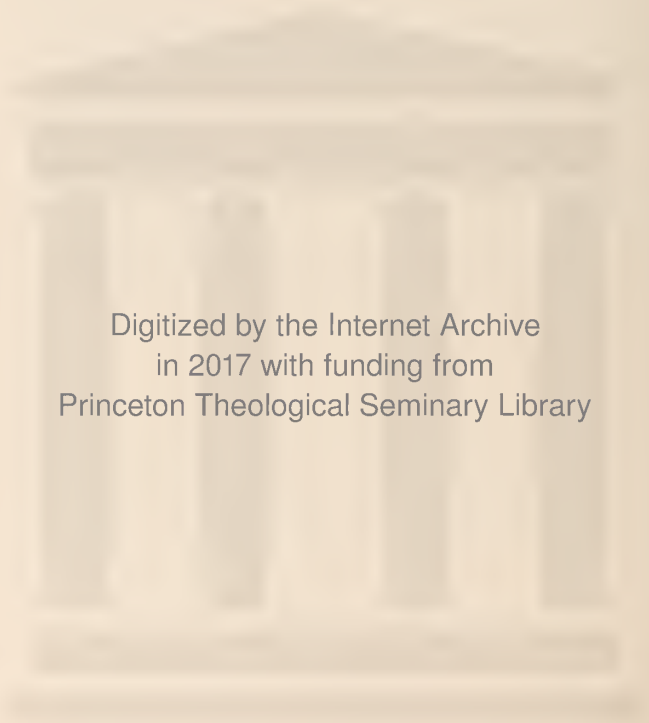

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

OCTOBER 1838.

No. IV.

ART. I.—1. *Mr. H. Everett's Report on Indian Affairs. Presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 20th of May*, 1834.

2. *Report from the Office of Indian Affairs. December* 1, 1837.

THE present condition and future destiny of the Indian tribes, who reside within the limits, or on the borders of the United States, must be interesting to every philanthropist, patriot, and Christian. If these aboriginal nations of America should continue to waste away, as they have done since the country was occupied by Europeans, in a few generations to come, they will scarcely be found, except in the pages of history, and in the traditions and monuments which they may leave behind. The causes of this rapid decrease are not difficult to be explored; but it does not comport with our plan, to enter at present into a discussion of the subject. The treatment which these tribes have received from the whites, and from the governments of the United States, and the particular states, would furnish a fruitful subject for declamation; but neither is it our purpose to enter into this perplexed, and painful discussion. What is past cannot be undone, nor effectually remedied. What we have in view is to present to our readers some account of the present condi-

tion of these Indians tribes: as we know that many feel interested on the subject who have not access to the documents necessary for correct information. And the Public Documents, published from time to time, by the order of congress, are so tedious and voluminous, that few persons can command time or inclination to wade through them. We have thought therefore that it would be worth while to collect into a summary view, all the most interesting facts and circumstances, relating to the present condition and future prospects of this interesting people.

Many of the tribes which were numerous and powerful when the European first set his foot on American ground, are now entirely extinct; or the small remnants are incorporated with other tribes, so as to be no longer distinguished from them. Others have continued to occupy the countries which they possessed when first discovered by the whites; and to which they certainly had as good a title as any people upon the face of the earth. But the whole country having been divided among the several states, and the lands of these sons of the forest being an object of great desire to the whites, they were persuaded to sell large territories to the United States; but until lately, no idea was entertained by any one, that any power on earth could rightfully dispossess them of their land, without their consent; or interfere with their internal policy and right of self-government. But such claims have recently been set up, and acted upon by several of the states of the union. The general government, having the sole power of treating with the Indians living within the United States, have generally manifested a just, kind, and liberal spirit towards these defenceless tribes; and have attempted to protect them from the encroachments and wrongs of the whites; and have taken much pains, and been at great expense in promoting their civilization. But, since the white settlements have approached near to the reserved lands of the Indians, and even surrounded them, it has been found impossible to protect them in the undisturbed possession of their country; especially as the states within whose chartered limits they resided, claimed and exercised the right of extending their jurisdiction over the Indian country. This state of things led our government to entertain the plan of removing the whole of them, as soon as it could be done, to a country beyond the limits of all the states and territories, which country should be made over to them, by patent; and every possible security given, that they should never again be disturbed in the quiet possession of their lands.

This scheme of transplanting all the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, to a region beyond the limits of any of the states or territories, seems to have been seriously adopted, during the administration of Mr. Monroe. When this scheme was first proposed, however, we find that it met with little favour from secretary Barbour, who, in Feb. 3, 1826, communicated a very important and excellent paper to the house of representatives, on the subject of the preservation and civilization of the Indians. After exhibiting a view of the unwise and unsuccessful efforts hitherto made for this object, he has the following just and weighty remarks. "That they [these efforts] have essentially failed, the sad experience of every day but too strongly testifies. If the original plan, conceived in the spirit of benevolence, had not been fated to encounter that as yet unabated desire to bereave them of their lands, it would, perhaps, have realized much of the hopes of its friends. So long, however, as that desire continues to direct our counsels, every attempt must fail." "Missionaries are sent among them to enlighten their minds, by imbuing them with religious impressions. Schools have been established by the aid of private, as well as public donations, for the instruction of their youths. They have been persuaded to abandon the chase, to locate themselves, and become cultivators of the soil; implements of husbandry, and domestic animals have been presented to them; and all these things have been done accompanied with professions of a disinterested solicitude for their happiness. Yielding to these temptations, some of them have reclaimed the forest, planted their orchards, and erected their houses, not only for their abode, but for the administration of justice and for religious worship; and when they have so done, you send your agent to tell them they must abandon their country to the white man, and recommit themselves to some new desert; and substitute, as the means of subsistence, the precarious chase for the certainty of cultivation. The love of our native land is implanted in every human bosom, whether he roams the wilderness, or is found in the highest state of civilization. This attachment increases with the comforts of our country, and is strongest when these comforts are the fruit of our own exertions. We have imparted this feeling to many of the tribes by our own measures. Can it be matter of surprise that they hear, with unmixed indignation, of what seems to them our ruthless purpose of expelling them from their country thus endeared? They see that our pro-

fessions are insincere; that our promises have been broken; that the happiness of the Indian is a cheap sacrifice to the acquisition of new lands: and when attempted to be soothed by an assurance, that the country to which we propose to send them is desirable, they emphatically ask us, 'What new pledges can you give us that we shall not be exiled again when it is your wish to possess these lands?' It is easier to state than to answer this question. A regard to consistency, apart from every other consideration, requires a change of measures. Either let him [the Indian] retain and enjoy his home, or if he is to be driven from it, abstain from cherishing illusions we mean to disappoint, and thereby make him to feel more sensibly the extent of his loss."

Mr. Barbour then takes up the plan of removal beyond the Mississippi, in detail, and states forcibly, the objections which may be made to it. The chief of which are, The impracticability of its execution in any other way than by force. Of this we have now a painful, but practical demonstration, in the case of the Seminoles, and Creeks; and the difficulty of removing the Cherokees has been exceedingly great and perplexing to the government; and although a treaty was formed with a part of the nation, yet the major part, under the influence of John Ross, absented themselves from the council, at which the treaty was made. And having convened another meeting, adopted a strong memorial to congress against the treaty; and exhibited a list of subscribers so numerous, that the chief objection to it was, that it contained the names of more persons than belonged to the whole nation, who were capable of giving a vote.*

Another weighty objection against this seheme, urged by Mr. Barbour, arises from the juxta-position of so many savage tribes, in the same region. These tribes, when widely separated, have often been at war; and hostile feelings are still cherished by them. The force of this objection will probably be written in characters of blood, in the future history of this country. Nothing can prevent a collision and warfare between so many fierce and warlike tribes, but a sufficient military force, continually maintained among them, or on their borders. And the expense of such an establishment can with difficulty be calculated, at present.†

A third objection is, the anomalous relation which these

* See the Memorial of the Cherokee delegation to Washington.

† At the present moment, there are strong indications, that the evil predicted is probably about to have its commencement.

tribes will bear to the United States. Shall they be governed as a territory, which may, hereafter become a state, and form a constituent part of the union? Or shall they be considered and treated as an independent nation, or nations?

That these objections possess great weight, no one can deny; but the difficulty is not all on one side. Suppose they had been permitted to continue in their former abodes, would it be possible to protect them from the continued aggression of the surrounding white population? And would not their relation to the United States as a nation within a nation, be even more anomalous and awkward, than when they are collected on lands beyond the boundaries of every state? But finally and chiefly, could the government of the United States prevent the particular states, within whose chartered limits these Indians lived, from extending their jurisdiction over these tribes? We know, by experience, that this cannot be done. The attempt has been made and failed. Some, indeed, in the fervour of their zeal for the Indian rights, would have had the general government to protect the Indians from what they considered the unjust legislation of the states, by military force; and some approach to this remedy was made, under the administration of Mr. J. Q. Adams; but on a point so difficult to be adjusted, who that loves his country can endure the thought of a civil war? And after all, what right has the general government, by the constitution, to interfere with such a state as Georgia, one of the original independent states who formed this union, and the savages included within her chartered limits? What article of the constitution gives to the federal government any power over the Indians, except "to regulate trade among the tribes"? All the other power, exercised by the government, has been founded only on prescription, or necessity, not on any delegated powers in the constitution of the United States. While there was no dispute nor collision with any of the states, the exercise of an extra-constitutional power was expedient; as no provision had been made for the case. But when it became necessary for the United States to see, that their acts were founded on powers expressly granted to them by the instrument under which they acted, it would have been madness to involve the country in a civil war, to maintain the right to exercise a power over the Indians, nowhere given to them in the constitution.

We are far from justifying the treatment of the Indians by several of the states, and especially by Georgia; but in the

contest between the United States and Georgia, contrary to our former impressions, after an impartial examination of the public documents, we are constrained to believe, that right existed on the side of Georgia. The whole of the documents and correspondence, relative to this unhappy dispute, are now accessible, as these papers are published, by order of Congress; and may be found in the second volume of "Public Documents," in the latter part of the volume.

Although during Mr. Adams' four years' administration, little or nothing was done in carrying into execution, the plan of transporting the Indians beyond the Mississippi; yet under the administration of General Jackson, this object was zealously and vigorously urged on. And as it is no longer a problem, the feasibility and propriety of which is subject to discussion, but a plan actually in progress, and to a considerable extent executed, we will say no more respecting the justice, wisdom, benevolence, or expedience of it; but will endeavour to furnish our readers, from the recent reports made to congress, a brief view of this new and interesting Indian country, and the views of Congress in regard to its future government. The accounts of the natural advantages of the country allotted to the various Indian tribes, as the place of their permanent residence, have been exceedingly different; for while some have described it as abounding in those capabilities and resources, which eminently fit it for the object contemplated; others have represented it, as utterly destitute of almost every thing necessary to render it a comfortable abode for the Indians. The medium between these two extremes, may be considered as affording a just view of this extensive region. There is, doubtless, from all accounts, a deficiency of timber through a considerable extent of this territory; and although compared with the former residence of the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, it cannot be considered more unhealthy; yet in comparison with the healthy, mountainous country of the Cherokees, it may be pronounced to be a sickly country. This has been sadly verified, in the experience of the Indians, immediately after their settlement on the lands assigned to them; and by the sickness which has prevailed among the troops of the United States, stationed on the borders of this country, or ranging through it.

To form a correct geographical idea of this country, a map would be essentially necessary; but not being able to furnish our readers with this assistance, in a periodical, we will en-

deavour, as well as we can, to describe, in words, the general situation of the Indian country, and the relative situation of the respective tribes, who either do occupy the land, or who it is expected will do so, and then we will give an account of the present condition of each tribe, as derived from the documents presented to congress, during the late sessions; and published by their order.

The Indian country lies directly west of the western boundaries of the states of Misssouri and Arkansas, and extends about 6 degrees of longitude westward. Between the Indians and the boundary of these states, it is proposed to leave a slip of land unoccupied as a common. Although the country already assigned to the several tribes extends westward, only to the twenty-third degree of longitude, from Washington; yet, the whole region to the west, even to the Rocky Mountains, may be considered as destined for the same purpose, if it should be needed.*

This country is thus described and bounded, in the bill presented to congress, by H. Everett, Esq., the chairman of the committee on "Indian affairs," 1834. "All that part of the territory of the United States, bounded on the east by Arkansas and Missouri, as far north as the south bank of the Missouri river; on the northeast, by the south bank of the said river, to the mouth of the river Platte. On the north, by the south bank of the river Platte, to where its north branch crosses the forty-second degree of north latitude, nearest to the twenty-eighth degree of longitude west of the meridian of Washington, and by a line on said meridian to the Mexican possessions, and bounded west and south by the said Mexican possessions, shall constitute a territory, to be denominated 'THE WESTERN TERRITORY.'"

In the second section of this bill, it is provided, "That the said territory forever, shall hereafter, be reserved for the uses of the various Indian tribes, who may have a right to the same. And the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that all that part of the said territory, which has been, or may be granted to any of the Indian tribes, shall be, and the same is hereby secured to them and their heirs and descendants, forever. And, if they prefer it, the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made, and executed to the same; and in case that any two or more tribes shall unite and form

* The country west of the twenty-third degree of longitude is unfit for colonization.

a single tribe, the grants to such tribes shall ensure to the benefit of such united tribe, on such terms as said tribe shall agree upon. And that the right of such Indians or tribes shall not be impaired by their being formed, at any time, into a territory, or one of the United States. *Provided*, that such land shall revert to the United States, if the Indians, for whose benefit such grants have been or shall be made, should become extinct, or abandon them."

It is again provided, "That each of the tribes, residing within the said territory, may establish and maintain such government, for the regulation of their own internal concerns, as to them may seem proper; and it shall be competent for the general council to furnish such force as, from time to time, may be necessary towards the support of such government; and the troops of the United States may, under the direction of the president, be employed in the same duty."

The bill then makes provision for the appointment of a governor and secretary for the said territory, and also for the election of a general council by the tribes, with a description of the powers of said council. But our object at present is merely to ascertain and describe the boundaries and situation of this territory. Its government will be brought into view hereafter.

We shall now give the geographical position of each of the tribes, to whom land has been assigned, in the "Western Territory." The Choctaws occupy the southern tract in this territory. Their land is bounded on the east by the western line of Arkansas, on the south by the Red river, on the west by a line running along the 23d degree of longitude from the meridian of Washington city, and on the north by the Canadian river. That portion of the small tribe of Chickasaws who have emigrated, are attached to the Choctaw nation, and have their allottment of land in their territory. The whole number of the Choctaw nation, including the Chickasaws, white men married in the tribes, and negroes, is, according to the report of the superintendent, made Dec. 1, 1837, about fifteen thousand. "This tribe is still in a state of rapid improvement. They have almost all given up the chase for a living, and are principally engaged in the cultivation of the soil and raising stock." They cultivate wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, &c.; and their attention is particularly turned to the culture of cotton, for which crop the soil and climate are admirably adapted. The description of their country, in the superintendent's report.

referred to above, is as follows, "The Choctaw nation embraces a large tract, affording a superabundance of rich soil, well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, corn, wheat, oats, rye, and every kind of vegetable. Some parts are finely watered, while in others it [water] is so scarce, that the inhabitants are compelled to use the water of creeks and branches, which become nearly dried up or stagnant, during summer, causing much fatal sickness among them." . . . "The country is variegated with prairies, woodlands, swamps, barren ridges, and cane-brakes. The timber is ash, oak, hickory, walnut, gum, hackberry, cotton-wood, cedar &c."

"The Chickasaws, who have come over, are settling promiscuously, among the Choctaws."

"It is a question yet to be settled, whether their removal to this nation will prove a valuable accession." "It is believed, that few of them will settle in the district assigned them—barely enough to attend to their annuities and other funds."

"The Choctaws have two grist-mills, and saw-mills, propelled by water; they have also two gins, to extract the seed from the cotton."

The indefatigable Kingsbury, the first missionary who commenced labours among the western Indians, under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who has grown old in the service, has removed with the Choctaws to their new country, and still instructs them in the principles of the Christian religion; and being located near Fort Gibson, he has extended his labours to the soldiers and officers stationed there; and has forwarded very gratifying accounts of his success, in these evangelical labours.

The land allotted to the Creeks, (Muscoghees,) is adjacent to that already described, as being granted to the Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Their southern boundary is the Canadian river, which separates them from the Choctaws; and their northern boundary, is a straight east and west line coincident with the 36th degree of north latitude. Their western limit is the same line which bounds the territory of the Choctaws and Cherokees, namely, a due north and south line on the twenty-third degree of longitude, west from the meridian of Washington. The southern part of this district is assigned to the Seminoles, who, as has been said, are a branch of the Muscoghee nation. A large number of the Creeks emigrated during the last year; so that, at present, the number actually settled in that part of the territory allotted to them,

may be about eighteen or twenty thousand persons.* Most of these are engaged in agricultural pursuits; and although their mode of cultivation, partakes of the rudeness of the nation; yet, such is the fertility of the soil, that, during the last year, their labours have been rewarded with an increase, seldom known to the husbandman in other parts of the world. Their settlements have been made chiefly in the eastern part of the district; beginning at a point in the neighbourhood of Fort Gibson. Besides raising a superabundance of corn, they abound in stock, and are not only able to supply the new emigrants with provisions, but also the garrison, in their vicinity. There are among them several traders, two of whom are natives, who do a considerable business, selling eighteen or twenty thousand dollars worth of goods, annually. They are much behind their neighbours in mechanics, there being very few in the nation; neither have they any grist or saw-mills, in operation. Although no hostile disposition has been manifested by this tribe, since they took possession of their lands in the Western Territory; yet such is their vindictive and clannish spirit, that they need to be carefully watched, as late events in Florida, and the borders of Georgia, too plainly evince. About four hundred Seminoles emigrated last year, but arrived too late to raise a good crop of corn: and they are inclined to proceed farther west, where they will be able to find more game, than where they now are. Of course, these have very little stock.

The Creeks have never been friendly to schools and missionaries. Several attempts were made to introduce these means of improvement while they resided on the east of the Mississippi, but with small success. Since the removal of a part of the tribe to the Western Territory, the American Board of Foreign Missions, established a mission among them; which, for a time, was promising in its prospects; but two or three years ago, the Creeks requested of the superintendent, that the missionaries should be removed, which was accordingly done; and now, it is believed, they are not only destitute of missionaries, but of schools. In General Sanford's report respecting education among the Creeks, a Manual Labour Institution is proposed, as the most probable method of exercising a salutary influence over them. But we have no confidence in the success of any schools, as long as all instruction in religion is rejected. It is to be feared,

* The number who have gone over the Mississippi is now considerably greater, so that, at present, very few of this nation remain east of the river.

that sometimes the government agents, rather foster the prejudices of these savage people against Christianity, than remove them. The aversion of the Creeks to the means of instruction which other tribes have admitted, and by which they have been so greatly improved, was probably infused into them by a former agent, among them; and who took no pains to conceal his hostility to Christianity; and of course his opposition to missionary operations.

The Cherokees have their allotment of land immediately north of the Creeks; and about of the same extent with the tract granted to them. The disbursing agent for the Western Territory, who has travelled over parts of this district, reports, that it is a very fine country. The soil is of a superior quality, adapted to the production of small grain, and corn of the largest growth. "The whole country," says he, "is abundantly and finely timbered and well watered; and the climate is exceedingly favourable to stock." The principal part of the Cherokees who are settled on this tract, are those who by permission of government, passed over the Mississippi, and took up their residence in what is now the state of Arkansas: but who have since been induced to emigrate to the lands assigned for the permanent residence of their tribe. According to the report of the acting superintendent of the Territory, the number may be about eight thousand, but is not stationary, as some are continually arriving from the east of the Mississippi, while others are emigrating to Texas.*

As the treaty formed by the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn, at New Echota, Dec. 29, 1835, with that part of the Cherokee nation who chose to attend the council, was duly ratified by the Senate of the United States, it became a part of the law of the land; and the executive of the United States took immediate measures to have it carried into effect, agreeably to the stipulations agreed upon. A large part of the Cherokees, however, with John Ross at their head, continued to the last, to remonstrate against the treaty, as being utterly invalid; not having been entered into by a majority of the nation; nor negotiated by their regularly appointed agents. No preparations were therefore made by a large part of the Cherokees, to emigrate; and it was feared, that nothing but force would induce them to leave the land of their nativity,

* Many have gone over since the above was written, and the whole remaining part of the nation are now on their way, and will be there in the course of five or six weeks.

and of the graves of their fathers; and that the country would be cursed with another Indian war, far more formidable and interminable, than that with the Seminoles. But by the favour of Providence, that threatening danger appears to be nearly removed. By the wise and energetic arrangements of Gen. Winfield Scott, to whom this delicate and difficult business was intrusted, the Indians, though reluctantly, have been persuaded to submit to the terms of the treaty, and are now all collected and encamped in a region convenient for their being sent off, as soon as the season shall be so far advanced, as to render their emigration to the WESTERN TERRITORY, safe in regard to health. In a few weeks, therefore, from the present time, we may calculate that the whole Cherokee nation will be located in the country assigned to them.

Whatever may be thought respecting the validity of the treaty of NEW ECHOTA, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the conditions of the treaty are, on the part of the United States government, most liberal and advantageous to the Indians. Besides being paid, according to an assessment to be made, for their improvements of every kind, they as a nation, are to receive by the treaty, FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. All the expenses of their conveyance to the Indian Territory, are to be defrayed by the United States; and subsistence furnished them for a certain time after their arrival.

This nation, is much farther advanced in the habits and arts of civilized life, than any other of the Indian tribes. The hunter-life is entirely discontinued; and they are not only successful in their agricultural pursuits, but in raising horses, cattle, and hogs.

"Some of the Cherokees," says this report, "have taken and fulfilled contracts for the garrison at Fort Gibson, and for subsisting emigrant Indians, to the amount of, from forty to sixty thousand dollars, without purchasing any article, except in the Indian country." "There are several native traders doing a good business in the nation: one of them is doing an extensive business, and owns a fine steamboat, that plies between New Orleans and the Cherokee nation. There are two or three fine grist and saw-mills in operation, in this nation, that are very useful to the Indians, and a source of considerable profit to the owners." . . . "The Cherokees show a great degree of improvement, and are still improving, and bid fair, at no distant day, to rival their white brethren of the west, in point of wealth, civilization, and moral and

intellectual improvement, did there not exist one great hindrance—that of *intemperance;* not only a vice itself, but the prolific parent of almost every other vice." "The Cherokees, more than any other tribe, are disposed to traffic in ardent spirits; the whole extended frontier of Arkansas and Missouri is settled with venders of this pernicious article; and unless the strong hand of government is interposed, by aid of the military, the moral and political condition of these people will be lowered to the most degraded state." . . . "There are four schools and one printing office in operation, in this nation; one, a fine boarding school, under the superintendence of the Rev. C. Washburn, is in a most flourishing condition; the others also, are doing well. The schools and office are all supported by the American Board of Foreign Missions."

As it is important to know the sentiments of judicious civil officers and agents, respecting the character of the missionaries sent among the Indians, we will extract a paragraph from the report of the acting superintendent of this territory, on the subject. "Where suitable persons have been sent among the Indians to *teach* as well as *preach*, and who practise what they *preach;* and show by their conduct and their exertions, their benevolent intentions, the Indians are not long in becoming convinced of their good intentions and usefulness among them, and are not only reconciled, but anxious that they should remain among them. *But in most cases such men are not sent out.* Such of the kind as are in this (Choctaw) and the Cherokee nation—Mr. Washburn, Mr. Kingsbury, Mr. M'Kenzie and others—are very useful, in every way. They make themselves so by their exertions as preachers, teachers, physicians, advisers, &c. Such men are wanted in the country, and are welcome to the Indians; and by their deportment and conduct, render themselves popular. The time has passed, when men can be picked up in New England, without talent, industry, energy, or the proper spirit, and sent among these tribes to be useful. Such men not only render no service, but by their inactive, dronish habits, set such examples as white men should not set before Indians, render themselves unpopular, and injure the cause which they were sent out to promote. Men of this description not only ought not to be sent out, but should be prohibited from coming among the Indians. It would be better for the societies, if they are compelled to support such men, to keep them at home, and not send them out to injure

the cause they cannot help. The Indians are becoming too intelligent and well informed, to bear with such men. *A majority of the missionaries, in this country, are of the above mentioned kind;* and to these facts may be imputed the great unpopularity of missionaries, in the Indian country."

The superintendent, after remarking, that the missionaries, in the Choctaw nation, are more useful than those in other tribes, proceeds to observe, that the missionaries should feel themselves to be on the same footing, as other white men. And that the missionary boards in the states, instead of thinking they have a right to send men into the Indian country, to settle and live among them, without the knowledge of the agent, or consent of the Indians; their missionaries should be compelled to report to the agents, and procure a *permit*, like other white persons, before they were allowed to settle in the Indian country. "They would then not feel themselves irresponsible, and know better on what terms they would be permitted to remain."

