put off their greatness; but take their fellowship when they walk in state,—every movement majestic and every word kingly.

Again, letters bring out into consciousness, activity and power, the highest and best elements of mind, which would otherwise lie latent and be overborne. Burns, following the plow over his father's field in Alloway, did indeed find the Parnasian fire kindled in his soul by the sunbeams; and Burritt heard the voices of many nations speaking to him in the roar of the wind through his blacksmith bellows; but all natures are not thus full of vital susceptibility. Even mythology makes only the statue of Memnon return the greeting of the rising day with a song,—all the rest of the chiselled gods and goddesses stood around cold and silent to the common appeal of the sun. And the inspiration of letters is needed to waken most natures into their nobler life. As many plants never come to the blossom in the open parterre, but flush out into splendor in the hot-house, so there are many minds that never reveal nor suspect their capacities in the fields of common life, but are crowned with flowers and hung with choice fruit under the special stimulus of letters. Many a poet, whose music will tremble in the air for a century, had never found the harp hanging tuned within his own spirit, had not the voice of Milton and Shakespeare shaken the strings and set the melody dropping like rain; and many a timid boy had failed to be the high priest of science, had not the lecture and laboratory drawn out his unconquerable inquisitiveness and fed his patient enthusiasm. A common fiddle may lie for years about a house, yielding now and then only a very doubtful version of "St. Martin's," or "Wait for the Waggon," until some Ole Bull or Paganini shall come along and touch it with the fingers of his genius, and then it appears an inspired Cremona, transfigured amid the glory of one of Beethoven's symphonies. What these masters might do for the viol, letters have often done for souls.

By the aid of letters we learn the significance of facts—looking beyond them to the laws which they illustrate and the principles which they symbolize. And this power of discernment and interpretation is the one great feature which separates the lower and the higher orders of mind—Von Humboldt and a Fejee Islander lived in the same world, saw the same

phenomena, had similar organs of vision, and witnessed the unrolling of the same panorama by the hand of Providence. But to them the worlds were not the same. One of them found every department of nature overcrowded with meaning,—each object had its lesson, every process was a revelation of Divine wisdom, and the whole air was full of prophetic voices. The other turned only a stupid gaze to the beauty of the landscape and the sublimity of the sea, walked irreverent beneath the solemn splendors of the sky, and raised no question over the great mysteries of life and death. The world is crowded with facts; life is brimming full of phenomena; we walk daily through a museum more rich in collections than any of which old cities can boast; the processes of life far surpass the experiments of the chemist; but we walk with a blurred vision and a stagnant and bewildered mind. It is the province of letters to yield us such a discipline as will clarify the sight, give penetration to the intellect, interpret the perplexing facts around us, make the silent Sphinx answer our questions, and put into our hands the key wherewith we may unlock the inner chambers of the world, where the wealth of knowledge has been stored as a reward for the discoverer.

And, finally, the discipline of letters proceeds according to system, and gives us continuity in its service. The work of yesterday and that of to-day are consecutive parts of a plan of training. It proceeds by regular steps, along an obvious path, to a definite goal. It does not work in spasms, nor teach in fragments. It does not mix incompatibilities. It does not confuse by employing a jargon. It frames a method with care, and then conforms to it with persistent purpose. When it prescribes needed acids, it does not allow some other mental practitioner to neutralize them with a dose of alkali. It keeps us treading steadily in one path till there is time to reach somewhere; and it insists upon one sort of industry till some specific result can be gained by the toil. And so it sanctions the unity of effort without which life is a bustling failure, and nurtures the persistence without which it is only an unfulfilled prophecy.

In behalf of the discipline of life it may be said, that the value of any training is to be measured by the efficiency which

it gives men as workers in the field of real life; and that the place to learn is chiefly among the implements which are to be used, and amid the tasks that wait to be done. As the mechanic must go to the shop, the manufacturer live among the spindles, the musician study with his fingers on the keys of the instrument, and the artist mix his pigments and try his brush in the studio; so the future actors in the drama of life must win their efficiency in the very sphere which they are hereafter to fill, and develop skill in the very service which they are hereafter to dignify. As a blacksmith cannot learn to hammer out horse-shoes by studying a treatise upon the ores; as Ruskin's "Stones of Venice" will teach no man to build a house; as a course in agricultural chemistry makes no student master of the scythe and plough; as the authorship of the military system of Europe fails to fit the writer to conquer the rebellion in America;—so it is claimed that the theoretic culture of letters can guaranty no worthy leadership in the march and struggle of life. We must learn to live by living; become workers through work; gather skill from effort; and find the path to victory while fighting on the field.

Besides, mere students of the schools, trained by letters, are apt to be theorists instead of practical men. In their devotion to what are called principles, they are in danger of being blind to facts; glorifying ideas they ignore phenomena. Devoted to what should be, they overlook what is; asserting what they call the law, they take little note of its modifications and exceptions. They steer only by the compass, forgetting the wind on the starboard bow and the sweep of the gulf stream. They are apt to insist, like the philosophers who tried Galileo, that a ten pound ball would descend ten times as fast as a one pound ball, though both click together on the pavement when the old heretic drops them from the tower of Pisa. When told that the theory belies the facts, they only reply that the facts contradict Aristotle, and must therefore be somehow put down. And seeing this is a world of facts in which we live, and with which we have to deal, it is fitting that they should school us into practical wisdom, and save us from the contest out of which nothing can come but defeat.

It may be added, as an obvious truth, that many of our scholars, when leaving the college and professional school for their spheres of effort, are, in fact, often inefficient and bewildered. Their theories and plans, so complete to the eye, fail altogether in the hand. Logic glorified them; experience shames them. They encouraged belief; but they only harass and hinder practice. They must be unlearned, or modified, or altogether put away, before any real thing is done; and half a life is sometimes gone before the mischief is at an end. It is hard to forget an early lesson; it seems little less than sacrilege to mar our scholarly ideals; and students are apt to pet their theories as a maiden pets her lover, or a young mother her child, or a rhymist at the academy his first stanzas. When a student at law gets up his first case in the office, he has it all his own way. His client is a persecuted and hidden saint; none of his witnesses balk or flinch through all the cross questioning; the panel is made up of men who love justice, who can see a point in an argument, and are generously susceptible to oratory; the judge is a personal friend, who appreciates a well-turned compliment, and the crowd are enthusiastic over the rising of a new star. Of course he walks home beside his client, whom the jury acquitted without leaving their seats,—a thousand dollars in his pocket,—the murmured applause of the populace in his ear,—pleads the naming of an early day for the wedding, and sees himself, in the distance, running a race for Congress on the inside track. Theoretically that is all easily managed. Practically it may be a little different. His patron may be an old rascal, whom decent barristers are tired of defending; the witnesses he has bribed may be forgetful, or find the lies sticking in their throats like Macbeth's Amen; the jury may be criticising the hard face of the culprit, instead of listening to the doubtful precedents; the judge may overrule some main point, and remember the sentence over the prisoner on a previous occasion; the opposing counsel may be a vigorous pleader and a sarcastic rival; and the rest may be anticipated. The client goes to prison; while the advocate goes to his office to burn his brief in vexation, and then to his boarding house, to tear up his white gloves, already growing yellow, in utter

despair. Inexperienced pedagogues always have model schools when they make them up in anticipation; the dunces all get inspired, and the mischief-makers put all their capacity into their problems;—but when the actual school opens, somehow stupidity appears on the benches, lies more or less take the place of lessons, and the friction of the educational machinery exhausts the stock of patience and power. The medical student, while hearing the lectures, and handling the manikin, and witnessing the operations in the dissecting-room, expects to frighten disease by a display of his saddle-bags, render his presence like a visit of hope in the sick room, and charge upon epidemics in a way that coerces success; but, in fact, fever looks at him with flushed and defiant face, the grip of rheumatism is too firm for his strength, consumption mocks him with reproachful stare and hollow tone, and the undertaker's hearse follows up his retreating sulky. The sermons, written at the theological seminary, and preached to the furniture, seem certain to draw like a magnet, convince like a syllogism, subdue like a bereavement, cleanse like a fountain, and inspire like a prophet's message; preached in some Sabbath pulpit, they may lull indifference to slumber, invite young minds to mischief as the only escape from tediousness, perplex simple-hearted and devout listeners, awaken the pity or sorrow of the best souls, and leave the tide of worldliness to flow on without a single added barrier to arrest its progress, or narrow its sphere, or lessen its mischiefs. The real work of life, and the way in which it is to be done, are yet to be learned in the school of life; while the lesson is rendered additionally difficult by reason of the false theories which the discipline of letters has begotten.

And yet again, it is urged, that the teachers who deal with us in the sphere of active life are effective and life-giving. Human forces may grow dreamy, or stupid, or stagnate altogether, in the student's cloister; whereas, in the school of life, the faculties are not only kept awake, but lashed into activity. Powers are taxed there to their utmost capacity. The strain upon souls is intense. Minds must work with their whole force,

and act with their whole momentum. And the inner value and the outward results of our work depend chiefly upon the thoroughness and intensity of our mental action. There is sometimes more done for us, both in the way of discipline and development, in a single hour, when the mind acts under full pressure, than is accomplished during whole weeks of low, or even of ordinary, effort. All true teachers vitalize; we take their largest gifts in their quickening. Not by multiplying materials about or within us, are we chiefly helped, but by enlarging the play and elevating the tone of our own forces. And it is in the school of life that we find and receive this energetic and quickening discipline.

And, lastly, it is claimed in behalf of the discipline of life, that the chief actors in society to-day are mostly men whose principal training has come, not from letters, but from the living world. Our merchants, manufacturers, political and social economists, inventors, projectors, capitalists and statesmen, have very generally grown up to their present stature and position without the aid of a liberal course of study. They have bent over books less, and inspected life more. They have studied man less in literature than in society, and so have come to be leaders of men and moulders of society. And that simple fact seems to constitute the proof that the school of life affords the discipline which makes great and effective workers of men who take its counsel and quickening.

These pleas for the two forms of discipline, imperfectly as they have been outlined, seem to me well-founded and forcible. If they were to be regarded as antagonistic, I do not see how either is to be put aside or satisfactorily answered. We should be somewhat in the position of the susceptible and appreciative countryman, who heard for the first time a case tried in court, and was sure that both the lawyers would get the verdict. We cannot do without the discipline of letters, and we must have the training of life. One is needed to give us breadth, the other to yield intensity. One must train the powers for work; the other indicate the sphere, supply the material, and suggest the practical methods. One must teach accuracy, the other nurture promptness. Letters are needed

to make a man a polished shaft; life must draw the bow and send it speeding straight and sure to the target.

And so what there is no time to prove must be assumed,—that discipline, to be healthy and complete, is a compound to which both letters and life make a contribution. Neither the patient scholar nor the shrewd worker is but the half of a man. To swallow a university library and then digest it, is a great gastronomic feat; so to build the Pacific Railroad, and find the work only schooling the constructor into an ambition to find a larger job, is rather a startling example of enterprise; but when America has produced the man who could do both things at once, she will have reached the educational system for which the whole world waits.

If it were allowable to draw illustrations from the circle of living men, they are at hand ready for use. The *Home Journal*, under the care of Willis, sparkles with polished wit; culture and taste appear in every paragraph, and the chastened melodies in the poet's soul sing themselves touchingly through his verse; and Bryant discourses, through the *Evening Post*, with philosophical calmness and almost classical precision upon our public affairs; but Greeley, seated on his throne,—the *New York Tribune*,—is the pontiff among journalists, after all. Grant, should you insist on it, that he is a manager,—egotistic, audacious, unjust, inconsistent, unmerciful, crotchety, plotting most deeply when clamoring most strenuously for abstract right, regardless of all consequences,—and all because he has been so largely a student of life,—yet he wields a power which the merely literary qualities alone never reach. If the perturbations which mark his movement result from the reciprocal play of forces between him and all the other bodies in the political system, it must still be confessed that they bear but a slight comparison with the immense diameter of the orbit in which he swings; for his path circles nearly the whole firmament of civil life. Charles Sumner, whose scholarship ought to be our pride, whose character and talents are our glory, whose speeches are the voicing of eternal right, would yet do a greater work for his country and his age if he would oftener come down from the tripod and deal with practical matters; and his colleague,

Henry Wilson, would win more faith, and lift our policy into nobleness, if his devotion to abstract justice were strong and marked enough to relieve him from the suspicion of being a disciple of expediency. Taken together, her Senators most worthily represent the old maternal Commonwealth;—one of them a pioneer of thought, dropping great principles like a political prophet, as he leads the way to a better future; the other taking them up as he follows on the path, framing them into statutes and crystallizing them into institutions. Abraham Lincoln's vigorous, homely, and pungent common sense could not have produced Mr. Seward's letter to Lord Lyons,—winning a brilliant victory on the field of international law, while yielding Mason and Slidell to the provoking claim of English arrogance; but no more could Mr. Seward's rhetorical diplomacy have done what the President's shrewd letter did to Erastus Corning's resolutions,—collapsing the balloon of Democratic gas in which they were making their ascension, as quietly as he would have split a rail or navigated a raft down the Mississippi. Blend these partial types in one living man, and our education will have culminated. Mrs. Stowe's Dred, seeming so absurd as a real character,—shrewd enough to found and maintain a flourishing colony of fugitives in the swamp, and yet breaking with his weird tone and stilted Jeremiads into the solemnities of the camp meeting and the colloquies of timid and hunted women;—he may, after all, prove no unfitting symbol of the composite character which our reverent meditation and our intense life-struggles shall yet produce.

The experiences of the last two years have not been without their bearing upon this subject. The war has illustrated the theme, and emphasized the lesson of this address. I can make only two or three specifications.

The masses of the South have lacked the discipline of letters. As a result, they have failed to comprehend the nature and perceive the tendencies of the false principles taught by a few ambitious and skilful leaders; and so have come to be the ignorant dupes and the misguided zealots of secession. They have not read political history,—and so they naturally mistook

the call of a demagogue for the counsel of a prophet,—State Rights for true Republicanism,—local jealousy for patriotic pride,—Calhoun for a real reformer,—Slavery for saintship,—hot passions for high principles,—the ordinance of secession for an amended version of the Declaration of Independence,—and Alexander Stephens, talking of the new corner-stone of the slave confederacy, as the ghost of Thomas Jefferson come back to curse the work which put his fame into the keeping of a grateful country. A generous culture, such as letters give, would have fortified the people against these pernicious theories that now run rampant, disclosed the fury under the flattery, and left the chivalry of the plantation to empty themselves of their gasconade at their leisure. The war is an agonized protest against ignorance, and a blood-red harvest of suffering from the seed of false principles that sowed itself in the untillied soil. It is life exposing the rottenness of our partial theories; it is the flaming autograph of God set under the statement that individual liberty and local independence are lying catch-words, save as they give unity to a nation and strength to law. We have been adding to our centrifugal forces until they have swung us far out of our orbit; there is nothing left us now but an adjustment of our theories and methods to a true political system, or go off into chaos and old night. Our armies, in their southward march, will have reached no proper goal till their feet touch the waters of the gulf; and have done no work worthy of their undertaking till they put Calhoun's disintegrating philosophy, and Wise's constituency of ignorance, and Stephen's corner-stone of despotism, into the grave together, and sow the best ideas of the nineteenth century in the overlying soil.

So, too, the war, as a part of the direct and stern discipline of life, is necessitating a review, and effecting a modification, of our moral philosophy and religious plans. Sitting where Christ showered the beatitudes, growing devout through meditation and prayer, impressed by the beauty of patience, stirred by the yearning of love, and filled with hope by the great achievements of philanthropy,—making commerce a civilizer and cotton a king,—we had come to believe that great physical

struggles for right and regeneration were no longer necessary ; and out of the " peace on earth," of the angels, we had developed the beautiful theory of non-resistance as Christ's substitute for active heroism. The theory was born of a noble idea ; some of the purest and bravest of human souls paid homage at its cradle, wise men brought gifts unto it, and not a few saints, dwelling night and day near God's altar, were newly inspired by the vision,—thinking the travail of the world was well nigh over. Pictures of peace, painted by the old prophets, were taken out and restored, while men wondered that their beauty had been so long hidden ; and a few sentences in the teachings of Christ, enjoining the love of enemies, commanding a head-long disciple to sheathe his sword, and declaring that his servants would not fight because his kingdom was not of this world, seemed overrunning with the very honey of a passive goodness. This barbaric assault upon the very fundamentals of our religious faith and our civil liberty, this presumptuous sneering at our piety, which was called pusillanimity,—this reckless and defiant challenge to defend our principles or see them spit upon before the world,—this crusade which meant nothing less than the burial of whatever had helped to make us great, and which alone we trusted would make our children noble,—this was a crucible for our peace theories that had not been foreseen. The results are apparent, and might have been easily predicted. The advocates of peace were men, and citizens, and Christians ;—not cowards, nor anchorites, nor atheists. The " League of Brotherhood " is, hence, merged in the League of the Union, with the British branch sloughed off ; and the American Peace Society gathers fifty persons at its Anniversary, who listen, in spite of the programme,—to an earnest plea for a more vigorous prosecution of the war. The old orators are chaplains in the army of the Union, repeating Cromwell's exhortation, to " Trust in God and keep the powder dry ;" some of the Vice Presidents wear a Brigadier's shoulder-straps ; and the audiences,—well, the women are making army clothing and gathering sanitary supplies, while the men are running a race with Lee for Richmond, or knocking with 200-pound Parrotts at the gates of Charleston. They do not love peace less,

nor give up their faith in the gospel; but they perceive that there is no way to win a true peace but by battering down the citadels of wrong and violence, and shaping, with battle-axe and sword, the goodly stones that are hereafter to be built into our temple of concord. They hear the Great Teacher's majestic voice, crying,—“I came not to send peace, but a sword;”—new and nobler interpretations flash from the words that once forbade the struggles that lift nations into life and put upon truth a crown; and the Bethlehem song is now heard as an adoring prophecy, whose fulfilment makes up the last earthly victory of Christ, and the grand doxology of time.

The war, too, is making a plea to our institutions of learning, beseeching them to deal with practical and living questions, and teach the minds which are trained there to make up real and vital issues when they come out to grapple with the forces of the world. It tells us that it will not answer for our scholarship to ignore life, and create a chasm, instead of multiplying bonds, between the studious few and the toiling masses. It tells us that, so far as professional life lacks acquaintance or loses sympathy with the practical, it spurns duty, and works mischief, and is sure to bring retribution. A university with a classic conservatism to represent it, or a college with a proslavery theology to speak for it, is a miserable return to society for the money put into its buildings or under the feet of its Faculty. It graduates few real men, except by accident, and gives currency to lies which come back to plague the people that trusted them.

Our educational systems are gaining in this direction, and the call of the country for its manhood has brought forth noble responses from both the sphere of letters and of life. The student and the backwoodsman march side by side like brothers to the field. The manufacturer of cloth and the professor of criticism occupy the same soldier's tent. The brain of New England and the muscle of the Northwest enter into alliance. The surface distinctions of classes melt away, under the heat that fuses all patriotic hearts into real unity, and the alchemy of suffering makes kindred even of the extremes among men. The disciple of letters furnishes the wholesome stimulus of

thought to the monotonous camp, and the toiler from the field of life lightens the load that would otherwise have crushed the soft muscle of the scholar. Both are wiser and stronger for the alliance, and the prejudices that once separated them drop away and are forgotten. The student will be less a recluse, and the worker will be less an animal henceforth. One will find a new vitality throbbing in his brain, and the other will see with a keener eye and work with a more skilful hand. Never before did literature so animate war; never before did an army march under such a weight of brain. An eminent Englishman, visiting among the tents of our encamped army, on a tour of inspection, saw a soldier, without straps or stripes, poring over a leading Review. "Do you read such works as that here?" was his surprised question. "I am looking to see if the compositor deciphered my manuscript, and set up my article correctly," was the quiet answer. That soldier student was ready for a march of twenty-five miles the next day, and only waited an order to storm a battery like a veteran.

Letters and Life! These are our teachers. The scholar and the worker! These are the products of the training. The war is showing us afresh how these interact and coact,—it shows us, too, how they sometimes counteract. We need their harmonious discipline, and we need also their two-fold result. Our great national struggle does not wholly disappoint our longing. And besides what it announces and yields, it gives us the promise, and some of the first fruits, of this broader and better training. There are names in the catalogue of our dead,—who went out from the circle of letters resolved to come back *with* the unrent banner of Union and Liberty, or *in* it,—which threaten to choke us as we try to speak them,—Ellsworth, Winthrop, Lander, Stearns, Putnam, Webster—Fuller,—ah! the list is too long, and the memories are too tender to go on. The country has written them all on her heart, and each shall have his day in her heroic calendar. But there is one that may not be omitted, even in our haste, for he has so filled the sphere of letters with his illumination, and the sphere of life with his skill and power; he has so dignified both spheres with a full manhood, and hallowed them with a sublime patri-

otism, that he stands out an almost complete product of this compound training. One knows not how to paint him in a single picture; for he appears in so many types and acts,—each one of which is too noble and beautiful to be lost. Whether in his patient study evolving the laws of dynamics and of motion; or looking out from the observatory to read the mysteries unfolded by the night; or standing before hushed audiences with rapt countenance and magnetic speech to interpret the teaching of the stars; or hastening from his home to offer his service to the country as soon as rebellion smote her; or rallying his soldiers with the whole-hearted energy which kept three armed States in the Southwest trembling for fear of his discipline; or filling the Department of the South, in a single week, with resolution and hope by his zeal and wisdom; or counselling like a father the timid men and women who hardly dared to believe their chains had fallen, and making them at once confident and submissive; or expressing the calm, uncompromising trust with which he laid down his earthly commission, and the gladness with which he went up to answer his Great Master's call,—MITCHEL is at once the glory of our letters and one of the noblest incarnations of our life.

Hail, philosopher, worker, patriot, philanthropist, Christian! Henceforth thou dwellest among the stars, thyself a Sirius in our firmament of letters, and lighting up for men, through all the nights of the future, the path of a true life. His life-lesson condenses itself into one brief sentence, which these many sentences have only sought to enforce. It is simply this,—“GO AND DO THOU LIKEWISE.”

**ART. II.—THE TRUE AND PROPER PLACE OF FEAR
IN DISTINCT AND OPPOSITE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.**

Two states are reached in the Scriptures in reference to the soul's eternity—the one that towards which the righteous and the other that towards which the wicked are tending. The one is represented by the term heaven, and the other by that of hell. The one represents an eternal good to be sought, and the other a corresponding evil to be shunned. The one is, consequently, presented as the object of *hope*, and the other of *fear*. Through the former, the mind is prompted to activity, animated with enduring gladness and deep joy, and inures itself to a "patient continuance in well doing." Through the latter, it is rendered sober, circumspect, watchful, self-distrustful, and prayerfully trustful in God. The one may be compared to weapons of offence, and the other to those of defence, in the Divine warfare in which every Christian is engaged. Through the one he wields "the sword of the Spirit," which is the word of God. Through the other he puts on the whole armor of God, that he "may be able to stand in the evil day." Without hope, the believer will not act as commanded, and without fear, he will never watchfully guard against the real evils to which he is exposed, and which, if he is not sober, circumspect and watchful, will certainly descend upon him. Hope and fear, duly balanced the one over against the other, are two all-animating principles of the Christian life, and enter as absolutely essential elements into Christian character, so essential that where they are not blended in due proportions, a properly developed and well-balanced Christian character can, by no possibility, exist.