How much ground there may be for the above statement, and general accusation of missionaries, we cannot tell; and the charges are so vague, and general, that it is impossible to ascertain to whom they apply: but, undoubtedly, the subject demands the attention of all boards, of every denomination, who have sent missionaries among the Indians. This is not the mere opinion of a private individual, but the official report to the government, of the "acting superintendent" of this whole territory.

This report contains a particular account of the public schools; which we have not room to insert.

The country assigned to the Osages, is north of that of the Cherokees; and is nearly of the same extent. Of this tribe, the superintendent gives the following very unfavourable account. "The Osages are the same wild, predatory beings, as ever. They show not the least sign of improvement, except that the women have raised a little more corn and beans than usual. They are settled in small bands, and hunt the buffalo for subsistence. The government has very bountifully supplied them with agricultural implements, which have been equally distributed, according to their necessities. It is to be hoped they will use them; but whether they will or not, I cannot say. All the surrounding tribes complain against the many depredations committed upon them by this tribe." "It was with great difficulty that the war parties of Choctaws and others, were prevented last winter from

going out, on account of the many and repeated depredations committed on them by this tribe."

The other tribes who occupy lands in the Western Territory, are the mere remnants of tribes, which were once numerous; or fragments broken off, at different times, from larger tribes. The Senecas, with a mixture of Shawnees, number about four hundred and sixty souls; the Quapaws, about four hundred, making a population of eight hundred and sixty in the subagency of the Neosho. This river is a branch of the Little Arkansas, into which it falls, at Fort Gibson. The Indians, just mentioned, occupy a small tract of good land between this river, and the south part of the western boundary of the state of Missouri. Their land lies east of the country of the Cherokees. This little band have suffered by two causes; the death of the subagent, and the whiskey trade on their eastern line; but still they are in a state of progress, in improvement. They own, in proportion to their numbers, more horses, cattle, and hogs, than any other tribe. An excellent grist and saw-mill have been erected for them, by the government. The Senecas are very favourably inclined towards education; the Quapaws, on the contrary, have been hitherto averse to every thing of the kind; but it is hoped that their residence in the neighbourhood of the Senecas, will, by degrees, remove their prejudices. The country of these Indians, though a small tract, is reported to be "rich, well watered with excellent springs and streams, possessing extensive prairies for their numerous herds, and well timbered, to answer all their purposes."

The tribes which we have described, and whose respective countries have been designated, are said, by the superintendent of the "WESTERN TERRITORY," to be, generally, "in a state of improvement; and that they are the most populous, warlike, wealthy, and intelligent, on our frontier, and deserve the attention and fostering care of our government.

The Potawattamies, Weas, and Piankishaws, together with the Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Ottawas, have had lands assigned them, contiguous to each other, west of the state of Missouri. Their country is watered by the Osage river, and in fertility, is unsurpassed by any in the world. The only remarkable deficiency is of timber, which is principally confined to the flat lands on the streams. They are said to be industrious in the cultivation of their lands, and to be making rapid advances towards a state of civilization.

The Shawnees have a territory assigned them, immedi-

ately north and west of the tribes, last mentioned. Next in order, proceeding north, are the Kansas, the Delawares, the Kickapoos, Nemashaws, and Otoes. These are all to whom lands have yet been assigned, by government, within the limits of the "Western Territory." Some of those last mentioned, have not yet occupied their lands, and others were found on the ground, which they now possess.

North of the river Platte, there are several considerable and very warlike tribes. The Pawnees are, perhaps, as numerous as any tribe within the United States. Their present habitation, though they are a roving people, is on the north of the Platte river. To the east of the Pawnees, and immediately south of the river Missouri, are the Amahaws, and between them and the north-west corner of the state of Missouri, are the Potawatamies. North of the Missouri river, we find the Ioways, Foxes, Otoes, Sacs, and Sioux. From these tribes, large cessions of land have been obtained; but how they will be disposed of by government, we cannot say.

Some difficulty has already been experienced from the vicinity of the Camanches, and other tribes, who live in Texas, immediately south of the "Western Territory." These savages have already committed some depredations, both on the whites and Indians, within our borders; dissatisfied, it is said, because by the colonization of this Territory, their hunting grounds have been circumscribed.

The Mandans, and some other tribes, far up the Missouri, by late accounts, have nearly become extinct, by the ravages of the small pox; which has ever been one principal cause of the depopulation of the Indian tribes.

Since the report of Indian affairs was made to the late congress, we are informed by the public prints, that the Indians, residing in the state of New York, have agreed to exchange their lands, in that state, for a country west of the Mississippi.

The Chippeways (Ojibeways) and other tribes on the lakes, and east of the Mississippi, have not, as far as we know, made any offer to remove.

Upon the whole, the state of improvement, and the prospects of peace and comfort, among the Indians west of the Mississippi, are as flattering as could be expected. But it is evident, that if at any time the spirit of war should be enkindled among the tribes, towards the United States, they would be a terrible enemy, on our borders. The difficulty of subduing the few hundred Seminoles, in Florida, may convince us, that a large standing army would be necessary on

our western borders, to protect our frontier, and keep the Indians in check. It is to be hoped, however, that several of the most populous of these tribes will go on, acquiring the arts and manners of civilized people, until they can be incorporated in the union; first, as a territory—which may take place soon—and then, as an independent state. There will, however, be a great difficulty in a common government over tribes, whose language and habits are so very different from each other.

In February 1837, a bill was prepared by the committee on Indian affairs, and presented to congress, making provision for the government of this territory, by the appointment of a superintendent and secretary, by whom a general council was to be formed, by a delegation from all the tribes, in proportion to their numbers. By this general council it is proposed, that articles of confederation should be adopted for the preservation of peace, and the promotion of the welfare of all the tribes in the territory. This bill, with amendments, will no doubt be again submitted to congress, and will probably become a law. It was sent by the superintendent of Indian affairs, to the Rev. Mr. M'Coy, a Baptist missionary, to be laid before such of the Indian tribes as are living in the territory, to obtain their opinion, respecting such a territorial government, as this bill contemplates. The Rev. Mr. M'Coy reports, that as far as he has been able to consult the tribes, they are much pleased with the plan; and some of them express a strong desire to have it carried immediately into effect. The reverend missionary, above mentioned, has made some very important and judicious remarks on this bill, in which he suggests sundry omissions, additions, and alterations of the plan of government, most of which will no doubt be adopted, as they appear, manifestly, to be improvements of the plan detailed in the bill, and furnish pregnant proof of the wisdom of this missionary.

The 28th degree of longitude, from Washington, was at first designated as the western boundary of the territory; but in this bill, and the map, prepared by the superintendent, it is the 23d degree of longitude which forms the boundary.

Rev. Mr. M'Coy having been requested, with the advice of Major Dougherty and Captain Armstrong, to select a suitable site for the seat of government, containing an area of ten miles square, has recommended a tract lying on the Osage river, bordering on the lands of the Peorias, Kaskas-

kias, Weas, Piankishaws, and Potawatamies. "This tract," says he, "in point of soil, timber, water, and stone, is surpassed in value by no place of equal dimensions in this country. It is situated between sixteen and twenty miles west of the Missouri line." Already the Indians express an earnest desire to own lots in this tract; and Mr. M'Coy recommends, that liberty be given to every tribe to select one; and he moreover recommends, that the whole be divided into lots of about thirty acres each, so laid off, as that each shall include a due proportion of timber, water, &c.

It will be satisfactory to the reader to have some idea of the schools which exist among the Indians, and of the Christian denominations which are engaged in sending missionaries to these rude children of the forest. The schools are partly conducted by missionaries, and partly under the direction of the agents of government.

The Baptist church have schools among the Ottawas of Grand river, in Michigan. Their scholars number something above sixty. Part of these, however, are Chippewas. The Methodist Episcopal Church, have two stations among the Chippewas, and nearly as many scholars as the Baptists.

The American Board, have three schools among the Chippewas, and their scholars amount to a hundred. Their school at Mackinaw has been discontinued.

In the Western Territory, the whole number of scholars in mission schools, is about six hundred. Among the Choctaws the number of schools is diminished; but the attendance is better. The number of scholars is about one hundred and eighty. Among the Cherokees, in the Western Territory, the number is one hundred and fifty. These schools are attached to the missions of the American Board, and of the Episcopal Methodists. Some of the teachers are natives, who are reported to be well qualified for their office. Among the Cherokees, there are no schools except such as are taught by the missionaries. According to the report of the superintendent, schools flourish most, and do most good, among the Choctaws.

The Methodists have schools, also, among the Shawnees, the Delawares, Peorias, Kickapoos, and Wyandots; their teachers are twelve in number, and their scholars about one hundred and twenty.

The Roman Catholics have a mission among the Kickapoos, and a school embracing twenty pupils.

The Senecas and Tuscaroras of New York, have long had

schools among them, established by the New York Missionary Society; but now under the care of the American Board. The Baptists also have a flourishing mission in the Buffalo Reservation, where their schools embrace one hundred and fifteen scholars.

The American Board have also a mission among the Sioux, where their schools include more than fifty pupils.

The Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society, have established a mission among the WEAS; their first school was taught in English, and has been suspended; it is now about to be re-organized, and the pupils to be taught on the *new system;* of which an account will be given below.

The Baptists have a missionary station among the Potawatamies, on Potawatamie creek, a water of the Osage river. The sub-agent calls the public attention to a new system of instruction, invented by Mr. Robert Simerwell, teacher on this station. In regard to it, he says: "The discovery of the *new system*, promises much good to the Indians. Upon this plan, adults, even the old, as well as the youth, can learn to read in the course of a few days. Several instances have occurred of adults, previously ignorant of letters, learning to read with three or four days study."

"In this system, English types are used, to save the expense of founding others, but not for the purpose of spelling; which is wholly unnecessary, and indeed impracticable. Uncompounded sounds are indicated by characters which never vary their uses: these sounds, in most Indian languages, are eight or ten, some of which, but not all, are what, upon the principle of spelling, are termed vowel sounds. Other characters merely indicate the position of the organs of speech, preceeding and following the articulation of sounds, by which the latter are modified. None of the characters have a name; but the learner is at once taught their use. For example, this character (p) directs the reader to press the lips with a slight expansion and pressure of the organs within. This character (o) gives the sound of o as in not; and this (t) to place the end of the tongue hard to the roof of the mouth; consequently he pronounces *pot*—transpose the characters, and by the same rule, he necessarily pronounces *top*. "Not more than twenty-three characters have yet been found necessary, in writing any Indian language: the use of these can be learned as soon as the names of twenty-three letters of the English alphabet. So soon as the learner has acquired the knowledge of the use of the characters, he can read, be-

cause by placing the organs of speech, as directed by the characters, as they occur, and articulating sounds as the characters occur which denote them, he necessarily pronounces the words as they are written. "The system has been applied to eight Indian languages; and so far as a fair trial has been made, the success of the application has equalled, if not exceeded expectation. With comparatively little expense and labor, multitudes even of the wilder tribes could be taught to read useful prints for the enlargement of the mind, and the improvement of morals, who can never be taught to read the English language. It will create no obstacle to an English education; all who can read English, or who can read any thing, upon the principle of spelling, can, with a few hours study, read this: they may read it understandingly to others, in a language they do not understand themselves. Further, the facility with which the adults, as well as youths, can learn to read, will promote a thirst for education, in general, and make every useful branch of education more desiable." If this new system of instruction possesses all the advantages which its inventor attributes to it, it will not only be of unspeakable importance in teaching the Indians to read, but other nations also, all over the world. It will not answer for those nations who have already a written language, and whose literature is expressed by letters; but if it be found very commodious, books may be written according to it, in any language. It certainly commends itself to the missionaries of other denominations; for we observe, that those of the Presbyterian Board, among the Weas, &c. have already adopted it.

The Creeks, as has already been mentioned, have always been averse to schools and missionaries; and although a mission from the American Board, was established among them; and one of the missionaries had prepared some elementary books in their language; yet they requested the superintendent of the Western Territory to have them sent away; and now, as far as appears, they are without the means of improvement. And if they continue in their savage state, and are increased by the accession of those on the east of the Mississippi, they will be found an untractable and dangerous people. It will not be long before they, and their neighbours, the Osages, will be in a state of hostility; and especially, when the Seminoles shall be subdued, and also added to this tribe. These savages have had so much unexpected success in the Florida war, that it will be very difficult for

any force which the United States will station in the Western Territory to keep them in quietness and subjection.

Concerning the government schools, we have found nothing satisfactory, in this report. As their schools are instituted and conducted, to the exclusion of religious education, we suspect that it will turn out a failure. We might have expected a more detailed account of these schools, than of those conducted by the missionaries; but on examining the statistical tables which accompany the report, we find only a solitary reference to a school of this description; and that is among the tribe of Winnebagoes, in Wisconsin Territory; they have two teachers, and forty one scholars. In saying this, however, we except the richly endowed CHOCTAW ACADEMY, at Georgetown, Kentucky, which has been assiduously patronized by the present Vice President of the United States. We want very much to see, a particular history of the origin and progress of this academy; of the branches taught in the same; and the success which has attended the institution. And as it has been in operation for a number of years, the public would be gratified to learn, what disposal is made of the students when they have finished their course; and what impression these educated men are likely to make on their respective tribes, for although it is called THE CHOCTAW ACADEMY—because they by treaty contributed the largest sum towards its endowment—yet various other tribes frequent this school. The number of scholars, as given in this Report is 166. These are of the following tribes, in the proportion here stated. Of the Choctaws, 65—Potawatamies, 19—Seminoles, 6—Quapaws, 4—Creeks, 14—Sacs, Foxes and others, 10—Chickasaws, 18—Cherokees, 13—Miamies, 3—Chippewas, &c. 12, making in all 166.

The following sums are stated to have been secured by treaty, for this Academy. Choctaws, $12,500—Chickasaws $3,000—Miamies, $2,000—Potawatamies, $5,000—Chippewas, $1,000—Sacs, Foxes, and others, $3,000—Creeks, East, $3,000—Creeks, West, $1,000—Cherokees, West, $2,000—Florida Indians, $1,000—Quapaws, $1,000.

Thus we see that this Academy has received an abundant endowment, but from the documents in our possession, we have not been able to learn any thing further respecting this interesting institution. We do not even learn under what kind of a Board of Trustees the Academy is conducted. Considering its importance, and the sums bestowed on it, we are surprised that so little is known respecting it. Some

years ago, we recollect to have read, in the public prints, some account of this institution; but certainly, if it is a government affair, there should be, annually, a detailed report of its operations, from the Trustees, or superintendents; or from a committee appointed by the president to examine into its condition, mode of instruction, and success, as in the case of West Point. The truth is, that until we had our attention turned to the statistical tables, accompanying the Report to Congress, we had lost sight of this institution, and at this time, we are persuaded, that except in its immediate neighbourhood, very little distinct knowledge of the Choctaw Academy is possessed by the people.

The report furnishes us with the following recapitulation of Indian scholars, including those of the Choctaw Academy. Superintendency of Michigan, 210—Western Territory, 409—Superintendency of St. Louis, 141—Choctaw Academy, 166—Miscellaneous Stations, 497—Student of Law at Buffalo, 1—Student of Law at Vermont, 1. Making an aggregate of 1425 scholars.

The whole number of Indians within the limits of the U. S. cannot be accurately ascertained, as many of the tribes beyond the Rocky Mountains are scarcely known. But the aggregate number, as given in this report, is 330,000.

There are still east of the Mississippi, about 50,000 Indians, of various tribes. Of these about 37,000 are under treaty stipulations to remove; but 12,415 are not under any such engagement.

The number which have emigrated to the west of the Mississippi is 51,327, and increasing; when the Cherokees cross the river, it will exceed 70,000. The number of indigenous tribes within striking distance of the Western frontier is given at 231,806.

Many remarks on the present state of the aboriginal tribes have occurred to us; and we have been deeply impressed with the consideration of their important relations to the United States, but we have already greatly transcended the limits allowed, in a periodical of this kind.

We believe, that the policy of removing them to the west of the Mississippi, has rather been prompted by cupidity for the possession of their lands, than the dictates of wisdom. But now, as the plan is in operation, we believe that it will be for their benefit to remove; and the sooner they take possession of their allotted lands, the better.

And we conclude, by remarking, that if these interesting

tribes are to be saved from utter extinction, it will be owing to the influence of the gospel, and the learning and civilization which ever have accompanied the Christian religion, wherever it has been cordially received, and its doctrines and precepts faithfully inculcated. And let all religious denominations contribute their aid to bring these children of the forest under the salutary influence of divine truth; patriotism as well as the higher motives of Christian benevolence, would urge to this course. These aborigines were never before placed in so critical and interesting a condition, as at present. If the grand experiment succeeds which has been put into operation by our government, these tribes may become highly civilized, and be by degrees prepared, not only for self government, but to become a constituent part of this great confederacy; and their representatives be admitted on the floor of Congress, to enjoy equal rights and privileges with the other members; but if the experiment should fail, then the Indians will be thorns in our sides, and by their perpetual conflicts with one another, will gradually waste away; or be exterminated by the armies of the United States; which, may a protecting Providence prevent!

Art. II.—*A Historical Sketch, or Compendious View of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. Prepared at the request of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.* By Ashbel Green, D.D. Philadelphia, William S. Martien, 12mo. pp. 214. 1838.

The origin of this neat and highly interesting volume was as follows. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian church, at its first meeting, in Baltimore, in October and November, 1837, passed the following resolution, viz.

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. Dr. Green be requested to draw up a history of the Foreign Missionary operations of the Presbyterian church in the United States, to be published by the executive committee with the proceedings of this Board."

When this request was made, there was no thought in the mind of any member of the Board, that a large tax on either the time or labour of the venerated author, would be involved in the execution of the task assigned him. A brief compila-

tion, which might be comprized in an ordinary pamphlet, and appended to the Report of the Board, was all, as we have reason to know, that the applicants anticipated. But the large views and ardent zeal of the writer, together with that deep interest in the subject which he has for many years cherished and manifested, led him to take a wider range than was expected, and, instead of a shilling pamphlet, to present the Board and the public with—a volume. We rejoice in this enlargement of the work. We have found it richer in information and instruction, and a more permanently valuable document than we were prepared to expect.

It is gratifying to learn, from this volume, what we had not so distinctly and fully understood before, that *the Presbyterian church has been, from the beginning of her existence on this side of the Atlantic, a missionary church.* Her first engagement, as might have been expected, was in the cause of Domestic Missions But her exertions in the foreign as well as the domestic field have been, from an early period, not only conducted by the same agents, but so intermingled, that it is not easy to keep the narrative of each entirely separate. The following statement, we are persuaded, will be interesting to our readers. See p. 14—18.

"The Presbytery of Philadelphia was the first that existed on the American continent, and was formed, as nearly as can be ascertained, in the year 1704. Its clerical members were emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, with one individual from New England. They were, with a single exception, almost wholly destitute of property; and the people to whom they ministered, being like themselves in poverty, and struggling for subsistence in a wilderness land, could contribute but a pittance to the support of their pastors.

"In these circumstances, little more could be done for spreading the gospel than to proclaim its truths and administer its ordinances, among the inhabitants in the vicinity of the preachers. But in this field of operation, the labours of the fathers of the Presbyterian church were most exemplary. It may be questioned whether any missionaries, in more recent times, have made greater exertions to carry the gospel to the destitute, or have endured more hardships in doing it, than were exhibited by these venerable and devoted men. They not only preached to the people to whom they sustained the pastoral relation, but extended, as far as possible, their excursions of benevolence into the adjacent regions; and this without any pecuniary compensation or facilities of travelling. The affecting cries of the destitute came to them at every meeting of their presbytery, as well as at their individual abodes; and the efforts which they made to relieve the spiritual wants of the suppliants, were neither few nor feeble.

"In process of time, when the presbytery was enlarged into a synod, and a small fund was obtained to aid the operations, and partially to relieve the pressing necessities of its members, missionary services were extended to places more remote. It was in this way, that Presbyterian churches were planted, not only in the British colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, but also in Virginia, and in North and South Carolina. The Presbyterian church has, in fact, been always a Missionary Church; and to her being such, is to be attributed, under the

blessing of God, her rapid increase and her present wide extension. In a period of little more than a hundred and thirty years, this church, embracing at first but six or seven ministers of the gospel, has located congregations, with their pastors, through a region extending from Canada, on the north, to Florida, in the south, and from the Atlantic, on the east, to parts beyond the Mississippi, in the west; and now consists of nineteen synods, one hundred and six presbyteries, and nearly two thousand ordained ministers; between two and hundred licentiates; more than two hundred and forty candidates for the gospel ministry; and not less than two thousand churches.—Of the *detail* of her Domestic Missions, only the most cursory view can now be taken.

"It has already been stated, that Virginia and the Carolinas were early regarded as missionary ground; and we now add, that they continued to be thus regarded, till the commencement of the revolutionary war of our country. Their necessities formed a marked subject of attention, and measures were adopted for their relief, at almost every meeting of the synod, before the unhappy rent which divided it, in 1741. After that occurrence, till the re-union of the synods, in 1758, each of the conflicting bodies made vigorous exertions, to supply the spiritual wants of the southern portion of the then British colonies. The result was, that not only many churches were organized, but several presbyteries were formed, in that section of our country.

"In the year 1766, the synod of New York and Philadelphia, then the supreme judicatory of the church, directed that a subscription should be taken up, or a collection made, in all their congregations, vacant as well as supplied, for sending the gospel to destitute places; and, in the following year, they determined that such a collection should be annually made; and they adopted other suitable measures to carry into effect their benevolent design.

"During the war of independence, the public mind was so engrossed with the state of the country, that all religious institutions languished, and some were temporarily suspended. In the South, the hostile armies overran, and for a time had the occupancy of a part of the region, to which missions had previously been sent; and missionary operations, on the whole frontier of the United States were precluded, by the existence or the fear of Indian hostilities. Such, nevertheless, was the strength of the missionary spirit in the Presbyterian church, that a number of missionaries were sent forth during this war; and the subject continued to command the serious attention of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, as long as it remained the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church. The General Assembly, which was constituted by that Synod in 1788, met, for the first time, in Philadelphia, in May 1789. During the sessions of this first year, the missionary cause claimed a particular attention. The four Synods, then existing under the Assembly, were directed to provide and recommend, each, two missionaries to the next Assembly; and that funds might be prepared to meet the expense expected to be incurred, it was enjoined on all the Presbyteries, to take measures for raising collections, in all the congregations within their bounds.

"It is believed that at this time (1789) there was not, in the United States, another religious denomination beside the Presbyterian, that prosecuted any domestic missionary enterprise; except that then, as since, the Methodists sent forth their circuit riders, in various directions. A few years subsequently, the Congregationalists of Connecticut sent missionaries among the emigrants from that state, who had located themselves within the bounds of the states of New York and Pennsylvania; and, in Massachusetts also, at a period somewhat later, missionary operations were set on foot. But for some time, with the exception stated, the Presbyterian church stood alone, at least as to any regular and systematic efforts, in supplying the destitute portions of our country with the preaching of the gospel. For thirteen years in succession, the General Assembly, at every annual meeting, either by a committee appointed for the purpose,

or by measures adopted on motion in the House, took the missionary concern into special consideration, heard the reports of those appointed in a preceding year, and made new appointments, as extensively as missionaries and the means of their support could be obtained.

The rapid growth of the Presbyterian church in the United States, adverted to in the preceding extract, has always appeared to us a decisive attestation both to the scriptural spirit and character of our beloved church, and to its peculiar zeal for the salvation of souls, and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, it is not known that there was more than *one* Presbyterian minister in what is now the United States.* At the same time, the number of Episcopal ministers in the colonies was at least *fifty* or *sixty*. The Congregational ministers in New England numbered, probably, from *two hundred*, to *two hundred and fifty*. Nor is this great disparity in regard to numbers, all that ought to be taken into consideration. The Congregational ministers had ample fields spread out before them, for employing all their resources, and almost every where the privilege, without restraint, of calling them into action. Not only was all New England open to their evangelical labours, but they had free access to every other part of the country to which Presbyterians could go. The Episcopal church was, in four or five of the colonies, the established sect, and in all of them enjoyed the opportunity, without let or impediment, of preaching, and extending her denomination to the utmost of her ability. She was able, too, to command efficient aid from the mother country. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, were poor, friendless, frowned upon in most of the colonies; persecuted, fined and imprisoned in several of them: and no where favored by the governing powers. Yet, nothing discouraged, as we have seen, they held on their way; sending as many missionaries as they could obtain, in every direction in which a door was open to admit of their entrance. At the end of one hundred and thirty years, what was the result? The Presbyterian body in the United States had reached an extent nearly double that of our Congregational

* The Rev. *Francis M'Kemie* is the only Presbyterian minister known to have been in the American colonies in 1700. Those who were found in the country two or three years afterwards, and who formed the Presbytery of *Philadelphia*, in 1704, seem to have been chiefly brought from Europe by the agency of Mr. M'Kemie, who made a visit to Ireland and Scotland a short time before, and brought several ministers with him on his return.

brethren within the same limits; and nearly three times the aggregate of the Episcopal denomination. It is true, indeed, some of the Presbyterian churches included in this estimate, have participated largely of the Congregational character, and some of them were formed by Congregational missionaries; yet if all be included in the Presbyterian church who bear our name, and who lately belonged to our body, we should have not much short of three thousand preachers of the gospel in the United States; so that after making every allowance which circumstances may demand, the relative numbers above stated, will be found a fair and just statement. The fact is, during the first eighty-five or ninety years of the eighteenth century, the Presbyterian church, as Dr. Green has stated in the foregoing extract, was, with the exception of our Methodist brethren, the only American denomination of Christians which, as a church, was constantly busy in the missionary enterprize. The first small and feeble Presbytery; the Synod, when it became stronger; and the General Assembly almost from the first hour of the existence of each, engaged heartily in the work of missions; and although neither to the extent, nor with the ardour which they ought to have done; yet with a perseverance which deserves our respect and gratitude; but which seems to be overlooked at the present day by some who undervalue what she has done, and would unceremoniously take the work out of her hands.

The missionary efforts to which we have alluded, were chiefly in the domestic field. But our readers will perceive from the volume before us, that our church, more than ninety years ago, began to connect herself with missions to the heathen. The Presbyterians of Scotland, by means of their "society for propagating Christian knowledge," formed in 1709, transmitted funds to a board of correspondence in New York, by which the Rev. Azariah Horton, a member of the Presbytery of New York, was employed as a missionary among the Pagan Indians on Long Island. By this diligent and persevering evangelist considerable good seems to have been done, which had not wholly disappeared for three quarters of a century afterwards. Several years snbsequently, the funds of the same Scottish society sustained the Rev. David Brainerd, who was ordained by the Presbytery of New York, for the express purpose of being employed as a missionary among the Indians of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In this service that eminently devoted man of God was engaged during the remainder of his life, and perhaps with

richer fruits of converting grace, especially among the Indians of Crosswicks and Cranberry, than have followed from the labours of any Indian missionary from that time to the present.

The limits to which we are confined forbid our following the narrative of the venerable author in his account of the "New York Missionary Society," organized in 1796, and devoted, for a number of years, to the propagation of the gospel among several tribes of Indians;—of the "Northern Missionary Society," founded in 1797, and employed in evangelizing several Indian tribes in the state of New York;—of a mission to the Cherokee Indians, established by the General Assembly of the our church, in 1803, in which the Rev. Gideon Blackburn was, for eight years, diligently and usefully employed;—of the "United Foreign Missionary Society," formed by the union of three Presbyterian denominations, and amenable to the supreme judicatory of each, and which continued to pursue missionary labours among various tribes of the Pagan Aborigines, from 1818 to 1825; and, finally, (to pass by other missionary undertakings of less note) of the "Western Foreign Missionary Society," formed in 1831, by the Synod of Pittsburg, and which almost immediately commenced missions in *Western Africa*, in *Northern India*, in *Smyrna*, and among several of the Indian tribes. We wish it were in our power to transfer to our pages the detailed account which the author gives of these several enterprizes, and of the degree of success which attended them. He presents an interesting view of the considerations which rendered the friends of *ecclesiastical* action in the missionary field anxious that the Presbyterian church, as such, and by her supreme judicatory, should engage in the work of foreign missions; of their repeated efforts to accomplish the object; of the unreasonable and persevering opposition made to their plans; and of their final success, in the General Assembly of 1837, by which the "Western Foreign Missionary Society" was, by a formal act, received from the Synods of Pittsburg and Philadelphia, and a "Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian church in the United States," constituted as the official organ of the whole church for performing her duty in the conversion of the world to God.

We hope that this volume will be extensively read. The character of its author; the highly interesting information which it contains; the importance of the subject; and the

peculiar obligations resting on the Presbyterian church—all conspire to call attention to the work. The friends of ecclesiastical organizations have been long pleading for the attainment of the precious privilege which they sought. In the good providence of God they have been enabled, at length, to reach their favourite object. Shall it now be pursued with coldness and langour? We hardly know how to express our sense of the importance of this subject. We regard the missionary cause as the greatest beneath the sun. And when we consider the past delinquency of the Presbyterian church in respect to this cause, and how imperfectly she is even yet roused to a sense of its transcendant importance; we cannot forbear thanking the veteran servant of the church who has favoured us with this volume, and praying that its spirit may be found in every pulpit, and in every Christian heart in the land.

Nothing, we confess, has surprized and humbled us more, as Christians, and as Presbyterians, than to observe in how small a degree the genuine spirit of missions appears to have gained a prevalence in our beloved Zion. When we have asked the amount of contributions annually received from large churches, consisting of three or four hundred members, and comprising a number of wealthy individuals;—the answer has, in a number of instances, astonished and mortified us. If notice were brought to us that a nation, many thousand miles off, was perishing with famine, how many hearts and hands would be opened, and how many ships, without the loss of a day, would be laden with the means of relief! But when Christians, who profess to know something of the value of the gospel, and the deplorable temporal and spiritual condition of those who are destitute of it—know that three-fourths of the whole human family are without this richest of all treasures; sunk in darkness and sin; living in misery, and dying without hope; they can sleep over the melancholy scene, and can scarcely be roused to an effort for the relief of perishing millions. When the life of the body is in question, we can feel deeply, and act with promptness and energy; but when it is the spirit that dies, benevolence may plead almost in vain for the very crumbs which fall from the table of luxury! A different spirit must arise in the church before the conversion of the world to God can be accomplished. Christians must be willing to deny themselves for the sake of extending the kingdom of Christ. They must begin, not merely to acknowledge in words, but to feel with

the deepest sincerity, that the spread of the gospel, and the salvation of souls, form the great, paramount purpose for which it is desirable to live. The sentiment must pervade the church, that it is not merely a duty, but a privilege, to "devise liberal things" for the salvation of a lost world. Then, when those who profess to love the Saviour, show that they prefer the salvation of men "above their chief joy;" when they, with one consent, burn with a hallowed desire "to hide the dishonour of the past, in the glory of the future;" when, with one heart, they shall love to deny themselves for Christ, and to bring all the gifts of his providence and grace, and lay them at his feet;—then, and not till then, shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and the earth be filled with the knowledge of his glory "as the waters fill the sea."

Alexander

Art. III.—*The Authenticity of the Pentateuch demonstrated*, by E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Ordinary Professor of the latter at Berlin. Vol I. Berlin, Oehmigke. 8vo. pp. lxxxiv. and 502.

This is the commencement of a very important work. The genuineness of the Pentateuch has, for many years, been looked upon, in Germany, as utterly exploded. The rising generation of biblical critics have almost ceased to argue on the subject, contenting themselves with mere allusion, or, at most, a passing sarcasm on the antiquated notion, that the first five books of the Old Testament were the work of Moses. Among such writers this last book of Hengstenberg's might create a sensation, if they would but read it. We suspect, however, that there is too much ground for his suggestion, that the neologists no longer read the writings of their adversaries. For not reading Hengstenberg's they have good reason. His ingenuity, logical power, and learning, are admitted even by those most opposed to him in sentiment. And they have learned to fear that what he undertakes to prove, he will prove, even to their own conviction. Since the appearance of his work on Daniel, and the completion of his Christology, there has been an obvious demand for something similar in principle and mode of execution, on the Pen-

tateuch, the modern hypotheses respecting which lie at the foundation of a thousand other false but prevalent opinions. We hail the appearance of the work before us, not on account of any probable effect upon the present race of Germans, but because it may operate as a corrective to the influence of foreign neology among ourselves. While the startling conclusions of the rationalistic critics and interpreters have made few converts in America, some of the principles from which these conclusions flow, are currently adopted, as the last results of transatlantic wisdom and research. Any attempt to expose their falsehood, on the part of Christian writers here at home, would be regarded by the smatterers in German and neology as a mere proof and consequence of unacquaintance with the stores of foreign learning. But this refuge fails when a distinguished German, eminent alike for piety and talent, not only questions the results of modern skepticism, but assails its principles, and dashes in shivers many of those maxims which our gaping plagiarists have been feeding on, as grand discoveries and established truths. We should rejoice to learn that public sentiment demanded a translation of the work before us; but as we do not look, and cannot wait, for such a version, we feel bound to give our readers some idea of the book, as to its plan and its contents. It is the second volume of a series of contributions to that department of biblical literature called by the Germans *Introduction*, including every thing preliminary to actual exegesis. In this department the most deadly blows have been aimed by German unbelievers at the truth. It would be difficult to name two books, in which the virus of neology has proved more efficacious, than in the Introductions to the Bible by Eichhorn and De Wette. Neological commentaries operate more slowly, and can accomplish little at a time; but Introductions cover the whole ground at once, and prepossess the student with contemptuous doubt, before he even enters on the work of exegesis. Here then there was need of great reform, and it was well begun, in behalf of the New Testament, by the learned and ingenious Hug. On the side of the Old Testament, all eyes have looked to Hengstenberg, and what he has already given excites a wish for more. His work on the Authenticity of Daniel, the first of the present series, was reviewed at length in our volume for 1832, pp. 48—71. Referring to that article for our opinion, both of Hengstenberg himself and of his former publications, we proceed with our description of the one before us.

We begin with the Prolegomena, though evidently written and printed after the body of the work. This part of the volume contains a historical account of the controversy. The author, however, in the very first paragraph, disclaims any attempt to give a complete catalogue of books and authors, and undertakes merely to enumerate those writers who have contributed essentially to the progress of the strife, omitting those who have only served as echoes to their predecessors. A more promiscuous method, as he justly says, would have made it impossible to see the woods for trees. By this historical induction the author undertakes to solve the question, how it comes to pass, that the authenticity of the Pentateuch, for ages regarded as a certain truth, has been so generally doubted and denied within the last half century. The previous attacks of Spinoza and others are purposely left out of view, because the solution of the problem above stated involves an explanation of the earlier phenomena. The author sets out with the profound and important observation, that a book like the Pentateuch can be regarded as authentic only so long as it is looked upon as holy; that superficial, heartless, exposition contains within itself the germ of unbelief; and that if this germ is not immediately developed, it is because the critic is not consistent enough or bold enough to carry out his principles. This statement he illustrates by the historical fact, that the first puny efforts to assail the genuineness of the books of Moses, had their origin in gross exegetical incompetency. Thus in the homilies of Clement the genuineness of the Pentateuch is questioned, because God is there represented as repenting, tempting men, and hardening their hearts; Noah is said to have been drunk, Abraham to have had three wives, and Jacob four!

Our author then proceeds to say, that in Calvin the theological exposition of the Pentateuch reached its highest point. "He stands much higher above those who followed than above those who went before him. How is it possible that such a predecessor should have such successors! It is scarcely credible that one who has thoroughly studied Calvin's Commentary should be so uniformly flat and superficial as most later writers are." In illustration of his meaning our author here brings forward three distinguished writers, whose influence has been more deeply felt, than that of any others, in the formation of opinions with respect to the genuineness of the Pentateuch—Spencer, Clericus, and Michaelis. Grotius, Marsham, and others, who belong to the same school,

are passed by, because they did not carry out their views with such consistency and fulness, and because they are less noted as interpreters of scripture.

Spencer is characterized first by comparison with Strauss, the author of the Life of Jesus, which has, within a few years, made so great a noise in Germany. Between these writers Hengstenberg perceives a striking similarity in various points,—acuteness without depth—clearness without warmth—incapacity of religious feeling (religiöse impotenz) —and that frigid perspicuity which arises from the exaltation of the understanding above the other powers of the soul. The difference between the men lies chiefly in the extent of their attacks upon the truth of revelation, and our author thinks that even this might have been wanting, if they had been contemporaries; that in our day Spencer might have been less sparing; and that, even as it was, he thought more than he said.

The fundamental principle of Spencer's great work, on the Ritual Law, shows how incompetent he was to expound scripture. On the acknowledged fact, that there were resemblances between the Jewish and Gentile ceremonies, he builds a theory, by which the Mosaic system is reduced to a mere copy of Egyptian heathenism. As our author well says, Spencer was unable to perceive the difference of spirit between the two systems. To him, the ceremonial law was a body without a soul. Hence an external similarity was, with him, sufficient to identify two systems, the most opposite in spirit. No wonder, therefore, that he always speaks of the ceremonial law in most contemptuous terms, contrasting it with what he calls *cultus rationalis*, describing its rites as *ineptias tolerabiles*, and suggesting that God may have commanded sacrifices *per ironiam*. It can scarcely be conceived that, with such ideas of the ceremonial law, he could have recognized the God who gave it, as a true God. But whether Spencer was aware of the consequences of his own hypothesis, or not, it is certain that those consequences are irreconcileable with the authenticity and genuineness of the Pentateuch. The working of the principle is clearly stated by our author thus. If the Mosaic ceremonial law is such a thing as Spencer makes it out, it cannot be from God; and if it is not from God, Moses, who says it is from God, was not himself from God, and could not therefore utter prophecies or miracles; consequently, the Pentateuch, which ascribes both to him, cannot be his production.

The influence of Spencer is apparent from the numerous editions of his book, not only in England, but in Germany and Holland. His opponents, learned as they were, instead of attempting to expound the ceremonial law in its true import, spent all their strength in proving, that its outward forms were not adopted from the heathen, while typical exposition remained as arbitrary as ever.

The theories of Spencer were adopted by Clericus, without modification or improvement. The religious shallowness, says Hengstenberg, peculiar to Arminianism, seems in him to have reached its extreme point. He looks at all things with a Deist's eye. Whatever presupposes a living personal God, or any thing more than an abstract Deity, is to him anthropomorphism. He little imagined that there could not be a grosser anthropomorphism than his own abstract idea of a God. Hence the disdainful pity with which he looks down upon the sacred writers. The tendency of such views to a rejection of the books which they relate to, needs no proof. From the idea of an abstract God, follows that of an unalterable course of nature, and from this the impossibility of miracles. Hence the attempts of Clericus to transform the miracles of Scripture into natural events; while from his low estimate of the Mosaic law, there results a constant effort to describe the system, not as a preparation for the general diffusion of religion, but as something in itself opposed to that diffusion, and designed to hinder it. The theology of his exposition is extremely low: witness his conversion of the tree of knowledge into a poisoned tree, the fruit of which occasioned pain in the intestines, and thus warned the sufferer to be more cautious. That such an interpreter could honestly believe in the inspiration of the Pentateuch, appears almost incredible.

The influence of Clericus was lessened by the fact, that he was not a theologian by profession. No such limitation existed in the case of J. D. Michaelis. The exegetical results, set forth in his Law of Moses and his Notes for the Unlearned, obtained general currency as soon as they were published. All opposition was laughed down, and, as our author thinks, in many cases justly. It may be affirmed with confidence, that Michaelis has done more against the truth, as to the authenticity of scripture, by silently removing its foundations, than any of his successors by their more open and direct attacks. He appears, indeed, as a defender of the Bible; but his method was to throw away the kernel, and then quarrel for the shell. In opposition to the Deists of England, and

the Atheists of France, all that he has to say is that Moses was a wise law-giver and sagacious statesman. These merits he exaggerates in the same ratio that he takes away all others of a higher kind. Those who have followed in his footsteps, have corrected his excesses on the one side, without supplying his defects upon the other. The divine legation of Moses is kept out of view as much as ever, while each successive writer gives him less and less credit as a politician. The immediate follower of Michaelis, Eichhorn, most significantly says, it was well, perhaps, that Michaelis had been so profuse in giving Moses what did not belong to him; because, says he, it makes it easier for us to take away. It must also be observed, that Michaelis did not merely merge the higher character of Moses as a prophet, in the lower one of a statesman; but that in so doing, he ascribed to him political and moral principles of the lowest kind, the same which he had himself adopted from the infidels of France. He not only represents it as the doctrine of Moses, set forth in his practice, that the end sanctifies the means, but represents him as abusing religion as a means to the lowest ends. Ceremonial purity was enjoined by Moses as a religious duty; but the real object was to free the camp from filth and stench. The seething of a kid in its mother's milk was forbidden as an offence against religion; but the real object was to teach the people to use vegetable oil, as being more wholesome and agreeable than butter. The eating of fat was forbidden on account of its sacrificial uses; but the real object was to save the people from cutaneous diseases. This supposed anxiety for the public health and comfort is pushed so far in Michaelis's hypotheses, as to be often purely ludicrous. A leprous house must be pulled down, simply because it was not altogether healthy. Lepers were excluded from the camp, merely in order to prevent disgust or fright in the spectators. This, as Michaelis has himself observed, is legislative delicacy pushed to an extreme—an extreme, it may be added, so grotesque that it destroys the hypothesis in which it is involved.

A striking characteristic of Michaelis, as an interpreter of scripture, is his unwillingness to leave the common ground, on which he and his adversaries can agree to stand. Whatever implies more than a Deist can believe, he endeavours to explain away. The promise of protection to the lands of the Israelites, while attending the three great feasts, is merely a reference to the well known law of nations, which required each to respect the religious engagements of the other. The

sabbatical year, though clothed with a religious form, was merely an arrangement to facilitate the storing of the grain. The design of the theocracy was altogether negative, to wit, to exclude idolatry; and the difference between heathenism and the Old Testament was nothing more than that between polytheism and monotheism. The religious import of certain requisitions and restrictions in the law was merely ostensible; they all had their origin in dietetic, medical, municipal, or other merely secular designs. Such is John David Michaelis's conception of the Pentateuch; and yet such was the influence of public sentiment, pious education, and perhaps some remnant of religious feeling, that he leaves the miracles in general untouched, or only ventures to explain them away, where Clericus had done the same before him.

Having thus traced the rejection of the Pentateuch, as an inspired book, to the deterioration of biblical exegesis, the author proceeds to show the causes of this deterioration, and of the consequent prevalence of unbelief among the learned, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These causes, he thinks, are not to be sought merely in the bosom of the church, or within the sphere of theological learning, but partly, if not chiefly, in a more general revolution of opinion. Former ages, he observes, were distinguished from our own, by reverence for the past and for historical tradition, a modest unwillingness to be deprived of all example and authority, and left to independent self-reliance. After the middle of the seventeenth century this feeling gradually lost its strength. The historical skepticism of Bayle and Harduin aroused a corresponding spirit in Germany, rendered still more dangerous, as our author with national complacency supposes, by the national spirit of profound research. The excessive indulgence of this appetite resulted in a habitual desire and expectation of discovering some flaw in every relic of former times, until men learned to feel that they accomplished nothing for the present or the future, unless they put some new dishonour on the past.

Of this corrupted sentiment, biblical skepticism was but one effect. It operated elsewhere with a similar result, producing, for example, in the field of classic learning, a mushroom crop of theories respecting Homer, which have already been cut up and cast into the furnace of reviving common sense. But why have not the corresponding follies, with respect to scripture, shared the same fate? How is it that the Homeric controversy has resulted in a more enlightened

and tenacious adherence to the old opinions, while each new theory respecting Moses and the Pentateuch is more grotesque than any that preceded it? The orations of Cicero, which Wolf rejected, are now recognized as genuine. Socher's similar decision with respect to parts of Plato, and even Ast's less sweeping judgment, are now treated as extravagant. The eighth book of Thucydides, once set aside as spurious, on account of a diversity of style and spirit, has been vindicated from the charge by Niebuhr, upon grounds which would triumphantly restore Deuteronomy to its place along with Genesis. Such is the spirit of historical criticism as to profane matters, that our author does not hesitate to say, that if the critical canons of De Wette were applied to any classical author, they would be laughed to scorn; and that a work upon Herodotus, like Vatke's on the Pentateuch, would drop from the press stillborn. Whence this strange diversity?

A still more extraordinary fact is, that even the same writers, who are so incredulous, when scripture is in question, are of ridiculously easy faith in other cases. The same Volney, who refuses all credit to the statements of the Pentateuch, and entitles one of the chapters of his book on ancient history, du personnage appellé Abraham, refers with perfect confidence, not only to Sanchoniathon, but to such later writers as Nicholas Damascenus, Artapanus, and Alexander Polyhistor. The same Gesenius, who is so hard to be convinced of any thing in favour of the scriptures, published a learned dissertation (De Inscriptione nuper in Cyreniaca reperta) on an inscription since confessed to be a forgery. These facts prove that the different results of the critical controversy on classical and biblical ground, must be referred to some peculiarity about the latter. And the same thing is evinced by another fact, which our author mentions, viz. that the judgment of distinguished living scholars, and especially historians, respecting the Pentateuch, is, for the most part, utterly at variance with that of the majority of German theologians. How is this to be explained, except by supposing, that the theologian shuts his eyes against all proofs, until he knows their bearing on his preconceived hypotheses, while the secular scholar, though he may not be free from theological prejudice, is not so far its slave as to obey it, in despite of glaring facts? In proof of his position, Dr. Hengstenberg adduces some particular examples of distinguished writers, in the department of history, who, after examining

the arguments on both sides, have deliberately recognized the Pentateuch as the work of Moses, and the oldest historical production extant. The result is, that while such men as Heeren, Von Müller, Luden, Wachler, Schlosser, Leo, Von Rotteck, and Ideler, the first chronologer of the day, with more or less distinctness, give their voice in favour of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, the opposite doctrine is maintained by no historians of equal rank.

Since then the rejection of the Pentateuch, though partly the effect of a general leaning towards historical skepticism, cannot be entirely explained in that way, our author now suggests a more specific cause. And here we believe he goes to the bottom of the matter, when he traces the effect in question to the want of experimental knowledge in religion, which prevails among the learned men, especially of Germany. He who knows nothing, in his own experience, of a living, personal, and holy God, will recognize no proofs of his existence in history. When all is natural and uniform within, all must be natural and uniform without. This absolute rejection of all that transcends the ordinary course of nature, is regarded, by the Germans of the present day, as the result of intellectual culture and illumination. But, as our author has sarcastically said, if the difference between modern unbelievers and believers, is difference of intellect and cultivation, the same must have existed between the same two classes in preceding ages. John Calvin, for example, was the representative of ignorance and barbarism, while the cause of learning and improvement was maintained by the *canes*, *porci*, and *nebulones*, whom he speaks of in his writings, as deriders of the Pentateuch; or by the licentious and half-crazy nuns, mentioned in De Potter's life of Scipio Ricci, who declared their firm conviction, that Moses, and the other writers of the Bible, were no more worthy of consideration than Plutarch or any other profane author. Illustrious progenitors of modern rationalism! precursors of the sun which has since risen upon Germany!

The absolute rejection of the Pentateuch, however, is a recent product of the spirit of the times. Preceding skeptics did not go so far, but endeavoured, by the most violent means, to bring the scriptures into agreement with their own hypotheses. In this thankless labour Eichhorn was especially distinguished. As examples, Dr. Hengstenberg refers to his hypothesis, that Korah and his company were buried alive, which is figuratively denoted by the earth's opening and

swallowing them up; that the budding of Aaron's rod is a poetical statement of the fact, that his official staff was carried about crowned with fruit and flowers, and then laid up, as a memorial of his election; that the shining of Moses' face, when he came down from Sinai, was regarded by the people as miraculous, only because they did not understand the laws of electricity; that the pillar of cloud and fire was the ordinary signal used in caravans to indicate the time of march; and that the plagues of Egypt were natural periodical occurrences. It might be supposed that a prejudice, sufficient to make such absurdities conceivable, might easily have cut the knot at once by pronouncing the book spurious, without regard to evidence. And we find, in fact, that the prodigious folly of this mode of exposition soon exploded it, and led to a more bold and simple exegesis. Corrodi, instead of explaining the miraculous occurrences away, asks whether they are not sufficient proofs that the author did not witness the events. He accordingly rejects the historical portion of the Pentateuch as spurious, but admits the laws to be the work of Moses. From the same premises Stäudlin concludes that the Pentateuch was either written long after Moses, or corrupted with innumerable interpolations. Bertholdt at length lays down the principle, that every thing is fabulous which contradicts the ordinary course of nature, or in other words, that miracles are utterly impossible. De Wette improves even upon this, by adding that a writer, who indulges in these fabulous narrations, is not worthy of belief in any case whatever; and thus the question of authenticity and genuineness is decided a priori and without investigation.

Having explained the causes of the warfare carried on, in modern times, against the Pentateuch, the author proceeds to exhibit the different opinions which have prevailed, with respect, as well to its Mosaic origin, as to its historical trustworthiness. In relation to the first point, there are three leading hypotheses. 1. The first denies the authorship of Moses altogether. De Wette, the leader of this school, in the last edition of his Introduction, § 149, acknowledges as certainly Mosaic, only the poetical passages in the twenty-first of Numbers. He admits, indeed, that, among the laws now extant, there must be many genuine, but these, he thinks, can never be identified. Even the decalogue, in its present form, is not the work of Moses. To this school belong Hartmann, Von Bohlen, and Vatke, the last of whom goes further than his master, and rejects even the alleged Mosaic parts of

Numbers. Whether Gesenius still belongs to the same party Dr. Hengstenberg thinks doubtful, as he says in the tenth edition of his smaller grammar, that it is still a matter of controversy whether the Pentateuch was, wholly or in part, composed by Moses. This would seem to indicate a slight recession from the ground, which he assumed in his History of the Hebrew Language. Oh! exclaims our author, if those deadly miracles and prophecies could only be got rid of, with that wrathful Jewish God, it would be easy for Gesenius to assent to those conclusions, which philology and history require at his hands.