Nor are these, as principles of action, at all incompatible with other motives to Christian activity revealed in the Scriptures—motives such as love to God, love to man, love of truth, love of virtue, and respect for duty. No one will love God the less, because he hopes for infinite good in his service, or be

the less circumspect in duty, because he apprehends infinite evil as the sure result of disobedience.

Nor is either of these, any more than the other, a sordid principle of action. When infinite good is hung out as an object of hope, he has a debased and sordid mind who does not aspire, with all the heart and with all the soul, to the attainment of that good. And when infinite perils actually encircle one, he is a dare-devil or a fool who is void of fear and watchful circumspection. No great and noble character ever yet had being in earth or in heaven, who was not actuated by great hopes, on the one hand, and rendered sober and circumspect by corresponding apprehensions of evil to be avoided, on the other.

At the present time, a prejudice, even, is entertained by some against the idea that fear, especially the fear of hell, should be entertained as an element of Christian experience. In a young convert, it is thought to be something noteworthy, that in becoming a Christian, he was not at all influenced by a fear of hell. Is this sentiment rational? Is it Christian? Is being void of this element of fear, of a real fear of hell, if our readers please, in accordance with the form and lineaments of Christian character, as God himself has portrayed it in his holy Word? This brings us to the object of the present article, which is to show, *that the element of fear, the fear of hell, must enter, as an essential element in experience, if men would possess a genuine Christian character as the same has been drawn by the finger of God, and that such a sentiment, instead of being banished from our thoughts, as being unbecoming in us, as Christians and as men, should, as an acting principle, be omnipresent with us in all the circumstances and relations of our present existence.*

On this topic, permit us to remark, in the first place, that, without this element of fear, genuine *Christian hope*, as the same is described in the Scriptures of truth, can have no dwelling-place in our hearts. Heaven itself is there presented, as an object of hope, on the one hand, and equally as an object of fear, on the other. It presents to our hope an infinite good to be gained, and gained, by "faithful continuance in well doing,"

and, to our fear, a corresponding good to be lost by evil doing. The idea of such infinite loss is also presented in the Scriptures as a specific object of fear. "Let us, therefore, fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into His rest, any of you should seem to come short of it," that is, fail to obtain it.

Nor can we, by any possibility, entertain the sentiment of fear relatively to the loss of heaven, without entertaining a corresponding fear of the opposite state represented by the term hell. Into one or the other of these states we must enter in eternity. Why should we, how can we, fear the loss of the one, unless the other is to us a proper object of fear. True Christian hope, therefore, cannot abide in our hearts, without the presence there of the sentiment of "reverence and godly fear."

If the element of fear, "godly fear," has a place at all in our character and experience, that *state represented by the term hell*, that is, *hell itself*, must, permit us to add, in the next place, be the special object of that sentiment. Is *God* an object of fear? Certainly, he is. But why? "Because he has power to cast into hell." This is the reason why we are taught that "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." Is *sin* an object of fear? and if so, why? Because, "the wages of sin is death." Whatever is presented in the Scriptures as an object of fear, is thus presented, for this reason especially, that, in its final consequences, it lands the soul in that eternal state represented by the term hell. Remove from the Scriptures the eternal and fearful verity represented by that term, and there is nothing which represents the object and cause of that fear which, according to the Scriptures, is an essential element of Christian character. He that teaches that the fear of hell should not dwell, as an actuating sentiment and principle, in our minds, does, in fact, teach that "godly fear" should have no dwelling-place there.

This sentiment of fear, the fear of hell itself, we add, in the next place, is *required* of us in the word of God, and that by the most absolute commands, on the one hand, and the most impressive admonitions, on the other. "I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear. Fear Him who after he hath killed the body, hath

power to cast into hell. Yea, I say unto you, fear Him." "Be not high-minded, but fear." "Let us, therefore, fear." "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed, lest he fall." Have you, reader, banished this fear from your mind, or refused to admit it there as an omnipresent and influential principle of action? Then you have never heeded, or have ceased to heed, the most absolute commands of Christ, and the most urgent and impressive admonitions of God himself in his holy Word. Is this wise, or prudent? Is it not infinite presumption and folly? Is he at all likely to escape the perils which encircle him, who fears not where and when God commands and admonishes him to fear? Can he have good evidence that his hope of heaven is genuine, who neglects or refuses to entertain a sentiment which God commands and admonishes him to entertain, and that as a necessary means of rendering that hope sure and steadfast? Nor can any one who is now "without God in the world," rationally hope to escape the impending doom of sin who banishes the fear of that doom from his mind. Whoever else banishes fear, the fear of hell, from his mind, let not him do it who is now under the power and doom of sin.

In addition to all that has thus far been said, we would add, that the whole mission of mercy to man, as presented in the Scriptures, is specifically addressed to the principle of hope, on the one hand, and to that of fear, on the other. "Say ye unto the righteous, it shall be well with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him. Woe unto the wicked! It shall be ill with him; for he shall eat of the fruit of his doings." Our Saviour closed his Sermon on the Mount with a formal appeal to these two distinct and opposite principles. So of his commission to his disciples to "preach the gospel to every creature." "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned." "Be not deceived," is the voice of inspired wisdom to man. "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. He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Such is the tenor of inspiration, from the beginning to the close of the Word of God. Now, when a particular senti-

ment and principle of action in us is so often and so specifically addressed by God himself, we shall heed the Divine admonition by entertaining and cherishing that sentiment, or justly subject ourselves to the charge of being "mockers," mockers whose bands of sin are being made strong. Is it wise, is it safe, for us to banish from our minds a sentiment to which God perpetually appeals, when he would induce us, as sinners, to accept of mercy, or, as Christians, to "hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast even unto the end?" Shall that be regarded as a sordid principle of action to which God appeals when he would draw the creature from death to life? Is not that "vain wisdom all, and false philosophy," too, which repudiates as a motive to obedience what God is constantly holding before the mind as such a motive? Have men, in this age of increasing light, become wiser than God? God has judged that man, advancing on the track of time, amid the perils of opening existence, needs the omnipresent influence of the two principles under consideration—hope to excite and animate and inspire to active duty and patient continuance in well-doing—and fear to induce circumspection, and caution, and ever wakeful watchfulness against impending evils. Does God know what is in man? Does God understand what springs of action in man need to be touched, to induce him to forsake the evil and seek the good? Or have modern investigators discovered that God, who made the mind, has misapprehended its laws and principles of action? No, reader. It is infinite presumption in us to repudiate, or think lightly of, a principle to which God appeals when he addresses us in respect to the interests of the soul's eternity.

There are also *certain virtues* presented in the Scriptures as absolutely essential elements of Christian character, virtues whose existence is impossible in the absence of the sentiment of fear of which we are speaking. How much is said in the Scriptures of the virtues of sobriety, circumspection, wakeful vigilance, watchfulness. "Be sober, be vigilant." "Watch therefore." "Let us not sleep as do others, but be sober." "Take to yourselves the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand." "If, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come unto thee as a

thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee." The reason everywhere assigned for these virtues is the fact of *immanent peril*, peril in regard to the interests of the soul's eternity. If such perils are not real, there is no place for these virtues, and if the peril is real, and you, reader, fear it not, you will not be wakeful or watchful against it. Without sobriety, circumspection, and watchfulness, Christian virtue is of impossible existence in our character, and where fear is wanting, these virtues can have no being. We walk carefully only when we are conscious of walking on slippery places, and appreciate the perils which encircle us. We watch only under the apprehension of danger, and where that danger so impresses our minds that we set our hearts to guard against it.

We now adduce another important reason why we should cherish the sentiment under consideration. We refer to the only condition on which we can, without infinite folly and presumption, banish that sentiment from our minds, or ignore or repudiate it as a principle of action relatively to the eternal future. It is this: Either the term hell, and all the fearful imagery employed in the Bible to shadow forth the eternal future of sin, represent no reality whatever worthy of fear, or we are in no danger at all of falling into that state. If there lies behind that term and that fearful imagery no reality adapted to awaken apprehension, and move our fear, or if we are in no peril whatever of a descent into that state, why, then, let us laugh at the imposition which inspiration has vainly attempted to palm upon us. Noah, to be sure, "moved by fear," heeded God's warnings and admonitions of approaching peril. Felix, even, "trembled," as Paul reasoned before him of "righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come." The trembling jailer cried out in an agony of fear, "Men and brethren, what shall I do to be saved?" Paul, also, though an apostle of Jesus Christ, "kept his body under," "lest he should be a cast away." All, indeed, in past ages, who have laid hold on eternal life, have made "the wrath to come" a motive for repentance for sin, and patient continuance in well-doing. We, however, in our higher wisdom, having discovered the cheat which high Heaven, which the eternal God, in his unwisdom, has so long

imposed upon the world, will no longer suffer "the thought of something after death," to "puzzle our wills." But, reader, if the term, and the terrible imagery before us, do indeed represent a dread reality, which we are in peril of rendering real in our future experience, then we glory in our shame when we cast off fear and restrain prayer, or affirm the idea that we are uninfluenced by the fear of hell. You admit that heaven discloses to you an infinite good which you are in danger of losing, and that hell discloses an infinite abyss, into which you are in real peril of descending. Yet you say that fear, fear in respect to the awards of the eternal judgment, "godly fear," has no dwelling-place in your mind. When in peril of the loss of life, health, reputation, or property, you do fear; but when encircled with perils infinite in regard to the interests of the soul's eternity, then you are in the midst of these perils without fear. Deny the fact that hell and all the dread imagery under consideration represent anything fearful at all, or the other fact, that you are in real danger in respect to such reality; or cease to tell us that you are uninfluenced by the fear of hell. Tell us not that, in your religious life you are influenced by higher motives than fear. We would, by no means, affirm that such motives do not exist. But do such motives render fear out of place in our experience when we are in the presence of realities demanding fear? The virtuous parent has, indeed, other and higher motives in caring for his children than fear. Are these motives, however, incompatible with fear, when those children are known to be in real peril? So of the interests of the soul's eternity. Motives of infinite weight impel us to care for these interests, and fear is one of these motives, and is incompatible with none of the others, but intensifies, and is intensified by them all. If, then, we would possess and preserve a hope of heaven that is "sure and steadfast," if we would heed God's positive commands and admonitions, if we would not ignore and repudiate a sentiment to which God's entire revelation to man everywhere addresses itself, if we would possess the sobriety, circumspection, and watchfulness requisite to the attainment of eternal life, if we would not appear before God and the world as mockers of God's revelations in regard to the

wages of sin, if, in short, we would regard the facts of our condition and destiny, as they are, and would feel and act accordingly, we shall not "cast off fear, nor restrain prayer" before God. We shall, on the other hand, "fear Him, who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell." May God deliver us from that spirit of mad presumption which does not fear the future of sin.

Our argument thus far has referred mainly to what the Scriptures require and teach upon this subject. We would now refer to some considerations which lie outside of such revelations. Whether "all scripture is given by inspiration of God" or not, no one can deny the fact of sin in himself and the world around him, or the possibility, to say nothing more, that a widely different and even an opposite destiny may, in a future state, attend a virtuous and sinful life. It is undeniably possible that a terrible future awaits a life of sin, a future not improperly represented by such a word as hell. Now, a proper consideration of such a future as possible, will induce, in every wise and prudent mind, an apprehension, a fear, that such a future will be actual, and to induce sobriety and circumspection in ordering our course across the track of time. Who would deny that he acts most prudently, who repents of past sin, and carefully avoids its future perpetration? The Scriptures aside, is not sin, as a certain present, and a possible future, evil, a something to be feared, and, as a fearful something, to be carefully avoided? Should not the possibilities of the eternal future make us sober, circumspect, and fearful, even, lest a reckless life, a life, also, which ignores a proper consideration of the possible relations of the present to the future, should compromise the interests of the soul's eternity? Right reason does not permit us to anticipate the future without hope. It equally demands, on the other hand, and that in view of what may happen, that we regard the deep unknown with that degree of fear which is the immutable condition of a prudent conduct of life.

If we consider also, not only the *possibilities*, but more especially the *probabilities* of a future state, we shall be most deeply penetrated with the conviction that a repudiation or ignor-

ing of the principle of fear in respect to the interests of the soul's eternity, is, of all other mental states, most unreasonable and criminal. All the analogies of observation and experience, and all the laws and principles of our moral nature, and all the natural and intuitive convictions of universal mind, tend to impress us with the deepest apprehension, that the future of sin, and a conscious liability to its commission, are proper objects of fear. How readily, for example, do evil habits obtain an almost immutable control over the mind's activities, a fact clearly indicating the probability, to say nothing more, that we are all advancing to a state of fixedness of character in good or ill, and to a degree preceding fixedness of destiny! How instinctively, also, does the consciousness of sin awaken, in universal mind, the apprehension of future retribution! He that "casts off fear and restrains prayer," is not walking in the light of all-impressive facts which lie all around him in the universe. Nor is he following the natural promptings of his own moral nature, nor the intuitive convictions of his own or of universal mind, convictions awakened by a consciousness of sin. On the other hand, he is perpetually disregarding the impressive indications of the most palpable facts and analogies of observation and experience, and as continuously suppressing and resisting the immutable promptings of his own moral nature, and the intuitive convictions and apprehensions of his own mind. One whose counsels no wise man will disregard, has thus addressed us on this all-impressive theme: "And I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear Him." To such as presented the indication of incorrigibility in sin, he addressed the fearful exclamation, "How can ye escape the damnation of hell?" While reason and facts impress us with the same convictions, we must regard it not only as unreasonable, but as infinite presumption, to ignore or repudiate a form of fear thus commended to our regard.

In arguing that fear, the fear of hell, shall have a prominent place in the moral and religious life, we have not, we repeat,

argued at all for the displacement or eclipse of any other rational principle of action, the love of God, the love of man, the love of truth, the love of virtue, the abhorrence of evil, or the hope of future good, for example. These are, by no means, antagonistic principles, and the presence of neither tends to banish from, or to weaken the influence of, any of the others, over the mind. All of them, on the other hand, when realities and facts within and around, beneath and above us, facts past, present, and future, are rationally apprehended, combine their influence to induce us to "fear God and eschew evil." There is a place for each of these mental states, where its appropriate object is before the mind, and the proper object of each state is ever thus present. When real good is in prospect, then and there is a place for hope, and when real evil impends, then and there is equally a place for fear. To fear what is the appropriate object of fear, is to feel and act rationally. To avow the absence of fear when real danger impends, is to avow our own folly and presumption. Either no peril at all, we repeat, impends over the future of sin, or we should "fear Him who, after He hath killed, hath power to cast into hell."

Nor has it been our object to give to the principle of fear a *disproportionate* place in experience. When this becomes an exclusive principle of action, sordid selfishness, and imbecility for every good work, are the necessary result. But when all other proper principles of action are duly tempered and intensified in their influence, by "reverence and godly fear," then activity becomes most efficient for good, and character takes on its brightest forms of moral and spiritual development. While character, whose chief element is fear, is always offensively selfish, peevish, and imbecile, that which is void of this element is always characterized by a good-natured indifference to good or evil, right or wrong, or by reckless fool-hardiness.

One prime object which we have had in view, in the preparation of this article, has been to correct, as far as may be, a tendency in religious thought and feeling, quite too common, and, in our judgment, alarmingly prevalent, at the present time. We refer to a tendency to ignore, and, in many instances, to disparage, the principle of fear, the fear of hell especially, in the

presentation of truth. In instances not a few, this tendency manifests itself in the almost total absence of the doctrine of retribution in pulpit ministrations. In attending upon the ministrations of many evangelical preachers, no one, from what he hears, would apprehend that the audience, any of them, are "in danger of the damnation of hell," or encircled with any form of real peril in reference to the interests of the soul's eternity. The trumpet is sounded, but *the alarm* is never heard. Now this silence in regard to this fearful verity, this ignoring of the doctrine of "eternal judgment," is, if possible, more perilous to the hearer, than an open avowal of the opposite doctrine. Such avowal would, at least, awaken inquiry, and might lead to a discovery and reception of the truth. Of this silence, on the other hand, this failure to *warn* the wicked, God has, himself, foreshadowed the result. "The wicked man shall die in his iniquity;" but his blood God will require at the watchman's hands. In other instances, while the doctrine of "eternal judgment" is not denied, and, in certain forms, advocated, the fear of hell, as a principle of action, is openly disparaged. This is really equivalent to an open advocacy of the doctrine of universal salvation. Unless this doctrine is true, so the hearer will intuitively reason, then the fear of hell is not to be ignored, or repudiated, or disparaged, as a principle of action. Hence, if the hearer sympathizes with the teachings referred to, he will naturally and consistently repudiate the doctrine which is the only appropriate object of the sentiment which is repudiated and disparaged. No other ultimate result can be reasonably anticipated from such a form of teaching. In other instances still, while no impressive representation is given of the fearful verity which the imagery, by which the doctrine of retribution is set before us in the Scriptures, represents, much pains is taken to inform the hearer that this imagery is not to be understood *literally*. While we readily admit that such forms of speech as "death," "the second death," "blackness of darkness," "outer darkness," "the worm that never dies, and the fire that is not quenched," "the lake of fire," "the wine of the wrath of God poured out without mixture in the cup of his indignation," &c., are to be understood in a figurative sense; we maintain that behind this

terrible imagery there lies a dread reality, a reality no less fearful than the imagery by which the approaching doom of sin is shadowed forth to our apprehension. Now, to teach that such forms of speech are figurative, and not, at the same time, to impress the hearer with an apprehension of the reality represented, is to disrobe language of all meaning, and leave before the mind nothing whatever to fear. But what shall we think of a form of teaching which sometimes obtains, a form in which the hearer is distinctly told that the reality is not so terrible as the imagery by which the doom of sin is shadowed forth. God is mocked by such teachings as that.

The tendency of which we are speaking no doubt had its origin in what may properly be denominated an undue prominence given to the element of fear in the great revivals which characterized the first half of the present century, and is a natural, but dangerous, reaction against such a form of presenting Divine truth. While this tendency continues, revivals will be few and far between, and conversions, where they apparently do occur, will be unattended with deep conviction of the fact and desert of sin. As a consequence, such conversions will, in very many instances, prove, in the end, not to be genuine, and when genuine, will not be marked by strong, decisive, and active developments of Christian character. Having never run in the principles and doctrines of "righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come," that by which he was himself made to tremble, and having himself never seen anything in the approaching doom of sin to awaken personal alarm, on his own account, the convert will apprehend little or nothing in the condition of sinners around him to awaken alarm in reference to the doom impending over them, and will seldom or never "warn them to flee from the wrath to come." In the church he may "have a name to live;" but he will be little more than a cipher there. It is only as ministers and Christians "know the terrors of the Lord," that they persuade men. "The glorious gospel of the blessed God" will be in the church and the world a *permanently* renovating power when and only when all its great truths and principles and native influences are everywhere, "in season and out of season," presented as living verities, and presented in due proportions.

ART. III.—THE BIBLE THE WORLD'S GREAT
NEED.

The Psalmist says, "Thy word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path." This passage expresses the work that a Divine revelation is designed to effect,—to enlighten the minds of men, to illuminate the world.

Again we read, "Darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." This is the religious condition of all nations that are destitute of the Bible. And, again, it is said, "The entrance of thy word giveth light," which expresses the moral state wrought among all people blessed with the word of God. The Bible is the moral luminary of the world, as the sun is the world's natural light. By it, God is made known in his real character, as he could, in no other way, be known. It is by this Divine light we know whom to worship, and how to worship. By it, our relations and destiny, our obligations and duties, are clearly set forth. We say with Paul, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into our hearts," and this Divine word is the medium of this heart-illumination. This is the "*more* sure word of prophecy," by "taking heed" to which, the "day dawns in our hearts." Our lost world's greatest want is the rising of this Day Star.

Let us now consider the world's relation to the Bible, and the relation of the Bible to the world:

It is a very sad reflection that at this late day,—after eighteen centuries since Divine revelation was completed, more than half the world is yet without the Bible, still in Pagan darkness. It is safe to calculate that of the *twelve hundred millions* of earth's inhabitants, not less than *eight hundred millions, i. e.*, two-thirds, are now destitute of the word of God. This is the world's greatest need. But, thanks be to God, it is his purpose to bless the whole world with the Bible, through the agency of his church. This is *our* work, and in it will any one be indolent? With Bishop Heber we inquire:

“ Shall we, whose souls are lighted
 With wisdom from on high ;
 Shall we, to men benighted,
 The lamp of life deny ?
 Salvation ! O salvation !
 The joyful sound proclaim,
 Till earth's remotest nation
 Has learned Messiah's name.”

O, no, we will not withhold this light of life from any portion of this sin-cursed world, but join with our poet again, and say :

“ Waft, waft ye winds, his story ;
 And you, ye waters, roll,
 Till, like a sea of glory,
 It spreads from pole to pole ;
 Till o'er our ransomed nature,
 The Lamb, for sinners slain,
 Redeemer, King, Creator,
 In bliss returns to reign.”

May God hasten this glorious day !

Let us not lose sight of the fact that God just as much designed the Bible for all nations as he did for any one, and for the *whole world* as much as for any part of it. And let it also be borne in mind that what the Bible has done for us as a nation, it would do for all other nations if they possessed it. And our work as Christians is to diffuse *world-wide* this Divine light.

The consideration of a few facts will show us the work to be done :

It is thought that there are now only *forty millions* of copies of Bibles in the world, which makes *one* Bible to every *thirty* persons, or *one* Bible to every *six* families ! This is indeed a *sad* picture. But when it is known that, at the beginning of this century there were only *four* million Bibles existing ; that in sixty-three years there has been a ten-fold increase of Bibles for the world's benefit, we shall see reasons to thank God and take courage.

A very great work of multiplying Bibles is to be done before the whole world can have the word of God. This is the glorious work of our noble Bible Societies! At the least estimation, the world now needs *twenty-five* times as many Bibles as are now in existence!!

But there is another point of consideration to look at, in our estimation of the world's need of the Bible, and the mission of the church in this work.

We must consider the number of languages that are spoken; and that the Bible in a foreign tongue is of no value to anybody not acquainted with that language. We are informed that there are not less than *one thousand* languages, and *three thousand* dialects spoken in the world. Now, to supply the world with the Bible, so that it may be a "light to their path," it must be translated into all these languages. God gave the world the Bible in but two languages,—the Old Testament in *Hebrew*, and the New Testament in the *Greek*; and he has made it our duty to give it to the world by translations. This translation of the Bible into the various languages is a very important part of the work of the church, now on our hands. And we rejoice to know that this glorious work is progressing encouragingly. When it is remembered that at the commencement of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, it can scarcely be said that the Bible existed in any language but the Latin; and that then it was an *unknown* book to the most of the people; and that even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Bible existed in only about *twenty* languages; and that it is now translated into *two hundred* of the principal languages now spoken, we see reason to rejoice in the progress of this part of our mission.