2. A second school is that of Eichhorn, who, in the last editions of his Introduction, took the ground, that the most important parts of the Pentateuch are the work of Moses or of his contemporaries, but that these parts have been wrought into a whole, with many additions, by later writers. Eichhorn made no secret of the fact, that this hypothesis grew out of the assumption, that miracles and inspiration are alike impossible. The same thing is asserted by Stäudlin, who, in his Commentationes de Legum Mosaicarum momento et ingenio collectione et effectibus, admits the Mosaic origin of the principal laws, but not that of the history. Herbst, lately dead, in a work published twenty years ago, defended as genuine some portions of the Pentateuch, which Eichhorn had rejected. But he still held the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of neology, in reference to this matter, to wit, the hypothesis of a compilation. To the same school belongs Bleek, a living Professor at Bonn, who, however, has reduced Eichhorn's hypothesis still nearer to the truth, by asserting the genuineness of all the laws, ceremonial as well as moral, and admitting, that the circumstances of the Jewish people, presupposed in those laws, are in accordance with the historical representations of the Pentateuch. This restores to the books of Moses, in the general at least, their historical character.

3. The third class comprehends all who maintain the genuineness of the books of Moses, in their actual state and form. All who belong to the class agree in this, that they are supranaturalists, that is to say, they admit the reality of divine interpositions, in the form both of miracle and prophecy. They differ as to the extent of their concessions, in regard to the integrity of the extant text, or its freedom from corruption and interpolation. Within this large class is included J. D. Michaelis, who, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, points out very clearly the necessary logical connexion

between a denial of inspiration, and a rejection of the Pentateuch as spurious. It was not however until after Michaelis, that the infidel hypothesis was perfectly developed. The first distinguished champion of the truth in opposition to it, was a Roman Catholic, the celebrated Jahn; and out of that communion there has risen, in our own day, a most formidable enemy to the new opinions, in the person of John Leonard Hug, already mentioned in this article, and well known in this country, as the author of a learned, ingenious, and original Introduction to the New Testament. Besides that work, he is the author of some articles and tracts upon the Pentateuch, in which he has successfully established his position, that it was known to Jeremiah and Zephaniah, before the finding of the law in the temple. In the protestant church of Germany have arisen, as defenders of the Pentateuch, Kelle, the elder Fritzsche, Scheibel, Kanne, and Rosenmüller in his third edition, where, instead of rejecting what cannot be explained without the supposition of divine communication, he supposes the writer to have obtained his knowledge "aliunde." To these must be added Sack, who was the first among the modern champions of the Pentateuch, to see, that in order to refute the neological hypothesis, the supposition of a fragmentary Pentateuch, reduced into its present form by compilation, must be first disposed of. He also has the merit of directing attention to the argument in favour of the truth of sacred history, drawn from the historical consistency and truth of the pictures which it gives of individual characters. The best book in defence of the Pentateuch, according to our author, is the work of Ranke, published at Erlangen in 1834. Good service has been done, however, as to special points in the controversy, by Dettinger and Bauer. To these German writers Dr. Hengstenberg adds the Danish bishop Hertz, who has written a work on the traces of the Pentateuch in the books of Kings, and the Dutch professor Pareau, author of a work on hermeneutics, and of a treatise de mythica sacri codicis interpretatione, published at Utrecht in 1824.

The threefold division just recited has reference to a difference of opinion in relation to the author of the Pentateuch. With respect to its authenticity and historical trustworthiness, we meet with differences even among those who are wholly agreed in the rejection of miracles and inspiration, and mainly agreed in the rejection of the Pentateuch as a work of Moses. Of these there is a large class who, while they reject

all that savours of the miraculous or supernatural, contend for the authenticity of what remains. To this class belong Eichhorn, Bauer, Meyer, Bertholdt, and Gesenius, if the opinions of the latter, on this subject, may be inferred from insulated and detached expressions. The opposite opinion was first broached by Vater, not distinctly, but by casting a general shade of skeptical misgiving over the foundations of the Mosaic history. The hypothesis thus intimated, rather than announced, has since been matured by De Wette, who denies that any portion of a history containing fables, can be entitled to historical credit, and alleges that the Pentateuch, except in point of metre, is a poem. In these views he is followed by Von Bohlen, Baur, and Vatke. It need scarcely be observed that this extreme position is the legitimate result of that to which it stands opposed. Nothing indeed can be more grossly arbitrary and illogical, than to reject portions of an ancient book as destitute of all historical foundation, because they assert something at variance with the ordinary course of nature, and yet to treat the rest of the same book as perfectly authentic and trustworthy; as if nothing could be false without being impossible. That the principle has been carried out to its legitimate results, is regarded by our author as a proper subject of congratulation. But even those who have adopted this consistent and conclusive theory, are not agreed among themselves. Some, De Wette for example, are content with pulling down, and do not venture to build up; while others, such as Baur and Vatke, while they deny the facts of sacred history, imagine other facts to take their place. This, as our author sarcastically says, is philosophical history; a history which teaches us not only what has been, but what must have been; a much more convenient sort of history than that which, instead of manufacturing its facts at pleasure, is obliged to shape and fashion those already in existence. Another point of difference between the mythical interpreters and critics, is the question of forgery or wilful fraud. De Wette, as we have already seen, does not refer the falsehoods of the Pentateuch to a deliberate intention to deceive, but supposes the design of the whole work to be poetical, and therefore, in its very nature, presupposing fiction. Gramberg and Von Bohlen, on the other hand, have no reserve, in charging the compiler or the authors with intentional deception.

Besides these discrepancies of sentiment, there are innumerable variations, with respect to the relation of the books

to one another, their comparative age, and the date of their reduction into one great whole. As a proof of the facility, with which the unbelieving critics change their minds, it may be mentioned, that De Wette's favourite hypothesis, which places Deuteronomy so far below the other books in point of age, has now begun to yield before an opposite opinion, which the latest neological writer on the Pentateuch maintains, to wit, that Deuteronomy is much the oldest of the whole collection. But even if this point could be definitively settled, there are endless differences as to other questions. No two distinguished writers of this school are in agreement, as to any secondary question of importance. It is a war, as our author says, of all against all.

So far as the prevailing unbelief is symptomatic of a general corruption in the spirit and opinion of the times, it is exceedingly discouraging. But there are some circumstances mentioned by our author, which he thinks adapted to excite new hopes among the friends of truth and goodness. Of these the most important is the signal change which has been wrought in the relations of the Old and New Testament, as subjects of dispute. The daring experiments of unbelieving criticism were originally made upon the Old Testament, and many were seduced into skepticism and unbelief, who thought the New Testament impregnable to such attacks. The very same men, however, who assailed the one, had their eyes upon the other, and believed themselves able, with precisely the same weapons and machines, to conquer both. And they were evidently right in this opinion. The dependence of the truth of the New Testament, upon that of the Old, is so apparent, that nothing but a long religious disuse of the latter can explain its being overlooked or doubted for a moment. Who that rejects the appearances of angels recorded in the one, can believe the same events when recorded in the other? Can the Old Testament miracles be poetical or fabulous, and those of the New Testament authentic and historical? Such a transition from false to true would be unparalleled and monstrous. And yet, as we have said, it is a fact that many who held fast to the New Testament, as a divine record, have, in relation to the Old, been indifferent, or skeptical, or worse. But the controversy has put on another aspect, since Professor Strauss of Tübingen, in his Life of Jesus, most successfully applied to the New Testament those principles of critical logic, which De Wette had contrived for the destruction of the Old. The effect has

been, that, while on one hand, many whose belief in the New Testament was negative, traditional, or weak, have been converted into infidels; many, on the other hand, whose faith was founded in an experimental knowledge of the truth, have been roused, by this attempt upon the anchor of their hope, to a conviction of their own mistake and sin in giving up so large a proportion of God's word to the perversion and contempt of unbelievers, in opposition to the strongest evidence and all the rules of logic. To us who have been taught from early childhood, to regard the two Testaments as parts of one indissoluble whole, such a state of feeling and opinion among true believers, as we have described, may well appear incredible. That it has existed, and does still exist in Germany, is nevertheless certain; and we sincerely trust, that it may be corrected, and a better way of thinking introduced among the German Christians, even through the instrumentality of Strauss's book, although, in composing it, he meant not so, neither did his heart think so.

Our author adds some observations on the proper method of conducting the controversy. And in this connexion he advances an opinion which deserves to be attentively considered by ourselves. It is, that no man enters upon critical inquiry, with respect to the genuineness and inspiration of the Bible, or any of its parts, without a prepossession either one way or the other. The notion, that we can divest ourselves of prejudice, and postpone our main conclusion till the end of our inquiry, is a mere chimera. Hence it is that so many, who profess to be examining with strict impartiality, the claims of scripture, end in unbelief. It is not because, to an impartial mind, the evidence preponderates on that side; but because the mind was prepossessed against the truth before investigation. No man thinks of taking up a neutral position, in this warfare, until he is already ripe and ready for desertion. The false and hurtful maxim, here objected to, has had its influence, not only in Germany, but among ourselves. We see that influence not only in the laughable pretensions of some young theologians to a perfect equilibrium of judgment and of feeling, with respect to points of controversy; but also in the tendency of greater minds and better hearts, to put the question of divine authority and inspiration on precisely the same level with a question of authenticity and genuineness in profane literature. Such an assimilation of itself implies a want, or a suspension, of the right religious feeling, and from this want or suspension springs a great deal of the su-

perficial, spiritless, diluted exposition, and the shallow, specious, crude, speculation in theology, which mark our present state, and presage a worse to come.

At the close of his Prolegomena the author gives a sketch of his projected plan. Beginning with the history of the art of writing, and its bearing on the genuineness of the books of Moses, he proposes, as the next step, to demonstrate, by internal proofs, that the Pentateuch is a continuous and homogeneous whole, the product of one writer. Under this part of the discussion falls the long disputed question, with respect to the two names of God, Jehovah and Elohim. The next thing to be proved is, that in the book itself, Moses is represented as the author. If this is established, two effects must follow. All opinions which rest on the assumption of a fraud, must fall away at once. All those proofs which are valid, with respect to detached parts, must be received as valid in relation to the whole. "Granted," says Vater, "that the passages in question contained conclusive proofs that the writers had before their eyes the same parts of the Pentateuch, what would that establish? Why, every thing asserted, in the case of a book which forms a complete coherent whole of itself; but nothing in the case of a book which, like the Pentateuch, is evidently made up of many detached fragments." The next subject of inquiry is the relation of the Pentateuch, and the question of its genuineness, to the subsequent history of the Jewish people, and their later literature. If the Pentateuch is genuine, it must have been the basis of their civil as well as their religious institutions. An interesting part of this inquiry has relation to the use of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of the ten tribes. Then must be proved, that the supposition of genuineness is not inconsistent with the internal character of the book, whether philological, historical, or religious. This will complete the demonstration for the general reader; but the author promises a supplementary argument, for the benefit of such as believe the gospel, designed to prove the genuineness of the Pentateuch by the authority of Christ and his apostles, and from the relation of the books of Moses to the other sacred writings.

Such is Dr. Hengstenberg's design, and it is needless to observe that, by its execution, he will have conferred a favour on the Christian public, of inestimable value. In the volume now before us, he has executed only a small part of the whole plan, and that not precisely in the natural or logical order.

Aware that the ultimate completion of his purpose, if ever effected, would require the labour of some years, he thought it best to publish a small part of the work forthwith. And as some of the topics, which stand first in his own project, as already stated, have been ably handled in a recent work by Ranke (Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch aus dem Gebiete der höheren Kritik, Erlangen, 1834), he resolved to begin with subjects upon which, of late years, little or nothing has been written on the right side of the question. He accordingly commences with the proofs of the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel; and after a historical inquiry into the origin of the Samaritans, the causes of the enmity between them and the Jews, and the critical history of the Samaritan Pentateuch, he comes to the conclusion that the existence of the Pentateuch among the Samaritans does not establish its previous existence in the kingdom of Israel, and that the latter fact can only be established by an induction from the other scriptures. But this, says he, may be so easily accomplished, that it is hard to understand why preceding writers should have chosen to make the Samaritan Pentateuch the ground of their conclusions. We may add, in passing, that our author discards the current opinion, with respect to the Samaritans, according to which they were a remnant of the ten tribes, with a gentile admixture; and reasserts the doctrine of the older writers, that the ten tribes were entirely removed, and their place filled with a purely heathen race. The argument in proof of this position, pp. 1—48, is exceedingly interesting, learned, and ingenious; and contains but one thing which we think unworthy of the author's reputation. This is the laborious attempt to prove, that the facts recorded in the fourth of John had a primary symbolical import; that the woman of Samaria was designed to represent the whole Samaritan nation; that her five husbands were the five heathen tribes from whom Samaria was colonized by Asarhaddon, &c. &c. See pp. 18—25. By the majority of German theologians, whether infidel or Christian, Hengstenberg is looked upon as somewhat deficient in ideality, and as inclining to the English rather than the German way of thinking. This impression, very possibly, has impaired his influence even among the better sort of Germans; and we think we have observed, in some of his more recent writings, obvious indications of an effort to exhibit some capacity for mystical and transcendental thinking. To this class we refer the passage now in question, and rejoice to add,

that it is merely a purpureus pannus, stuck upon the outer surface of his argument, not an essential element, inwrought into its texture. The uncongeniality of such speculations to the structure and the habits of so strong and clear a mind, may perhaps serve to explain the rather undue energy, with which he insists upon his view as the correct one, and denounces a rejection of it, by prolepsis, as an act of unbelief. Having shown that the existence of the Pentateuch among the ten tribes must be proved by induction from the other scriptures, he proceeds to this inductive proof, first from Hosea, pp. 48—83; then from Amos, pp. 83—122; and then from the books of Kings, pp. 123—180. Of this part of the work we can give no detailed account, as its close argumentation and minute erudition render extracts and analysis alike impossible.

The author then takes up the subject of the names of God, and after a historical account of the dispute upon this subject, pp. 181—204, lays down and establishes his first position, that the name Jehovah was not foreign but indigenous among the Hebrews, pp. 204—222. He then gives his own etymology and explanation of the names Jehovah and Elohim, pp. 222—262; after which he undertakes to show the mutual relation of the names to one another, and the general principle which regulates their use respectively, pp. 262—305. We feel that we are doing great injustice to this portion of the work, when we undertake, without adducing any of its arguments, to state as the amount of Dr. Hengstenberg's opinion, that Jehovah is the higher, and Elohim the lower designation of the deity; and that the respective use of these names in the Pentateuch is governed by fixed laws, which he first lays down in general, and then seeks to establish by inductive reasoning from the Pentateuch itself, pp. 306—414. Though we do not choose to pass a sweeping judgment on an argument, of which we cannot even give our readers an idea by exemplification, we may say, and do say, that the preconceptions, formed by any reader, of the author's strength and perspicacity of intellect, accuracy and extent of learning, soundness of judgment, force and clearness of expression, will be more than realized by a perusal of this striking and original performance.

Having thus disposed of two important items in his list of topics, our author, in the small remaining portion of the volume, reverts to the beginning of his list, and takes up the interesting question, whether the history of the art of writing is at variance with the supposition that Moses wrote the Pen-

tateuch. Of this investigation we say nothing, partly for the reason before given, that we have not room to do the subject justice; partly because we have not read this chapter with the care which it deserves; and especially because we consider it identical in substance with an article inserted by the author in Tholuck's Anzeiger some five years ago, of which we gave an abstract in our volume for 1834, pp. 490—504.

In conclusion, we have only to express our satisfaction, that the life and intellectual activity of this accomplished scholar, profound thinker, and devoted Christian, are preserved by a kind providence to Germany and Christendom. The spectacle of such a man, surrounded by such circumstances, pleading such a cause, before such judges, and against such adversaries, would be grand in any case; but it acquires new grandeur from the fact, that this man, who is throwing millstones of irrefragable argument upon the skull of rationalism, falsely so called, was once himself a rationalist, and while such, gained precocious reputation as a scholar. His first public academical performance was a defence of the thesis, that to look for Christ in the Old Testament is folly. But mark the event. In this very folly have the best years of the man himself been gloriously spent; and the recantation of his earlier opinions is written in the very title of his great performance, Christologie, or the doctrine of Christ as taught in the Old Testament. Truly may it be said of him, that now, both as a writer and a public teacher, he preacheth the faith which once, at least in purpose, he destroyed. Let us then, like the disciples of old, when they heard Saul of Tarsus preach, "glorify God in him."

Art. IV.—*The Life of William Wilberforce.* By his Sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A., Vicar of East Farleigh, late Fellow of Oriel College; and Samuel Wilberforce, M. A., Rector of Brighstone. 5 vols. post 8vo. London, John Murray, 1838.

To many of our readers a faithful outline of these volumes will be more acceptable than the book itself. We cannot, it is true, abstract the three graphic likenesses of Wilberforce, or the facsimiles of his handwriting, or the typography of one of the most celebrated printing houses in the world: but

we can save time for the busy, and money for the frugal, by leaving out a mass of crude and almost unintelligible matter, from journals, memoranda, letters, and the like, which has often no charm but the mention of celebrated names and places, and no merit but that of being Wilberforce's. The book is a good book, or rather might easily be made such, by a judicious use of the knife: as it now is, with all our unfeigned respect for the fidelity, modesty, and filial duty of the authors, we have to lament that their collection had not been rather a selection. But not even for an instant to encourage the notion that we sympathize with the unprincipled critics who have opened in full cry upon these instructive volumes, we proceed to particulars.

William Wilberforce, only son of Robert Wilberforce and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bird, Esq. of Barton, Oxon, was born at Hull, August 24, A.D. 1759. Of three sisters only one arrived at maturity. The family was one of distinction, under the name of Wilberfoss, as far back as the times of Henry the Second.

The early years of Wilberforce were remarkable chiefly for feebleness of constitution. His stature was always small, and the weakness of his eyes is mentioned from the beginning to the very end of his life. The instances are numerous in subsequent years, in which he records his gratitude for the time and the country of his birth, and that he 'was not born in less civilized times, when it would have been thought impossible to rear so delicate a child.' When seven years old he was sent to the grammar school at Hull, of which Joseph Milner, the historian, was soon afterwards master. 'Even then his elocution was so remarkable,' says Isaac Milner, his friend, afterwards Dean of Carlisle, 'that we used to set him on a table, and make him read aloud as an exercise to the other boys.' The death of his father in 1768 brought him under the charge of an uncle, William Wilberforce, residing by turns at Wimbledon, Surrey, near London, and in St. James's Place. For two years he went to a school of the meanest character: 'it was frequented chiefly by the sons of merchants, and they taught therefore every thing and nothing.'

This transfer to his uncle's care, unimportant as it may appear to the political biographers of Wilberforce, has great interest in our eyes. This it was which gave a direction to the whole religious life. His sons and biographers talk of a 'baptismal seed, which though long dormant was destined to produce at last a golden harvest.' We find it more intel-

ligible to trace the religion of this remarkable man to the blessing of God upon the instructions of his aunt, who was an admirer of Whitefield's preaching, and kept up a friendly connexion with the early Methodists. 'Under these influences,' says he, 'my mind was interested by religious subjects. How far these impressions were genuine I can hardly determine, but at least I may venture to say that I was sincere. There are letters of mine, written at that period, still in existence, which accord much with my present sentiments.' 'How eventful a life,' he says in looking back to this period in his thirty eighth year, 'has mine been, and how visibly can I trace the hand of God leading me by ways which I knew not! I think I have never before remarked, that my mother's taking me from my uncle's when about 12 or 13, and then completely a Methodist, has probably been the means of my being connected with political men and becoming useful in life. If I had staid with my uncle I should probably have been a bigoted despised Methodist:' and he might have added, 'Had I never gone to that uncle, I should probably have been a worldling or a titled debauchee.' For when he returned to his mother's house, at Hull, it was to a new and different scene. 'It was then as gay a place as could be found out of London. The theatre, balls, great suppers and card-parties, were the delight of the principal families in the town.' The religious impressions which he had gained at Wimbledon continued for a considerable time, but his friends spared no pains to obliterate them. 'I might almost say, that no pious parent ever laboured more to impress a beloved child with sentiments of piety, than they did to give me a taste for the world and its diversions.' Much of his time was passed in a round of visits among the neighbouring gentry. A remarkable musical talent, with a voice of exquisite expression and melody, was to him, what it has been to multitudes of young men, a key to many chambers of temptation.

At this early day those tendencies became apparent which predominated in later years. At the age of fourteen he addressed a letter to the editor of the York paper, 'in condemnation of the odious traffic in human flesh.' 'He greatly excelled all the other boys in his compositions, though he seldom began them till the eleventh hour;' and he went to the University 'a very fair scholar.' He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, October 1776, at the age of seventeen years. In this country we happily know nothing by experience of such license in morals as exists on the Isis and the

Cam. 'I was introduced,' says Wilberforce, 'on the very first night of my arrival to as licentious a set of men as can well be conceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even worse than their lives. I lived amongst them for some time, though I never relished their society, ... often indeed I was horror-struck at their conduct, ... and after the first year shook off in great measure my connexion with them.' For the last two years at Cambridge he was the centre of a higher circle. 'There was always,' says the Rev. T. Gisborne, 'a great Yorkshire pie in his rooms, and all were welcome to partake of it. My rooms and his were back to back, and often when I was raking out my fire at ten o'clock, I heard his melodious voice calling aloud to me to come and sit with him before I went to bed. It was a dangerous thing so to do, for his amusing conversation was sure to keep me up so late, that I was behindhand the next morning.' He was a good classic, but neglected mathematics, which his mind always needed; and he was idle and worldly. 'I certainly did not then think and act as I do now,' he said long afterwards, 'but I was so far from being what the world calls licentious, that I was rather complimented on being better than young men in general.' It is mentioned as an evidence of his conscientiousness, that when unexpectedly required to declare his assent to the Articles of the church, (not being familiar with the modern subscription 'for substance of doctrine') he refused, though the refusal cost him for a time the convenience of a degree.

In this, as in every period of his life, not excepting the portion after three score years and ten, he was characterized by a genial hilarity, which one would, a priori, have considered too elevated to endure. 'May God enable me,' such was his prayer, 'to preserve a constant and a sober mind with a gay exterior.' In childhood, maturity and decline, he was as much distinguished for brilliancy of social talent as for tender benevolence. The smile and the tear proceeded from the same depths of unsophisticated nature; and happily the type neither of his religion nor his philosophy rendered it necessary for him to assume the guise of the anchorite or the cynic. He understood, what few can attempt to learn without peril, the *desipere in loco.* Even at the close of his protracted career, he might have pleaded to the charge of a facetiousness too free for the sourer sort of good people. In 1780 Mr. Wilberforce, scarcely free from the University, came into Parliament, as member

for 'the town and county of Hull.' It is characteristic of the country, that this election 'cost him between £8000 and £9000;' a single vote of a resident elector being bought for two guineas, and the expenses of a freeman's journey from London averaging £10 a piece. This extreme corruption, Mr. Wilberforce afterwards condemned. He was welcomed by the London wits. Conversation, if we may credit Mrs. Hannah More and Sir William Pepys, was not yet extinct in England. "When I went up to Cambridge," he has said, speaking of the risks to which he was then exposed, "I was scarcely acquainted with a single person above the rank of a country gentleman; and even when I left the University, so little did I know of general society, that I came up to London stored with arguments to prove the authenticity of Rowley's Poems; and now I was at once immersed in politics and fashion. The very first time I went to Boodle's I won twenty-five guineas of the Duke of Norfolk. I belonged at this time to five clubs, . . Miles and Evans's, Brookes's, Boodle's, White's, Goostree's. The first time I was at Brookes's, scarcely knowing any one, I joined from mere shyness in play at the Faro table, where George Selwyn kept bank. A friend who knew my inexperience, and regarded me as a victim decked out for sacrifice, called to me, 'What, Wilberforce, is that you?' Selwyn quite resented the interference, and turning to him, said in his most expressive tone, 'O sir, don't interrupt Mr. Wilberforce, he could not be better employed.' Nothing could be more luxurious than the style of these clubs. Fox, Sheridan, Fitzpatrick, and all your leading men, frequented them, and associated upon the easiest terms; you chatted, played at cards, or gambled as you pleased." But his companions were of a group of some twenty five young men, for the most part, who had passed together through the University, and who had come into the new Parliament of 1780. Here we begin to find the names of Pitt and Wilberforce in juxtaposition. These young men met almost nightly at the club at Goostree's in Pall Mall. It may surprise some readers to read from the memoranda of Wilberforce such records as this concerning the stately Pitt. 'He was the wittiest man I ever knew, and what was quite peculiar to himself, had at all times his wit under entire control. . . . . I was one of those who met to spend an evening in memory of Shakspeare, at the Boar's Head, East Cheap. Many professed wits were present, but Pitt was the most amusing of the party, and the readiest and most apt in

the required allusions.' In these clubs great sums were lost at the Faro table. By a providential interposition, he was weaned from a growing attachment to these amusements.

In 1781 Pitt joined him in the house of Commons, and their acquaintance ripened into friendship. But even then, it is observable, that personal attachment did not overwhelm his firmness of principle, for Pitt the second time he spoke in Parliament he voted against. We must refer our readers to the work itself for a great number of minute but interesting sketches of this great statesman and orator: already we are in danger of prolixity. It is almost needless to say that his rise to eminence was rapid without a parallel. 'The papers will have informed you,' writes Wilberforce at the time, 'how Mr. William Pitt, second son of the late Lord Chatham, has distinguished himself; he comes out as his father did, a ready made orator, and I doubt not but I shall one day or other see him the first man in the conntry. His famous speech, however, delivered the other night did not convince me, and I staid with the old fat fellow:* by the way he grows every day fatter, so where he will end I know not.' During this and the succeeding years the house of his late uncle at Wimbledon was a favourite resort; and here Pitt, to whom it was a luxury even to sleep in country air, took up not unfrequently his residence: their easy familiarity permitting him to ride down late at night and occupy his rooms, even though the master of the house was kept in town. The gaiety at Wimbledon almost transcended 'the limits of becoming mirth.' 'We found one morning the fruits of Pitt's earlier rising in the careful sowing of the garden beds with the fragments of a dress hat, in which Ryder had overnight come down from the opera.' The discussions arising out of the American war give peculiar interest to this period; but we must deny ourselves.

In 1783, Mr. Wilberforce accompanied by Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Eliot, afterwards Pitt's brother in law, visited France. The whole history of this six weeks' tour is amusing in the highest degree, but we shall omit all further notice of their incognito, their reception by Louis XVI., and their interviews with Franklin and La Fayette.

Upon the dissolution in 1784, when Pitt became Premier, Mr. Wilberforce somewhat suddenly proposed to represent the county. Here the triumph of his talents, his personal

* Lord North.

popularity, and his eloquence was complete. The support of Pitt's measures was the great test; under this banner at the age of twenty-five, he went into the new parliament, and for more than thirty years continued to be the independent representative of the most important constituency in the kingdom. It is no small attestation to his real abilities that the freeholders of Yorkshire should elect one recommended to them, (by Lord Mulgrave) as 'the bosom friend of the present minister, and second only to him in eloquence, unexampled at their years.' In no period of his life does he seem to have lost his sense of the importance of the charge intrusted to him as representing 'the tenth of all England.'

We are now drawing near the most interesting season of Mr. Wilberforce's life, namely, that in which his mind was brought under the power of evangelical religion. This began to be manifested during a long journey which he made through France, Switzerland and Italy. The chief instrument was the celebrated Isaac Milner, afterwards Dean of Carlisle, but at that time a mere clerical companion. Neither party could then imagine the gracious purpose for which they were thrown together. Milner, though a clergyman, and evangelical in his opinions, seems to have had a carelessness almost amounting to indifference. He appeared in all respects like an ordinary man of the world, mixing with his younger companion in all companies, and joining as readily as others in the prevalent Sunday parties. Still the principles of the young man were fixed, and when on a certain occasion Wilberforce spoke of a Mr. Stillingfleet as a good man, but one who carried things too far, Milner replied, 'Not a bit too far;' and this was the first intimation of his Methodism. Mr. Wilberforce was surprised, and they agreed to talk the matter over at some other time. They read together Doddridge's RISE and PROGRESS of RELIGION with thus much effect, that he determined to search the scriptures. That no decisive change had taken place in his life, is evident from his constant festivities on his return to London. Among the light memorials of singing or dancing 'all night,' or 'till five in the morning,' we read, 'S. and I talked—Strange that most men do not see that their duties increase with their fortune, and that they will be punished for spending it in eating, &c.' At the conclusion of the session in June 1785, he rejoined his family at Genoa, and, again accompanied by Milner, set out on the tour of Switzerland. Travelling in the same coach with Milner, he was induced by the latter to read the Greek Testa-

ment. We shall not spend a word upon the interesting details of the tour. During its whole continuance he was engaged in frequent conversations with Milner. 'By degrees,' says he, 'I imbibed his sentiments, though I must confess with shame, that they long remained merely as opinions assented to by my understanding, but not influencing my heart. My interest in them certainly increased, and at length I began to be impressed with a sense of their importance. In the midst of much that was distracting, and under the appearance of levity, he carried a hidden concern, and began to pray earnestly. When, in November, he returned to Wimbledon, he was another man, and the subject of habitual feelings diametrically opposite to those which had possessed him. 'It was not so much,' he has said in his memoranda, 'the fear of punishment by which I was affected, as a sense of my great sinfulness in having so long neglected the unspeakable mercies of my God and Saviour, and such was the effect which this thought produced, that, for months, I was in a state of the deepest depression, from strong convictions of my guilt. Indeed nothing which I have ever read in the accounts of others exceeded what I then felt.'

From this time until the evening of his life he kept a regular diary of his religious state which is only too minute, and which we must say is cited in this memoir, with a lavish boldness, scarcely compatible with the reverence of sons for a father. No better example could be adduced, than these very journals afford, of the truth that diaries often give a false view of character. If we were to credit what the author says of himself in his record, we should think that his youthful life was one of profligacy: his friends however attest quite the contrary, as we have already declared. But compare what is said in volume fourth, p. 344. Few good things are susceptible of greater abuse than religious diaries. Even to the writers of them, they often prove occasions of daily scrupulosity or spiritual pride, or become the records either on the one hand rather of what ought to be than what is, or on the other of such secrets between the Searcher of hearts and the soul, as should never be judged, before the time, by prurient inquirers. And to the readers, we regard them as offering in many cases the sickliest aspects of the writer's mind, just as an hospital-journal does of the diseased inmates' symptoms, while these morbid and often absurd exercises are erected into examples by unguarded youth. Alas! among how many imitators has the holy Brainerd's

self-neglect and gloom been propagated by his solemn minuting of every change in temperament. But whatever diversity of opinion there may be about religious diaries, no evangelical mind can undervalue that experience which is recorded in those of Mr. Wilberforce. By early rising, by constant prayer and reading, and by recourse to the best men, he advanced rapidly in the knowledge and practice of what was essential. Neither now, nor at any later period, does he seem to have got any clear notions concerning the less obvious truths of theology, which is the more remarkable from the known soundness of Isaac Milner's opinions: but Wilberforce moved in a circle where all hard-thinking was given to politics, and among a class of clergymen and dignitaries who have for some generations affected a genteel and skimming theology. The fear of Calvinism, and the denunciation of some Pauline tenets under the title of 'metaphysics,' is not confined to the court or even the island of Great Britain. To use one of his own happy expressions, 'it would be a sort of Prayer-Book and Homily Society temperature, if the world were made of such.'

Of the conscientiousness and tenderness of young Wilberforce's piety not even enemies could doubt. It is refreshing amidst political details to find such records as these: 'Conversed with Pitt near two hours, and opening myself completely to him. He tried to reason me out of my convictions, but soon found himself unable to combat their correctness, if Christianity be true. The fact is, he was so absorbed in politics that he had never given himself time for due reflection on religion.'

Towards the end of 1785 Mr. Wilberforce introduced himself to good Mr. Newton, from whom he received excellent counsels. It will not be expected that we should go into the particulars of his religious advancement during these earlier years of his Christian life. We find him strenuously labouring to receive and to do good, and earning that title of benevolent enthusiast, or Methodist, which it was his lot to bear through life. In these days he does not appear by any means so much awake to the sin of dissent, and the defiling nature of associations out of 'the church,' as when afterward he somewhat yielded himself, we apprehend, to the statements of priestly acquaintances.

During the years 1786 and 1787 he was making his way by cautious steps to that important place in parlimentary business with which most of us have been accustomed to asso-

ciate his name; but his health had received a blow from which he never fully recovered, and in consequence of this he visited Bath almost every year for the rest of his life. Whether in public affairs however, or in amusement, the bent of his mind was towards the unseen world. This is evinced by his perpetual records, even by such as were most hastily written and most unwisely published. His friends were alarmed at his growing zeal, and seem to have expected manifestations quite rabid, but when in July 1786, he joined his mother at Scarborough, after the close of the session, 'all that she observed was greater kindness and evenness of temper.' Her friend, Mrs. Sykes, who had shared in her suspicions, said when they parted company, 'If this is madness, I hope that he will bite us all'. In the quietude of a summer in the country he gave himself up in great measure to the word of God and prayer; so that there is scarcely a day without the record of some holy exercises.

In the session of 1787, otherwise memorable in parliamentary history, Mr. Wilberforce appears for the first time as a Christian Philanthropist, a character in which he will shine so long as the world endures. We refer to his exertions for the Reformation of Manners. 'He could not wonder,' say his sons, 'that the gay and busy world were almost ignorant of Chrisianity, amidst the lukewarmness and apathy which possessed the very watchmen of the faith. The deadly leaven of Hoadley's latitudinarian views had spread to an alarming extent amongst the clergy; and whilst numbers confessedly agreed with his Socinian tenets, few were sufficiently honest to resign with Mr. Lindsey* the endowments of the church. The zealous spirit which had begun to spread during the reign of Anne,† had been benumbed by this evil influences. No efforts were now making to desseminate in foreign lands the light of Christ's Gospel. At home a vast popululion was springing up around our manufactories, but there was no thought of providing for them church accommodation. Non-residence without cause and without scruple was spreading through the church; and all the cords of moral obligation were relaxed as the spirit of religion slumbered. Against this universal apathy John Wesley had recently arisen with a giant's strength. But his mission was chiefly to the poor, and his measures even from the first

* The Rev. Theophilus Lindsey had resigned the living of Catterick in 1773.

† Vide Nelson's Address to Persons of Quality.

were such as fostered a sectarian spirit. There was needed some reformer of the nation's morals, who should raise his voice in the high places of the land; and do within the church, and near the throne, what Wesley had accomplished in the meeting, and amongst the multitude. This, in its whole extent, was a work which the genius of our church could hardly have committed to the hands of any ecclesiastic; while it required for its proper execution the full devotion of rank, and influence, and talents of the highest order. To this high and self-denying office God put it into the heart of his servant to aspire. God, he says, has set before me as my object the reformation of [my country's] manners.'*

His first great effort was for the formation of a society to resist the spread of open immorality. In furthering this object, his personal labours were surprisingly great. Believing the patronage of the prelates to be indispensable, he set off from London, without revealing his purpose, and visited in succession the episcopal residences of the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Norwich, Lincoln, York, and Lichfield, besides calling on many laymen. Here he learned to endure hardness. A nobleman said to him, 'So you wish young man to be a reformer of men's morals. Look then (pointing to a picture of the Crucifixion) and see there the end of such reformers !'

Any pretence at a sketch of Wilberforce's life, without some notice of his labours for abolishing the Slave Trade, would be like that famous annunciation of 'the Play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet omitted by particular desire.' In the book before us, this is the reigning topic, and we feel no disposition from bias of opinion to suppress any portion of the facts which it contains. But the unvarnished truth is, that to do the subject justice, that is not merely to rehearse events but to guard against misapprehensions, would take a volume, rather than the quarterly number of a Review.

The character and the work of this great man must be rescued from the clutches of officious friends : or we may yet see the bust of Wilberforce in the twin niche with that of Garrison, or Leavitt. It may be observed, that this biography has not been snatched by the Anti-slavery Society with all that avidity which might have been expected. Both in New-York, and in Philadelphia, the work has been announced, but at the time of this writing it has not, so far as we are in-

* Journal.

formed, gone to press. In truth, there is on almost every page (we may notice an exception or two) the greatest possible contrast between the hearts and lives of Wilberforce and the earlier abolitionists and the hearts and lives of those who have since usurped their names; the difference is that which exists between the refinement of the scholar and Christian gentleman, and the gross unmannered insolence of the upstart agitator of *canaille*. The one was warm and productive, but gentle and benevolent, ready to admit facts, weigh defence, and retract errors: the other is hot, heady, meddlesome, too often careless of truth, and seldom anxious to repair the injuries inflicted by a calumny set on fire of hell. The one abolished to a certain extent a nefarious trade, by most legitimate proceedings; the other threatens to carry fire and sword through half a nation, or if this be averted, to rend, without the least prospect of aught to indemnify for the loss, those bonds on which depend the triumphs of religion, truth and peace throughout our hemisphere. The early friends of the black man strenuously and even violently strove to remove a dreadful disease; the abolitionists, knife in hand, are ready to extirpate a cancer, though the patient die upon the table.

We do not forget that the very impulse of a great enterprise tends to evolve some extraordinary glow, and that even in a generous but fallen nature this heat may at times verge towards the malignant: so that even a Wilberforce may write 'One is strongly tempted to wish not merely that the sufferings of the Africans may cease, but that some signal mark of the Divine displeasure may desolate those abhorred islands.'* We do not forget this, but with the exception of this one ebullition, we find no such exacerbation of this gentle mind occurs: and the book has various avowals of the very distinction we are pressing. The early British abolitionists were different men from the terrorists of France, the Amis des Noirs, the Jagots, Simons and Heraults, and the colder, but not less pertinacious fanatics of New England and her colonies. They distinguished between destroying the slave trade, and extirpating slavery. 'I am instigating Fox,' these are the words of Wilberforce in 1802, 'to urge Buonaparte on the abolition, of which probably he knows nothing, *and confounds it with emancipation*.'† In a letter of 1816, quoted by the biographers, he relates that his enemies charged

* Vol. II. p. 228. Letter to Archdeacon Corbett, 1797. † Vol. III. p. 70.

them with the intention of freeing the slaves, and that he and his friends were 'all the time denying it.'* In 1818 he writes; 'Our grand object and our universal language was and is, to produce by abolition a disposition *to breed instead of buying*.'†

Yet obvious as all this is, and exalted as is the character of Wilberforce above the pragmatical malice of his pretended worshippers, his mantle is probably claimed by every man and every woman, black, white and mulatto, of the anti-slavery societies; as well by ex-ministers and ex-quakeresses, pleading for absolute freedom of agitation, as by those who abjure conjugal obedience, and feminine modesty, and deny all coercion of law. The class of irresponsible persons who, in regions north and west of us, are promoting the disunion of these states, may find it good to nestle under the noble shadow of a Wilberforce, but they are with a few great exceptions irresponsible men, of small stake in society. Even their Halls, after provoking the mob, are said to be held by bankrupt associations, and their refugee slaves, after having dictated their autobiography and emigrated to England, are found to have duped their patrons into the stereotyping of unexampled fabrications. The lady-guardians of James Williams will not revere Wilberforce the more for writing thus about Female Anti-Slavery Associations: 'All private exertions for such an object become their character, but for ladies to meet, to publish, to go from house to house stirring up petitions—these appear to me proceedings unsuited to the female character as delineated in Scripture.'‡

We shall not enter into the controversy which has recently engaged the friends of abolition, as to the comparative merits of Wilberforce and Clarkson, in originating and carrying forward this great enterprise: but it is hoped that the fraternity at New York will settle the question, as soon as they have got their hands clear of the interesting matters touching the legend of James Williams, and the slave of Mr. Darg. As early as 1772 Granville Sharp made his philanthropic beginnings. In 1781 Mr. Wilberforce had begun to seek information from the West Indies. In 1783, Bishop Porteus had preached against the trade before the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. In 1784 the Rev. J. Ramsay, who had lived in St. Kitt's, and who was patronised by Sir Charles Middleton, wrote a work on the 'Treatment of and

* Vol. IV. p. 287. † Vol. IV. p. 365. ‡ Vol. V. p. 264.

Traffic in Slaves,' and in 1786, Mr. Wilberforce, at the instance of Sir Charles, took the matter into serious consideration as a parliamentary affair; for which, in1787, Thomas Clarkson was employed to collect evidence. 'God Almighty has set before me,' said Mr. W. 'two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade, and the reformation of manners.'* Let those who charge Wilberforce, as some posthumous opponents have done, of softness and flexibility, remember, that these two objects were selected by him when there was no popular breath in their favour, and were pursued by him with untiring, unabated zeal for the whole remnant of his long life. By the few friends of Abolition his accession to the ranks was considered of good augury: his respectability as member for the largest county, his acknowledged talent and integrity, and the unparalleled fascinations of his private hours, pointed him out as the leader. Mr. Pitt was friendly and even zealous, but the 'white negroes,' as the witty premier dubbed them, viz: Ramsay, Clarkson, Latrobe and Granville Sharpe were the real co-workers. The labours incident to the gigantic investigations were too great, and in his 29th year Mr. Wilberforce was so shaken in constitution, that the vital functions seemed for some weeks to be in decay. A consultation of the chief physicians of England ended in the declaration 'that he had not stamina to last a fortnight.' Yet he not only lasted, but flourished, not indeed in health but in mighty influence, for nearly half a century beyond this. The parliamentary contest, in his absence, was conducted by Mr. Pitt, but in the summer of 1788 Mr. W. was so far restored, by the judicious exhibition of opium, the use of which he continued daily through life, that he prepared to resume his labours. In preparation for the debate on the slave trade, in 1789, his labours were incessant, and he not merely set scores of other men to work, but toiled himself by day and night. But the labours of forty years were only beginning, and of these the portion was inconsiderable which appeared to the public. It was in the closet, the forced journey, and the committee room that the Herculean effort was made. The breaking out of the French Revolution impeded the work, precisely as the disorganizing jacobinism of certain abolitionists among ourselves has hindered the evangelizing of our own negroes. It is no more to be questioned that the suspicion cast on the sacred labours of Wilberforce by the French excesses of the

* Journal, Oct. 28, 1787.

'Amis des Noirs,' retarded the great event, than that the odious misrepresentation and violence of northern abolitionists have rivetted the yoke on thousands of southern slaves.

The year 1789 drew more closely the ties between Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Henry Thornton and Mrs. Hannah More. Of the latter he recorded the excellent remark, that no class of persons has been more improved in condition during the last century than that of unmarried women. 'Formerly there seemed to be nothing useful in which they could be naturally busy, but now they may always find an object in attending to the poor.' In this work Mrs. More and her sisters were, as is well known, largely sustained by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Thornton. 'Every one (so the former writes to Mrs. More, in 1789) should contribute out of his own proper fund. I have more money than time, and if you, or rather your sister, on whom I foresee must be devolved the superintendence of our infant establishment, will condescend to be my almoner, you will enable me to employ some of the superfluity it has pleased God to give me to good purpose. Sure I am, that they who subscribe attention and industry, &c. furnish articles of more sterling and intrinsic value. Besides, I have a rich banker in London, Mr. H. Thornton, whom I cannot oblige so much as by drawing on him for purposes like these. I shall take the liberty of enclosing a draft for £40; but this is only meant for beginning with.'

Mrs. More heartily sympathized with him in his great work; indeed such was his absorption in this, that none could long have enjoyed his company without some zeal in the same cause. The history of efforts to abolish the trade is henceforth the history of the life of Wilberforce. With the former our readers must be somewhat acquainted. While parliament merely gave a doubtful audience to the eloquent appeals, the work of collecting evidence and throwing open the whole mystery to public view was advancing. The Guinea merchants and others interested in the maintenance of the slave trade, were first supine, as ignorant of the greatness of the coming assault. Aroused by the storm of testimony and eloquence, they sought a suspension not merely of an issue, but of trial, and year after year succeeded in suppressing the evidence. In 1791, however, the question came to a decision; but partly from the decay of fruitless excitement, partly from the odium reflected from France, and chiefly from the increased energy of desperate avarice, the bill was

lost by a great majority. The tragedy of St. Domingo justly alarmed even Mr. Pitt. In 1792 Mr. Dundas's Resolutions for a gradual abolition for Jan. 1, 1796 were carried, the vote standing 151 to 132; but even this was postponed by the Lords.

The aspect of the times was alarming, the prevalence of revolutionary principles in Great Britain caused a temporary revulsion even among the fast friends of liberty. It is not wonderful that in 1793, the motion for abolition was lost in the House of Commons. Other and more imminent evils than that of the slave trade employed every mind. It was a time of change in events and opinions. Abolition became unpopular; its adherents were diverted or discouraged, but Wilberforce, as if to show that the grace of God is the true principle of magnanimity, intrepidity, patience and firmness, bated not one jot. He relaxed in effort, indeed, but did not faint in mind. The germ of his chief publication, the Practical View, was produced amidst this lulling of the tempest. In 1794 the Foreign Slave Trade Bill passed the Commons but was lost in the Lords. The succeeding years were years of successive repulses or defeats. By delay, by chicane, by pretended compromise, by intimidation, the question was kept off till the twenty-third year. For in 1795 the annual motion was rejected in the Commons. In 1796 the motion was introduced, but lost on a third reading. In 1797 the new parliament adopted the plan proposed by Mr. Ellis, of leaving the question to the colonists; and the motion for abolition was lost. In 1798, it was lost. In 1799 the slave limitation bill was carried in the Commons, and the abolition bill lost. In 1800-1 the hope of a national compact for the abolition, and perhaps other reasons caused the motion to be deferred. In 1802 it was renewed. In 1803 the dread of invasion kept it out, and in 1804 it was carried in the House of Commons; the vote being 95 to 83. In the House of Lords a delay took place. In 1805 the trade was abolished with reference to the new colonies. In 1806 the Commons again sanctioned abolition, and the foreign slave trade was abolished, and at length on the 23d of March, 1807, the third reading in the Lords came on, and the bill was passed!

'To speak' (wrote Sir James Mackintosh, from India, and we commend his words to those few hardy minds who have stigmatized the subject of this memoir as almost an imbecile) —'to speak of fame and glory to Mr. Wilberforce, would be to use a language far beneath him; but he will surely consi-

der the effect of his triumph on the fruitfulness of his example. Who knows whether the greater part of the benefit that he has conferred on the world, (the greatest that any individual has had the means of conferring,) may not be the encouraging example that the exertions of virtue may be crowned by such splendid success? We are apt petulantly to express our wonder that so much exertion should be necessary to suppress such flagrant injustice. The more just reflection will be, that a short period of the short life of one man is, well and wisely directed, sufficient to remedy the miseries of millions for ages. Benevolence has hitherto been too often disheartened by frequent failures; hundreds and thousands will be animated by Mr. Wilberforce's example, by his success, and (let me use the word only in the moral sense of preserving his example) by a renown that can only perish with the world, to attack all the forms of corruption and cruelty that scourge mankind. Oh what twenty years in the life of one man those were, which abolished the slave trade! How precious is time! How valuable and dignified is human life, which in general appears so base and miserable! How noble and sacred is human nature, made capable of achieving such truly great exploits!' We add his own private record: it needs no comment. 'Oh what thanks do I owe the Giver of all good, for bringing me in His gracious providence to this great cause, which at length, after almost nineteen years' labour, is successful!'

It may not be out of place, even here, to recur to the debate of February 23d in the House of Commons, and to the speech of Sir Samuel Romilly. When the learned member alluded to the vote just given, he entreated the young members of parliament to let this day's event be a lesson to them, how much the rewards of virtue exceed those of ambition. He then contrasted the feelings of the Emperor of the French in all his greatness with those of that honoured man who would this day lay his head upon his pillow and remember that the slave trade was no more; and the whole house, burst into acclamations of applause. It was such a plaudit, says Bishop Porteus, 'as was scarcely ever before given to any man sitting in his place in either House of parliament.' And not less interesting is the reply of Wilberforce himself to a friend's inquiry as to this occurrence. 'I can only say that I was myself so completely overpowered by my feelings, ... that I was insensible to all that was passing around me.'

We might now go back, and run through the same course

of years, so as to show that in the whole of this perplexing, exciting, and ungracious employment, Mr. Wilberforce was not merely acting under a good motive, but living in the exercise of the warmest piety. Not only his general course, but every step of it, may be said to have been under the light of another world. The records of this have not escaped the peevish acumen of the London Reviewer, who, 'difficilis, querulus,' and in every trait realizing the senile picture given by Horace, is pleased to be severely witty on such entries as the following: 'I thank God I am arrived at this place in safety, making up near 350 miles which I have travelled, full 100 of them at night, without a single accident. How grateful ought I to be for this protecting providence of a gracious God.' No wonder therefore that he is disgusted at the way in which Wilberforce introduces the thought and mention of God, amidst the bustle of parliament. 'We think,' says he, 'that the mixing in alternate *layers*, as it were ascetic meditations and worldly business, is, to say the least of it, very awkward.' For our part we have, ever and anon, in reading these pages, been ready to lift our hands in thanks for the gift of such an example to legislators of the age. The sight is so rare in the memoranda of statesmen of such records, that even the fastidiousness of the atrabilious reviewer might have allowed what follows: 'Alas, how sadly do I still find myself beset by my constitutional corruptions! I trust the grief I felt on the defeat of my Bill [1805] proceeded from sympathy for the wretched victims, whose sufferings are before my mind's eye, yet I fear in part also less pure affections mixed and heightened the smart—regret that I had not made a greater and better fight in the way of speaking; vexation at the shame of defeat. O Lord purify me. I do not, God be merciful to me, deserve the signal honour of being the instrument of putting an end to this atrocious and unparalleled wickedness. But O Lord, let me earnestly pray Thee to pity these children of affliction, and to terminate their unequalled wrongs; and O direct and guide me in this important conjuncture, that I may act so as may be most agreeable to Thy will. Amen.' On another occasion, when he had administered a richly merited reprimand, keen with wit, yet courtly and Christian, to Mr. Courtenay, he thus records his private reflections: 'I hope I feel no ill will to any, and I pray and strive against it. O what are the little reproaches and assaults I encounter, compared with those

under which Stephen could say, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!'