Giving a nation, or even a tribe, the Bible in its native tongue, is no *small* work! It is even a most glorious consummation!! On this subject a recent writer thus speaks:

"The Bible has been translated into 260 languages and dialects, and is ready for 600,000,000 of the inhabitants of the earth; but only 100,000,000 have, as yet, received it."

By this testimony, it will be seen that *half* of the earth's

inhabitants may now read the Bible if they will. Another writer thus testifies :

Within the last 58 years, 72,000,000 copies of the Bible have been circulated. Of these, Great Britain absorbed 26,000,000, the rest of Europe 25,000,000, America, 16,000,000, leaving 5,000,000 copies as the whole number distributed among the heathen. At the commencement of the century there were forty translations of the Bible. It is now printed in 196 different languages,* 146 of which are translations or versions of languages which never before had a written existence. Does the world owe no debt of gratitude to the labors of Christian missionaries?"

It is impossible to express the glory and mighty results of the reduction of the language of a nation to writing, the translation of the blessed Bible into it, thus creating a Christian literature in a new tongue. The mighty changes, and revolutions now going on in Africa, with 15,000 converts; in India, with 20,000 native Christians; in the Sandwich Islands, with 30,000 turned from dumb idols to God; in the seventy islands in the South Pacific Ocean, that are now really Christianized, (according to the testimony of Dr. Harris,) and in China, Turkey, and in Catholic Europe; give us but a slight view of the real glory of this work. Surely great changes for the better have occurred in our day. On this point we have the following testimony :

"BIBLE CIRCULATION. The following statistics are from a German periodical: In the year 1524, the bookseller Herrgott was executed at Leipzig, at the command of Duke George of Saxony, because he had sold a Bible. Another vender had his eyes pierced for the same offence. At the present day, 5,000 societies are busy to spread the Bible among Christians and heathens. The number of Bibles now current is estimated at 40,000,000 in 200 different languages, while only fifty years ago the number did not exceed 4,000,000 in 50 different languages."

This work of Bible translations, we consider with great delight, as without it all the world nearly would still lie in heathen darkness. We consider this work to be of God. As God

* This number is probably too low.

inspired men to speak and write the Bible in Hebrew and Greek only, he has since *moved* men to translate it into our tongues, thus making it "a lamp to our feet and a light to our path."

It is interesting to see at what an early period this work of Bible translation into English began.

The following table shows the manner and order of time in which the Bible was translated into English :

| DATE. | TRANSLATIONS. |
|------------|---|
| A. D. 706, | Adhelm, Saxon Psalms. |
| " 721, | Egbert's four gospels. |
| " 734, | Bede's St. John's Gospel. |
| " 880, | Alfred's version of the Psalms. |
| " 1340, | Rolle's (or Hampole's) Psalms. |
| " 1380, | Wickliff's Bible. |
| " 1526, | Tyndale's New Testament. |
| " 1530, | ———— Pentateuch. |
| " 1531, | ———— Jonah. |
| " ———, | G. Joye, Isaiah. |
| " 1534, | ————, Jeremiah, Psalms, Songs of Moses. |
| " 1535, | Coverdale's Bible. |
| " 1535, | Cranmer's Great Bible. |
| " ———, | Traverner's Bible. |
| " 1537, | Matthew's (i. e., J. Roger's Bible.) |
| " 1560, | Geneva Bible. |
| " 1560, | Bishop's Bible. |
| " 1562, | Rheims New Testament. (Roman Catholic Translation.) |
| " 1600, | Douay Bible. (Roman Catholic Translation.) |
| " 1611, | King James' version. |

But while we rejoice in these glorious "dawnings of the day-star" upon us, we cannot refrain from expressing our disapprobation of modern efforts, that have been made, and are still making, to substitute a *new* translation in the place of our common version—"King James' translation."

We have examined many of these pretended improvements of the English translation of the Bible, and feel compelled to say they are miserable failures—more objectionable by far than

our "Old fashioned Bible." Most of these attempts to improve the translation of the Bible in English, appear to us very much as did the young chorister's proposal to his pastor, to improve this verse in Dr. Watts' hymn.

"O may my heart in tune be found,
Like David's harp of solemn sound."

He wished it read thus :

"O may my heart be pure within,
Like David's Sacred violin."

To which the parson replied "Would it not be preferable, sir, to read it thus?" (sarcastically.)

"O may my heart go diddle diddle,
Like King David's sacred fiddle."

This proposed poetical improvement appears about as wise as the many pretended improvements on our English translation. To this general charge, we will except the translation of Paul's epistles, by Revs. W. J. Conybeare, and J. S. Hawson. This may be considered an improvement in some respects.

It seems to us that we now have the mind of the spirit in our common version, as nearly as uninspired men can give it to us by translation in almost every instance.

The English of our translation might, and probably ought to be, improved, and this is all that is really needed, at least for general use.

There is another obstacle in our way of giving the Bible to the whole world. There is great opposition to the Word of God within the so-called part of the Christian world.

1. The whole force of Roman Catholic power is arrayed against our Bible work, at war with the purpose to give a copy of the Bible to every family in the world.

The following facts are all the proof on this point we need.

An English paper says :

"We deeply regret to learn from a correspondent, that Escalante

has been sentenced to *nine years penal servitude for circulating the Bible*. We hope that this intelligence will stimulate the Christians of this country to more earnest prayer, followed up by vigorous and untiring effort, until the iniquitous sentence is reversed."

"The Roman Catholic Bishop of Strasburg has issued a circular recommending all persons in his diocese to burn Protestant Bibles, and all books and tracts published by Bible societies. He refers particularly to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which he calls that 'gloomy society.'"

"Advices from Bogota, South America, state that the Catholic clergy there had collected all Bibles distributed by the London Bible Society and burnt them in the public square."

But we rejoice to know that this papal power is giving way, and in spite of Rome the Bible is gaining ground, and is beginning to have "free course," comparatively, all over Italy, and in most other Catholic countries. Some writer gives us the following facts in relation to this glorious work in Italy:

"A sale of Bibles and religious books has taken place, which has surprised the Christian world, and a willingness to hear the Gospel has been displayed, quite remarkable in a land where the Bible has been so long a contraband article and the slightest taint of heresy has entailed a felon's doom. Although the first run upon these prohibited books is now past, I find, from an official paper before me, that ten colporters in the service of the Scottish National Bible Society have sold all over the land, during the year 1861, close upon 3,500 BIBLES AND TESTAMENTS and 50,000 religious books."

2. Slavery is another hinderance to the universal circulation of the Bible among all classes. The statute laws of the several slave states of this Union forbid the circulation of Bibles among the slaves under severe penalties. Thus 4,000,000 of our own countrymen, and nearly half of them are church members, are deprived of the Word of God.

But thanks to God, this mighty power, ("The sum of all villainies") is now giving way too, and soon we trust all the enslaved will become free men and women, though it be through seas of blood. And then may we give our African brethren the Word of Life as well as the Hindoos.

3. There is still another opposing influence against our work of the universal spread of the Bible, among all nations. There is at this day a very great amount of secret Infidelity, and semi-infidel principles promulgated among the people, even by professed Christians.

This "sugar-coated" infidelity is well calculated to throw doubt over the Bible, as a Divinely inspired Book, and contempt upon it as a rule of life, at least with many of our youth. What Voltaire, Paine, and other open infidels failed to do in their direct attacks upon the Bible, Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith, Bishop Colenso, and many others are trying to accomplish by a more secret and even more dangerous *doubting* of Divine inspiration.

And in this work of the devil, these men are now joined by the *Spiritites*, who have recently given us a new Bible, or, as they say, the Bible as *corrected* by the spirits of Jesus, Peter, Paul, and others. In this new version Jesus (as they say,) denies the resurrection of his body, and assumes that not until now have there ever been "Mediums" pure enough to reveal the real truth to the world.

Thus is every conceivable effort put forth by the powers of darkness to stop the spread of the Bible, and to substitute something else in its place as a rule of living.

Now then, to this great and glorious work of the salvation of this lost world, by Bible influences—by giving all nations the Word of God in their own tongue, every one should feel himself called upon to do something towards its perfect consummation. All *can* do something, as "where there is a *will* there is a way." "If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to what a man hath," or what any one can do.

The Bible is the world's only cure. In the language of another, we say,

"Finally, the universal diffusion of the Book of God will enlighten the ignorant, reform the vicious, and convert the sinner from the error of his way. It will plant churches, found schools of learning, and establish benevolent institutions. It will purify the moral atmosphere, reform society, and elevate its degraded classes. It will ban-

ish idolatry, superstition, and false doctrine, civilize savage nations, and introduce the blessings of civilization, literature, and science among all nations."

We have a most noble testimony in favor of the Bible as the book of Books, from Sir Wm. Jones, as follows :

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject ; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence, *the Scriptures*, contains independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, finer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass, from all the other books that were ever compiled in any age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form of style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning ; the *antiquity* of these compositions no man doubts ; and the unrestrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication is a solid ground of belief that they were *genuine* compositions, and consequently inspired."

In conclusion, we may be allowed to give Bishop Simpson's short and most conclusive argument in favor of the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

"There are four grand arguments for the truth of the Bible. The first is the miracles on record ; the second, the prophecies ; the third, the goodness of the doctrine : the fourth, the moral character of the penmen. The miracles flow from Divine power ; the prophecies, from Divine understanding ; the excellence of the doctrine, from Divine goodness ; the moral character of the penmen, from Divine purity. Thus, Christianity is built upon these four immovable pillars, the power, the understanding, the goodness, the purity of God. The Bible must be one of these things ; either an invention of good men, or good angels ; of bad men, or bad angels ; or a revelation from God. But it could not be the invention of good men, or angels ; for they neither would nor could make a book telling lies at the time, saying, 'Thus saith the Lord,' when they knew it all to be their own invention. It could not be the invention of wicked men, or devils, for they could not make a book which commands all duty, which forbids all sin, and which condemns their souls to all eternity. The conclusion is irresistible—the Bible must be given by Divine inspiration."

ART. IV—GOD'S CARE FOR OUR NATION.

Denial of Providence is a common sin. Our fathers recognized God in everything; many of their sons recognize him in nothing. The great prosperity of this nation has engendered skepticism. We have felt ourselves so capable, "so smart," ingenious, enterprising, that we could do anything, succeed everywhere, that no obstacles could defeat us, and no enterprise prove too hard for us. The next step after such pride, self-confidence, and even vanity, is disbelief in Providence. When men cease to *feel* dependence, they will deny that they are dependent: when our people became so self-confident that they did not feel the need of Divine support and guidance, they began to deny that such guidance was available. God has been formally recognized by public men, but it was unusual to find one who really believed that He interfered at all in the affairs of the nation.

This unbelief weakened our sense of obligation to God, and encouraged the dangerous notion that we might violate the eternal law, trample on justice, wrong God's poor, and yet escape the penalty. The idea of fearing the Divine judgments, of "trembling at his Word," of respecting the "higher law," was a common subject of ridicule, and the conscientious were deliberately exhorted to "conquer their prejudices," or in other words, to banish all respect for truth and justice from their minds, and embrace the infidel doctrine that, "conscience has no business in politics."

Ministers of the Gospel even, were perverted by this poison, and lifted up their voices to encourage the perfidious unbelief of the nation. Do we not all remember the discussions provoked by the Fugitive Slave Act? Do we not recollect the scorn, the abuse which was hurled against the Hon. Wm. H. Seward and his friends, and those clergymen who stood faithful to the Bible, because they asserted that there was a "higher law," to which the nation was amenable? To refresh the memory of the reader, we will give a brief extract from a sermon of Doctor J. C. Lord, of Buffalo, delivered in 1850, and

published by the "*Union Safety Committee.*" (We ought to say, however, that the Doctor is now doing nobly to sustain the Government, and boldly advocates the total extirpation of slavery.) He then said:

"To allege that there is a 'higher law,' which makes slavery, *per se*, sinful and that all legislation which protects the right of the master, and enjoins the re-delivery of the slave, is necessarily void and without authority, and may be conscientiously resisted by arms and violence, is an infidel position, which is contradicted by both Testaments;—which may be taught in the gospel of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and in the revelation of skeptics and Jacobins, who promised France, half a century ago, universal equality and fraternity; a gospel whose baptism was blood, a revelation whose sacrament was crime; but it cannot be found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or in the revelation of God's will to men.

Governments have jurisdiction over men in all affairs which belong peculiarly to the present life; in all the temporal relations which bind societies, communities, and families together, in respect to all rights of persons, and property, and their enforcement and penalties.

The decision of governments upon matters within their jurisdiction, though they may be erroneous, are yet, from the necessity of the case, absolute.

It is somewhat singular that those whose consciences have been so much aroused in regard to a 'higher law' than the Constitution, should have forgotten in their contemplation of moral and religious questions, that the observance of the compact between the North and the South, falls within the moral rule which enjoins good faith, honesty and integrity among men."

When clergymen, of Doctor Lord's ability and power, are pushed by public sentiment to protest against the moral sense of the people, and argue and plead that they may have less reverence for the Divine law, less fear of violating it, less faith in God's immediate concern in the affairs of governments, and our duty to fear and obey him as citizens, as well as Christians, there can be no doubt of the apostasy and depravity of the public conscience on these points. The faith of the Revolutionary patriots had certainly been forgotten; yea more, it had come to be despised, scorned by the prominent men of modern days.

When Gov. Seymour of New York devoted a considerable por-

tion of his message to an assault upon New England, its sentiments, and spirit, it signified dislike of the doctrine that God rules among the nations, and holds men accountable. That doctrine was the support, the guide and the glory of the Pilgrims, and for this cause they were uncompromising friends of freedom; they held that justice and judgment must permeate the institutions of government, and that God would destroy those nations who trampled justice under foot. The man who represents the opposite doctrine is governor of the Empire State, and his voice is therefore raised against the people of New England, though not against them, but against their spirit, against recognition of God, justice, providential control in government, and a terrific shout of response is heard from his partisan friends in all quarters of the land. "Down with New England! Down with religion in politics! Down with conscience, honesty and liberty in government," is their cry.

"Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath and vex them in his hot displeasure."

"And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of earth, and none can stay his hands, or say unto him; What doest thou?"

It may be superstitious, and excite the ire of those who have ruled this nation for two score of years, but we glory in the belief, that these words, from the sacred oracles, are true, without limitation or qualification. And God is now vindicating their truth. His hand is seen and recognized in the terrible experiences now passing in the nation. And we shall survive or perish according as we return to the faith of our fathers, or persist in our reckless infidelity. God will be honored by this nation, or he will destroy it. We must practically accept

the truth that Jehovah reigns and holds our national destiny in his hands. To this state we must come, this lesson, our **Father** is resolved to teach us; his rod will not be removed until we learn it. God has not forsaken us, his chastisements *prove this*, and he will not do it if we will listen to his counsel, but we can be saved only through repentance and blood.

Our hope for the future rests on our faith in God's love, and care for our weal. We have many evidences that he chastises us in love, to purge away our sins and make us a better and more useful people. It is better that he should afflict and save us, than leave us to our own devices to perish, as we surely should. Some evidences that he purposes our salvation and will ultimately effect it, we propose to record. **OUR FIRST REASON IS—***He ardently desires the success of the principles and interests at stake.*

What are these? All that are involved in Christian civilization. For two thousand years these principles have been struggling for embodiment in civil government, but the political and social elements of the world have resisted their progress. The gospel imparted a regenerating impulse to the world, and received a mighty resistance at every point. It has only been by slow, gradual attrition that the ideas of the gospel have supplanted, even in Christian minds, the partial, selfish, one-sided notions of the world respecting civil rights. The gospel teaches that all men are of one blood, that the *rights* of the poorest and weakest deserve protection and respect, just as much as those of the rich and powerful, that the *rights* of all are equally sacred, and that they are so sacred that no man can violate them and be guiltless.

And this is what is meant by being created equal, and being endowed by inalienable rights. This Christian idea stands opposed to the political and social theories of all ancient and of most modern nations: Even in the republics of Greece and Rome, human rights were held to be contingent, subject to the demands and fancies of the ruling power. When a majority of a people oppress the minority, as the ancient republics did, they violated the Christian idea, as really as Nero did in his cruel-

ties. For there is sometimes a vast difference between the voice of a majority, and justice. "*Vox populi vox Dei*," the ancient democratic adage, is not true, except when the people decree justice. The majority has no right to wrong the minority; the strong may not, on any account, oppress the weak.

Ancient republics claimed that the majority should rule, and that being a majority justified their decrees; but the gospel teaches that whoever rules are bound to rule in righteousness; and protect the rights of every man. Life, liberty, and opportunity to make life valuable, honorable and happy, are taught as rights inseparable from humanity; this is a Christian axiom, a first principle of government, majorities and minorities, democracies and kings, are imperatively forbidden all violation of this truth, which was settled by the Eternal, and placed beyond and above the jurisdiction of earthly powers.

The opposite doctrine, that governments bestow civil rights, and may give or take them away, has ever prevailed in Asia, Africa, and mostly in Europe, and has always resisted the gospel idea, and will resist it to the last. The Christian idea struggled into form, in the thirty years war of the Dutch Republic.

For two hundred years in England, it kept up a perpetual warfare against the crown party, and the doctrine that some were born to rule and others to serve. Just in proportion as the Word of God was understood and revered, these Christian ideas became better defined, and potently expressed. And in all of these long conflicts, God ruled and disposed so as to help the Christian side and weaken the other, thus proving His devotion to Christian ideas in civil government. And why should he not stand by his own truth? Is it strange that he destroyed the wisdom of his enemies, so that such men as Bishop Laud, Judge Jeffries, Charles I. and II., and James II. actually helped the cause of liberty, and weakened their own side by their folly, even more than the wisdom and zeal of the Puritans could do for liberty and the overthrow of despotism?

Their severe measures, into which they foolishly run, *drove* thousands of moderate men from the royal party and the established church, who never could have been drawn thence by the appeals of the Puritans.

This consummation was contemplated when the gospel was given; the leaven was placed in the measures of error, for this very purpose; and the world might have known that after God had so carefully incorporated these principles in the Christian system, and set up the machinery for the regeneration of society and conversion of the nations to the truth, he would by no means fail to give them his constant, vigorous support. Will he now abandon these regenerative forces when found in an advanced state of organized life, on this new continent especially consecrated to their culture, growth and glory? Will he allow the concentrated tyranny, usurpation, and barbarism of the old worlds, as found in American slavery, to now engulf and destroy this sacred gift to man? Did he not guide our fathers to these shores and plant Christian civilization here? Did he not choose this continent as the field for its untrammelled growth? And will he now abandon his own cause? His immutable and glorious nature answers, no, never! His providence since the world began, delivering his friends and confounding his enemies, answers, no! He has set his hand to the work of incorporating the excellent principles of Christianity into civil government; he has carried forward the work until it has become a moral power in the earth, demolishing the bastiles of oppression, and giving hope to the peoples, who have been crushed by human usurpation, and He will not allow it to fall, nor suffer disgrace. No, he will vindicate, honor and defend his own cause.

2. *We have assurance of this in the early history of our government.*

The oppressions and follies of the old world, drove lovers of liberty to these shores, where their ideas could attain a more complete development, than was possible amidst the prejudices of the old world. Political and religious liberty won a great advantage in that move. The folly and greed of tyrants at home, drove the colonies to declare their independence and set up a government for themselves, based upon their own ideas of liberty. If King George and his counsellors had not been blinded, and left by God to destroy the cause they designed to establish, the Declaration never would have been made.

It is marvellous that the revolution was a success. England

was strong; one-third of the people in the colonies were averse to separation; red-hot tories were abundant; the whole population was only about equal to that of the present State of Ohio; these were poor, without arms or munitions, and scattered over an immense territory, without means of communication; seven years the war continued; the hardships, darkness, gloom of those years no one can tell; conspiracies, treason, fraud, jealousy, cowardice assailed the cause of freedom on the one side, and a well appointed army and navy on the other; while a small, poorly fed, poorly armed, and unpaid army withstood these enemies for seven tedious years.

They were victors, because God helped them; there is no other reasonable solution of the case.

After Independence was acknowledged, was it possible to organize the ideas of the Revolution, and establish a permanent government? That was doubtful. Considering the state of the colonies, it seemed all but impossible. The attempts of revolutionary parties, in other days, gave little encouragement. But it was done, the Constitution was framed, and adopted. That Constitution is the most sublime political document the world has ever seen. Its adoption by the people was a moral miracle. Those men who framed it must have been almost inspired. More than human wisdom certainly endowed them. The Preamble is the key-note to the whole document.

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.”

The more we study the language, scope, spirit, comprehensiveness of this document, and consider the times of its construction and adoption, the more deeply are we impressed with the unusual wisdom of its authors, and the especial superintendence of Jehovah in the whole affair. It is marvellous how state rights, personal liberty, executive, legislative and judicial functions and prerogatives, foreign and domestic relations and interests, national and state authority, were combined, balanced,

defined, protected, and limited so as to make a system so harmonious, and conservative of liberty, order, and power. How strange that no aristocratic elements secured recognition, for not a few of the people cherished them!—that slavery was carefully excluded from its provisions, and even its language, so that when that relic of barbarism is purged away, not a provision of the Constitution will become useless or inoperative, and no record of slavery call for erasure! Does not God's hand appear in all of this? Did He not decree the birth of this Constitution as a chart of liberty till the world ends? Will He allow the world to go back from this advanced position, and lose the advantage of this stupendous victory of Christian ideas? No, verily; his providence in creating and establishing the Constitution, guarantees that the present troubles will only remove the dross, and destroy the poison, which corrupt men have attached to it. They will introduce a broader, more truthful, and comprehensive interpretation of that document; its excellences, its wealth of wisdom, its fulness of liberty, vigorous, mighty, all-controlling, glorious, will shine with new effulgence, but He will not let it fail. The attempts to degrade it to the service of slavery, to amend it so as to give oppression an honored seat under its ægis, will bring into more bold relief its utter antagonism to all that is oppressive, unjust, and wrongful to men, and show that its whole tone, spirit, life, power, are a terror to oppressors, and a praise to them that do well.

The hand writing of Jehovah is upon that Constitution, and upon every page of our early history, and the eye of faith and piety clearly discerns his seal, his warranty of protection. He has a mighty and glorious mission for this nation yet. The seed that he has sown and nurtured with so much care, he will protect unto the harvest; when this entire continent shall be beautified and blessed by the triumph of Christian civilization, and shall send this gospel of liberty to the nations of the whole earth.

3. *The history of the anti-slavery discussion proves God's care for us.*

Slavery has threatened to destroy Christian freedom. Its

life is wholly opposed to the first principles of liberty. Our Constitution rests upon the axiom that human liberty is *in-alienable*. Slavery denies this, and in denying it, denies all inalienable rights, and asserts the old Asiatic doctrine, that man's rights are contingent, gifts of the accidental ruler, may be taken away, limited, bought and sold, at the discretion of those in power; that "might makes right." Thirty years since, the danger threatening us was discovered by a few, and they cried aloud to alarm the nation. But their cry was met by persecution, violence, abuse of every kind, even unto death, by church and state. How could this feeble few withstand such a terrible opposition? Had not God used their enemies to help the cause of freedom, they would have been overwhelmed, discouraged, and their light extinguished. But the mobs, the arsons, the murders, aroused the sympathies of the people, provoked discussion, scattered the light, and did more for the cause than was done by the eloquence of its advocates. So at every stage of the anti-slavery war, when freedom's advocates have become disheartened, and the prospects gloomy, their enemies have done something to arouse the drooping spirits, and make converts to their faith.