This mingling of heavenly with earthly things is to our reviewer, a 'see-saw' which 'confuses history and disturbs devotion.' He would therefore, in his dislike of the mixture, prefer the omission of one ingredient, and which of the two, we need not long inquire. To such critics, passages like the following must be ridiculous in an extreme: 'Dec. 10, 1797, I sparred with Pitt, and he negatived several exempting clauses. I much cut and angry.—Alas! Alas! with what shame ought I to look to myself! What conflicting passions yesterday in the House of Commons—mortification—anger—resentment, from such conduct in Pitt; though I ought to expect it from him . . . . . When I got home I prayed to God, and looked to him for help through Christ, and have in some measure found my heart restored to peace and love, &c.'*

Such secret exercises as these are not rare in his history. Through all his political career—and there was scarcely any great measure agitated for forty years, in which he took not some part—he acted as the steward of Christ. He did so with an increasing devotion. He seemed jealous of aught which resembled self-seeking. Upon the suggestion that he

* The disgust of the Quarterly towards cant and asceticism is avowed and notorious; so is its favour for Oxford religion. What models of chaste and Laudian journalizing may we not expect from the classic pupils of Pusey and Newman! But, hold—we have the ipsissima verba of one of themselves, published under their own auspices, in the 'Remains of the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford;' being the first specimen of a truly Oxonian, Puseyan, anti-evangelical diary. Compare Wilberforce's *see saw* with that of the almost canonized Froude:

'Sept. 20. To day, says Froude, I had determined to fast strictly, and went out in the morning with the resolution of passing away my time in drawing and religion; but was staggered in my intention by the appearance of ———, who very kindly asked us to dinner. The invitation seemed put in my way by fate; so I accepted it.' p. 10, ff.

'Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it.'— '——— was sitting under me in chapel, and I was actually prevented from giving my mind to a great deal of the early part of the service, by the thought crossing me at response, that he must be thinking I was become a Don, and was affecting religious out of compliance.' p. 44.

'Felt ashamed that my trowsers were dirty whilst I was sitting next ———, but resolved not to hide them.' ib.

'Yesterday I was much put out by an old fellow chewing tobacco and spitting across me; also bad thoughts of various kinds, &c.'

'Looked with greediness to see if there was a goose on the table for dinner'— 'Meant to have kept a fast, and did abstain from dinner, but at tea eat buttered toast.' This is not asceticism or cant, or evangelical scruple, but Oxford Catholic piety. Mr. Southey will doubtless explain all.

might be more useful as a private man and an author, he uses an expression which was very often on his lips, 'I am deterred from yielding to the impulse I feel thus to secede, by the fear of carving for myself.' But we shall recur to this pleasing topic.

Next in importance to the labours last mentioned was Mr. Wilberforce's activity in favour of the evangelization of India. There are few readers of our pages who may not be presumed to bear in mind the struggle which was occasioned by the renewal of the Company's charter in 1797, and the resolutions for the moral improvement of the native Indians. The Apology of Dr. Buchanan may be referred to, by such as need farther information. He lost all the effective part of his resolutions; and this, as he thought, through the duplicity of Dundas. 'Oh may not this have been,' he writes, 'because one so unworthy as I undertook this hallowed cause, (Uzzah and the ark,) and carried it on with so little true humility, faith, self-abasement and confidence in God through Christ? Yet where can I go but to the blessed Jesus. Thou hast the words of eternal life—I am no more worthy to be called Thy son; yet receive me, and deliver me from all my hinderances, and by the power of Thy renewing grace, render me meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light.'

It was during the rare pauses in his whirl of business, that Mr. Wilberforce found time to write his celebrated work on 'Practical Christianity,' which was issued April 12th, 1797. Within six months five editions (75,000 copies) had been called for. I am truly thankful to Providence, wrote Bishop Porteus, 'that a work of this nature has made its appearance at this tremendous moment.' 'I deem it,' wrote Mr. Newton, 'the most valuable and important publication of the present age, especially as it is yours;' and again: 'Such a book, by such a man, and at such a time!' Perhaps a greater commendation, either of book or author, could not have been given, than that of J. B. S. Morritt, Esq. as entered in a blank page of the work; 'That he (Mr. Wilberforce) acted up to his opinions as nearly as is consistent with the inevitable weakness of our nature, is a praise so high that it seems like exaggeration; yet in my conscience I believe it, and I knew him for at least forty years.' The book received unexpected favour, not only from Methodists, but from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, and Llandaff. Men of the first rank and

highest intellect, clergy and laity, traced to it their serious impressions of religion. 'Have you been told,' Mr. Henry Thornton asks Mrs. Hannah More, 'that Burke spent the two last days of his life in reading Wilberforce's book, and said that he derived much comfort from it, and that if he lived he should thank Wilberforce for having sent such a book into the world?' Before his death Mr. Burke summoned Dr. Laurence to his side, and specially charged him to express these thanks. Towards the very close of Mr. W's. life Dr. Chalmers thus addressed him, 'May that book which spoke powerfully to myself, and has spoken powerfully to thousands, represent you to future generations, and be the instrument of converting many who are yet unborn.'

In this connexion may be mentioned the part he took in 1799 in establishing that great source of Christian light to many nations, for which we shall never cease to bless God, the Christian Observer. It appears that he contributed largely to its pages, especially in the earlier volumes. Indeed there was no good word or work for which his benevolent soul was not ready. In 1802 we find him concerning himself in behalf of factory children. In 1803, he appears among the founders of the Bible Society. In 1806 he laboured for the suppression of Sunday Drilling.

In 1807, the change of ministers, and dissolution of parliament, brought on a great contest for Yorkshire. As in other instances he presented himself at various leading points to the electors; it was in this instance, almost a triumphant progress. An American who has not witnessed the crowd, turmoil and phrensy of an English hustings scene can scarcely imagine the sea of distractions into which a candidate is plunged.* We make this remark for the purpose of introducing, with-

* Take such entries as these: "Then the mob-directing system—twenty bruisers sent for, Firby the young ruffian, Cully, and others."—The *expenses* of his two opponents, Lord Milton and Mr. Lascelles were £200,000: the sum paid by the friends of Mr. Wilberforce, £28,600. After the first few days it was only by great skill in managing a most unruly audience, that he could ever gain a hearing. "While Wilberforce was speaking the other day," writes Mr. Thornton, "the mob of Milton interrupted him: he was attempting to explain a point which had been misrepresented; he endeavoured to be heard again and again, but the cry against him always revived. 'Print, print,' cried a friend of Wilberforce in the crowd, 'print what you have to say in a hand-bill, and let them read it, since they will not hear you.' 'They read indeed,' cried Wilberforce; 'what, do you suppose that men who make such a noise as those fellows can read?' holding up both his hands; 'no men that make such noises as those can read, I'll promise you. They must hear me now, or they'll know nothing about the matter.' Immediately there was a fine Yorkshire grin over some thousand friendly faces."

out curtailment, the following letter to Mrs. Wilberforce, penned during election week. It will better paint the man, than could a volume of comment:

"I am robbed of the time I meant to spend in writing to you, at least of a great part of it; but you will be glad to hear that I have spent on the whole a very pleasant Sunday, though this evening is of necessity passed in my committee room. I have been twice at the Minster, where the sublimity of the whole scene once nearly overcame me. It is the largest and finest Gothic building probably in the world. The city is full of freeholders, who came in such numbers as to cover the whole area of the place (a very large one) where the service is performed, and every seat and pew were filled. I was exactly reminded of the great Jewish Passover in the Temple, in the reign of Josiah. It is gratifying to say that there was the utmost decency, and not the smallest noise or indecorum; no cockades or distinctive marks. Indeed, I must say, the town is wonderfully quiet, considering it is an election time. I am now writing in a front room, and I sat in one for two hours last night, and there was not the smallest noise or disturbance; no more I declare than in any common town at ordinary times.

"How beautiful Broomfield must be at this moment! Even here the lilacs and hawthorn are in bloom in warm situations. I imagine myself roaming through the shrubbery with you and the little ones; and indeed I have joined you in spirit several times to-day, and have hoped we were applying together at the throne of grace. How merciful and gracious God is to me! Surely the universal kindness which I experience, is to be regarded as a singular instance of the goodness of the Almighty. Indeed no one has so much cause to adopt the declaration, that goodness and mercy have followed me all my days. I bless God my mind is calm and serene, and I can leave the event to Him without anxiety, desiring that in whatever state I may be placed, I may adorn the doctrine of God my Saviour, and do honour to my Christian profession. But all is uncertain, at least to any human eye. I must say good night. May God bless you. Kiss the babes, and give friendly remembrances to all family and other friends. If it has been as hot to-day with you as with us, (the wind east, thermometer 77, in the shade, about twelve) you must have suffered greatly. Every blessing attend you and ours in time and eternity.

Yours ever most affectionately,

W. WILBERFORCE."

All this time he was going on with slave-trade studies, and preparing himself to espouse the Christian enterprise in India: he was retarded by a violent inflammation on the lungs in 1808; but on recovery returned with vigour to the defence of the East India Missions. The War with America seems to have given Mr. Wilberforce the sincerest sorrow. Failing of all attempts at reconciliation, he reverted to the East India subject, and made strenuous exertions to interest all classes of religionists in the Christian education of the Hindoos. The murder of Mr. Perceval gave occasion to a display of grace such as our readers will pardon us for introducing, even at the risk of breaking the continuity of the article. 'O wonderful power of Christianity,' Mr. Wilberforce adds upon the following Sunday! 'Never can it have been seen, since our Saviour prayed for His murderers, in a more lovely form than in the conduct and emotions it has produced in several on the occasion of poor dear Perceval's death. Stephen, who had at first been so much overcome by the stroke, had been this morning, I found, praying for the wretched murderer, and thinking that his being known to be a friend of Perceval's might affect him, he went and devoted himself to trying to bring him to repentance. He found honest Butterworth trying to get admittance, and obtained it for him and Mr. Daniel Wilson, whom at my recommendation he had brought with him. The poor creature was much affected, and very humble and thankful, but spoke of himself as unfortunate rather than guilty, and said it was a necessary thing—strange perversion—no malice against Perceval. Poor Mrs. Perceval after the first grew very moderate and resigned, and with all her children knelt down by the body, and prayed for them and for the murderer's forgiveness.'

After the age of fifty Mr. Wilberforce assumed many of the appearances of age, and though he was destined to live more than a score of years, we find him complaining from year to year of defect of hearing and of memory, added to his long standing infirmity of sight, and an increasing unfitness for walking or riding. His family was arriving at an age which required parental attention. He determined therefore to resign his seat for Yorkshire. This he proceeded to accomplish to the great regret of his constituents and of many friends. He however continued in the House of Commons as member for Bramber. The state of India now had his warmest efforts, and if he strove with less concentration of energy for this than for his earlier enterprise, the wisdom

of mature age made up for the loss of fire. Here the opposition was even more formidable than in the case of the slave trade. The evils were less obvious, and the defence of them less odious, and the enemies of evangelical religion were rallied under some of the first men in the House. But when it came to the decisive moment, and Mr. Wilberforce got 'into his old vein' for some two hours, the house was carried away and the result was most successful. In 1813 we find him, with generous zeal, vindicating the missionary Dr. Carey, whose character had been aspersed. 'Dr. Carey,' says Mr. Wilberforce, 'had been especially attacked, and a few days afterwards the member who made this charge came to me, and asked me in a manner which in a noted duellist could not be mistaken, 'Pray, Mr. Wilberforce, do you know a Mr. Andrew Fuller, who has written to desire me to retract the statement which I made with reference to Dr. Carey?' 'Yes,' I answered with a smile, 'I know him perfectly, but depend upon it you will make nothing of him in your way; he is a respectable Baptist minister at Kettering.' In due time there came from India an authoritative contradiction of the slander. It was sent to me, and for two whole years did I take it in my pocket to the House of Commons to read it to the House whenever the author of the accusation should be present; but during that whole time he never once dared show himself in the House.'

In Barnes's Political Portraits, there is a high tribute to Mr. Wilberforce's eloquence; all, it is there said, were pleased; some with the ingenious artifices of his manner, but most with the glowing language of his heart. The same shrewd and caustic writer may be supposed to represent the common sentiment of too many in his party, when he says, 'I wish most heartily that the Hindoos might be left *to their own Trinity.*'

As we pass gently on through these volumes from year to year, we observe the wise and lovely subject of them advancing in piety and abiding in strength. What remained to be done for the slave, he was still zealous to do, especially in reference to foreign abolition. With Mrs. More, and Venn, Macauley and Stephens, Babington, and a host of less familiar friends, he was perpetually devising liberal things. Some more splendid personages diversified the scene. In 1814 Madame de Stael was in England, and sought out Mr. Wilberforce with a species of pertinacity. For the sake of her conversation he saw more mixed companies than it was

his custom to enter. His estimate of these should not be omitted. After an assembly he writes: 'The whole scene was intoxicating even to me.—Something in my own case may be fairly ascribed to natural high spirits, and I fear, alas! much to vanity, and a good deal to my being unaccustomed to such scenes: yet after allowing for these weaknesses and peculiarities, must not the sobriety of my age, my principles, my guard, (prayer preceding my entering into the enchanted ground) be fairly considered as abating the effect, so much as that I may be a fair average sample of the effect of such scenes on young people in general of agreeable manners, and at all popular ways and characters? I am sure I durst not often venture into these scenes.'

Soon after this he employed himself upon letters to the emperor Alexander, to Talleyrand, and to Sismondi. He had arrived at the age when the loss of friends betokens the wane of earthly comforts: first John Bowdler, then Henry Thornton and his wife, and then his only sister Mrs. Stephens left him a mourner. By such dispensations of providence his thoughts were carried forward into eternity. 'I have often heard,' wrote he to his brother-in-law, 'that sailors on a voyage will drink *friends astern* till they are half way over, then *friends ahead*. With me it has been *friends ahead* this long time.'

The years which followed were quiet though not inactive. The great victories which Mr. Wilberforce had sought were gained, and succeeding events have less power to interest us; yet the steady light of his postmeridian sun was no less delightful and beneficent than its morning ray. In some respects he was even more busy than ever. From year to year he continued to lead the assault whenever vice was to be conquered, and the defence when infidelity was to be repelled. A great increase in the number and importance of benevolent societies, and the novel mode of awakening interest by their meetings, naturally opened a new field for the most persuasive religious orator of Britain: and his ready acquiescence gave double grace to his favours on such occasions. 'I really know no way,' said he, 'in which you do so much good in a little time, as when by a few words of congratulation on an anniversary, you give action and efficiency to those who bear the labour and heat of the year.' The anniversary week of 1819, though far inferior for condensation of effort to the corresponding period in later times, may be taken as a specimen of Mr. Wilberforce's labours, at sixty years of age. On the third of May, the bustling season began, and breakfasts,

dinners, visits, sermons, and anniversaries succeeded one another with a rapidity scarcely to be imitated; while every evening he was engaged in the active business of the house. In the morning his diaries are full of Owen, Kieffer, and Chalmers, in the evening of Tierney, Huskisson, and Canning. 'O how glad I am,' he writes on the 15th, 'that the tenth meeting is this day over.' Yet he was then as always, in very feeble health, and open to extraordinary interruptions. A man more accessible probably never lived in any public station, and his time was consequently the prey of every invader. He speaks of a house crouded with 'inmates,' whose number was every morning swelled by a tide of 'breakfasters,' and 'callers;' then of thronged anniversary meetings, at each of which he made long and sometimes an animated speech; then of a budget of letters to be read and answered; then of a hasty cold dinner from a 'canister;' then of the House, where he sat long, and sometimes spoke again, not getting home till all were gone to rest. 'Would it had been my favoured lot,' writes Hannah More, 'to hear one of twelve speeches in ten days!'

After these labours he was accustomed to fly to the country, in token of his love for which, he was often quoting Cowper's line, 'God made the country, but man made the town.' Yet as he did not escape interruptions by going out of the metropolis, so he did not allow himself to forego all his sacred pleasures while in it. We find him learning the whole of the 119th Psalm, in all his London bustle, and repeating it, 'in great comfort, as he walked from Hyde Park corner:' and this amidst great complaints of decaying memory. In comparing himself with a friend, perhaps Milner, he writes thus, 'How unspeakably am I humbled! In every particular he excels; in every one I fall short: natural powers make some difference, but the want of Christian exertion makes ten times more. O God, forgive me! I find my body, as well as mind indicating weakness; soon tired, and requiring rest. I should despair, but for the precious promises of Holy Scripture.'

A long and useful article might be written upon no other subject than Mr. Wilberforce's domestic relations. His great anxiety for his sons was that they might become useful clergymen; and three of them are now in orders. Nothing in relation to his family strikes us with more surprise or admiration than the wisdom with which he sought to guard his children against the evils incident to high life. The sons of

a man to whose access no door, not even the most lofty, was closed, could not but be in danger from the seductions of wealth, rank and fashion. In consideration of this Mr. Wilberforce wrote thus: 'No one who forms his opinions from the word of God can doubt that in proportion to a man's rank and fortune the difficulty of his progress in the narrow road and his ultimate admission into heaven is augmented; and no Christian can possibly doubt its being a parent's first duty to promote his children's spiritual advancement and everlasting happiness, but were their comfort in this life only the object in view, no one at my time of life who has contemplated life with an observant eye, and has looked into the interior of family life, can entertain a doubt that the probability of passing through the world with comfort, and of forming such connexions as may be most likely to ensure the enjoyment of domestic and social happiness, is far greater in the instance of persons of the rank of private gentlemen, than of that of noblemen who are naturally led to associate with people of their own rank—the sons being led to make fortune the primary object in the forming of matrimonial connexions, that they may be able to maintain their stations in society.' And he says to one of his sons at Oriel College, Oxford, 'Believe me on the credit of my long experience, that though Christians who wish to maintain the spiritual life in vigour and efficiency, (fervent, ζέοντες, in spirit in serving the Lord) may without injury mix and associate with worldly people for the transaction of business; yet they cannot for recreation, still less for intimate friendship and society.' The death of a beloved daughter, his eldest, in 1821, inflicted a deep wound; but neither now nor under any similar infliction do we find him evincing a single emotion which can be considered morbid. With a truly tender heart, he united such a view of the invisible world, as effectually guarded him against the unchristian transports of grief, into which even good people sometimes think it a sort of virtue to fall.

In 1822, the melancholy close of Lord Londonderry's worldly course, led Mr. Wilberforce to make a memorable observation. 'I must say that the occurrence of the same catastrophe, to Whitbread, Romilly, and Londonderry, has strongly forced on my mind the unspeakable benefit of the institution of the Lord's day.' 'It gives us back on the Monday to the contemplation of our week-day business cooled and quieted, and it is to be hoped with resentments abated, and prejudices softened.' His love and reverence forthe Lord's

day was however by no means a new state of his mind. Frequent were the endeavours which he made to prevent the profanation of the sacred day by Sunday drilling, by court-dinners, and by travelling to or from parliament: and at intervals, at every proper time for thirty years, he was promoting endeavours to obtain some additional legislative protection for the Lord's day. As it regards his own private exercises, from his earliest religious life, he called the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable. Thus, on an April day in the year 1786, 'I have been all day basking in the sun: on any other day I should not have been so happy. But the Sabbath is a season of rest, in which we may be allowed to unbend the mind and give a complete loose to those emotions of gratitude and admiration, which a contemplation of the works, and a consideration of the goodness of God cannot fail to excite in a mind of the smallest sensibility.' Again, two years later, 'A Sunday spent in solitude spreads and extends its fragrance.' Again, in 1792, 'How infinitely grateful I ought to feel for the frequent recurrence of a day of undisturbed quiet, when it becomes a duty to retire, and which leaves me not the embarrassment of having to decide, on each particular occasion, between the comparative advantages of continuing in the busy scene or absconding from it.' In 1798, on successive Lord's days, 'I feel the comfort of Sunday very sensibly to day.' 'O it is a blessed thing to have the Sunday devoted to God.' And ten years afterwards; 'O blessed days these, which call us from the bustle of life, and warrant us in giving up our studies and our business, and cultivating communion with God.' In 1814, he spent some Sabbath hours upon a letter to the Emperor Alexander; but in the next week he says, 'I will not quit the peculiar duties of the day for my abolition labours. Though last Sunday I set about them with a real desire to please God, yet it did not answer.' In 1821, he writes to a son at college, 'Sursum corda is the Christian's Sunday motto. In the higher region to which he on that day endeavours to obtain access, he meets in idea that Saviour who died for him. Before I married, when I used to spend my Sundays alone, I used after dinner to call up in idea around me my absent relatives and friends, and thus hold converse with the objects of my affection.' His last day on earth previous to his entering into rest, was a Sabbath day, and from first to last his records remind us of 'holy Herbert's' quaint but precious verses,

"Thou art a day of mirth:
And, where the week-days trail on ground,
Thy flight is higher, as thy birth.
O let me take thee at the bound,
Leaping with thee from seven to seven;
Till that we both, being tossed from earth,
Fly hand in hand to heaven!"

Mr. Wilberforce's last speech in parliament was made in 1824, nine years before the close of his life. Ten days afterwards he was seized with an attack of illness, on his way to Lord Gambier's seat at Iver. He reached the place, but lay in an alarming state for almost a month. During his partial convalescence he lamented that he had not been able to accomplish his purpose of writing two projected works, one political the other religious. He was however submissively free from impatience. 'There is no particular,' he wrote to Dr. Chalmers, 'in which my estimate of things has been more corrected than in my judgment of the comparative usefulness of different individuals. To express my sentiments briefly, I may say that I more and more enter into the spirit of that beautiful sonnet of Milton's on his blindness, ending,

Who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best—
They also serve who only stand and wait.'

In 1825 he finally retired from public affairs, and in the retrospect of life, or rather the prospect of a better life, he thus writes to the excellent Lady Olivia Sparrow. 'We are not told that Moses was to experience after death any thing different from mankind in general; and we know that he took part in the events of this lower world, and on the mount of transfiguration talked with Christ concerning his death which he was to undergo at Jerusalem. And I love, my dear friend, to dwell on this idea, that after our departure from the scene of our earthly pilgrimage, we shall witness the developement of the plans we may have formed for the benefit of our fellow-creatures; the growth and fruitage of the good principles we have implanted and cultivated in our children; and above all, the fulfilment of the prayers we have poured forth for them, in the large effusions on them of that heavenly grace, which above all things we have implored as their portion.'

In following Mr. Wilberforce through his declining progress, it is painful to be under the necessity of recording that almost at the close of life he lost the greater part of his ample fortune. If the Quarterly Reviewer may be credited in a

mere matter of fact admitting of easy contradiction, and we suppose he may be, Mr. Wilberforce had, when he came of age, an income little, if any thing, short of ten thousand pounds sterling a year. With such means, it is obvious, he might have been generous without risk. Yet by great neglect and mismanagement, by lavish expenditure in the way of charity, and by an ill-judged attempt to embark his eldest son in a large farming speculation, he so entirely precluded his children from the object of their natural expectations, that, within a few months, this very son has been obliged to relinquish the representation of his father's native place, for the want of a qualification of £300 a year. This, we readily acknowledge, is of evil example, a serious blemish in a lovely character, and fitted to bring the wisdom of Christian benevolence into question. Yet even in this, we observe the gracious workings of providence, weaning the aged Christian from the world, ensuring long sought seclusion to the evening of his day, and shutting out from his sons a host of temptations which he had devoutly deprecated. Two days after the calamity, the good old man, now three score and ten, records his 'solitary walk with the psalmist.' And it was of this very period, that Sir James Mackintosh has left a remarkable account, which we lay before those who stigmatize evangelical religion in general, and Wilberforce's religion in particular, as lowering and morose: 'Do you remember,' he writes, 'Madame de Maintenon's exclamation, Oh the misery of having to amuse an old King, qui n'est pas amusable! Now if I were called upon to describe Wilberforce in one word, I should say he was the most 'amusable' man I ever met with in my life. Instead of having to think what subjects will interest him, it is perfectly impossible to hit on one that does not. I never saw any one who touched life at so many points; and this is the more remarkable in a man who is supposed to live absorbed in the contemplation of a future state. When he was in the House of Commons, he seemed to have the freshest mind of any man there. There was all the charm of youth about him. And he is quite as remarkable in this bright evening of his days, as when I saw him in his glory many years ago.'

The houses of the two affectionate sons, who have written his life, afforded the refuge for his last days. For one of these livings the incumbent was indebted to the delicate and seasonable favour of Lord Brougham. Though there were numerous tokens of mental as well as bodily decay, Mr.

Wilberforce's thoughts and conversation savoured more and more of the things of heaven. 'It is,' he used to say, 'the peculiarity of the Christian religion, that humility and holiness increase in equal proportions.' His departure was a tranquil sunset, without either the gloom or the gorgeousness of clouds. He died at three o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 29th, aged seventy-three years and eleven months. His remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, in compliance with a request originating with the Lord Chancellor Brougham and signed by thirty six leading peers, as also with a similar request signed by almost one hundred members of all parties in the House of Commons.