As the violent, reckless, oppressive course of the church and crown party in England, in the days of Laud and Jeffries, drove thousands from their party to the Puritan side, so for thirty years the enemies of freedom have behaved with such disregard of all honor, justice, or good sense, that they have multiplied over and over again the ranks of abolitionists; they have done more to abolitionize the nation, than all the eloquence of the friends of freedom could do. They did not intend it, but God did, and every move that they made to extinguish anti-slavery fire, fanned the flame to greater violence; and the more they strove to protect their party lines, the more desertions were multiplied. So God used them to destroy their own cause. He did not *make* them ugly, but he so controlled the exhibitions and plans of their sinful leaders, as to bring them to shame, and to honor liberty. How visibly we see his hand in the whole course of this conflict!

The violent efforts to exclude the discussion of slavery from

Congress, only made the discussion more earnest, and attracted the attention of the nation to it. The war with Mexico to seize more slave territory, increased the area of freedom, and aroused the public mind to the foul designs of slavery. Slavery thought to possess the Pacific coast, but God unveiled the golden treasures, and flooded the land with freemen. California and Oregon were given to liberty. The omnibus measures of 1850, were designed to quiet forever the public mind, and close all discussion of slavery, and party conventions gravely voted, that all trouble from this source was ended; but like the surgings of old ocean, it would not and could not be still.

The Fugitive Slave Act so insulted the moral sense of the North, that the discussion became more intense in church and state. The South essayed to justify slavery from the Bible, but in seeking strength and security from this new mode of defense, the church was brought to a decision and voted the essential wickedness of human bondage. This increased the excitement, and damaged slavery more than any previous event.

The Kansas-Nebraska measure was a desperate effort to add to the power of this enemy to our country, but it was converted into a mortal blow upon the head of that same enemy. So the more desperately they strove to destroy liberty, the more they injured themselves, thus proving that there was a set of forces at work in the interests of Christian civilization, which were decreed by Heaven, to transmute all enemies into friends of liberty, and give glorious success to this first experiment of civil government based upon Christian principles.

Then, the slave power resolved to establish a separate empire, break up the Union, break down the grand scheme of a great Republic, and secure a perpetual lease for the existence, growth, and sway of slavery. This is their last card; they risk all that they may win all evil, by the ruin of all good. We know the perfidy, thefts, violence, murders, barbarisms, which attended the opening of the rebellion; we know, too, the terrible sufferings which have already resulted from the war. We have no space to discuss these. We are looking for the hand of God, the promise that He still befriends our cause. Is He for us or against us? Do we see signs of good, or does evil

alone frown upon us? We have much to say; in how few words can we say it? God is with us, his hand is visible, we have faith that he will give us victory.

The South stole the arms and munitions of the nation, and much money; they were prepared, had military organizations, trained officers, and a martial spirit; their blood was hot for the fray. The Government had long been under their control, and was stripped, robbed, and paralyzed by their craft and guilt; the army was betrayed by traitorous officers, and the navy banished to the ends of the earth. Thus far all looked dark for liberty. The strife began, armies were gathered, we were repulsed, darkness became thicker than midnight. Some hearts failed. Europe said: "8,000,000 on their own soil, in their own country, cannot be subdued by 20,000,000, who must march hundreds of miles from home, fight in a strange territory, in an inhospitable climate, among unfriendly people, away from the base of supplies. Such a thing was never known." With man it *was* impossible; God only could give us victory.

But it was not mere victory over our enemies, that God sought; it was not that the North should conquer the South, that He would help us; it was not to preserve the Union, that He would interfere; *but that Christian civilization might triumph over barbarism*, that liberty might prevail over slavery, that Christian ideas might exclude heathen, wicked ideas of human rights, that he would stretch out his arm of power. To this end two things must be done; the North must be converted, and raised to an appreciation of the conflict, and the South subdued. Both of these tasks were most difficult, and to the mere human sight impossible.

A little more than two years have passed, and we can review the wonders performed. Our armies have been repulsed just when and where success would have favored the continuance of slavery, and they have triumphed when and where victory favored liberty. Delay and progress have so balanced in the scale as to change the public sentiments of the North, push the Government to do what it did not at first design to do, stand up for liberty, and make the war fatal to slavery. Had we been

successful at Bull Run, compromise would have been the result, and slavery would have survived.

How slow was the Government in striking directly at the real enemy of the nation! How long the fallacy was cherished, that the Union might be preserved and slavery stand unscathed! How reluctant the public were to acknowledge that we could have no permanent peace, so long as slavery lived! How politicians insisted that slavery had nothing to do with the war, and need not be destroyed in order to end it and have perpetual peace! But all of this resistance of the tide was vain. God had resolved to punish us for our great sin, and make us a better and more useful people, and successes and reverses all seemed to forward the work of purification. Finally the Proclamation rung through the land. There was one victory. That was a bright day; for it proved that the nation was taking the position which God could approve.

A guarantee that this Proclamation would be effectual was the next necessity. How shall it be secured? The malcontents at the North oppose the Government, discourage enlistments, and thus weaken the army. The loyal men call for *negro* soldiers to fill the ranks. The opposition did not design such a result; the Government desired to avoid it; but Jehovah had put it into his programme, that negroes should share in the perils and the glory of this conflict, and by becoming a part of the army of freedom, warrant and defend the broadest application of the Proclamation. Without a negro army, that document would most likely have proved a dead letter, but with such an army, it cannot fail to be effectual. Who will be so base as to vote that negroes shall remain slaves, when they have filled the breach and saved the nation? Who will dare to repeat the common lies of detraction and scandal against their manhood and courage, after they have done deeds of valor, equal to the bravest? Humanity has been dishonored, crushed, abused in the person of the negro, and Heaven's seal of justice demands that his redemption shall bring a glorious vindication of *his* manhood, as well as the sacredness of liberty for all.

The lessons of the war are wonderful and impressive. We

have raised such armies as potentates in Europe never commanded; we have created officers and soldiers mostly out of civilians, who never studied war; we have created a fleet of marvellous strength; we have raised money, furnished munitions and stores to an unheard of extent, and with apparent ease; we have gathered harvests sufficient to feed the world, and grown rich while carrying the tremendous burdens of the war; we have marshalled more men, marched more miles, fought more battles, conquered more territory, taken more prisoners, and more munitions of war than Napoleon did in his famous European wars; and have forced the prophets, who foretold our discomfiture, to confess their error, and admit that the free North can and will subdue the slave-holding South. And what is especially german to our subject, is that our success has been in almost exact ratio of our conversion to the doctrines of absolute freedom.

As our ideas have progressed, our armies have been victorious; our military progress has moved hand in hand with our moral progress, and when we have hung back in the work of moral renovation, we have suffered reverses in the field. Does this not show that the Lord is with us, and that he intends to give us more than a victory of arms? Is there not an assurance here, that what is more desirable than the Union, more desirable than the Constitution and Government, is involved in the aim of the Almighty, and will be certainly secured? If otherwise, why this strange connection between our moral position and military success? Why were we held back from decisive victories until we assumed the right position on the question of liberty? Why such wonderful success, so soon as we did become right in this respect? God says in these facts, as distinctly as Providence can speak, that he has chosen us to be conservators of Christian civilization, and will, by chastisements and blessings, by reverses and successes, make us worthy of our trust, and help us to preserve it forever. It is sad that we must needs suffer so much, that so many of our noble youth must be sacrificed before we would open our eyes, and turn our hearts to the side of righteousness; that the warm blood

of our dying braves was the only remedy for our apostasy. But when we consider the interests at stake, we ought to be grateful for the blows that arouse us, the bereavements that save us from utter perfidy and ruin, and the experiences that bring us to appreciate liberty, and enable us to rescue it from the black dragon of the South. To secure this result, God has permitted this rebellion; left us to suffer reverses; made all of our hearts to bleed, and groan in anguish of bereavement; He has changed public sentiment, brought the Government to the right position, and then given us great success; He has filled our barns with plenty, and clothed our ministers of state with unusual wisdom, in directing the finances and ordering supplies.

Moreover, these remarkable results have been reached in a way, so as to correct another grievous sin of the nation. We have spoken of the rank infidelity which was poisoning and destroying the nation. Now our trials, and sufferings, and our successes too, have been ordered in such a way as to most effectually rebuke that sin. We thought at first that we could crush the rebels by our shouts and boastings. We were vain and self-confident. But we are sobered now. We have learned our dependence, and felt rebuked for our vanity and self-confidence. We have had days of fasting and prayer, which we coldly and formally observed. But we finally yielded to the strokes of our Father, we were humbled, our hearts broke down, we fasted and prayed as this generation never did before. All looked dark and hopeless to us then if God did not help us. Our army on the Potomac had been repulsed, the armies of the West were held at bay, and their efforts foiled; opposition at the North was bold and impudent, and the President called us to humiliation and prayer, and the people said, Amen. On the 30th of April prayers and tears marked the distress of the nation. In two months the answer came; the whole face of our prospects was brightened; victory after victory crowned our arms, and the great strength of the rebellion was broken. Thus God's hand was visible in our relief.

How could Providence have spoken more plainly and emphatically than He did in these victories? Taken in connection with the nation's prayers, his meaning cannot be mistaken.

He proclaims love for us; He assures us that He afflicts in mercy, and designs to purge our sins away.

In these events we have a promise of complete deliverance from our enemies, and our troubles; the rebellion will be subdued, the land be blessed with peace again, and freedom shall wave her golden pinions over all our States. Are we too sanguine? Do we read too much in the providences which surround us? Do we see a silver lining to clouds that are all blackness and despair? It cannot be. The evidences are too numerous and unmistakable. The rainbow beams in glorious light, the covenant is confirmed; our nation is ordained to a future overflowing with the fruits of Christian principles, and life incorporated into political institutions, and proving the exhaustless wealth of the gospel in blessings for this world and the world to come. Despots may dream of our overthrow, and plot tyrannies on this continent; but no hierarchs can practice their usurpations on our borders; they may build, but their structures will melt like ice-towers beneath a tropic sun; the doctrine of inalienable rights is decreed to sway the sceptre here, and put all enemies under its feet. "Thus far the Lord hath led us on," and the mercies of the past stand as a guarantee of the future.

It is not for our sakes alone, that He does this, but for humanity; for the millions who are yet to live on these goodly hills, valleys, prairies, and mountain sides, and for the nations who are to gather light, hope and freedom through the influence of this experiment of incorporating Christian civilization into civil government.

Through blood and sorrow we are marching to a higher and better life; we behold the glories of our future through the smoke and din of battle; we gaze upon it through tears of sadness and heart-breakings which we cannot control; we rejoice that our terrible sufferings are to be overruled by the God of our fathers for lasting good; we have thoughts and feelings about the future, the fruitage of liberty, the peace of righteousness, the prosperity and happiness of Christian order and benevolence, which no language can express; we search for words, figures, sentences, to bear our hearts' high hopes and tell the

prophetic story of what God will make of this land and nation, but no medium at all adequate is at hand. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." The Lord has chosen us for his heritage, and will glorify his truth and name in our history. So let the ship of state sail on; so may Jehovah control the winds and waves, and give righteousness, liberty and peace on board; so we will sing with the eloquent New England poet:

"Thou, too, sail on, O, ship of state!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years
Hangs breathless on thy fate.

We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen formed thy sides of steel,
Who made each mast, each sail, each rope,
In what a forge and what a heat
Was shaped the anchor of our hope.

Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis but the wave and not the rock,
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale,
In spite of rock, or tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
Our hearts and hopes are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, are all with thee."

ART. V—THE EIGHTH CENSUS.

1. Preliminary Report on the eighth census. 1860. By Jos. C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent. Washington. 1862.

2. Statistical view of the United States, embracing its territory, population—white, free-colored, and slave—moral and social condition, industry, property, and revenue; the detailed statistics of cities, towns and counties; being a compendium of the seventh census. By J. D. B. De Bow, Superintendent of the United States Census. Washington. 1854.

The Constitution of the United States provides for a census every ten years. In accordance with this provision, the first census was taken in 1790. As its special object was the apportionment of "representatives and direct taxes," it included only five particulars, namely: "the white males over and under 16, the white females, the slaves, and all other free persons, 'except Indians, not taxed.'" Additions and improvements have been made at each succeeding enumeration, till we have arrived at something like completeness, and the census is not now to be regarded as merely a dry detail of figures, but as a general and comprehensive statement of the progress of the country.

With this view of the matter, we propose to examine the "Preliminary Report" of Mr. Kennedy, for the purpose of ascertaining the national progress during the last ten years. There is cause for congratulation that the returns for 1860 were all completed before the rebellion commenced, as we are thus enabled to ascertain the condition of the whole country in 1860. In taking the census of that year, 64 marshals, and 4417 assistants were employed: and the total amount paid to these officers was \$1,045,206.75. We may here refer incidentally to the English mode of taking the census. On the same day, a printed schedule is left at every occupied house or tenement throughout the kingdom, and in addition to the other information required, the occupant has to insert the name and age of every person who remains in his house on that night. On the next day all these schedules are collected; the officers

collecting them taking care that they have been properly filled, and they are then forwarded to the office of the census department. Thus the whole business of collecting statistics is completed in two days.

The United States acquired no new territory during the last decade, "except a narrow strip to the southward of the Colorado river, along the Mexican line, not yet inhabited." Hence the only alteration in area reported, is a correction with reference to the state of Iowa, which is now estimated to contain 55,045 square miles, instead of 50,914, as stated in the census of 1850. The total area of the states and territories is therefore 2,940,297 square miles.

THE POPULATION

—is reported as follows:—White, 26,973,843; Free-colored, 487,970; Slave, 3,953,760; Indian, 27,749. Total in the states and territories, 31,443,322. To these must be added, White, Free-colored, and Slave population of Indian territory, west of Arkansas, 9,761; and the population of the Indian tribes, 294,431; making the aggregate population of the country, 31,747,514. The following are the numbers at each census, with the amount and ratio of increase.

| | Population. | Increase. | Ratio of increase. |
|------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1790 | 3,929,827 | | |
| 1800 | 5,305,937 | 1,376,110 | 35,02 per cent. |
| 1810 | 7,239,814 | 1,933,877 | 36,45 " |
| 1820 | 9,638,191 | 2,398,377 | 33,13 " |
| 1830 | 12,866,020 | 3,227,829 | 33,49 " |
| 1840 | 17,069,458 | 4,203,438 | 32,67 " |
| 1850 | 23,191,876 | 6,122,423 | 35,87 " |
| 1860 | 31,443,322 | 8,251,446 | 35,59 " |

There has been a very striking difference in the relative increase of whites, free-colored, and slaves; as the following table will show:

| | White. | Free-colored. | Slaves. |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------|
| | Increase per cent. | | |
| Between 1790—1800 | 35,68 | 82,28 | 27,97 |
| 1800—1810 | 36,18 | 72,00 | 33,40 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1810—1820 | 34,11 | 25,23 | 28,79 |
| 1820—1830 | 34,03 | 36,87 | 30,61 |
| 1830—1840 | 34,72 | 20,87 | 23,81 |
| 1840—1850 | 37,74 | 12,46 | 28,82 |
| 1850—1860 | 37,97 | 12,33 | 23,39 |
| Average increase per cent., | 35,77 | 37,43 | 28,11 |

We cannot account for the large increase of free-colored in the first two decades, but leaving these out, the *average* decennial increase of that portion of the population since 1810, is 21,55 per cent., while the increase of the last decade was only 12,33 per cent. The average decennial increase of the slave population is 28,11 per cent., but in the last decade this had decreased to 23,39 per cent. The average decennial increase of the white population is 35,77 per cent., and this has increased to 37,97 per cent.

In view of these facts, Mr. Kennedy estimates the future increase of the population as follows :

| | Free-colored and slaves. | Aggregate of whites and colored. |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1870 | 5,407,130 | 42,328,432 |
| 1880 | 6,591,292 | 56,450,241 |
| 1890 | 7,909,550 | 77,266,989 |
| 1900 | 9,491,459 | 100,355,802 |

Thus far there has been no instance of a state decreasing in population. But there have been many changes in their relative positions. For instance, Virginia was first in the number of inhabitants in 1790, became second in 1820, third in 1830, fourth in 1840, and fifth in 1860. North Carolina was third in 1790, fourth in 1800, fifth in 1830, seventh in 1840, tenth in 1850, and twelfth in 1860. South Carolina has passed from the seventh in 1790, to the eighteenth in 1860. But the most striking changes have occurred in the Western States. Ohio was the eighteenth State in 1800, the fifth in 1820, and the third in 1840, which position it still maintains. Indiana was twentieth in 1800, and is now the sixth. Illinois was twenty-third in 1810, and descended to the twenty-fourth in 1820, but is now the fourth. Wisconsin was twenty-ninth in 1840, but has already become the fifteenth. New York is now the first

State in the number of its population, having 3,880,735 inhabitants; and Oregon the last, having only 52,465. Texas has the largest area, 237,321 square miles; and Rhode Island, the smallest, 1,306 square miles. Massachusetts has the densest population, 157.83 to the square mile; and Oregon, the sparsest, .55 to the square mile.

In 1850, there were in the United States only six cities which numbered over one hundred thousand inhabitants, and these occupied the following relative position, viz., New York Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Cincinnati. In 1860, three others had reached this number; Brooklyn, taking its position between Philadelphia and Baltimore; and St. Louis and Chicago coming after Cincinnati. The ten cities having the largest numerical increase during the last decade are:

| | 1850 | 1860 | Increase |
|--------------|---------|---------|----------|
| New York | 515,547 | 805,651 | 290,104 |
| Philadelphia | 340,045 | 562,529 | 222,484 |
| Brooklyn | 96,838 | 266,661 | 169,823 |
| St. Louis | 77,860 | 160,773 | 82,913 |
| Chicago | 29,963 | 109,260 | 79,297 |
| New Orleans | 116,375 | 168,675 | 52,300 |
| Cincinnati | 115,436 | 161,044 | 45,608 |
| Baltimore | 169,054 | 212,418 | 43,364 |
| Boston | 136,881 | 177,812 | 40,931 |
| Buffalo | 42,261 | 81,129 | 38,868 |

The following table of the ten cities which have had the largest increase per cent. in the last decade probably includes some which are destined to make their mark in the future:

| | 1850 | 1860 | Increase per cent. |
|--------------------------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| Lafayette, Indiana; | 1215 | 9387 | 672.59 |
| Montgomery, Alabama; | 4935 | 35,902 | 627.49 |
| Davenport, Iowa; | 1848 | 11,267 | 509.68 |
| Richmond, Indiana; | 1443 | 6,603 | 357.51 |
| Jersey City, New Jersey; | 6856 | 29,226 | 326.28 |
| Dubuque, Iowa; | 3108 | 13,000 | 318.27 |
| Des Moines, Iowa; | 986 | 3,965 | 302.12 |
| Chicago, Illinois; | 29,963 | 109,260 | 264.65 |
| Iowa City, Iowa; | 1,582 | 5,214 | 229.58 |
| Keokuk, Iowa; | 2478 | 8,136 | 228.32 |

Passing to the table of population by sexes, we find that

there are in the States and Territories, 16,085,205 males, and 15,358,117 females. The excess of males is distributed as follows: whites, 733,244; Indians, 2286; slaves, 11,490; total 747,020. But there are 19,932 more free colored females than males, thus reducing the preponderance of males over females to 727,088. The colored population, slave and free, is, males, 2,216,644; females 2,225,086; showing 8,442 more females than males. The white population is, males 13,849,087; females, 13,115,843. In New Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia, there are more white females than males; but in all the other States, and in the Territories, the males preponderate over the females. The following table will show those States and Territories in which the excess of males over females is the largest:

| | White males. | White females. | Excess of males. |
|------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| Oregon | 31,451 | 20,709 | 10,742 |
| Texas | 228,585 | 192,306 | 36,279 |
| Wisconsin | 406,809 | 367,384 | 38,925 |
| California | 239,856 | 98,149 | 141,707 |
| Washington | 8,225 | 2,913 | 5,312 |
| Nevada | 6,102 | 710 | 5,392 |
| Colorado | 32,654 | 1,577 | 31,077 |

In twenty-three States, and in the District of Columbia, there are more free colored females than males. In some cases the excess is large, as may be seen below:

| | Free-colored males. | Free-col. females. | Excess of females. |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Louisiana | 8,279 | 10,368 | 2,089 |
| Virginia | 27,721 | 30,321 | 2,600 |
| Pennsylvania | 26,373 | 30,476 | 4,103 |
| Maryland | 39,746 | 44,196 | 4,450 |
| District of Columbia | 4,702 | 6,429 | 1,727 |

Among the slave population, the difference in the proportion of the sexes is not usually large, but in Virginia, there are 8,101 more males than females; and in Louisiana 12,228; while in Georgia, there are 3,812 more females than males; and in South Carolina, 9,264.

SLAVERY.

It will not be out of place to say something here on this subject, as presented in the census. The following table will show the progress of the Institution.

| | No. of slaves.* | No. of states in which held. |
|------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1790 | 697,897 | 15 |
| 1800 | 893,041 | 16 |
| 1810 | 1,191,364 | 19 |
| 1820 | 1,538,125 | 20 |
| 1830 | 2,009,043 | 26 |
| 1840 | 2,487,455 | 25 |
| 1850 | 3,204,313 | 16 |
| 1860 | 3,953,760 | 17 |

Of the fifteen States which returned slaves in 1790, we may note the following results: Vermont returned 17 slaves in 1790, but has not reported any since that year. Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, reported slaves for the last time in 1840. New Jersey reports 18 slaves in 1860. The remaining eight are still slave States, and they present the following changes since 1790:

| | No. of slaves in 1790. | No. of slaves in 1860. | Decrease. |
|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Delaware | 8887 | 1,798 | 7,089 |
| Maryland | 103,036 | 87,189 | 15,847 |
| | | | Increase. |
| Virginia | 293,427 | 490,865 | 197,438 |
| Kentucky | 11,830 | 225,483 | 213,653 |
| North Carolina | 100,572 | 331,059 | 230,487 |
| Tennessee | 3,417 | 275,719 | 272,302 |
| South Carolina | 107,094 | 402,406 | 295,312 |
| Georgia | 29,264 | 462,198 | 432,934 |

Two slaves are reported in Kansas, but no other free State except New Jersey has returned any slaves since 1840.

For the first time in the history of the country, the census of 1860 shows the number of slaves held by the Indian tribes west of Arkansas. They are as follows:

* Including those in the District of Columbia.

| Held by | No. of slaves. | No. of masters. | Largest no. held by one Indian. |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| Choctaws | 2297 | 385 | 227 |
| Cherokees | 2504 | 384 | 57 |
| Creeks | 1651 | 267 | 75 |
| Chickasaws | 917 | 118 | 61 |

The Seminoles do not hold any slaves, a fact which should be stated to their credit.

Since the present rebellion commenced, it has often been alleged that the South were goaded to the course they adopted, by interference with their slaves on the part of inhabitants of the free States; and by the obstacles thrown in the way of the recovery of fugitives, by the operation of "Personal Liberty Laws," and other legislation of the free States. The census affords us the opportunity of testing the truthfulness of such statements, on the evidence furnished by those who have lost slaves. In the year preceding the census of 1850, 1011 slaves escaped from bondage, or one out of every 3,165 slaves. This does not appear to be a very large proportion, being only about one thirtieth of one per cent. But in the year preceding the census of 1860, when it is alleged that the conduct of the North had become unendurable, and the South was compelled to arise in self-defence, the number who escaped was only 803, or one in 4,919 slaves, being only one fiftieth of one per cent. And of these only 491 escaped from the border States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia. We may rest assured therefore that the real cause of the rebellion was not, as alleged by some, the interference with slavery where it at present exists, but the fear that restraining it within its present limits would interfere with its growth. We hope, however, that slavery has reached its maximum, and that the next census will not only show a large decrease in the number of slaves, but that by that time, in the providence of God, steps will have been taken in every State to end a system which is alike injurious to the bond and the free.

IMMIGRANTS.

It is estimated that 5,062,414 immigrants have come from
36*

foreign countries since 1819, a period of forty-one and one-fourth years. Of these, 2,707,624, more than half, arrived in the last decade. The whole number of countries enumerated as furnishing emigrants to this country, is forty-eight, embracing the four quarters of the globe, and the Polynesian isles. The countries which have furnished the greatest numbers are

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Great Britain and Ireland | 2,750,874 |
| Germany | 1,486,044 |
| France | 208,063 |
| British America | 117,142 |
| Prussia | 60,432 |
| China | 41,443 |
| West Indies | 40,487 |
| Switzerland | 37,733 |
| Norway and Sweden | 36,129 |

DEAF AND DUMB, &C.

The following table exhibits the numbers of a class of the population which has a special claim upon our sympathies.

| | 1850 | 1860 | Increase. |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Deaf and dumb | 9803 | 15,077 | 5,274 |
| Blind | 9794 | 12,635 | 2,841 |
| Insane | 15,610 | 23,999 | 8,389 |
| Idiotic | 15,787 | 18,865 | 3,078 |
| | <hr/> 50,994 | <hr/> 70,576 | <hr/> 19,582 |

Mr. Kennedy suggests that the large increase of deaf and dumb, will be somewhat decreased in his final report by subtracting those who are deaf only. We believe little has yet been attempted in this country for Idiots, although the success attending an Institution for them at Earlswood, near London, proves that much may be done to raise them higher in the scale of humanity. It is gratifying, however, to know that Institutions for the deaf and dumb, blind and insane, are increasing, both in numbers and efficiency. There are, for the deaf and dumb twenty-two Institutions, and for the blind twenty-three. Eighteen new Asylums for the Insane were put in operation between 1850 and 1860; but we have no total given.

STATISTICS OF MORTALITY.

It is not likely that these show the whole number of deaths, because they were given from memory for a whole year previous to the period of enumeration. Hence we cannot compare them with the number of deaths in countries where a regular registration is made, and decide on the comparative salubrity of this and other lands. But they are reliable as showing the *proportion* dying at different ages, and for comparing the number of deaths in different States. The table of "Deaths classified by ages and sex," on page twenty-nine of the "Preliminary Report," shows that the deaths enumerated in 1860, were, males, 207,235; females, 185,586; total, 392,821,* or one in seventy-nine of the population. Of these 20.74 per cent. died under one year of age, and 49.96 per cent. (about one-half,) under ten years of age. Only 17.88 per cent. exceeded fifty years of age, and only 7.54 per cent. exceeded seventy years. More females than males died between ten and thirty years of age, and over eighty. At all other ages, the deaths of males are in excess of the females. The States in which the smallest proportion of deaths occurred during the year, were, Oregon, Minnesota, California, and Michigan; and those in which the largest proportion occurred, were, Arkansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Mississippi. It must, however, be borne in mind, that in the new States there are fewer children than in the older ones; and as half the deaths in the United States are of children under ten years of age, this fact must affect the proportion of deaths to a considerable extent.

We pass to the diseases which have caused death. Of these we find one hundred and sixteen enumerated, besides "Old Age." The following are a few of the largest totals distinguished by sex:

| Disease. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|----------------|--------|----------|--------|
| Consumption | 23,029 | 25,942 | 48,971 |
| Pneumonia | 15,804 | 11,272 | 27,076 |
| Scarlatina | 13,217 | 13,176 | 26,393 |
| Fever, typhoid | 10,321 | 8,886 | 19,207 |

* This is given as 393,606, on pages 139, 161 of the Report.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| Croup | 8,232 | 6,956 | 15,188 |
| Dropsy | 5,804 | 6,230 | 12,034 |
| Fever, remittent | 5,760 | 5,342 | 11,102 |
| Old Age | 4,895 | 5,992 | 10,887 |
| Dysentery | 5,620 | 4,841 | 10,461 |
| Cephalitis | 5,762 | 4,573 | 10,335 |

Diphtheria, which, since 1860, has been making such fearful havoc in some parts of the country, has placed against it only 788 males, and 875 females, a total of 1,663.

Under "violent deaths," we have eleven classes of accidents, from which we select the following:

| Cause. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|------------------|--------|----------|--------|
| Burns and Scalds | 1,798 | 2,477 | 4,275 |
| Drowning | 2,660 | 459 | 3,119 |
| Suffocation | 1,091 | 1,045 | 2,136 |
| Poison | 552 | 391 | 943 |
| Railroad | 544 | 55 | 599 |
| Lightning | 134 | 58 | 192 |

The number of deaths by poison suggests a lesson of caution to those who have such articles in charge, while those by railroad urge the need of care, upon those connected with these valuable lines of inter-communication.

We find that 794 males, and 208 females committed suicide. Total 1,002. Of these the largest number, 304, was by hanging. The summary of deaths is as follows:

| | Males. | Females. | Total. |
|-----------|---------|----------|----------|
| Diseases | 193,572 | 179,919 | 373,491 |
| Accidents | 12,399 | 5,669 | 18,068 |
| Suicide | 794 | 208 | 1,002 |
| Homicide | 426 | 32 | 458 |
| Murder | 479 | 47 | 526 |
| Executed | 57 | 4 | 61 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 207,727 | 185,879 | 393,606* |

There were 65 murders in Texas, and 106 in New Mexico, or about one-third of the whole, in this State and Territory. But there was only one execution in Texas, and only five in New Mexico. The States in which the females were executed

* This is given as 392,821 on page 29 of the Report.

were, Minnesota, 1; Tennessee, 1; Virginia, 2. There were no executions in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, or the District of Columbia, nor in any Territory except New Mexico.

REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE.

The table exhibiting "the true value of real estate and personal property" shows a remarkable increase in the wealth of the nation, during the last decade. In 1850, the real and personal property was estimated at \$7,135,780,228; but in 1860, it was \$16,159,616,068; an increase of \$9,023,835,840, or subtracting, as Mr. Kennedy does, the amounts for 1860, for the States of Kansas and Minnesota, and the Territories of Nebraska and Washington, for none of which there are returns for 1850, the amount of increase in the other States and Territories is \$8,925,481,010. The three States which had increased most largely, are, Iowa, 942.97 per cent.; California, 837.98 per cent.; and Texas, 592.44 per cent. The three States having the largest amount, are, New York, \$1,843,338,517; Pennsylvania, \$1,416,501,818; and Ohio, \$1,193,898,422.

BANKS.

The following statement with reference to these, shows a large increase since 1850.

| | No. | Capital | Loans | Specie | Circulation | Deposits |
|---------------|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1850 | 872 | \$227,489,077 | \$412,607,653 | \$48,671,138 | \$155,012,881 | \$127,567,655 |
| 1860 | 1642 | 421,890,095 | 691,495,580 | 83,564,528 | 207,102,477 | 253,802,129 |
| Increase, 770 | | 194,421,018 | 278,887,927 | 34,893,390 | 52,089,596 | 126,234,474 |

The States which had the largest number of Banks, are, New York, 303; Massachusetts, 174; and Wisconsin, 108. Those having the largest amount of Bank capital, are New York \$111,441,320; Massachusetts, \$64,519,200; and Pennsylvania, \$25,565,582. Those with the largest amounts of specie, New York, \$20,921,545; Louisiana, \$12,115,431; and Pennsylvania, \$8,378,474. Kansas has only one bank; Florida, two; and Michigan four.

MANUFACTURES

—have increased largely during the decade preceding the last census. In 1850, it was estimated that the annual produce of this branch of industry, including fisheries and the product of the mines, was, \$1,019,106,616. In 1860, it was \$1,900,000,000. It is calculated that there are 128,300 establishments, with a capital of \$1,050,000,000; and employing 1,100,000 males and 285,000 females; total 1,385,000. Mr. Kennedy estimates that the whole number of persons supported by the proceeds of manufacturing industry, is 4,847,500, or nearly one-sixth of the whole population. This estimate does not include those engaged in auxiliary trades, or in the production of raw materials. The statistics of the four States which are most largely engaged in manufactures are as follows:

| | No. of Es- tablishments. | Capital Invested | No. of hands employed. | Value of An- nual Products. |
|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| New York, | 23,236 | \$175,449,206 | 221,481 | \$379,623,560 |
| Pennsylvania, | 21,100 | 189,000,000 | 223,141 | 285,500,000 |
| Ohio, | 10,710 | 58,000,000 | 81,200 | 125,000,000 |
| Massachusetts, | 7,776 | 133,000,000 | 217,100 | 266,000,000 |

The manufacture producing the largest annual value, is, Flour and Meal, the amount in 1860 being \$223,144,369, against \$135,897,806 in 1850. Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina show a decrease in this manufacture, and all the other States an increase. The three States producing the largest amount in value in 1860, are, New York, \$35,064,906; Ohio, \$27,129,405; and Pennsylvania \$26,572,261.

Cotton goods stand next in order, the value of the product of 1860 being \$115,137,926, against \$65,501,687 in 1850. All the States except California, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon and Wisconsin, are engaged to a greater or less extent in this manufacture. We give below the statistics for the whole of the States, and for New England, from which it will be seen that this is peculiarly a New England manufacture:

| | No of Establishments. | Capital in- vested. | Pounds of Cotton. | Spindles. | Looms. | Hands em- ployed. |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------|---------|----------------------|
| Aggregate, | 915 | \$99,551,465 | 364,036,123 | 5,035,798 | 129,458 | 118,920 |
| New England, | 472 | 71,107,325 | 244,695,454 | 3,959,297 | 103,204 | 81,442 |

The rebellion has no doubt caused a serious reduction in the amount of this manufacture, and we fear it will be a number of years before it will again be in as flourishing a condition as in 1860.

The annual product of "Woollen Goods" for 1860 was \$68,865,963, against \$45,281,764 for 1850. All the States have a share in this manufacture, except Kansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Minnesota. But as in the cotton manufacture, New England has more than half of the whole, as the following statement will show:

| | No of Establishments. | Capital invested. | Pounds of | | | Hands em- ployed. |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------|-----------|--------|----------------------|
| | | | Wool. | Spindles. | Looms. | |
| Aggregate, | 1909 | \$35,520,527 | 80,386,672 | 639,700 | 16,075 | 48,900 |
| New England, | 453 | 19,950,000 | 48,817,630 | 393,333 | 8,920 | 24,059 |

The clip of wool in 1860 was 60,511,343 pounds, so that about one-fourth of the whole amount used had to be imported; and with the decline in the supply of cotton, we have no doubt that this amount was largely increased during the last year.

The statistics of Printing, Book, Job, and Newspaper, show that the Press is still a power in the land, and we believe as well as hope that that power will increase. The aggregate value of the productions of the press in 1850, was \$11,352,705; in 1860 it was \$39,678,043, divided as follows: Books, \$11,843,459; Jobs, \$7,181,213; Newspapers, \$20,653,371. Of the gross total, New York produced \$22,916,685, more than half of the whole amount. Pennsylvania came next, with \$6,281,587, and Massachusetts followed with \$2,905,916. The aggregate number of copies of newspapers published in 1860 was, Daily, 1,478,435; Tri-weekly, 107,170; Bi-weekly, 175,165; Weekly, 7,581,930; Monthly, 3,411,959; Quarterly, 101,000; Annual, 807,750. Total, 927,951,548; being 29 copies for each inhabitant, or 33 copies for each free person. Of these the free States published 748,022,656 copies, or 39 for each of the population of 18,907,753. The slave States published 168,019,192 copies, being 13 for each of the population of 12,240,294; or 20 for each of the 8,289,783 free inhabitants of those States. 11,909,700 copies of newspapers were published in the District of Columbia and the Territories. The following table will

show the States which publish the largest and the smallest number of newspapers in proportion to the population:

| | Population. | No. of copies annually. | No. for each inhabitant. | No. for each free person. |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| New York, | 3,880,735 | 320,930,884 | 82 | 82 |
| Massachusetts | 1,231,066 | 102,000,760 | 82 | 82 |
| Pennsylvania, | 2,906,115 | 116,094,480 | 39 | 39 |
| South Carolina, | 703,708 | 3,654,840 | 5 | 12 |
| North Carolina, | 992,622 | 4,862,572 | 5 | 7 |
| Arkansas, | 435,450 | 2,122,224 | 5 | 6 |

The "value of product in round numbers" of other "Leading Manufactures" "for the year ending June 1st, 1860," will be found below, as compiled from the several tables:

| | Annual Product. |
|--|-----------------|
| Lumber, | 95,912,000 |
| Boots and shoes, | 89,549,000 |
| Leather, including Morocco and Patent Leather, | 72,000,000 |
| Clothing, | 64,002,000 |
| Machinery, steam engines, &c. | 47,118,000 |
| Sugar refining, | 38,500,000 |
| Iron founding, | 28,546,000 |
| Spirituos liquors, | 24,253,000 |
| Cabinet furniture, | 22,701,000 |
| Bar, and other rolled iron, | 22,248,000 |
| Pig iron, | 19,487,000 |
| Malt liquors, | 18,001,000 |
| Agricultural implements, | 17,802,000 |
| Paper, | 17,500,000 |
| Soap and candles, | 16,960,000 |

Of these we have only space to refer to two, viz., "Spirituos, liquors," and "Malt liquors." Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont have no distillery. The number of establishments in the other States, and the Territories of New Mexico, and Utah, in 1860 was 1,138, and the amount of spirituos liquors produced was,

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Whiskey, high wines and alcohol, | 80,453,089 gallons |
| Brandy, gin, &c., | 3,397,419 " |
| New England rum, | 4,152,480 " |
| Total, | 88,002,988 |

This gives 11 1-5 quarts for each of the population, while in 1850, there were only 47,864,724 gallons produced, or 8 1-4 quarts for each person.

Of malt liquors, there were 3,239,545 barrels brewed in 1860. Reckoning thirty gallons to the barrel, this will give three gallons for each of the population, while, in 1850, the amount was only 1,179,495 barrels, about one and a half gallons for each person. Thus, it will be seen that the average supply of spirituous liquors has been increased more than one-third; and that of malt liquors has doubled. These facts call upon the friends of temperance to be vigilant and energetic, lest the devastating influence of intemperance again sweep over the land.

The number of sewing machines manufactured in the year ending in 1860, was 116,330, and their value \$5,605,345. There were forty-six establishments for their manufacture, and the number of hands employed was 2,194.

Petroleum has now become an important manufacture, but as it had hardly commenced in 1860, we have no full returns. The value of coal mined in 1860, was \$19,365,765, against \$7,173,750 in 1850; and the value of copper and other metals in 1860, \$4,394,573. The fisheries produced \$12,924,092 in 1860, against \$10,000,182 in 1850.

AGRICULTURE.

It is gratifying to know that this important department of the industry of our country has been prospering during the last decade. Improved implements and valuable machinery have been largely increased. New domestic animals, as camels and cashmere goats have been introduced, while the Chinese sugarcane is being extensively cultivated in the Western States, so that upwards of seven millions of gallons of Sorghum molasses were manufactured in the year preceding the census of 1860. The following table will also indicate progress:

| | 1850. | 1860. | Increase. |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Lands improved, (acres) | 113,032,614 | 163,261,389 | 50,228,775 |
| Lands unimproved, " | 180,528,000 | 246,508,244 | 65,980,244 |
| Cash value of farms, | \$3,271,575,426 | \$6,650,872,507 | \$3,379,297,081 |
| Value of implements, &c., | \$151,587,638 | \$247,027,496 | \$95,439,858. |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Value of Live stock, | \$544,180,516 | \$1,107,490,216 | \$563,309,700 |
| Value of animals slaughtered, | \$111,703,142 | \$212,871,653 | \$101,168,511 |
| Value of orchard products, | \$7,723,186 | \$19,759,361 | \$12,036,175 |

The States which had the largest number of acres of improved lands, in 1860, are, New York, 14,376,397 acres; Illinois, 13,251,473 acres; and Ohio, 12,665,587 acres. Those with the largest number of acres of unimproved lands, are, Texas, 20,486,990 acres; Virginia, 19,578,946 acres; and Georgia, 18,587,732 acres. Those which made the largest increase in improved lands during the decade, are, Illinois, an increase of 8,211,928 acres; Missouri, an increase of 3,308,446 acres; and Indiana, an increase of 3,115,174 acres. Those which made the largest increase in unimproved lands, are, Texas, an increase of 9,634,627 acres; Missouri, an increase of 6,943,693 acres; and Arkansas, an increase of 5,793,254 acres. Those in which the cash value of farms was highest in 1860, are, New York, \$803,343,593; Ohio, \$666,564,171; and Pennsylvania, \$662,050,707.

The following table exhibits some of the principal products of the farm in 1850 and 1860, with the amount of increase:

| | 1850. Bushels. | 1860. Bushels. | Increase. Bushels. |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Indian Corn, | 592,071,104 | 890,451,707 | 238,380,603 |
| Wheat, | 100,485,944 | 171,183,381 | 70,697,437 |
| Oats, | 146,584,179 | 172,554,688 | 25,970,509 |
| Rye, | 14,188,813 | 20,976,286 | 6,787,473 |
| Buckwheat, | 8,956,912 | 17,664,914 | 8,708,002 |
| Barley, | 5,167,015 | 15,635,119 | 10,468,104 |
| Irish Potatoes, | 65,797,896 | 110,571,201 | 44,773,305 |
| Sweet Potatoes, | 38,268,148 | 41,606,302 | 3,338,154 |
| Peas and Beans, | 9,219,901 | 15,188,013 | 5,968,112 |
| | Pounds. | Pounds. | Pounds. |
| Butter, | 318,345,306 | 460,509,854 | 147,164,548 |
| Cheese, | 105,535,893 | 105,875,135 | 339,242 |
| Cane Sugar, | 237,133,000 | 302,205,000 | 65,072,000 |
| Maple Sugar, | 34,253,436 | 38,863,884 | 4,610,448 |
| Wool, | 52,516,959 | 60,511,343 | 7,994,384 |
| Tobacco, | 199,752,655 | 429,390,771 | 229,638,116 |
| Hops, | 3,497,029 | 11,010,012 | 7,512,983 |
| | Gallons. | Gallons. | Gallons. |
| Cane Molasses, | 12,7000,991 | 16,337,080 | 3,636,089 |
| Sorghum Molasses, | | 7,235,025 | |
| Maple Molasses, | | 1,944,594 | |

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Cotton, | Bales. 2,445,793 | Bales. 5,198,077 | Bales. 2,752,284 |
| Hay, | Tons. 13,888,642 | Tons. 19,129,128 | Tons. 5,290,486 |
| Hemp, | 34,871 | 104,490 | 69,619 |

The produce of flax in 1850 was 7,709,676 pounds, and in 1860, only 3,783,079 pounds, a decrease of more than half. The produce of rice in 1850 was 215,313,497 pounds, and in 1860, only 187,140,173 pounds, a decrease of 28,173,324 pounds.

Illinois produced the largest crops of Indian corn and wheat; New York of oats, Irish potatoes, hops, butter, cheese, maple sugar and hay; Pennsylvania of rye and buckwheat; California of barley; Georgia of sweet potatoes; Mississippi of peas and beans, and cotton; Virginia of tobacco; Louisiana of cane sugar, and cane molasses; Iowa of Sorghum molasses.

RAILROADS.

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| In 1850 there were | 8,589 | miles, costing | \$296,660,148* |
| " 1860 " | 30,793 | " " | \$1,151,560,829 |
| Increase, | 22,204 | " " | \$854,900,681 |

There were also, in 1860, 402 miles of city passenger railroads, which cost \$14,862,840. The States having the greatest length of railroads in 1850, were New York, 1403 miles; Massachusetts, 1035 miles; Pennsylvania, 822 miles; in 1860, they were, Ohio, 2999 miles; Illinois, 2867 miles; and New York 2701 miles. The States which had made the largest increase in ten years were:

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1850. | 1860. | Increase. |
| Illinois, | 110 miles. | 2867 miles. | 2757 miles. |
| Ohio, | 575 " | 2999 " | 2424 " |
| Indiana, | 228 " | 2125 " | 1897 " |

Only two States, Kansas and Minnesota, are entirely destitute of a railroad; but Oregon reports only three miles; Ar-

* See page 281 of "Preliminary Report," which differs from page 108.

kansas, 38 miles; and California, 70 miles. With reference to the earnings of railroads, Mr. Kennedy says: "It is well ascertained, however, that our railroads transport, in the aggregate, at least 850 tons of merchandise per annum to the mile of road in operation. Such a rate would give 26,000,000 tons as the total annual tonnage of railroads for the whole country. If we estimate the value of the tonnage at \$150 per ton, the aggregate value of the whole would be \$3,900,000,000. Vast as this commerce is, more than three-quarters of it has been created since 1850." Mr. K. verifies his estimate by a reference to the ascertained business of the railroads in the States of New York and Massachusetts, and of several western railroads.

SHIPPING.

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| The total tonnage of the United States in 1814, was | 1,368,127 tons. |
| From that time till June, 1861, there were built | 8,807,397 " |
| Making an aggregate of | 9,675,524 " |
| But during that time, the loss by decay, wreck, &c., was | 4,185,712 " |
| Leaving the amount of tonnage owned in 1861, | 5,589,812 " |
| The total tonnage in 1851 was | 3,772,439 " |
| From that time till June 30, 1861, there were built | 3,589,200 " |
| Total | 7,361,639 " |
| The loss in those ten years, by decay and other causes, was | 1,821,827 " |
| Leaving the tonnage in 1861, as above, | 5,589,812 " |

Thus, the loss in ten years is nearly 25 per cent. Mr. Kennedy suggests the importance of ascertaining the statistics of wrecks, that we may know how much loss is sustained from this cause, and how much from decay.

In the year 1860, there were built* 100 ships, 36 brigs, 372 schooners, 289 sloops and canal boats, 259 steamers. Total,

* Some of these figures differ from the totals in the report, but are the result of recasting the several columns.