Among the ancients a man was praised when he was called happy; this was accordingly the cognomen of many great Romans. Wilberforce was a happy man. Nothing in his long life is more remarkable than its almost uninterrupted sunshine. A few exceptions have been already noticed, but in general he had success in his plans, favour among his coevals, and best of all, the peace of God in his home and heart. It is when we follow him to his retreat, that we behold the man in his true character. Here every trait was attractive. In early life he had the gayety of a bird, which was afterwards chastised into a benignant cheerfulness. To children, friends, and even strangers, his house was a paradise. When he fled from the senate and the court, it was to enjoy the scenes of nature. 'I allow myself,' he writes from Lyme in 1804, 'two or three hours open air daily, and have enjoyed more than one solitary stroll with a Testament, a Cowper, or a Psalter, for my companion. If the presence of some friends would be a most valuable addition, the absence of the multitude of callers is a most valuable loss.' He adds, that he read much out of doors, with pencil in hand, and had many a walk along the hoarse resounding shore, meditating on better things than poor blind Homer knew or sung of.

He sometimes, in his odd way, would characterize a season as a 'Cowperizing summer,' and when he spent some weeks at Newport-Pagnell, Bucks, the chief charm of the neighbourhood was that it offered him the track of his beloved Cowper. The constant mention of out-of-door objects shows his zest for rural life; as thus: 'Went out and sat under walnut-tree, where now writing.' To our countryman John Jay, he writes in 1810, from Kensington Gore. 'We are just one mile from the turnpike-gate at Hyde Park Corner, which I think you will not have forgotton yet, having about

three acres of pleasure-ground around my house, or rather behind it, and several old trees, walnut and mulberry, of thick foliage.'

Such retirement was made necessary by the bustle of his common life. By mere selections we can give no idea of his perpetual hurry. It endured till the close of his public career. 'I cannot invite you here,' he writes in 1790 to a friend, 'for during the sitting of Parliament my house is a mere hotel.' It was no better fifteen years after: 'This living in Palace Yard,' he complains, 'is destructive to my time. In the morning I rise between eight and nine (being useless if I have not had my full *dose* of sleep). I dress, hearing Terry [his reader] from halfpast nine to ten. Prayers and breakfast at a quarter after ten. From thence constant callers, or breakfasters—proper people—and my house not clear commonly, and I able to get out, till near one. Then I have often to call at the public offices, and if a committee morning, I have scarce any writing time before dinner. Then after House, friends—Babington, Grant, Henry Thornton, and others drop in, so that I get scarcely any time for thinking on political topics, or preparing for debates.' Even in his vacations there was what Dr. Johnson used to call a plentiful lack of time. For the sake of his infirm eyes he usually employed a reader and amanuensis, and often despatched scores of letters in single days. Well might he speak of his 'hunted state,' and consider it a 'delightful idea of the future blessedness that it is the rest which remaineth for the people of God.' Who that ever joined him in it, say his sons, cannot see him as he walked round his garden at Highwood? Now in animated and even playful conversation, and then drawing from his copious pockets (to contain Dalrymple's State Papers was their standard measure) some favourite volume or other; a Psalter, a Horace, a Shakespeare, or Cowper, and reading, and reciting, or 'refreshing' passages; and then catching at long-stored flower-leaves as the wind blew them from the pages, or standing before a favourite gum cistus to repair the loss. Then he would point out the harmony of the tints, the beauty of the pencilling, the perfection of the colouring, and run up all into those ascriptions of praise to the Almighty which were ever swelling forth from his grateful heart. He loved flowers with all the simple delight of childhood. He would hover from bed to bed over his favourites; and when he came in,

even from his shortest walk, deposited a few that he had gathered, safely in his room before he joined the breakfast table. Often would he say as he enjoyed their fragrance, 'How good is God to us! What should we think of a friend who had furnished us with a magnificent house and all we needed, and then coming in to see that all had been provided according to his wishes, should be hurt to find that no scents had been placed in the rooms? Yet so has God dealt with us. Surely flowers are the smiles of His goodness.' But we must tear ourselves away from these pictures of domestic peace and Christian old age.

We are not willing to leave the impression that Wilberforce was immaculate. In intellect and in heart he undoubtedly had some defects; he was, it is true, an earthborn creature, but surely never was there one tempered of choicer clay. So gentle, so frank, so pure and transparent, so almost free from malice, envy and every morbid tendency, he was, even before grace received, a lovely being, and when renewed, became illustriously an ornament of Christ's church. We pass lightly over his narrow and exclusive attachment to the externals of the establishment; we never saw High Church prudery so harmlessly displayed. As we can smile at the pious Friend's zeal for the brimmed hat and the 'plain language,' so we can forgive the churchman's complaints about the evils of dissent, and only smile at his scruples about going to hear William Jay, or Robert Hall, and his penitence for once, only once, communicating in a dissenting chapel; especially when we find both the '*Doctor*' and the Quarterly handling him as a Calvinist, and when we read such messages as this addressed to him, 'Some persons call you a Calvinist; and every man a Methodist who says his prayers.' The old Duke of Bridgewater invariably called Bishop Porteus 'that confounded Presbyterian;' about as exact were Mr. Wilberforce's notions of Calvinism. He was much distressed when a preface written by him for another book of Dr. Witherspoon's was prefixed to this divine's essay on Justification;* though he had never read the

* It would be unjust to the memory of a great man, not to notice a misrepresentation which has crept into this work, through the ignorance or the oscitancy of the compilers. It occurs in the Diary for 1796, and relates to Dr. Witherspoon. After relating that Mr. King, the American minister, had dined with him, he records, as on the authority of this gentleman. 'Witherspoon's memory is not held in high respect—thought turbulent, and to have left his proper functions.' Vol. ii. p. 179. It is almost needless for Americans to say that this is wholly unfounded. As a theologian, a scholar, and a patriot, the memory of Witherspoon

latter; and he seems to have taken the semi-antinomian Dr. Hawker as a fair specimen of the old non-conformists. And in the very paragraph in which he declares himself 'no predestinarian,' dear good man! he adds, 'I can only lift up my hands and eyes in silent adoration, and recognise the providence of God, disposing all things according to the counsel of his own will.' The kind providence which brought him acquainted with Venn, Newton, Milner, Cecil, and Fuller, and made him for so many years a hearer of Scott, and an intimate friend of Simeon, was not the less really adored by him, because he did not in every point see how much more intelligently it was descried by them than by himself. Such evangelical clergymen, as the Bishop of Lincoln tried to make Pitt believe were men without even moral goodness, Mr. W. throughout his life preferred to what Mr. Southey humorously denominated in a letter to him 'marrying and christening machines.' But we leave a part of our subject which is the least agreeable, and pursue the better work of vindication and praise.

It may be said without exaggeration that no name of our day will more certainly go down to posterity, than that of Wilberforce. From the perusal of his biography we have risen deeming him a better and a greater man than we had thought. We knew indeed, as all the world knows, that he was eminently a good man, a friend of God, and a benefactor of millions; but we were not prepared for manifestations of a piety so inward, humble, spiritual, and heavenly. We knew that he was a distinguished statesman, but we had not duly appreciated the compass of his endeavours or the power of his eloquence. We utter this strong conviction with the greater heartiness, because other and contrary opinions are beginning to circulate in newspapers, and to be heard in public places, and especially because the enemies of piety and of the man have gained the ear of thousands through the periodical press.

has ever been held 'in high respect.' That he was ever 'thought turbulent,' by any but the enemies of his country, we now learn for the first time. And that he 'left his proper function,' can be charged by no one who knows the facts, and remembers that his political counsels were imperatively demanded, especially in what regarded finance; that he was one of the most grave, wise and assiduous legislators our country ever possessed; and that the season in which he engaged in public affairs was one in which the discharge of his ministry was sometimes precluded by the agitation of war; yet that in fact Dr. Witherspoon never did abandon his clerical offices or his clerical habit, but was eminently useful as a minister of the gospel, among his political associates. This error, having all the ill consequences of calumny, should be corrected.

The two leading critical works of Great Britain differ on this point by the widest distance. The Edinburgh Review presents an able, candid, and most favourable criticism of the book and its subject. The London Quarterly Review, on the other hand, as we have already hinted, contains an article fraught with misrepresentation and malice. If the spiteful suggestions of this detractor may be credited in what he rather hints than asserts, Wilberforce was feeble and undisciplined in understanding, wavering in judgment and action; in politics all but a fool, in religion a Pharisee and a fanatic; ambitious, selfish, and sanctimonious. It will at once appear that envy has here overshot its mark. By no process of garbling can the people of this age be made to believe that such a man could have had such influence, or wrought such results. In our own national legislature an attempt was once made to represent Mr. Wilberforce as a kind but feeble meddler, whose abilities had been far overrated. Now these are paradoxes too violent even for the gallery of the senate, or the court-yards of the counties. And our readers have scarcely yet to learn that such an assertion would be received in England with utter derision.

Let it be explained, if it can be, how a man of no more than ordinary parts, should, in a new and unpopular cause, have gained the marked consideration and applause of such minds as those of Pitt, Burke, Fox, Erskine, Canning, Wellington, De Stael, Sismondi, Southey, and Chalmers; should moreover have succeeded, in an age distracted beyond parallel by other excitements, in carrying on to their accomplishment measures affecting ages and generations; and should finally have acquired a name and renown second to that of no one who ever engaged in the work of philanthropy. Let this, we say, be explained. And when this problem shall have been solved, let those who state as a defect of Wilberforce's mind, 'want of firmness—a wavering, theoretical and visionary temper,' make known to us how, withs uch a trait, he should have been courted by every administration, listened to with rapture by every party, and cheered on to triumph by every electoral assemblage, for forty years; and, still harder task, teach us, how fickleness, sloth, and imbecility of purpose and act should ever have been crowned with such a meed as the abolition of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners. Mark the mingled assurance and cowardice of the following charges and concessions: it is in a sort the obituary no-

tice of Mr. Wilberforce*. He was according to this *judge*, 'one of the most honest and amiable, yet—considering his station and talents—least practically useful, members [of the House] that it ever possessed. In his whole public life there are but two points to which we concede the praise of distinguished practical utility'—let the reader pause, and guess the small exception which the writer allows from the charge of universal uselessness—what are these two points? They are *only* two—' the one the Slave-Trade—the other the Reformation of Manners, and that extension of religious feeling, with which his example and his authority improved his own age, and, we confidently hope, future generations.' Against such censors, and especially against this anonymous, and (though aged) this unwise reviewer, we are able to adduce the judgments of men whose penetration and whose impartiality are alike acknowledged. The life of Wilberforce was not spent in a corner. His early efforts were in the same arena with Lord North, Dunning, Wedderburne, and Barré, and then of Burke, Fox, Pitt, and Windham. It was no equivocal testimony which Erskine gave, when in 1789 he applauded his exertion of 'very great talents in a very great cause.' His celebrated oration in the same year Bishop Porteus characterized as 'one of the ablest and most eloquent speeches that was ever made in this or any other place.' And Mr. Burke went so far as to declare 'that the House, the nation and Europe, were under great and serious obligations to the gentleman, for having brought forward the subject in a manner the most masterly, impressive and eloquent. The principles,' he added, 'were so well laid down, and supported with so much force and order, that it equalled any thing he had heard in modern times, and was not perhaps to be surpassed in the remains of Grecian eloquence.'

Even from the cold and sarcastic Mathias, the heartiest and most enthusiastic praise was extorted, as may be seen in the notes to the Pursuits of Literature. Mr. Wilberforce perhaps carried to an extreme his independence of party, but not to so disastrous an extreme as that, in the language of the Review, he 'seemed in doubtful cases to be decided by a bias *against* those whom he called his political friends.' That the orator of three score years and ten should not be as fresh as the orator of thirty, may be a strong fact for the venerable reviewer, who should however not forget, among his

* Quarterly Review, No. lxvii. p. 154. Lewer's Edition.

reminiscences of the years of Pitt, that this great statesman used to say repeatedly, 'Of all the men I ever knew, Wilberforce has the greatest natural eloquence;' and that Romilly esteemed him, 'the most efficient speaker in the House of Commons.'* We have, in the course of our narrative, quoted many similar testimonies; we shall now cite one of the chief supporters, perhaps the oldest living aid, of this Review, who cannot but feel (one would readily suppose) the most poignant chagrin at seeing its pages made the vehicle of posthumous calumny towards one whom he called his friend: Mr. Southey, on Wilberforce's retirement, addressed him thus, 'I will not say that I am sorry for it, because I hope you have retired in time, and will therefore live the longer as well as more for yourself, but the House will not look upon your like again.'

And here, by a very natural association, we are reminded of 'those clever rhapsodies entitled *the Doctor*,' from which the critic in the Quarterly quotes a paragraph to show that Pitt regarded Mr. Wilberforce as disposed to adapt his speeches, so as 'to *tell* in such and such quarters.' Now we have been long enough advised of the danger of receiving second-hand quotations, to have adopted the method of looking at the original for ourselves; and accordingly we have found, immediately after the paragraph thus given in the Review, the following remarks, which however the critic, for some reason, saw fit to withhold: 'Observe, reader, that I call him simply Wilberforce, because any common prefix would seem to disparage that name, especially if used by one who regarded him with admiration; and with respect, which is better than admiration, because it can be felt for those only whose virtues entitle them to it; and with kindliness, which is better than both, because it is called forth by those kindly qualities that are worth more than any talents, and without which a man, though he may be both great and good, never can be amiable. No one was ever blessed with a larger portion of those gifts and graces which make up the measure of an amiable and happy man. *It will not be thought, then, that I have repeated with any disrespectful intention what was said of Wilberforce by Mr. Pitt.*†'

It was this union of intellectual and moral greatness which gave to Wilberforce a dignity before which even the debauched mind of the Prince Regent could not altogether maintain its wonted haughtiness and effrontery. On a certain occasion,

* Vol. v. p. 241. † The Doctor, Vol. ii. p. 99, ed. New York, 1836.

when asking Mr. Wilberforce to dine with him, he was careful to say that he should hear nothing in the palace to give him pain.* And the following pleasing fact is related, that when after the battle of Waterloo a special messenger was despatched by Blucher to carry the tidings, he was asked by the Prince Regent, 'Did Marshal Blucher give you any other charge?' 'Yes, sir,' replied the aide-de-camp, 'he charged me to acquaint Mr. Wilberforce with all that had passed.' 'Go to him then yourself by all means,' said the Prince, 'you will be delighted with him.' He doubtless was delighted, as every impartial foreigner of distinction seems to have been. 'Mr. Wilberforce,' said Madame de Stael to Sir James Mackintosh, 'is the best converser I have met with in this country. I have always heard that he was the most religious, but I now find that he is the wittiest man in England.' And even in that decline of life which the Quarterly Reviewer represents as almost contemptible, Count Pecchio could say, 'When Mr. Wilberforce passes through the crowd on the day of the opening of Parliament, every one contemplates this little old man, worn with age, and his head sunk on his shoulders, as a sacred relic, as the *Washington of humanity.*'

Thus it was both in private and in public that Wilberforce exerted the persuasive powers which bound together his band of philanthropists. On his retirement from their ranks, Mr. Buxton felicitously applied the inscription on the tomb of Hannibal, 'We vehemently desired him in the day of battle.' Those who are familiar with the life of Sir Walter Scott, know how to value the opinion of Mr. Morritt of Rokeby. 'Wilberforce,' such are Mr. Morritt's expressions as late as 1836, 'held a high and conspicuous place in oratory, even at a time when English oratory rivalled whatever we read of in Athens or in Rome. His voice itself was beautiful; deep, clear, articulate, and flexible.' 'He often rose unprepared in mixed debate, on the impulse of the moment, and seldom sat down without having struck into that higher tone of general reasoning and vivid illustration, which left on his hearers the impression of power beyond what the occasion had called for.' The able author of the article in the Edinburgh Review, after withholding from Mr. Wilberforce the praise of the very highest requisites for parliamentary eloquence, namely, perspicuity of statement, statistical information, and

* Vol. iv. 277.

dialectical acumen, candidly adds, 'With these disadvantages, he was still a great parliamentary speaker, and there were occasions when, borne by some sudden impulse, or carried by diligent preparation over the diffuseness which usually encumbered him, he delighted and subdued his hearers. His reputation in the House of Commons rested, however, chiefly upon other grounds. In that assembly, any one speaks with immense advantage whose character, station, or presumed knowledge is such as to give importance to his opinions. The dogmas of some men are of incomparably more value than the logic of others; and no member except the leaders of the great contending parties, addressed the house with an authority equal to that of Mr. Wilberforce.'

The writer in the Quarterly, apparently eager to tarnish every leaf of Wilberforce's laurel, ventures the assertion, in speaking of the slave-trade abolition, 'that much of the delay and something of the imperfect success which have hung about this great principle, might have been sooner obviated if Mr. Wilberforce to his virtues and his eloquence had added clearer and longer views of the consequences of his measures, with a greater firmness and a more *concentrated* industry in pursuing them.'* Let it here be observed that the writer saves himself from conscience of falsehood only by his italics. Want of firmness and want of industry are the last charges which a prudent foe would bring against William Wilberforce. Even our own meager sketch will, we think, justify this statement. We might place assertion against assertion, the Edinburgh against the Quarterly, and say that 'Providence had gifted Mr. Wilberforce with great nervous energy,' and as compared with Clarkson, that he had 'labours not less severe, and a responsibility incomparably more anxious than that under which the health of his colleague had given way.' We might recount, from these volumes, the instances of his persistency in toil and in bold invective amidst personal dangers. But we choose rather to record a conversation in which he was engaged after his memorable defeat in 1805. Shortly after the division, he was addressed by Mr. Hatsell, the sagacious and experienced clerk of the House of Commons—'Mr. Wilberforce, you ought not to expect to *carry* a measure of this kind. You have a turn for business, and this is a very creditable employment for you; but you and I have seen enough of life to know that people are not induced

* Page 139.

to act upon what affects their interests by any abstract arguments.' 'Mr. Hatsell,' he replied, 'I *do* expect to carry it, and what is more, I feel assured I shall carry it speedily. I have observed the gradual change which has been going on in men's minds for some time past, and though the measure may be delayed for a year or two, yet I am convinced that before long it will be accomplished.' Even the reviewer, an unwilling witness, concedes that his course was always 'clear and consistent when he was forced to decide on fundamental principles.' As to the charge that by vacillation and political eccentricity he had embarrassed Mr. Pitt's measures, we have nothing to say touching the question of state, but would point out the repeated dissent of Wilberforce from the policy of his first friend and the greatest statesman of his age, as any thing but a symptom of effeminate temper.

The inconsistencies of the reviewer are somewhat startling. At one moment he treats as a pecadillo Mr. Wilberforce's 'holding a Faro bank on a Sunday;' this was one of the 'frivolities and errors' of his worldly career: at another, he charges as a crime his puling sanctimony and Pharisaic scruple; this was one of the plague-spots of his Methodism. He gathers from his diary every secret expression which savoured of asceticism or timidity of conscience (for of sourness there are none), but afterwards acknowledges, with regard to his private devotion, that 'his manner and conversation exhibit no ostentatious trace of it to the world;' and elsewhere in anticipating a surmise that his temper was as grave and serious as his doctrine, and that religion wore with him, if not a forbidding, at least a severe aspect, he so far forgets himself as to say, 'Nothing could be more distant from the fact; his Christianity was of the most amiable and attractive character; his temper was cheerful even to playfulness; his pleasantry, though measured, was copious, and his wit, though chastened, ready and enlivening.' Detractors should look to their memories.

The genial hilarity of Wilberforce lay among the deep foundations of his character. It is to be lamented that of his brilliant conversation scarcely any thing has been preserved. It is even provoking, to find one of his family, in the seventy-second year of the patriarch's age, saying for the first time, 'It would be quite worth while, some evening, to put down notes of his conversation.' O for the memory and the pen of an attendant Boswell! might be a natural excla-

mation.* We shall not therefore rehearse these facetiae of his last year: suffice it to say, that if we were not, by concurrent and repeated testimony from every side, informed of Mr. Wilberforce's astonishing power and fascination in private intercourse, we should scarcely have learned it from these volumes; so meager and jejune are the reports they contain. Through all his life he made conscience of avoiding gloom, complaining however that while his judgment prescribed cheerfulness, his temper seduced him into volatility.† For the wit of others Mr. Wilberforce had a strong relish. Especially that of Canning, as exhibited in the House, held him fascinated. In his sixty-fifth year, he used to return home quite full of it; yet he would not allow himself the use of these effective weapons in debate. In 1809 Mr. John Bowdler wrote as follows from Newport-Pagnell; 'I arrived here last Saturday morning at breakfast time, having been kept by Mr. Wilberforce much longer than I intended; but he is like the old man in Sinbad's Voyage—woe be to the traveller that falls into his grasp! It required a considerable effort to disengage myself, and I have promised another short visit on my return, which will be greatly to my inconvenience and delight. Mr. W. I think enjoys his parsonage as much as possible: to say that he is happier than usual is being very bold; but certainly he is as happy as I ever beheld a human being. He carried me one day to Weston, and we wandered over many a spot which Cowper's feet had trod, and gazed on the scenes which his pen has immortalized. On another day we visited Stowe—a work to wonder at, for we were still in the land of poetry, and of music too, for Mr. Wilberforce made the shades resound to his voice, singing like a blackbird wherever he went. He always has the spirits of a boy, but here not little Sam himself can beat him, though he does his best.'‡

This is the more remarkable in a man whose health was

* It is singularly pleasant to have a hint of Mr. Wilberforce's popular eloquence at York in 1784, from that mirror of biography. 'I saw,' said Boswell, describing this meeting to Dundas, 'what seemed a mere shrimp mount upon the table; but as I listened, he grew, and grew, until the shrimp became a whale.'

† If on any occasion these sallies gave offence, it probably arose from neglect of the caution implied in the poet's desipere *in loco*. It is related, says Boswell, of the great Dr. Clarke, that when in one of his leisure hours he was unbending himself with a few friends in the most playful and frolicsome manner, he observed Beau Nash approaching; upon which he suddenly stopped;—'My boys (said he) let us be grave: here comes a fool.'

‡ Bowdler's Remains, i. 106.

always so imperfect that it was only by perpetual changes of air and of abode that he could maintain an ordinary degree of strength. This frequent journeying with its attendant expenses affords occasion to one of the choice passages of the Quarterly Review. 'His life,' says the critic, 'was that of the Arabs, who spend their existence in wandering and squandering, and think they have fulfilled their duties, provided they turn themselves to the east, at the prescribed hours, and say their prayers three times a day.'* This of William Wilberforce; of whom the very same writer says a few pages after, 'The fact is he could not have existed without such diversions.' Quite analogous is the reviewer's notice of a fact concerning his aunt's funeral recorded in the memoranda, in these terms, 'Stayed in the carriage on account of the frost and snow while the service was performed. Dined at Lord Chatham's.' On this is founded a sneering charge of heartless coldness. Can the petty malice of a thwarted opponent be at the bottom of this impotent carping? The philanthropist of the age needs not our feeble vindication; but it may be gratifying to expend a few sentences on the graceful tenderness of his heart and manner. His freedom from every harsh or malign feeling was proverbial. About a year before the death of Lord Melville, whom he had been so active in bringing to a public censure, they met in the stone passage which leads from the Horse Guards to the Treasury. 'We came suddenly upon each other,' says Wilberforce, 'just in the open part, where the light struck upon our faces. We saw one another, and at first I thought he was passing on, but he stopped and called out, Ah Wilberforce, how do you do? and gave me a hearty shake by the hand. *I would have given a thousand pounds for that shake.* I never saw him afterwards.' Such a note as the following speaks volumes, in regard to his private friendships.

"My dear Stephen,

You appeared to me to look unhappy last night, as if something was giving you pain either in body or mind. It will be a pleasure to me to hear that this was not so, or if it was, and I can help to remove it, let me try.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. Wilberforce."

It is affecting to find him noticing in his diary, at intervals during many years, the simple circumstance that his weak

* Page 123.

eyes had suffered increase of pain from the tears shed during mental struggles. His sympathy for the feelings of others often led him to undue labours at public meetings. 'To give pain,' said he, 'to a man who lives quietly, and whose spirits are not naturally high, is a very different thing from inflicting the same stroke on any one circumstanced in all respects as I am, when it is only like a shove received in a crowd: you forget it in a moment as it is succeeded by another.'

We must desist with abruptness from our pleasant work; and we do so with the sincere desire that the excellent and amiable authors of this biography may find encouragement to issue many improved editions. Much of the incoherent and unsatisfactory diaries might be left out; and to render what may remain intelligible, some morsels of contemporary history might be added. A judicious abridgment of the book would promise permanent usefulness in our own country.

ART. V.—1. *An account of the present state of the Island of Puerto Rico.*—By Colonel Flinter, *Knight Commander of the Royal order of Isabel the Catholic*, &c. London. 1834. pp. 392.

2. *Emancipation in the West Indies. A six months tour in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica, in the year* 1837. By Jas. A. Thome, and J. Horace Kimball, New-York. 1838. pp. 489.