1056 vessels, containing 212,892 tons. The States building the largest number of vessels were, New York, 201; Maine, 162; Pennsylvania, 152. Those building the largest number of tons were, Maine, 57,867 tons; Massachusetts, 33,460 tons; and New York 31,936 tons. During the three years, ending June, 1861, the principal ship building States occupied the following relative position: Maine, 156,115 tons; Massachusetts, 101,937 tons; New York, 94,608 tons.

Part III. of the Census of 1850, "Moral and Social Condition," contains the following sections: "1. Religious Worship. 2. Education. 3. The Press. 4. Libraries. 5. Charities. 6. Wages of Labor. 7. Crime." Of these, we have already referred to "the press." With reference to education, Mr. Kennedy promises "full returns in the "final report," and says, "Enough is ascertained to authorize the statement that not far from 5,000,000 persons received instruction in the various educational institutions of the different States in the year ending June, 1860, or about one-fifth of the entire free population of the country." The other subjects embraced in this part are not referred to, but we hope that they will be included in "the final report." It is interesting to know what is the financial and industrial progress of the country, and it is also important to mark its moral and religious progress.

Here we close our synopsis of "The Eighth Census." There are other matters of interest, but our space forbids us to refer to them. This review has encouraged us. We must confess that in view of the immense expenditure connected with, and the taxation consequent on, the war, we have sometimes indulged fears with reference to the financial prospects of the country. And we still think that care should be exercised, to avoid unnecessary expenditure, and especially to prevent those speculations upon the treasury, which are so often made by grasping and unscrupulous speculators. But while care is exercised, there is no real cause for fear. A country which has more than doubled its real estate and personal property in ten years, increasing it by eight billions, nine hundred and twenty-five millions, four hundred and eighty-one thousands, and eleven

dollars, (8,925,481,011,) while exercising proper prudence, has no need to fear a speedy collapse. This war, caused by a wicked rebellion, for which there was no reasonable excuse, is a great calamity. It has destroyed many valuable lives, and caused a large amount of suffering in both sections of the country; and it will lead to much financial sacrifice; but if, by the blessing of God upon our efforts, it be soon ended, and the rule of the government be reestablished, we may hope to see the tide of prosperity soon setting in again. And especially if, in the providence of God, slavery receives its death-blow, we may, under the influence of universal freedom, expect to see the *whole* country enjoy a degree of prosperity, to which only a part of it could hitherto attain.

ART. VI.—THE REBELLION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE UNION.

During the fluctuations of the tide of war, the mind is disposed to be elated and depressed as to the prospects of the Union, according to the success or defeat of the Union arms. If one gives way to the impression which naturally results from too exclusive attention to the passing military events, he will not seem to the spectator to be of stable mind. Now he is too much depressed, and now too much elated. If one would always keep a hopeful heart as to the prospects of the Union, while passing through the present conflict, he must learn to form his judgments by a different rule than that afforded by the passing events in the martial field. He must learn to "judge righteous judgment." He must keep in mind the nature of the rebellion, as a fact; he must always look at it in relation to its cause; he must mark the effect of the passing events upon the public mind, as related to the cause of the war. We touched upon one or two of these points in our remarks

upon the President's Emancipation Proclamation, in the first number of the present volume. It may be well to enter upon the subject a little more extensively at this time.

Let us, in the first place, recall some of the events by which properly to characterize the rebellion as a fact.

While, to the outward appearance, profound peace reigned in the nation, nearly a year and a half before the rebel guns opened upon Sumter, an order was received [December 30, 1859] at the War Department, directing the transfer of 115,000 muskets from Springfield and Watervliet to be distributed to South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana. The arms were accordingly distributed, and, of course, fell into the hands of the rebels, for the most part before the beginning of actual hostilities. Such a number of muskets at that time was regarded as more of a wonder than half a million would be to-day. The fact can never be explained away as an ordinary distribution of arms to the several States. It was manifestly a step in preparation for civil war.

Just before the election of President Lincoln, General Scott was so deeply convinced that a rebellion was in process of formation, that in a letter he urged President Buchanan and his Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, to garrison the forts below New Orleans, Fort Morgan below Mobile, Pulaski below Savannah, the forts in Charleston harbor, and Fortress Monroe. A man with less military genius could easily see that our veteran General only made suggestions of reasonable precautions, if the government had it in mind to preserve the tranquillity of the nation. These precautions, it is hardly proper to say, were unheeded, for they were absolutely forbidden by the Secretary of War. When he saw that other counsels than his own would probably be followed, he resigned, the first of January, 1861. Three months later, there appeared, at Richmond, Va., the following exposition, as we may call it, of Mr. Floyd's motives:

“All who have attended to the developments of the last three months, and know aught of the movements of the Buchanan administration up to the time of Floyd's resignation, will justify the assertion

that the Southern Confederacy would not and could not be in existence at this hour but for the action of the late Secretary of War. The plan invented by General Scott to stop the secession was, like all his campaigns, very able in its details, and nearly certain of general success. The Southern States are full of arsenals and forts, commanding the rivers and strategic points. General Scott desired to transfer to these forts the army of the United States as speedily and as quietly as possible. Had he succeeded in doing so, revolution would have been paralyzed in the whole South, and the submissionist [Union] party would have been organized on a very different footing from what we now know. The Southern States could not have cut off the communication between the government and the forts without a great fleet, which they cannot build for years, or take them by land without 100,000 men, and many hundred million of dollars, and several campaigns and many bloody sieges. Had General Scott been enabled to get these forts in the condition he desired them to be, the Southern Confederacy would not now exist." * * * *

It is hardly supposable that the rebellion could ever have assumed the proportions to endanger the life of the Republic, had the counsels of our veteran General been heeded by the Buchanan administration.

Take a fact or two further. Most readers will remember that there was much said in the public press about a caucus held by the Southern Senators in Washington about the first of the year 1861. By certain papers which have fallen into our hands since the war began, it is now determined that the conspirators met on the 5th of January, 1861, and passed the following resolutions:

"1. That, in our opinion, each of the Southern States should, as soon as may be, secede from the Union.

"2. That provision should be made for a convention to organize a confederacy of the seceding States, the convention to meet not later than the 15th of February, [1861,] at the city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama.

"3. That in view of the hostile legislation that is threatened against the seceding States, and which may be consummated before the 4th of March, we ask instructions whether the delegations are to remain in Congress till that date, for the purpose of defeating such legislation.

•

“4. That a committee be and are hereby appointed, consisting of Messrs. Davis, Slidell and Mallory, to carry out the objects of this meeting.”

This was the plot by Senators, who were still supported by the government, for its overthrow. Even after this, they drew money from the treasury of the United States, as if they were servants of the government at the time they were arranging the plans of the rebellion. Thus the Senators, like the Secretary of War, and other high officers of the government, conspired for its overthrow. The plan, thus secretly adopted by the officers of the government, was circulated and adopted by the leaders of the South. In accordance with it, the Confederate Congress met February 4th, 1861, and Davis was inaugurated President the 18th of the same month.

• The government thus inaugurated, mustered into its service troops that had already been raised under State authority, and proceeded to raise, discipline and equip many thousands more. Thus prepared for hostilities, the Confederates deliberately opened war upon the United States early in April, 1861, by the bombardment of Fort Sumter. On the evening of the day upon which the war was actually begun, L. P. Walker, Secretary of War for the rebels, said, in an address to the people of Montgomery, then the rebel capital, “No man could tell when the war this day commenced would end; but he would prophesy that the flag which flaunts the breeze here would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May, [1861.] Let them try Southern chivalry, and test the strength of Southern resources, and it might float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself.”

Here is the boast of men who had been preparing for the war, and who felt very confident of success. It seems it was their plan to accept the Capital of the nation, and all of its Slave States peaceably if they could; but in case of resistance to their plans, they intended to extend their dominion over the free States, including New England itself. Immediately upon the opening of the war, Virginia seceded, and united with the Confederacy. Davis, in his proclamation and messages, claimed as President of the Confederacy, authority over Texas, Mis-

souri, Virginia, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and, in a certain event, the District of Columbia, comprising an area of about one million square miles. Still further, he claimed the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and the Indian territory south of Kansas. The rebellion, as compared with the government, was well supplied with arms and troops upon the outbreak of hostilities. The wonder is, the government did not fall an easy prey in those days to the conspirators, and the hearts of the loyal people utterly sink in presence of the formidable conspiracy.

As a fact, then, the Confederacy was organized in crime. The leaders were guilty of perjury and theft. They were even steeped in meanness as well as crime. In the darkest days of gloom in the wars of Napoleon, the German said, the Emperor is unjust; he will fail. Whatever may be the destiny of the Union, we may be certain that the great conspiracy will fail.

Having thus glanced at the Confederacy, as a fact, let us consider briefly its motives. What is the soul of this new body or organization?

For years there has been a growing divergence of opinion between the North and the South as touching the moral character of slavery. Politically there was a similar divergence upon the proposal to extend slavery to the new territories and as to the master's right of transit through the free States with his slaves. The Fugitive Slave Law had deeply wounded the moral sensibilities of a portion of the Northern people. But as to slavery in the slave States, it was agreed by both of the great political parties that the States themselves in which it exists must have the sole management, if not the sole responsibility, of it at home. In the election of 1860, the sole issue carried on the subject of slavery, was that of prohibiting its extension to the new territories.

The secessionists, who made the election the occasion for organizing the rebel government, in forming their Constitution, did, of course, therein provide for those interests which they thought to be imperilled under the Constitution from which

they had revolted. A comparison, therefore, of their Constitution with the Constitution of the fathers of the nation, will forever settle in the judgment of mankind the chief motive of the rebellion. No denials and no pretexts can possibly prevent such a result. But, upon comparison, the two Constitutions are bound to be, word for word, alike on all but minor points, excepting only the subject of slavery. The words *slave* and *slavery* do not pollute the old Constitution, but they figure in the new as if they were entirely honorable words. Witness a sentence or two :

“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States, and shall have the right of transit in any of the States of this Confederacy, *with their slaves and other property* ; and the right of property in said slaves shall not thereby be impaired.”

After providing for the acquisition of new territories, the said so-called new Constitution uses the following language :

“In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial governments, and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States and territories of the Confederate States.”

This comparison of the Constitutions is sufficient forever to settle the motives of the great conspiracy, and further, the conspirators, through the mouths of their chiefs, have carefully confirmed the thing testified by their Constitution. The Vice President of the Confederacy has given utterance to the following remarkable paragraphs :

“The new Constitution has put at rest forever the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the *proper status of the negro* in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and the present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the ‘rock on which the old Union would split.’ He was right. What was conjecture with him is a realized fact. But whether he

fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature ; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with ; but the general opinion of that day was, that somehow or another, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea of the time." * * * * *

But the new Constitution has carefully incorporated slavery, if the hope of the national fathers was to be inferred by the silence of their Constitution, rather than by its express terms, that slavery would soon vanish. The new has done everything it can to make slavery eternal. But Mr. Stephens resumes :

" Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races, [an assumption put forth by Paul in his speech before the idolatrous Athenians.] This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it was wrong—' when the storm came and the wind blew,' it fell."

Thus Stephens frankly and honestly, no less than accurately, gives us the opinions of Jefferson and the other national fathers ; here he frankly admits secession to be revolution to overturn the old Constitution and government. He goes on further to contrast the new Constitution with the old in the following candid words :

" Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite principles ; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon the great physical, philosophical and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of development, like all other truths in various departments of science. It is so even amongst us, [slaveholders.] Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well

that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The error of a past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. * * * It is upon this [slavery,] as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world. * * * This stone which was rejected by the former builders has become the chief stone of the corner."

We might quote from other rebel leaders to the same purport, but a specimen is sufficient for our point. Thus have we a view of the rebellion as a fact, as an organization, and of its inspiring cause. If the organization was infamous in its means, its aims are still more infamous. If in the one perjury and theft were considered honorable, human bondage is the end which sanctifies not only the crimes perpetrated in organization, but the hundreds of thousands of murders which have been committed and are still to be committed in the vain attempt, as we trust it will prove, to found a black empire to be recognized as one of the great powers of the earth by the civilized and enlightened nations.

To look a moment at external events, we might speak of the bloody war which had been waged up to the first of July last with alternating success and defeat to our arms. Then within a few days were granted to our arms such a series of victories as seem to change the whole aspect of affairs. Gettysburg will probably be known as the Waterloo of the war. It seemed to be the turning point. Then came Vicksburg, Port Hudson and other victories, by all of which the rebels lost not less than one hundred thousand men. No doubt there may be other severe reverses to our arms, and those looking only to outward events will become discouraged, as if nothing had been done. They will forget the great victories of the past in present misfortunes. The obstinacy and continued efforts of the rebels will yet cause many to forget that the Mississippi was for a long time closed, that many States now free from the domination of rebels were once under their power, in short in the magnitude of our future work many will forget to take encouragement from what has already been achieved.

But if we would all keep in mind that the life and soul of the rebellion is slavery, and, if we would mark the state of public opinion at home and abroad on that subject, we should have such a clue to the end of the war as not to be too easily elated as if our work were almost done, while it is only well begun, and as never to be discouraged, however adversely events for a season seem to go.

The clue is this, in the ratio that slavery loses its influence over the minds of men both North and South, and in Europe, just in that ratio the rebellion is waning despite military reverses, and not a whit faster is it waning, whatever the military successes may be. If to-day we had Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Richmond and Texas, the war would not be a whit nearer its end, if we did not with those victories learn to love slavery less than we now do. On the other hand, if Rosecrans shall be defeated and Kentucky and Tennessee should again be swept with the besom of destruction, and the nation should thereby greatly relax its affection for slavery, still the end of the war would be drawing nigh. The rebellion cannot survive the death of the nation's love to slavery. When that moment comes, the life-power will be gone from the rebellion which will then be the corpse that men will hasten to bury. While, however, there is a great party at the North and the South fanatically attached to slavery, either for the ease and luxury it is supposed to bring, or from the hope of political preferment thereby, so long those lovers of slavery will strive to combine their power so as to rule the nation or to destroy it. Till at the North, the pro-slavery men are in a hopeless minority, even if they could form their coveted union with their pro-slavery brethren of the South, in the very nature of things the war will continue.

A year ago the President, trusting that public opinion in the North had reached such a stage as to prefer the Union without slavery, to dissolution with it, issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Immediately three or four large States deserted the administration. Well did the rebels shout over this result as of more importance to their cause than military victories. They took new courage. They believed they could divide the North by invasion of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indi-

ana. Immediately they had new hopes of foreign intervention. Immediately they hoped to make foreign powers believe, that it is a useless waste of blood to fight any longer for the Union. France at once was ready to propose the suspension of hostilities for six months. England would have seconded the proposition with more cogency than France moved it, had not the people of England by that time come to understand that the success of the Union included the liberation of the slaves.

In like manner the leaders of public opinion in the South are at this time encouraging their people that their losses at Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Port Hudson, will be more than made up by the political victories of the Northern pro-slavery men in the elections of this autumn. If the elections at the North should result in decided triumphs to the pro-slavery men, all the encouragement the rebels hope for would be more than made good.

But the agitation caused by the Emancipation Proclamation and the passing events, are inevitably opening the eyes of hundred of thousands of people at home, to understand, as the Proclamations themselves enabled Europe to understand, the nature of the real issue involved in the present war. The elections in California, Vermont and Maine are as strong indications of the progress of light on the nature of the interests at stake, as the most ardent dared to expect. It is not unlikely that the remaining elections of this autumn will be equally gratifying. With reasonable success in conducting the war, another year's agitation will produce still more gratifying results. The love of the Union is driving the old pro-slavery leaven out of the minds of hundreds of thousands of voters, who perhaps would never have reached their present opinions from philanthropic considerations, nor from considerations of the abstract right of all to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The soldiers who return from the war also have great influence in correcting the opinions of many on the subject of slavery. For one reason or another, nearly all the soldiers, despite their former views and prejudices, become thoroughly committed to the cause of the Union, and as thoroughly convinced that slavery is the only real enemy of the Union.

The change of opinion for the better is strikingly indicated by the growing popularity of the plan for enlisting the slaves as soldiers, and the present belief that such troops can do good service. It is no new thing that colored troops are of full average efficiency in fighting. It is a fact as well settled by history as the bravery of the Greeks. But the strange pro-slavery fanaticism so blinded the perceptions of many of our countrymen that even the best established facts on this subject lost their legitimate effect in producing conviction. But the passing events and the new necessities which have come upon our nation are helping all of us to cast away many old prejudices.

In viewing the progress of opinion on this subject, we are by no means to leave out of our estimate the striking indications to be seen in loyal slave States, and in the rebel States themselves. Not to dwell upon details, we presume no well informed lover of the Union fears that Missouri, a year from this, will put herself on the side of slavery against the Union. The new State of Western Virginia is unequivocally on the right side. The election in Maryland this autumn will afford similar encouragement in the next Presidential election. Delaware, Kentucky, and Tennessee are not without their tokens of promise. But the moment the rebels lose the hope that the Government will fall into pro-slavery hands, at the close of the present administration, utter discouragement will fall upon them. They will then also give up the hope of foreign intervention.

The Union movement in North Carolina, indicates that even among slave-holding rebels themselves, an opinion may yet spring up the effect that the Union without slavery is better than secession with it. Among the non-slaveholders of the rebel States there is already, to no small extent, despair as to the success of the rebellion, as is stated by the numerous deserters of this class, who daily come within our lines. That whole class of the southern population seems to be gradually coming to the conviction that slavery is opposed to their best interests. In no particular is it possible to name a thing that would more effectually stop the hopes of the rebellion, than for them to come fully to that conviction, a conviction, we know, the light

of truth would soon bring, were it permitted to shine upon their minds.

In Europe, the people are so fully aware that the Union means freedom, and disunion slavery, that each day it is growing more difficult for the Governments, however much disposed to do so, to enter upon any potent intervention without great risks to themselves.

The indications we have mentioned, and others that might be mentioned, are sufficient to show that the pro-slavery sentiment of the nation, both North and South, is rapidly decreasing. In foreign nations, anti-slavery sentiment has been made available to the cause of the Union in preventing intervention. So far as the governments of France and England are concerned, they have shown great sympathy for the rebels, or at least a strong disposition to intervene in our affairs. Those governments have most manifestly violated the laws of nations in according belligerent rights to the rebels, who had no ports, and of consequence, no prize courts, and also in particulars, yet from a fear of the people, the governments have been prevented from committing themselves to the extent of going to war for the purpose of destroying our nation. Had it not been for the course of the government in adopting its emancipation policy, the restraint of the people would not have sufficed to hold their governments from carrying out, even by war, their malicious desire for the overthrow of our republic.

Thus, if we read the signs of the times aright, the Union is yet to be triumphant. And not only so, but the progress of the government in its purpose to overthrow the rebellion, has kept even pace with the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation. Moreover, if darker days than any we have experienced in military affairs, are in store for us, we are not to feel the least discouragement so long as through adversity or prosperity, or despite the one or the other, we can mark the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, as we have been able to do since this war began. So long we may be certain the life-power of the rebellion is wasting away.

On the other hand, if the onward march of anti-slavery ideas should be seriously checked, the rebellion will then be g^o .

ground, whatever the successes of our army and navy may be. Even if peace should come, it will only be a deception. The rebellion will then only be gaining new strength, for the yet unfinished war. Slavery has taken up arms for its own protection, and so long as it exists in the hearts of a large party of the nation, and so long as the slavery sentiment has an embodiment in the institutions of the land, so long the Union will have an enemy watching for an opportunity of war.

Suppose peace had come and we were about to enter upon the work of reconstruction, with the present amount of pro-slavery fanaticism in the nation, both North and South, is it not plain to every thoughtful mind that slavery would be placed upon a footing to gain strength more rapidly than it did after the revolutionary war? In a few years it would be ready to take up arms again, and we have learned that slaveholders do not wait for an occasion to begin war, when they wish to fight for their peculiar institution. They create their own grievances, and make them the pretext for war. But in the process of reconstruction with slavery preserved, they will not lack many real occasions of irritation.

But such a peace Providence does not design to send upon us. God has almost visibly set his hand to the destruction of slavery in this land. We may believe the war will continue, either by the success or defeat of the Union arms, till 200,000 or 300,000 slaves are trained and armed. When that event has taken place, if peace comes, it "will come to stay," for it will then be too late to entertain the thought of preserving slavery. And it is little difference on this score, whether the Government or the rebels arm them, so long as we know such a body of men will strike for the freedom of their race, and that the moment slavery is destroyed there will be left no motive adequate to sustain secession.

We most devoutly pray that no European nation may enter into our civil war. It would bring great discouragement and distress to the Union cause for years, but we do not believe that even a war of intervention can defeat the ultimate union of our States and people. Such a war, whatever might be its aim in relation to slavery, whether to preserve or destroy

it, would inevitably destroy it. But with slavery overthrown, we believe nothing could prevent the ultimate union of the States. We believe the time has passed when a war of intervention might possibly have materially protracted the life of slavery.

Let us as Christians then settle our minds upon the fact that can now hardly be concealed from any candid mind, that this war has a providential aim, and that aim the destruction of slavery. In reverses, as well as in victories, let our trust be in God, that our spirits flag not. Let us pray and fight, if fighting falls to our providential lot, in a hopeful and determined spirit, knowing that our God will overrule our defeats, as certainly as he will employ our successes for purging this nation of its pro-slavery idolatry. Discouragement only postpones the day of triumph, which is sure to come. Let us never falter because the work is of such magnitude. Let the thought that we are permitted to be sharers in so great a work inspire us with the requisite manly courage.

If one will for a moment think of a state of things in America, as it will be when there is no slave in all our land, he will see that a great and effectual door for the triumph of the Gospel will be opened. The colored race is to be instructed and christianized, the blessings of free schools, and Sabbath schools, and churches, are to be given to the South, in as liberal portion as in the most favored parts of the North, and under the new and free union, the power and glory of America are yet to begin, so is the glory of the latter house to excel the glory of the former. Nor are the great triumphs of the Gospel, and the blessings of the truly Christian civilization, to be confined to our own continent. The destiny of our continent, it will be seen in years to come more and more, is, not simply to influence Europe and Asia, but is inseparably connected with the destiny of Africa. With the millions of freedmen of African origin in our nation, the relations of this country to Africa must become more and more intimate year by year. Through this dark night and this bloody war, Providence is preparing for a new state of things over the whole globe, a state more encouraging to the spread of the Gospel than has ever before existed. The guilty cause

of the present bloody war had in effect said, that the Gospel in its fulness of blessing, should not enter slave territory. How wonderfully it is to magnify the name of our God to see in the coming events how He overrules this impotent rage of the oppressors of Africans, to give His Gospel to the whole African race.

In view of so great a privilege as God is manifestly preparing for laborers in the kingdom of Christ, through the present distresses, it behooves us all daily to commit ourselves to Him in new zeal and fortitude, and enlarged Christian sacrifices. Let prayer daily ascend that God may speedily turn the hearts of the people from their fanatical attachment to slavery. In the darkest night we should have words of cheer for all who love the Union, especially while we see the anti-slavery sentiment moving forward so much more rapidly in war than it did in peace. All that we can do to hasten forward the truth is just so much towards preventing bloodshed, by hastening the downfall of the slaveholder's rebellion.

ART. VII.—HISTORY OF THE TEMPERANCE ENTERPRISE.

Drunkenness is a sin. It is a great sin. It is classed in the Scriptures with the works of the flesh; that is those of a sensual and corrupt kind. Few vices are more seductive than drunkenness, and few bring more misery, transmitting it often to descendants, the iniquity of fathers being visited upon children to the third and fourth generation. The punishment for drunkenness is terrible here. It comes in multiplied and in almost all conceivable forms. In the life to come, it will be banishment from God and from all that is good. Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

The history of intemperance by drinking is almost coeval with the history of the race of man. The fermented juice of

the fruit of the vine intoxicated the owner of the vineyard as mentioned by Moses. That was 4200 years ago. Probably the drunkenness of that vine-dresser, Noah, was one of innocence, as he might not have known the intoxicating nature of the liquor. But an awful judgment came upon the youngest son for his impropriety on the occasion. Fermented drink was the most ancient vehicle for stimulation and inebriation, and in all ages has been among the most common. In the progress of intemperance in portions of Asia, the people found intoxication in preparations, not from the juice of the grape alone, but in preparations from the poppy and wild hemp. Afterwards some nations found the apple adapted to the same bad purpose. Tacitus relates also that the ancient Germans obtained intoxicating drink from wheat and barley. Whether this was by fermentation or brewing is not known with certainty. It is known, however, that the art of brewing, as now practiced, was not known in Europe till about A. D. 1600.

By the distillery business, fermented liquors and some other substances are converted into spirits of a more highly rectified state. The precise time of this invention is uncertain. In Prov. 31 : 6 mention is made of strong drink in distinction from wine. It must have been very strong wine, or something of the sort, for distillation and the production of what are called ardent spirits were not known till at least 1600 years later. One account states about A. D. 900, an Arabian chemist discovered by distillation the liquor called alcohol or ardent spirits, and that this as a drink soon came into general favor. Dr. Ure says it seems to have been invented in the north of Europe by barbarians, as a solace to the cold and humid climate. The first record of distinct mention of it was in that grand division of the earth about the year of grace 1300. Those among the wisest had long been searching for one great balm for human diseases; and on this discovery, it was fancied they had found it. They fully believed this was the ELIXIR OF LIFE. And the fatal delusion has not, up to this time, been fully dispelled. Newton in discovering Nature's great law of matter, nor Columbus in discovering the western continent, was not so much elated with rising hope of good to the race; as were some in

regard to the amazing blessings that had commenced and that were to roll in upon the world by the discovery of alcohol. One Villeneuve, a chemist and a physician, with untold joy expressed himself thus, "Who would believe that one can draw from wine, by chemical process, that which has not the color of wine, nor the ordinary effects of wine? This water of wine is called by some the water of life, and it well deserves the name, since it is truly the water of immortality. Already its virtues begin to be known. It prolongs one's life; it dissipates superfluous and vicious humors; it revives the heart, and perpetuates youth."

Three hundred years later, Shakspeare, in tones of terrible denunciation, exclaimed, "O, thou invisible spirit of Rum! if thou hadst no name by which to call thee, we would call thee, devil." And much later Robert Hall gives it the significant and highly appropriate name, "Distilled fire and liquid damnation."

The history of the nations is a history of war, as if this was the normal state of society. The history of the church is a history of persecution, as if it had been the business of the wicked to "wear out the saints of the Most High." And the history of the world in its great social vice is a history of drunkenness, as if the fiery plowshare of destruction was being driven through to destroy what little bliss is afforded in this imperfect state; and to crush the brightest hopes of future felicity. The use of intoxicating drinks in some of their various forms has been in extensive and almost common use at most periods in nearly every nation under heaven. They have been judged necessary and almost indispensable in every possible condition, sickness and health; labor and ease; warm and cold. They were given to children at the tenderest age; friends were treated with them at every social gathering; and at funerals they were provided as a solace to sorrow-stricken friends. Church members drank; ministers drank. In fact all drank; or, if there was here and there one who did not use them, it was a wonder that none could comprehend.

The consequence was, what the masses used without scruple, large multitudes indulged in without restraint. Drunkenness was on every hand. No condition was exempt from invasion.

While beggars and peasants were reeling into the ditch, those in more elevated situations were brought down by the destroyer. It crept up into the circles of the refined, laid worse than vandal hands on those, who by the aid of genius, education and moral worth, were soaring to the highest position of usefulness and fame; and brought them down to the lowest infamy and shame. Lawyers, physicians, orators, legislators, governors, presidents, kings, and emperors drank of the maddening cup, and at times at least were badly intoxicated. The church of the living God did not escape. Its members drank of "the cup of devils;" and not unfrequently, when filled with that kind of spirit, were uncommonly religious in the words of their flippant tongues. Even the ministers of God's altar, in numerous cases, were overcome by strong drink.

In the train of intemperance, followed poverty, quarrellings, and tumults. Crime abounded. Two-thirds of the offences against the civil laws and the expenses of litigation were attributed, after some observation, to inebriation. Woe and squalid wretchedness were everywhere. In our country, thirty-five millions of dollars were expended yearly for liquor; and the whole expense adding losses by idleness, lawsuits, &c., that came of drinking was estimated at one hundred millions annually. England expended for liquor one hundred and seventy-six millions yearly; and France two hundred and thirty-four millions. As far as the expense was concerned, how forcible the question, "To what purpose was this waste?"

But there was another matter as the legitimate results of drinking, far more awful to contemplate. In our country alone about thirty thousand drunkards went yearly down to the grave, and their spirits to the drunkard's world of woe. A large portion died prematurely, by this sin, hurrying themselves unbidden into the presence of the Judge of all the earth, to receive their dreadful doom.

The foregoing, which is but a hasty glance, shows that the world had its "hour and power of darkness." France once had what is well called the "Reign of Terror." It was but seventy years ago. The throne was overturned, the head of the king cut off; and then under the lead of Murat and Robespierre,

more than eighteen thousand in a few months were led to execution because they were suspected of being favorable to royalty. Innocent men, women and children perished without mercy. But the reign of alcohol has been a worse reign of terror than that. It has made much of earth a terrible hell in sight of living beings.

While scenes were thus transpiring, and inventions and discoveries being made for the convenience and improvement of society, it is natural to suppose some would have been led to inquire if there was no remedy for the curse of intemperance? Were there not measures that could be employed to roll back to the bottomless pit the desolating tide? Could not this great fountain of human misery be dried up? But here it should be said that even then drunkenness was condemned in no unmeaning terms. The pulpit not unfrequently uttered a voice of thunder against it. But it amounted to little so long as it was never said, "Touch not, taste not, handle not." Thieves were told to steal no more. The profane, to swear not at all. But drunkards, to drink in less quantities so that they might not be so dreadfully intoxicated. So in this way, things went on as aforesaid.

Here let it also be said that Christianity is for reform; and the church of Christ is for a complete renovation of heart and life. Hence every true church embraces the principles of purity and benevolence. It cannot, if it answers the designs of its being, practice the works of sin; nor have fellowship with iniquity; but must reprove wrong. But in this imperfect state cardinal principles are sometimes much lost sight of, and cardinal, practical virtues found to be lacking. And lamentable indeed is it that while the church is not to be of the world, it is too much in affinity with it, so that there are commingled the language of Ashdod and Canaan, and the pronounciation, "Sibboleth," where it should be "Shibboleth."

The object of the great religious movement under Luther, in the sixteenth century, the Puritans in the seventeenth, of the Methodists and Freewill Baptists in the eighteenth—was a revival of the faith once delivered to the saints, and thus to help on the reformation of the world. And so with some other de-

nominations that have arisen to reflect the light of gospel truth. In this, the nineteenth century, there have been organized several enterprises of benevolence and philanthropy, that in them Christians and other well disposed persons might employ a combined and concentrated effort 'to overthrow the evils of the world, bless the suffering, and extend Christianity to the ignorant and perishing. The Temperance enterprise is one of these. It is a very important one; so important that the success of the others and of saving faith itself depend much on the progress of this.

The precious diamond worth three millions of dollars has existed from time immemorial, but it was not found till there had been a patient search in the low bed of the stream. Truth is a rich mine, but the golden vein is not found till one searches for it "as for hid treasures." The evil of drunkenness and the general spread of it did not escape anxious observation. And the question was, Is there any remedy?

They, who seek for good, shall find it. And behold, the principle of an important reformation was discovered. It was not a new thing, but as old as the law of the Lord, which enjoins that men "sin not," and "avoid the very appearance of evil." The beginning was small. It was like dropping a pebble in the midst of the ocean, the planting of a grain of mustard seed in the earth, or the kindling of a small blaze of fire. It was "the day of small things," despised by many and overlooked by the great of this world. But the pebble causes a ripple of the whole expanse of waters; from the mustard seed comes a tree in which the fowls of heaven lodge; and the little fire becomes a great matter.

The first Temperance Society on the principle of the great reform, owes its origin to a physician by the name of B. J. Clark of Moreau, Saratoga county, New York, who consulted with Rev. I. Armstrong of the same place, as to measures to arrest the progress of intemperance, and to save the community at large from threatened drunkenness. This was in March, 1808. The plan of a Society was suggested. On the 30th of April, the same year, the organization took place, and forty-

three male persons became members. A printed copy of the Constitution is now at hand. The use of ardent spirits was strictly prohibited, except for medicinal purposes. Wine was allowed at public dinners and at the Sacrament of the Holy Supper. On the 25th of August of the same year, Rev. L. Armstrong delivered an address before this Society. Probably this was the first Temperance address ever given. A printed copy of this also is at hand. Two general topics are considered. One is the unhappy consequences of a free use of spirituous liquors; and the safety of abstinence from them.

This Society stood alone eighteen years, no other being formed to cooperate with it. It did good, but finally languished, and in 1843 its surviving members adopted the pledge of total abstinence from all that intoxicates. This pledge was at that time in the Constitutions of most temperance organizations.

The next movement after the organization at Moreau was in New England, the land of the Puritans, of churches and free schools. The General Association of Massachusetts at its meeting in 1811, chose a committee to devise means to check the growing evil, intemperance. The result was the formation of a Society on the 13th of February, 1813, called "The Massachusetts Society for the suppression of Intemperance." No pledge to abstinence was adopted. In fact, at that time that principle was hardly thought of. The Society in New York was very quiet. Its doings were not then published, so were not known and read of all men. The Massachusetts Society confined its operations mostly to the collection of facts towards a precise exhibition of the great evil, with the view of drawing attention to it. In this it was quite successful. And in a few years like measures were employed in Connecticut, and to some little extent in Vermont.

It is necessary that the nature of a malignant disease be understood before the proper means for its removal can be employed. And not unfrequently the *cause* must be removed before the good effects can be seen. This last was especially the case here. The question naturally suggested itself, How are

drunkards made? Answer, By moderate drinking. How, then, can drunkenness be prevented? Answer, By ceasing to drink even in moderate quantities.

The Printing Press speaks with a thousand tongues, and pours, when it speaks for truth, a flood of light upon the world. In the mean time it was speaking on this great matter, and suggesting in unmistakable terms the remedy. As early as 1790 Rev. John Wesley published that "The men, who traffic in ardent spirit and sell to all who buy, are poisoners general." In 1804 Dr. Rush wrote with great force on the effects of using spirits. In 1814 a Tract was published against offering liquors when entertaining friends. In 1819 Judge Hurltell issued an expose of their use. In 1825 Dr. Edwards wrote the Tract entitled, "The well conducted farm," exhibiting the good effects of carrying on a farm without the use of liquors. And sometime in the course of these years, Dr. Humphrey wrote a series of articles in the *Panoplist*, in which the principle of abstinence was pointed out. Dr. Beecher, also, while in Litchfield, Connecticut, delivered a series of sermons on the "Nature, signs, evil, and remedy of intemperance." After settling in Boston, he had these published about the year 1826.

And now all things indicated that the time had come for the inauguration of a movement that should roll back the dark waves of death, and bring sobriety and peace. A meeting of a few friends for consultation was held in Boston, January 10, 1826, and it was decided to form an Association to be called "The American Temperance Society." On the 13th of February the Constitution was adopted, and fifteen became members. The Constitution prohibited the use of ardent spirits as a beverage. In April following, Wm. Collier commenced publishing in Boston a paper devoted to temperance. Its motto was, "Moderate drinking is the down hill road to intemperance."

And now a small force was marshalled; its flag was thrown to the breeze; and there was a call for volunteers. But at once there was a fierce opposition. The enterprise was denounced as an "innovation,"—as a work of the priests; as against the liberties of the people, and withal an appeal was made to the

Bible as is usual in similar cases; and it was boldly affirmed that using these liquors was according to the Scriptures. Those who abstained were called by what those who gave the name supposed a terribly bad name, "cold water folks;"—"fanatics," and consummate hypocrites, who, out of sight, would drink as freely as others.

But denunciation and persecution never dishearten reformers. The only effect is to cause them to cherish their sacred principles more tenderly, and to labor to extend them more earnestly. They had at first planted themselves on the Bible, and as that Book had been appealed to, to justify the use of inebriating liquors, to that, the friends of temperance resolved to go. And in all its length, breadth, height and depth of its instructions it was found that so far from the law being a "minister to sin," it on the contrary did not allow of "the very appearance of evil." And that as related to the use of intoxicating drinks, drunkenness is denounced in the most fearful terms, and only for medicinal purposes are they to be used at all. And so plainly was this all set forth that after a little time few respectable men in this country had the audacity to attempt to justify the practice by an appeal to the Bible.

The leaven of truth was working gradually for the first year or two. The first annual report of the American Temperance Society stated that thirty auxiliary Societies had been formed. At the next annual meeting the number was two hundred and twenty, five of which were State Societies. By 1829, only three years having elapsed since the first direct commencement, the interest was great in all the land. There were about one thousand societies, and in the Union there were twenty-four States, eleven of which had a State society. Information collected showed that the quantity of liquor drank had much diminished; that fifty distilleries had been stopped; four hundred engaged in the traffic had abandoned it; and seven hundred drunkards had been reformed and become sober citizens. The good influence on the general happiness of the community could not be estimated. The benefit to the Church too was incalculable. Its purity and spirituality was much increased, as what might well be called "the cup of devils" had been given

up by the main part of its active members. And the Most High set the broad seal of his approbation upon the work by pouring out the Spirit in a work of grace, in a few following years, the like of which the country before this had not known.

By this time the importance of members of churches giving up the moderate use of ardent spirits had been urged and very many churches made it one condition on which members should be received that they be pledged to abstinence.

About this time, 1830, it was found that the reform could not be complete without a pledge against the use of all that intoxicates, wine and cider as well as strong drink. This began to be adopted. It was urged in Resolutions at a great Convention a while after at Saratoga Springs; and "Tee-totalism" became the great and successful feature of the reform.

About this time also the fame of the work reached across the ocean; and first in Ireland, about the same period in Scotland, then in England, and on some portions of the continent, the pledge was adopted, societies formed, and a great reform ensued. Some efforts were made in the South Sea Islands, in China and the Sandwich Islands. It seemed for a few years that it would not be long before the curse of drunkenness would be removed from the world.

In our land from 1830 to 1840 it was a time of much work and much progress to the cause. Lectures were given everywhere; publications scattered thick and fast; and the pledge signed. It was no uncommon thing for retailers in renouncing the traffic to make a sacrifice of what liquors they had on hand. Sometimes they were taken out and burned in a fire made for the purpose. Sometimes they were emptied upon the ground. Among the first who poured them upon the ground was Edward C. Delevan of Albany, New York, since well known as an earnest friend of temperance, who at once destroyed liquors in his possession to the amount of about five hundred dollars worth. Some tipplers were sad at this seeming waste, but probably Beelzebub was the chief mourner. Angels, however, rejoiced, and the prospects of humanity and civilization were daily growing brighter. "And the earth opened her mouth,

and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth." Rev. 12: 16.

Members of Congress formed a Congressional Temperance Society in February, 1833. This was kept up several years with good interest.

By 1840 it was believed the number pledged to abstinence in the land was two and a half millions. There were about 1000 Societies; 5,000 distilleries had stopped; and 8,000 retailers abandoned the traffic.

From 1840 to 1850 the interest was pretty well sustained. At the commencement of this decade, that is, April 5th 1840, six persons, inveterate tipplers in the city of Baltimore, took the pledge; one of them being J. H. W. Hawkins, afterwards an efficient lecturer. This was the origin of what was soon called "Washingtonian Societies." These for a while seemed to accomplish wonders. Drunkards abandoned the cup, and many of them took the field to lecture. The unvarnished story of their life of degradation, and appeals to the intemperate to refrain, had much influence on the class to which they had belonged. But too often it was excited feelings without intelligence and the strength of moral principle. In time the excitement subsided, and while the efforts of the Washingtonians were highly beneficial, many who professed reform, embracing some who had lectured, relapsed back into inebriation. Hawkins, Gough, and many stood firm and did much good.

In this time were female organizations called "Martha Washingtons." These, while active, shook the strongholds of intemperance. What moral enterprise can fail when woman with a heart, with her strong sympathies and her winning graces engages in it? There were also "Sons of Temperance," "Daughters of Temperance," "Rechabites," "Cadets" and several other organizations. All found their hands full of work; all enjoyed the unspeakable luxury of doing good. And it is much regretted that the operations of several of them existed only for a short season. Experience has shown, however, that success does not depend upon a multiplicity of societies, bearing different names, so much as a few, with the principle well defined and the machinery simple and direct.

The next decade, from 1840 to 1850, came. About a quarter of a century had passed since the enterprise commenced. On well-fought fields trophies had been won. It seemed that one ponderous blow, one mighty effort more, and the work would, in the main, be finished. Law against crime is important. "The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for men-stealers, for perjured persons, and if there be anything that is contrary to sound doctrine."—1 Tim. 1: 9, 10. God says, "Woe to him that putteth his bottle to his neighbor's mouth, and maketh him drunken." Retailers do this, and the attention of the temperance public was turned to the arm of the civil law as requisite to be raised and protect those liable to be ruined; and punish those who send the streams of death abroad. There had been, in several States, some legislation regulating, and, to a little extent, curtailing, the unhallowed traffic. But, in some instances, it had been so partial, or otherwise imperfect, that the exigencies of the great matter had by no means been met. Not far from 1840, a law had been passed in Massachusetts prohibiting the sale in less quantity than fifteen gallons. This was very soon repealed. By a law in New York, in 1845, it was left to the towns, in a special meeting for that purpose, to vote for licensing the sale, or not licensing. The city of New York was exempted from the provisions of the law. The towns voted, in 1846, and a great majority voted no license. In 1847 the majority was much less, and at the next session the Legislature repealed the law.

But the sovereign voice of the people was demanding prohibitory laws. And while many were in anxiety and some in expectation, a bright light, a brilliant star, arose in the East; and the indications were that it was the guiding star, that would point the nations to purity and peace. The matter was brought before the Legislature of Maine. A bill, devised by Hon. Neal Dow of Portland, provided for the effectual arrest, seizure and destruction of all existing alcoholic liquors in the state, excepting some for specific, necessary purposes.

Not only were violators to be fined or imprisoned, but liquors illegally held were to be taken and destroyed. The law was nicely framed, with the necessary checks and balances; was elevated in its tone, potent in its aim at the terrible evil its design was to overthrow. Even opposers were struck with astonishment; and it passed without any very furious opposition. This was in the winter of 1851.

The law was, for a time, very well executed. It seemed that Satan was to be bruised under feet shortly. In process of time, there were some reverses, some changes in the law, and less faithfulness in its execution. Still, such a prohibitory law has done wonders, and stood the test of criticism and opposition.

Many other States soon followed the example of Maine. In New Hampshire, 80,000 petitioned the Legislature to enact a similar law. It was enacted in 1855. The Democratic party, the next spring, made its repeal an article in its platform, and appealed, all over the State, to the low prejudices and corrupt appetites of the people; but the party was defeated, and the law sustained.

In New York, not long after the law in Maine, hundreds of thousands petitioned for a similar law; and some thousands, mostly from New York city, sent up a remonstrance against it. Very many females petitioned for the law; but as may at once be supposed, not one signed the remonstrance.

New York, after a time, had a prohibitory law; and so had a number of other States. The law is good. But here must be named a failure of the friends of temperance, by which there has been a decline of the interest since the passing of temperance laws. Too much dependence has been placed on legal means, and the former efforts of lecturers, the operation of Societies, and the circulation of the pledge, have not been kept up. The consequence is, the enterprise, for more than ten years, has not progressed as before. In many sections there has been a sad decline. The laws against the free sale are but poorly executed, and drunkenness still abounds.

In view of the subject thus sketched in the outlines of its history, the following statements suggest themselves:

1. The world has been, and still is, in great need of the temperance reform.

2. There is no effectual remedy for the evils and woes of intemperance but on the principle of total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

3. The temperance cause is of God, to largely help "destroy the works of the devil."

4. Moral and legal measures must be vigorously employed together, and truth, being mighty, must prevail.

And now, the simple, yet momentous question before the religious and civilized world is, shall drunkenness continue, or be done away? Shall quarrelling, tumults and cursings exist; or peace, quietness and praise to the Creator? Shall poverty and crime abound; or a competency and good conduct? Shall man, capable of scanning the sciences, tracing the long track of day, soaring among the stars, and enjoying an almost infinite amount of bliss, degrade himself lower than brutes, live in untold pain, and sink in eternal woe?

"Men of Israel, help." Ye "angels that excel in strength," help. "Eternal Spirit! God of truth; to whom all things seem as they are," and who alone can cause right to bear away the victory, help; and there will be help indeed.

ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THE STANDARD-PHONOGRAPHIC DICTIONARY. By Andrew J. Graham, Conductor of the Phonetic Academy, New York, and Author of the *Hand-Book of Standard Phonography*," "The Synopsis of Standard Phonography," "The First and Second Standard-Phonographic Reader," "Brief Longhand," a System for the Rapid Expression of Numbers, &c., &c. New York: Published by the Author.

In this age, which might be characterized as the age of types, for the press is really the greatest power, the phonographic system must continue to grow in public favor. While it is the most rapid mode of expressing thought upon paper, it is also thoroughly philosophic, the art being founded upon thoroughly tested principles of science. The great principle upon which it proceeds is simply this: That each sound is represented invariably by one and only one character. A given character must represent invariably a given sound. In the phonographic art, the departures from this principle are but trifling, and in the phonetic art, we might say there are absolutely none. By these arts, therefore, the languages of all nations can be accurately expressed with no change in the complete alphabet. The same sound, to whatever language it belongs, is represented by precisely the same sign. The system is, therefore, of invaluable assistance to missionaries in reducing to writing the various tongues which have never yet been expressed in writing. Already, we learn, the missionaries on the western coast of Africa are employing this system with great success.

By the printed characters, the sound of each word is accurately indicated. Were books printed in these characters, there would go with the print not only the words so far as they indicate ideas, but the pronunciation of those words also. But, meanwhile, those characters are of the utmost service in a pronouncing dictionary, strictly speaking, the pronunciation of every word must be determined before it can be written at all in phonographic characters.

The author of this dictionary, which is a work of more than a thousand closely filled pages, represents for the phonographic writer precisely the form which he considers best to express every word. It was a prerequisite to this scheme, as we have seen, first to represent the pronunciation of each word, which the author has done in phonetic type.

The phonetic type differs so little from the ordinary type, that in an hour or less, any reader can follow it with ease. The work before us, therefore, is, as pronouncing dictionary, one which any reader can use, though he may not be at all acquainted with the phonographic character or system. The accentuation marks are readily and unmistakably distinguished.

To the phonographic writer, the work is almost indispensable, if he would attain to the most graceful and brief forms. The references to the *Hand-Book* render great assistance to the learner at every step.

No doubt the phonographic system of writing will at length be introduced

into all the common schools of the land. Already it has been introduced into many academies and seminaries and common schools. Children learn the system with great facility. To all instructors in this beautiful and highly useful art, this dictionary will prove not only a valuable assistant, but an authoritative teacher in the main, for many years to come. The work is so thorough, so elaborate, and, in the main, so accurate, that it could not easily be improved, and is not likely to be superseded in a generation.

Mission Boards would do a good service by sending this work to all their stations. It will prove a valuable reference book to all who are in any way concerned with the immediate work of Foreign Missions.

If type-setters and authors would at once learn to use phonography, two-thirds of the drudgery of authors would be saved, and more than half of the perplexities of printers in deciphering manuscript. A system of such advantages must at length prevail, at least among the learned.

A SUPPLEMENT TO URE'S DICTIONARY OF ART, MANUFACTURES AND MINES, Containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. From the last Edition. Edited by Robert Hunt, F. R. S., F. S. S., Keeper of Mining Records, formerly Professor of Physics, Government School of Mines, &c., &c., assisted by numerous Contributors eminent in Science and familiar with Manufactures. Illustrated with seven hundred Engravings on Wood. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

Ure's Dictionary, for a long time a standard authority on the subjects it treats, it was found necessary to revise or supplement, owing to the great improvements that had been made. The condensed results of the labors conducted by Mr. Hunt for that purpose, we have in the volume before us—a large book of more than a thousand pages, executed in a manner worthy of envy.

WAR PICTURES FROM THE SOUTH. By B. Estvan, Colonel of Cavalry in the Confederate Army. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

This history of the war, so far as it goes, professes much greater candor and fairness than it will be found to contain by the intelligent reader. It is altogether more Southern than Northern. It professes to be written by an Englishman who served as a Colonel in the Confederate army. The author, judging by his sympathies, might be a sprig of the aristocracy of England; he certainly does not belong to the genuine noblemen of England. They are in sympathy with the progress of civilization and freedom.

MONEY. By Charles Moran. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

The author says this "is an attempt to analyze and discuss the subject of money, in its most important, practical phases, more fully than has been done in any other works that have, as yet, fallen into the hands of the writer.

Many interesting facts, to say nothing of theories, are given concerning money. Cowrie shells are used for money in Africa; wampum by the Indi-

ans ; cattle in ancient Greece were so used ; the Carthagenians used leather ; Frederic II., at the siege of Milan, issued stamped leather as money. Salt is the common money in Abyssinia ; Caffish in Iceland and Newfoundland ; and in a village in Scotland people carry nails to the baker's shop and the ale-house, instead of coin ; tobacco was the money for fifty-seven years, up to 1660, in Virginia ; in Massachusetts at one time wheat was lawful tender for debts ; in Russia platinum has been coined during this century ; copes and nickel are used in coin, but gold and silver are the "precious metals." Any thing, however, is money, which commands the commodities and services required.

The questions of government issues, and of banks, &c., are discussed. The author believes that he has proved, by an introduction of facts, that the issue of paper money by governments is invariably injurious ; that such money invariably depreciates ; and, in most all cases, it becomes utterly worthless. While banking operations, by individuals, under proper regulations, is universally beneficial, that facts show that the loss by banks, great as they have been, is, after all, less than the loss by wear and tear of coin would have been in transacting the business that has been done by the assistance of banks. The author holds that it is impossible for well-regulated banks to issue bills beyond the normal demands of business ; but that governments have the power to enforce circulation. Hence, government money may depreciate, but individual never.

HEAT CONSIDERED AS A MODE OF MOTION. Being a Course of Twelve Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in the season of 1862. By John Tyndale, F. R. S., etc., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution. With Illustrations. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

Here comes a book upsetting all the theories that we learned at school about the "imponderable agents." Facts seem to settle forever now, for instance, that caloric is no "imponderable fluid ;" it is nothing, in short, but motion in the ultimate particles of matter. If anybody doubts, let him read this interesting, clear and entertaining exposition of the subject.

LECTURES on the Symbolic Character of the Scriptures. By Rev. Abel Silver, Minister of the New Jerusalem Church in New York. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1863. (Bailey & Noyes, Portland, Me.)

The author is also the author of another work in reply to Colenso, issued by the same House. Both of these books are entirely Swedenborgian in their mode of reasoning as replying to Colenso and in the exposition of the Scriptures. Some useful remarks and valuable hints are given in these works to the Bible expositor ; but, in the main, they seem to us unreasonable, not to say absurd. We do not see that the world would be the gainer if Colenso should be converted to Swedenborgianism.

For a long time we had desired really to understand "the science of correspondences." We could not quite understand Swedenborg, but we hoped to understand some of his disciples. We are not sure that we understand this

book, but if we do, the great "science" comes to a small matter in itself. A few facts as a basis, are pushed to a most unwarrantable generalization.

Take an example: The Saviour says, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." Now, according to this science, "sword" means truth. Thus, our author: "He comes to send the *sword of truth*, that we may have peace through victory over our evils." How insipid this exposition! What a volume of meaning which arises to the perception of even the common reader this exposition leaves out of view! "*Ab uno*," &c.

A TEXT-BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. The Edinburgh Translation of C. W. Buch, Revised with large additions from the Fourth German Edition, and other sources. By Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Vol. II. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862. Octavo, pp. 558.

The treatise of Hagenbach has long been a standard work in its department on both sides of the ocean. The learning, candor, and discrimination which it evinces are so marked, and the subject is one of such deep interest to all thoughtful men, and especially to all theologians, that a treatise of this kind and character could hardly fail to find readers and command respectful consideration and diligent study. We took occasion to speak at some length of its characteristics and general plan on the appearance of the first volume, and the solid merits of the work are still more manifest in this volume which now lies before us. The author and translators seem to have made themselves familiar with nearly the whole circle of controversial and general literature, and they have given us, in their multitudinous references, a catalogue of nearly all the works in every language which can throw light upon the topics which are successively treated, and which may be found authorizing the statements in the text. The mere English scholar will be less benefited, as many of the works referred to are in foreign languages, and many of the quoted passages are left untranslated; but its value to any thoughtful student would be very great.

The statements in the text proper, which stand at the head of the successive sections, are remarkable specimens of condensation, vigor and accuracy of style; and these are followed by sections in smaller type, each one of which is devoted to the illustration and proof of some single point brought out in the general summary above. As a specimen of the style and method of the work, we quote below, a paragraph setting forth the different views of the doctrine of redemption, entertained by the different ecclesiastical parties which followed the Reformation. This general and discriminating statement is followed by twelve sections, covering ten closely printed pages, which are devoted to the illustration of the different points herein presented:

"Notwithstanding the many religious conflicts to which the Reformation gave rise, Christians of all denominations agreed in the general belief that the salvation of man depends on the gracious purpose of God. But they differed on the questions, whether the Divine decree, which has reference to this point, is unconditional, or depends on the conduct of man, whether it is gen-

eral or particular. The more rigid the views of theologians on the doctrine of original sin, and the moral inability of man, the more firmly they would maintain that the decrees of God are unconditional. Hence, it is not surprising that Roman Catholics, Arminians, and most of all, the Socinians, endeavored in a more or less Pelagian manner, to satisfy the claims of human freedom. On the other hand, both Lutherans and Reformers, following Augustine, rejected the notion of the freedom of the will, and denied all coöperation on the part of man. Nevertheless, it is a striking fact, that the Lutherans avoided the strict consequences of the Augustinian system, and asserted that the decrees of God are conditional; while the Reformed theologians not only admitted the necessity of those consequences, but, having once determined the idea of predestination, went beyond the premises so far as to maintain that the fall of man itself was predestinated of God. But this view, so far from meeting with general approbation, was at last almost entirely abandoned to make way for its opposite. As regards the extent of the offered grace, all the Confessions, with the exception of the Reformed, held to universalism, in distinction from particularism; but even all Calvinists did not on this point proceed to the same length; some of them adopted the stand-point of the universality of the provisions of grace. The Westminster Assembly aimed to set forth the doctrines of sin and redemption so as to harmonize the conflicting views about freedom and grace; the scheme of absolute predestination was here modified by the theory of the Covenants."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND; since the Accession of George III., 1760—1860. By Thomas Erskine May, C. B. In two Volumes. Vol. II. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1863. 12mo., pp. 596.

We took occasion, on the issue of the previous volume of Mr. May, to speak of the author's plan, and of the success which he had achieved in a difficult field of effort. The completion of his undertaking fully justifies the statement and the expectations which were then ventured. Mr. May has proved himself a worthy successor of Mr. Hallam, a careful student of English history and life, an impartial annalist, a philosophic thinker, a faithful critic, and a just judge. There is no difficulty in perceiving what direction his sympathies take, nor in determining what principles get his endorsement, and what measures command his approval; but he has no blind partisanship for the political leaders whom he supports, and no wholesale denunciation for the managers whose policy he distrusts. He has no love for feudalism, but rejoices in the progress of all truly liberal opinions, and in the intellectual and moral elevation of the people. He would not accept Philip II. or Queen Elizabeth as a model sovereign; nor would he lend any countenance to such plotters as Guy Fawkes, nor such headlong agitators for "Repeal" as O'Connell. The sworn foe of tyranny, he has yet a profound faith in government; a pleader for progress and the rights of the people, he protests against the supremacy of the mob, and has little faith in the revolutions which are inaugurated in a day by the passions of the ignorant or the arts of the demagogue.

This recent volume contains a very clear and admirable *resume* of the political life of the English nation during the last hundred years. The changes in the civil administration of the country, the sweeping away of worn-out systems of policy, the softening of penal discipline, the growths and struggles, triumphs and defeats, of parties, the battles over the freedom of the press, the liberty of opinion, the rights of the sub-

ject, the prerogatives of the church,—these are clearly traced and fairly presented. The condition of Ireland, and its relation to English law and life, the policy of the British government toward the colonies and dependencies of the Home Government, furnish topics for discussion which cannot fail to bring out both the skill and tendencies of any author who deals with them. But Mr. May does not falter. He is a faithful historian still. He has no justification nor shelter to give to the selfishness which has marked the government of India, and he makes palpable the folly which pushed the American colonies into revolution, and built up an independent nation on the western continent. The number of topics which secures attention is large, but every one is clearly presented; almost every variety of men and measures comes in for a share of notice, and none fails to get it. The work is eminently creditable to the author, and a real accession to our standard literature; and though it shows us much yet needing to be done before the civil life of England is perfected, it tells a most grateful story of progress, and predicts a yet better future for legislation and society.

LETTERS ON THE MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL. By Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

These Letters were written at the request of Deacon Heman Lincoln, of Boston, and are nominally addressed to him; but both the writer and receiver perfectly understood that they were meant for the public; and the epistolary form seems to have been chosen for the sake of the familiar style and practical directness which it promises and nurtures. They aspire to no literary excellences, and they exhibit no marked strength of thought or vigor of argument. They will be chiefly prized as exhibiting the author's matured thoughts on the most vital matters, and will be influential mostly by means of their exalted moral and spiritual tone. Their criticisms upon ministerial life and teaching, are kind but sometimes severe; if pictures are sometimes overdrawn, and protests are over-intense, and fears seem too easily excited, and "limitations of responsibility" appear now and then ignored, and some points are extremely pressed,—yet no one can escape the conviction that the venerable Ex-President writes out of a yearning and devout heart, burdened with the fear that religion is to be robbed of its highest power through the lack of faith, simplicity and devotion of its professed advocates. It is well adapted to excite inquiry, and promote self-examination, and stir penitence, and nurture faithfulness in ministerial circles,—a work of whose great necessity none can be more conscious than the ministry itself. The spirit of Dr. Wayland grows mellow and child-like as he bends under the load of years, and he is walking toward the valley more and more fully leaning on the Divine Helper.

LYRA CÆLESTIS. Hymns on Heaven. Selected by A. C. Thompson, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

This volume of poetry has been compiled with admirable taste and judgment; and contains a larger number of hymns and poems on the subject of the "Better Land" than can elsewhere be found in a single volume, and a better collection than almost any other editor has shown himself capa-

ble of bringing together. While many are familiar and favorites, which the heart and faith of Christendom have canonized, not a few gems will be found gathered from sources not generally available, but which can hardly fail to become admired and treasured for their value. The publishers have, as usual, given them all a worthy setting.

ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY ; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1863. Exhibiting the most Important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., M. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, &c. 1863.

This volume of the Year-Book contains a portrait of Ericsson, and 337 pages of Letter-press. The portrait is a speaking likeness; the amount of information, carefully collected, classified and arranged, on the various topics indicated above, is immense and valuable. Military and naval matters, of course, come in for a large share of attention, but the whole field of physical science has been traversed by a thorough explorer, and its products set before us with the skill of an experienced disciple. The work fully maintains its reputation and character.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND. By Joseph Kay, Esq., M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE ON A GEORGIAN PLANTATION, in 1838—1839. By Frances Anne Kemble. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

The problem presented to social science and Christian philanthropy in the question,—What shall be done for the poor? seems yet a long way from solution. And the question is not apparently very much easier to answer in Europe than in the United States. The war in this country appears to be rapidly working out the problem which centuries of transatlantic experience have left almost stationary.

There has been not a little of horror expressed by Englishmen over our slavery, and the wholesale degradation which results from it. There is no good reason for complaint over this astonishment and remonstrance. It has been too long the reproach of America. The extinguishment of slavery throughout the British empire was a welcome index to the progress of legislation and the growth of a better public sentiment. But the work of caring for the crushed masses of the poor, has by no means been completed in England, and the events of the last two years have compelled many of the best anti-slavery men in this country to receive the philanthropy of Exeter Hall, and the self-complacent oratory of the Parliament House, at a considerable discount.

This volume, devoted to the consideration of the condition of the poorer classes in England and Wales, is simply a republication of a part of the work of Mr. Kay, a member of Parliament, who issued his startling volume in 1850. The motive assigned by the American Editor for reprinting the chapter devoted to England at this time, is found in the nature and attendants of

our great national struggle. There may be in it something of the nature of a sharp and indignant retort,—a pointing back to the sins that ought to keep our foreign accusers silent. But the editor claims, in his preface, that these features of English life appear as the legitimate fruits of the civil and social system upon which the English nation is founded,—that they are not accidents but elements. And while American Republicanism is in throes, and Southern oligarchs are beginning to express a preference for the limited monarchy of Great Britain, and the supporters of absolutism are ready to call our civil experiment a failure, we are bidden to look below the surface of English life, and see upon what the strong government and the dignified aristocracy of that realm are resting.

The picture is assuredly a startling one ; and had any foreign hand painted it for us, it would have been difficult to avoid quarrelling with the arithmetic, plain as it is, or to repress the tendency to accuse the long list of eminent and consenting witnesses of telling more than the truth. More than twenty years since, Mr. C. Edwards Lester wrote, "The Glory and Shame of England." The English press denounced it as libellous and untrue, and American generosity was very slow to accept its representations. In the light of these fuller and more careful revelations of Mr. Kay, Lester's story seems but a hint and an apology. The poverty, the filth, the social vices, the bestiality, the ignorance, the hopelessness, the shamelessness, and the number of the wretched people, in the larger parts of both England and Wales, are startling and fearful. The acquiescence in this condition by the sufferers themselves, as something they cannot hope to escape, and the very general consent of the higher classes that this state of things may abide, are the most grievous aspects of the case. The lack of systematic efforts on the part of the government to afford relief, and the want of adaptation and success in the efforts which have been put forth, make the future look even more discouraging. But the thorough triumph of the Republican theory and government in the United States may and will do much to open the way of relief to the crushed masses beyond the sea, and make this valuable but painful book of Mr. Kay only a monument of past calamities, and the index which marks the progress of the race towards redemption.

If Mr. Kay has been faithful and successful in showing us the real life of the wretched in England, Mrs. Fanny Kemble has not been less so in opening up to us the real life of those who have supported the decaying feudalism of the plantation in the United States. This volume is made up of the daily record, kept by an educated, vigorous-souled, true-hearted woman, who never sees through her prejudices, nor exaggerates what she discovers, nor jumps to general conclusions at the sight of a local fact. Her relations to slavery plead for a generous interpretation of its phenomena, and her conscious impotence might well prompt her to hide her eyes from what she need not see, and consent to what she cannot hinder or help. But this plain, unvarnished diary is the severest indirect argument against slavery that has yet appeared. Seeking to act the part of a true woman to the women of the plantation owned and skilfully managed by her husband, she found such a state of things

existing as made all her efforts to elevate and relieve the women in bondage well-nigh hopeless, and was constantly confronted by such evidences of the wretchedness and degradation inherent in the very system itself, as compelled her to escape the pleas to which she could make no response except in words of sympathy or tears of grief. And yet she saw not much of those harsher forms of cruelty which abound on some plantations; and the slaves with whom she mingled were neither more terribly brutalized than the average, nor more than usually sensitive to the wrongs beneath which they suffered. It is the average and essential life of female slaves which is here gauged by a lady of rare intelligence and discrimination, and estimated by the standard which a true woman's instincts and heart compel her to set up. It is a new side of the system which is here so accurately photographed, and it is a picture whose meaning and lessons nothing but careful study will thoroughly unfold. While there is not much in any single paragraph that seems dreadful, as does the story of old Prue, or the whipping of Uncle Tom, in the "Cabin," yet the book, as a whole, thoughtfully read and pondered by men of character and women of refinement and taste, presents the saddest and severest record against slavery yet made up; and prepares us to welcome the full establishment of liberty on this continent, as a triumph which may well wake the gratitude and hope of the world.

THE GOOD GIRL AND TRUE WOMAN; or Elements of Success drawn from the Life of Mary Lyon, and other similar Characters. By William M. Thayer. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

The author of this volume is well known as a pleasant and healthful writer for the young, and he keeps his pen busy. Without being at all original, profound or brilliant, he renders his books entertaining, while inculcating the highest social and moral excellences of character, and lifting up his voice steadily against the false notions and customs of society. A laborious collector of incidents with which to illustrate his points and hold his reader's attention, a Christian counsellor thoroughly intent on doing good, and a firm believer in the power of right lessons and true training, he is adding gratefully to our juvenile literature. The present volume possesses all the excellences of its predecessors, and can hardly fail to prompt any thoughtful girl who should read it, to aspire after the character which is set forth as the condition and illustration of success.

THE BIVOUAC AND THE BATTLE-FIELD; or Campaign Sketches in Virginia and Maryland. By George F. Noyes, Captain U. S. Volunteers. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Capt. Noyes was a member of the staff of Gen. Doubleday, and his narrative presents, on the whole, the best and truest series of pictures of military life and experience which we have yet seen. The record of his active campaigning commences with the conflict between the forces of Pope and Lee, after the evacuation of the peninsula by McClellan, and ends with the battle of Fredericksburg. The stories are modestly but well told, no heroism is

assumed and no glorification is indulged ; in the accounts of battles, instead of seeking to penetrate and unfold the plan of the Commanders, or portray the general operations which no single man can see, and no one save the supreme officer can know, he tells us simply what occurred under his own eye and within his own knowledge. By this means we are enabled to apprehend the aspects and experiences of a battle from the stand-point of the actual participants, and military life stands out before us in all its varied reality. The style of the volume is animated, picturesque, vigorous and pleasant, suggestive of culture, and indicative of a subdued and patriotic enthusiasm. Prudent and sparing in his criticisms, it is quite manifest that he is no blind worshipper of McClellan, and that he has a settled faith in a vigorous military policy, and in making the work of discipline effective and thorough.

WEAK LUNGS, and how to make them Strong ; or Diseases of the Organs of the Chest, with their Home Treatment by the Movement Cure. By Dio Lewis, M. D. Profusely Illustrated. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

The Gymnasium is fast becoming an institution in America ; and Dr. Lewis is the chief worker in the cause of physical development, by means of systematic training. His work on gymnastics has been already noticed on these pages, and his system is fast finding development and appreciation in the schools where our youth are growing up into a more muscular maturity under its influence. The present volume contains facts, arguments, and suggestions, in abundance and variety, which the American people would do well to heed. He discusses Diet, Dress, Ventilation, Exercise, Bathing, etc., etc., with directness and vigor, explodes some of the popular notions respecting the bearing of climate and habits upon pulmonary disease, describes the real symptoms of disease in the lungs as distinguished from the apparent symptoms, and sets forth, at length and in detail, by means of description, narrative and cut, the methods of treatment by which consumptives may be saved from premature death and a lingering life of agony. The book may be safely commended to public attention as one whose general influence cannot fail to be good, so far as it is read with discrimination, and its hygienic principles are intelligently applied.

OUT-DOOR PAPERS. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

The *Atlantic Monthly* first introduced these papers of Mr. Higginson to the public, and has done very much indeed in the way of introducing the author. Their animus, and their general line of thought, suggest that Higginson and Lewis are in alliance,—each working with his own implements, and in his own way, but both in effort for a common end. Lewis, being a physician, pleads for good health ; Higginson, being a clergyman, (though just now his title of Colonel is the more prominent,) calls for a muscular Christianity. The papers are full of learning, vigor, vivacity and earnestness, tinged with a quiet humor, and keen, occasionally, with a wholesome sarcasm. The author

is a rare lover and a skilful interpreter of nature, a genial companion and a shrewd observer of men ; and his essays are full of real stimulus, valuable suggestions and healthy entertainment. They are reprinted by the publishers in the attractive style which has done not a little to help the "Country Parson" on his way to popularity.

HOSPITAL TRANSPORTS. A Memoir of the Embarkation of the Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862. Compiled and Published at the request of the Sanitary Commission. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Those who are familiar with the works of Frederick Law Olmsted, will have a sufficient guaranty respecting the interest of this volume, when it is stated that he is the compiler, and, chiefly, the writer of these sketches. To say that they are vivid, replete with information, indicative of great energy, perseverance and skill in the performance of a very vast, difficult and delicate service, and that they are adapted to excite wonder, gratitude and confidence, over the magnificent operations of the Commission, is to state much less than the whole truth. Wherever this book is read, it must excite a deeper interest in behalf of our wounded and sick soldiers, awaken admiration toward the men, and especially toward the women who are wearing so worthily the mantle of Florence Nightingale, and prompt to the most generous support of the noble charity whose work is so modestly but so thrillingly sketched on these pages. Such a company of workers ought not to lack for resources, nor be hampered by suspicions.