3. *Letters from the West Indies relating especially to the Danish Island of St. Croix and to the British Islands Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica.* By Sylvester Hovey, *late Prof. of Mat. and Nat. Phil. Amherst College.* New-York. 1838. pp. 210.

THE great event of the present century is the emancipation of the slaves in the British Colonies. Is is one of those social revolutions which, at distant intervals, form distinct eras in the history of our race. The transition of 800,000 human beings from slavery to freedom must necessarily be attended with consequences so important, that no friend of his species can contemplate it with indifference. In the present case, however, it is not so much the effects of this change on the immediate subjects of it, as its influence on other countries and on the state of the world, which gives it its peculiar

importance. From our vicinity to the theatre of this experiment, and from the character of our southern population we are of all nations the most deeply interested in the result. All authentic information, therefore, relating to this subject must be received with avidity in every part of the country, and by all classes of people. It is a matter about which we are all concerned, as men and as Americans. It is to be deeply lamented that the state of the public mind is not favourable to a calm and serious contemplation of this subject. It is so agitated by the measures pursued by the abolitionists, that nothing connected with slavery is viewed in its true light or in its proper proportions. Every thing is distorted by fanaticism on the one hand, or by prejudice or passion on the other. Still it is the duty and the interest of all to look at the facts as they really are, and to endeavour to derive from them due instruction. There is little probability that this will be done by either of the extreme parties which now exist. We believe, however, that these extremes constitute but a small part of the whole community. The mass of the pious and thinking people in this country are neither abolitionists nor the advocates of slavery. They stand where they ever have stood on the broad scriptural foundation; maintaining the obligation of all men in their several places and relations, to act on the law of love, and to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of others by every means in their power. They stand aloof from the abolitionists for various reasons. In the first place, they disapprove of their principles. The leading characteristic doctrine of this sect is that slave-holding is in all cases a sin, and should therefore, under all circumstances, be immediately abandoned. As nothing can be plainer than that slaveholders were admitted to the Christian church by the inspired apostles; the advocates of this doctrine are brought into direct collision with the scriptures. This leads to one of the most dangerous evils connected with the whole system, viz. a disregard of the authority of the word of God, a setting up a different and higher standard of truth and duty, and a proud and confident wresting of scripture to suit their own purposes. The history of interpretation furnishes no examples of more wilful and violent perversions of the sacred text than are to be found in the writings of the abolitionists. They seem to consider themselves above the scriptures, and when they put themselves above the law of God, it is not wonderful that they should disregard the laws of men. Significant manifestations of the result of this

disposition to consider their own light a surer guide than the word of God, are visible in the anarchical opinions about human governments, civil and ecclesiastical, and on the rights of women, which have found appropriate advocates in the abolition publications. Let these principles be carried out, and there is an end to all social subordination, to all security for life or property, to all guarantee for public or domestic virtue. If our women are to be emancipated from subjection to the law which God has imposed upon them, if they are to quit the retirement of domestic life, where they preside in stillness over the character and destiny of society; if they are to come forth in the liberty of men, to be our agents, our public lecturers, our committeemen, our rulers; if, in studied insult to the authority of God, we are to renounce, in the marriage contract, all claim to obedience, we shall soon have a country over which the genius of Mary Wolstoncraft would delight to preside, but from which all order and all virtue would speedily be banished. There is no form of human excellence before which we bow with profounder deference than that which appears in a delicate woman adorned with the inward graces, and devoted to the peculiar duties of her sex; and there is no deformity of human character from which we turn with deeper loathing than from a woman forgetful of her nature, and clamorous for the vocations and rights of men. It would not be fair to object to the abolitionists the disgusting and disorganizing opinions of even some of their leading advocates and publications, did they not continue to patronize these publications and were not these opinions the legitimate consequences of their own principles. Their women do but apply their own method of dealing with scripture to another case. This no inconsiderable portion of the party have candour enough to acknowledge; and are therefore prepared to abide the result.

In the second place, the majority of good men object to the spirit of the abolitionists. General remarks admit of only a general application. It is not intended to deny that many men of a truly Christian temper are to be found enrolled on the lists of the modern anti-slavery societies. This admission is consistent with the truth of the charge of an unchristian spirit as characteristic of the society and of its publications. It is a spirit of exaggeration, misrepresentation, and of calumny. We hardly know how to account for the fact that men and women, in other respects correct and amiable, should be transformed into violent and reckless detractors when the subject

of slavery has engrossed their feelings. Yet there is abundant evidence that such is the fact in a multitude of cases. Had this cause fallen into the hands of men in whose judgment and spirit the Christian community had confidence, it would have had far greater success and been far less dangerous. As it is, every man of correct feeling turns with disgust from the vulgar tirades of the Liberator, or the cool, sardonic jeers of the Emancipator, with the conviction that nothing holy can be promoted by such instrumentality.

In the third place, the measures of this society are open to serious objections. These measures have for their object to force the southern states to emancipate their slaves, not by arguments designed to convince them that it is wise or right thus to do, but by creating such an agitation in the country that they must do it, no matter what they think. What other possible object can there be in the formation of affiliated societies at the north for the abolition of slavery at the south? What tendency has the sending itinerant lecturers against slavery through the non slave-holding states, to convince the slave-holding states of their interest and duty? It would be preposterous to pretend that the design of either of the great means of operation adopted by the abolitionists is to convince the judgments of southern men. Their only design is to influence their conduct by the judgment and feelings of others, in despite of their own. We object to these measures because we conceive that the north is not responsible for the existence of slavery at the south, and consequently has no right to interfere, in this manner, to affect its abolition. Southern men may think that the establishment of large manufacturing institutions, such as are springing up in various portions of the nothern states, are great evils; that they degrade a large portion of the inhabitants, corrupt their morals, and endanger the peace of society. They might appeal to the present state of the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, in support of these opinions. They might further state, that this was a subject in which they are interested; inasmuch as the character and action of the general government depend upon the nature of the population of the several states. No one would object to any measures adopted by the advocates of these views, in a proper spirit, to give them currency, and to convince the north of the propriety of acting upon them. But every nothern man would resent it as an unjustifiable interference if the south should endeavour to force us to give up our manufactories; if instead of being satisfied with argu-

ing the case, they should proceed to produce such an agitation in the country that the north would be obliged, in opposition to their own views of their interest and duty, to conform, for the sake of peace and safety, to the opinions of others. We at the north have no more right to interfere with the free and voluntary action of the southern states on the subject of slavery, than we have to force the suppression of the catholic religion in Canada, or of the established church in England. We may think them great evils, but they are evils which are out of our control and for which we are not responsible. We may publish what we please to convince those concerned that popery is a degrading superstition, or that an established religion is an encroachment on the liberty of conscience, but we have no more right to force them to adopt our views by agitation than by the bayonet. So long therefore as this subject is placed by the laws of the land beyond our control, we are restricted by every principle of duty to confine our opposition to it, to argument and persuasion. It is singular to observe the simplicity with which this objection is answered by the abolitionists. They assert their right of free discussion of every subject, they insist on the liberty of the press and of speech. Very good; who denies their right? The objection is not against their discussing the question of slavery. This they have as good a right to do as to discuss the form of government in Russia. Does this prove that they have a right to pursue the discussion in such a manner, or to adopt such measures as shall either produce an insurrection in Russia, or force the inhabitants against their own wishes to change their form of government? We do not object to any discussion of slavery conducted in a Christian temper, but we object to all efforts to rouse such a state of feeling in the country as shall force those, whom we have no right to force, to act according to our opinions, instead of their own. It is doing evil that good may come.

This mode of operation is not only wrong in principle, but disastrous in its results. It exasperates the south under a sense of injury; it indisposes them to consideration of the subject; it awakens apprehensions which prevents all discussion where it is most needed, and which leads to the more rigorous treatment of the slaves. We have no doubt that the cause of freedom at the south has been retarded by the conduct of the abolitionists at the north more than by any other cause. It is for these and similar reasons that the mass of the intelligence and piety of the country has arrayed itself against the abolition society.

As might have been anticipated, one extreme has produced another. The fanatical denunciation of slave-holding, as at all times and under all circumstances a most heinous sin, has led to the assertion that it is in itself a good and desirable institution and aught to be perpetuated. This is a novel opinion. We do not mean that it never has been maintained before. But it is certainly a novelty that it should find any considerable number of advocates in this country. The south has hitherto been quite as open and decided as the north in considering slavery a great social and political evil, rendered necesary as they supposed, for the time being, by their peculiar circumstances. It was defended as an existing institution on the ground of the unfitness of the slaves for the exercise of freedom; on the impossibility of two such distinct races as the African and European living together on terms of social equality; on the difficulty of procuring free labour in warm countries; on the immense pecuniary loss which it was apprehended would attend any plan of emancipation. It was on these, and such like grounds, that the continuance of slavery was formerly advocated, not as a good, but as an evil which, under existing circumstances, could not be removed without producing more harm than benefit. If we understand the modern doctrine, it is, that it is best for human virtue and happiness that the labouring portion of society should be a distinct caste and be held in slavery; that this caste should be continued by hereditary descent so that no member of it should be allowed to rise above his original condition; and finally that in order to the security of society these slaves should be kept in poverty and ignorance. It is very obvious that such opinions could never have originated elsewhere than among slave-owners. An institution which gives them the sweets of arbitrary power, the luxury of ease, and the monopoly of wealth, it is but too natural they should regard with a favourable eye. The feudal nobility of France, or Germany, no doubt regarded the former condition of their respective countries, when a small class engrossed all the wealth and power, and the rest of the inhabitants were slaves, as the best state of society imaginable. But who thinks so now? Who imagines that the resources or power of any state in which the strict feudal system had been maintained could be adequately developed? Would it be desirable to exchange the condition of England for that of Russia, or that of New York for that of Poland? It is so extreme an opinion that human happiness and virtue are best promoted when

the mass of the population are slaves, that ignorance and degradation are conducive to excellence, that it is impossible its disinterested advocates ever should be numerous. That arbitrary power in the hands of sinful men is an evil, though at times necessary; that liberty is in itself a good, though at times unattainable, we had considered political and moral axioms. That the moral and intellectual improvement of the mass of society promotes the good of the whole; that this improvement is incompatible with the long continuance of slavery, and that slavery is inimical to this improvement, are propositions which may be sustained by the clearest of all proofs both from the constitution of human nature, and from the history of the world. It is not however our object to enter upon any discussion on this subject. We wish merely to refer to the existing state of public opinion in this country in relation to slavery. That those who advocate the extreme views just stated, are comparatively few, may be inferred from the fact that it is only within a few years that any one has openly avowed them. As far as we know the general sentiment at the south is now, what it was before, and what has been so frequently and boldly stated by southern men from the time of Washington and Jefferson to the present day. We consider this new doctrine to be one of the unfortunate results of the fanaticism of the modern abolitionists, and that it will pass away with the cause which gave it birth.

We believe that the great body of pious and intelligent people in this country hold now, and always have held, 1. That slavery, having been permitted under the Old Testament dispensation, and slave-owners having been received to the Christian church by the inspired apostles, slave-holding cannot be condemned as in all cases sinful. 2. Consequently, that immediate emancipation is not always a duty, but is obligatory or not according to circumstances. 3. That Christianity enjoins the just remuneration and kind treatment of all classes of labourers; that it requires that all proper efforts should be made for the moral and intellectual improvement of men, and that the marriage and parental relations should be held sacred among the bond as well as the free. 4. The gospel therefore condemns not only the conduct of unjust and cruel masters, but all unjust and cruel laws; laws which forbid the moral and intellectual culture of any class of men, with the design of keeping them in bondage. When slaves are in the condition of ferocious savages, the laws enacted for

their government must necessarily be severe. When they have passed into the state of mild and submissive labourers, this severity should be abated: and when they have become intelligent and industrious, capable of taking care of themselves, still another set of laws would be necessary. Thus one restriction on freedom after another would be removed, until all had disappeared. This is what Christianity enjoins, and what it has already effected in almost all parts of the world.*

In the application of these principles, we hold, that those having authority in the matter must be left to themselves. That we have no right to interfere in any way in which it would not be proper for us to interfere for the abolition of popery in Mexico, or monarchy in Canada. They alone have the right to modify their slave laws, or to abolish slavery entirely. They have the means of judging of the condition of their slaves, and of deciding what relaxation of their bonds would be for the advantage of all concerned. It is their business, and not ours. On them rests the responsibility and not upon us. We may lament that they do not see this subject in the same light that we do. We may earnestly desire for the sake of human happiness and virtue that they would take immediate and effectual measures to secure freedom to the slaves, and we may endeavour to convince them, that, under existing circumstances, this would be the best possible course for them to pursue. But we have no more right to force them to adopt this course than we have to force the Pacha of Egypt to relax his iron grasp on the vitals of his unhappy subjects. And as to the question of duty and right, it makes no difference as to the kind of force we may choose to adopt. Whether it by open war, or by instigating rebellion, or by the modern system of agitation, it is, as to the principle involved, all one. We are attempting to control those whom we have no right to control.

The only legitimate modes of influence which we can exercise are argument and persuasion. The two great abiding principles of human action are interest and conscience. It must be confessed that the former, in the present state of hu-

* We have on a former occasion, see Biblical Repertory, April 1836, stated and defended these principles more at length. The fact that the paper referred to was reprinted by southern men, and extensively circulated by their instrumentality, suffieiently proves that the south is as far from being unanimous in the opinion that slavery is itself a good, and should be perpetuated, as the north is from sympathizing with the modern abolitionists.

man nature, is by far the more uniform and general in its operation. There are few things in the history of the world which make a more melancholy impression on the mind, than the slow and distant steps by which the cause of justice and human happiness has advanced. We know not where to look for an example of a privileged class voluntarily relinquishing their superiority over their fellow men. Every step in the progress of the middle classes in Europe was made by force, not by concession. Privileges were granted only when they could no longer be withheld. The nobility and clergy, alas! held on to the last to their immunities, throwing all burdens on those below them, and engrossing as far as possible all power and property in their own hands. The state of villeinage was not entirely abolished in France before the revolution; and it exists in its very worst forms in some parts even of Germany, to the present day. The progress of society has not been uniform. The Germans were originally free. It was by successive changes that the common people were reduced to a state of slavery. And in some districts, it was not before the sixteenth century that the nobles were able to deprive the labouring population of all their rights. During two hundred years scarcely a single step was taken to improve the condition of the West India slaves. From generation to generation they continued in the same degraded state without the prospect or hope of change. The mother country was ignorant or indifferent, and the colonies thought their interest required the continuance of the old system without alteration. When the abolition of the slave-trade was first proposed, though now pronounced by the most enlightened nations a felony deserving death, it was opposed by all ranks and classes of those who thought their interests involved in its continuance. And the opposition from this quarter never abated. The measure was carried at last in despite of the resistance of what was called the West India interest. Hindostan would probably have continued closed to the present day against all missionary efforts, had the matter rested with the East India company. They resisted as long as they could, but were at last forced to yield or forfeit the renewal of their charter. It is surely unnecessary however to adduce illustration of the controlling force of self-interest on the great mass of mankind. It is as steady, as uniform, and as powerful as the attraction of gravitation. Examples in individuals of obedience to the dictates of justice or humanity in opposition to those of inter-

est are of every day occurrence. But such examples in the conduct of states and of large classes of men, are extremely rare. The abolition of slavery in the northern states was no sacrifice of interest to principle. The emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies was not carried by slave-owners. It was attended by no sensible self-denial on the part of those who insisted upon the act. The motives which led to it were no doubt humane and honourable; but it was after all cheap humanity. Where is the example of a community of slave-owners, from motives of justice, and in opposition to their supposed interests, emancipating their slaves? It is not we fear to be found in the records of the past. Perhaps it is to be furnished by the southern states of our own Union. We are told that "the generous south" will emancipate their slaves as soon as it will be for the advantage of the slaves themselves.* If so, the act will stand out prominent and alone in the history of the world. It will abide like the ever-during pyramids, attracting the admiration of all coming ages, whan the ordinary operations of benevolence shall be regarded as the ruins of forgotten cities around their base.

The human mind is a strange anomaly. We are not to suppose that men in general deliberately sacrifice their conscience to their mercenary interests. The moral feelings in man are far too powerful to admit of this. It is by influencing the judgment that the selfish principle succeeds, so generally, in controlling our conduct. The advocates of the slave-trade, no doubt, were persuaded that it was best that it should be continued; and the East India company, we presume, firmly believed that more harm than good would result from allowing the teachers of Christianity to have access either to the Europeans or natives in Hindostan. We are not to suppose that the West India planters secretly coincided in opinion with the advocates of emancipation, and resisted the measure merely because they thought their interests at stake. It was far otherwise. The great body of them were fully convinced that to set the slaves free would be the ruin of the blacks as well as of the whites. They looked forward to the event with the most serious apprehensions. Some of them left the islands; others sacrificed their property, and others took refuge as the day approached on board the shipping. This accounts for the exasperation they manifested at what they considered the folly and wickedness of the abolitionists. This

* See the Southern Literary Messenger August 1838.

also is the cause of the bitter feeling which pervades the south in relation to the anti-slavery movements of the north, in our own country. The recollection of this difference in judgment ought to make us moderate and charitable. The modern abolitionists, however, speak of the southern slave-owners precisely as though the latter were fully convinced that slave-holding was the greatest of all sins, and yet deliberately continued the practice for the sake of gain. This is far from being the fact. The advantage of slavery to themselves doubtless biasses their judgments, and leads them to form opinions on the subject very different from those which disinterested persons entertain. But they are not to be regarded as men who sin against the clear convictions of their own conscience. We are far from supposing that a man's thinking a thing to be right makes it right. Paul and other persecutors who thought they were doing God service, were not therefore guiltless; though they certainly were less guilty than they would have been had they known they were persecuting the truth. No man can regard John Newton, when the master of a slave-ship, with the feelings with which a slave-trader is justly regarded at the present day. While this real difference of opinion should make the opposers of slavery more moderate in their censures of slave-owners; the fact that their own interests are so much involved in the subject, should make the latter sensible that they are not impartial judges in relation to it. They should suspect themselves to be wrong, if they find that all, whose interests are not at stake, differ from them.

It is a consolation to know that although improvements have at first been strenuously resisted, yet after their establishment, few of their original opposers would be willing to undo them. No English nobleman would now wish his thriving and wealthy tenants transformed into degraded serfs. The Liverpool and Bristol merchants would not now vote for the re-establishment of the slave-trade. And even at this early date, few of the planters, in the better portion of the West India islands, would be willing to have slavery restored among them. As ameliorations in the condition of our fellow men are resisted in general by those only who think they would be losers by their introduction, it is of great importance to show that all such ameliorations are for the general good: that all classes are benefited when the condition of any one class is improved. It is time that the opinion should be renounced, that the interests of one portion of society can

be permanently advanced by the depression of another. The English landlord has reaped a corresponding benefit from every improvement in the condition of the cultivators of the soil. He is a far richer and more influential man than the Polish nobleman whose more extensive possessions are tilled by ignorant bondmen. It would therefore be a great point gained, if it could be made to appear incontestably that the interests of the slave-owner are promoted by every improvement in the condition of the slave, and even by his full emancipation. The greatest of all obstacles would then be removed from the path of freedom. What then have, as far as yet developed, been the results of the great experiment in the West India islands? It would be very unreasonable to expect that these results should be immediately and obviously beneficial in all cases and in all respects. All great social changes are in themselves evils. And even when the change is from a worse to a better condition, the inconvenience is often immediate, while the improvement, though greatly preponderating, is remote. We presume no one questions that the emancipation of South America from the yoke of Spain, and the introduction of free institutions, will be for the ultimate benefit of that country. Though the immediate result has been such protracted anarchy. The change there was too sudden and too great, but no friend of liberty has his faith shaken by this result, or is moved by the taunting reference to the fact, in which the advocates of despotism in Europe so constantly indulge.

In order to ascertain the real state of the West India islands since the passage of the emancipation bill, the Anti-Slavery Society commissioned Messrs. Thome and Kimball to make a personal examination. These gentlemen spent about six months in prosecuting their inquiries, and have published the result in the work which bears their names, at the head of this article. Mr. Kimball appears to have been an amiable and excellent man. He was during the period of his visit suffering under a pulmonary complaint of which he has since died. The greater portion of the labour both in collecting information and in preparing it for the press thus devolved on Mr. Thome. The work before us may be regarded as substantially his, and the assiduity and talent which it exhibits are much to his credit. Impartiality could hardly be expected from one who had already distinguished himself for that peculiar kind of zeal which characterizes abolitionists, and who had so strong an interest in making out a statement

favourable to his own views. All expressions of his own opinion, all general and sweeping assertions, we pass over as of little value. It is only the facts authenticated by competent witnesses which he adduces which are of much importance. And happily much the larger portion of the work is taken up in giving us the testimony of residents in the islands. The unfavourable account which he gives of Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamacia, which is contradicted by the public acts of that officer, and by the confidence which the blacks have openly manifested towards him, shows how liable he was to be prejudiced by ex parte statements. The same remark may be made in reference to his severe strictures upon the special magistrates in Jamaica. His denunciations of the apprentice system, though sustained by the popular feeling to a considerable extent in England, are met by the counter testimony of most official persons whose business it was to be acquainted with the subject, and of Prof. Hovey, who presents the matter in a very different light. Mr. Thome tells us also that he and his companion attended a missionary meeting in Antigua, at which they, (we presume *he*) made a speech, in which it is said that "slavery made more than two millions of heathen in our own country; and that so long as the cries of these heathen at home entered the ears of our young men and women, they could not, dare not, go abroad. . . . . They felt that their obligations were at home, and they resolved that if they could not, by reason of legal prohibitions, and slave-holding menaces, carry the gospel forthwith to the slaves, they would labour for the overthrow of that unrighteous system which made it a crime punishable with death to preach salvation to the poor." p. 84. The plain import of this statement is that the two millions of slaves in this country are heathen, that preaching the gospel to them is a crime punishable with death. Yet every one knows that the slaves attend church freely with their masters; that every pastor at the south may preach to them as much as he pleases; that there are many thousands of them regular members of the Christian congregations,* that the great body of them in the southern atlantic states, at least, regard themselves as Methodists, Baptists, or Presbyterians, and that some excellent men devote themselves almost exclusively to their religious instruction. That this department of Christian labour

* There are upwards of 4300 blacks in communion with the several churches of Charleston, S. C. alone. See Christian Almanac.

has been much neglected, as well as every other, when we think of what ought to have been done, is very true. But we verily believe that as large a portion of the blacks at the south hear the gospel, as of the inhabitants of the city of New York. However that may be, the assertions of Mr. Thome are so obviously untrue, as to shake our confidence in his assertions. If he speaks thus of his own country, where he has lived all his life, who will rely upon what he says of places where he was a mere sojourner? We repeat, therefore, that we dismiss as undeserving of notice any general assertions which he makes about the West India Islands. His book is interesting and valuable, because he has had the good sense to bring forward a great number of witnesses, whose testimony may be relied upon.

Prof. Hovey's book is written in a much better spirit. He is cautious and temperate. There are fewer details and less prolixity of statement; but the information is better digested and his views more comprehensive. The freedom of this work from all offensive and unjust reflexions, and its calm benevolent spirit, render it singularly fitted to produce a favourable impression on the minds of even his slave-holding readers. Col. Flinter, the author of the first work at the head of this article, went to the West Indies as an officer in the British army, but subsequently entered the service of the Queen of Spain. During a residence of twenty-one years in the several islands, he made it his special object to collect information on the condition of the coloured and slave population, which he has published with the general view of showing the value of the Spanish colonies, the superiority of the Spanish slave-laws to those of other countries, and especially the greater economy and efficiency of free labour compared to that of slaves. His opportunities for observation, his diligence in collection of facts, and his accuracy in presenting them, have rendered his book, we believe, a standard on these subjects.

In order properly to understand the nature and prospects of the great experiment now making in the British Islands, it is necssary that we should know something of their condition before the passage of the act of emancipation. On this, and on every other part of this subject, our limits require us to be very brief. It is a remarkable fact, out of keeping with the general character of the two countries, that the slave-laws of England have been much more severe than those of Spain. The former had indeed undergone successive ameliorations

before 1834, but the latter have been comparatively mild from the beginning. Great facilities have always been allowed the Spanish slaves in the acquisition of property. Being considered as minors, they are incapable of legal title to their possessions; but custom has acquired the force of law. It is not uncommon for them to possess slaves, houses and land. A slave may receive donations, which if taken by the master, the amount will be deducted from the slave's price, should he wish to purchase his freedom. Though custom had sanctioned the acquisition of property by slaves, in the English colonies, it was to a much less extent. Again, much greater facilities have always been afforded the Spanish slaves for the acquisition of freedom. If the slave wishes it, the master is obliged to sell him at a price regulated by law, which cannot exceed 300 dollars. He may thus not only change masters, but may purchase his own liberty, or that of his wife or children, at a fair valuation. It often happens that such purchase is gradually effected. After the price of a slave is determined, as soon as he obtains one sixth of the amount, he may buy Monday free; when he gets another sixth he buys Tuesday free, and so on to the end of the week. We know of no other slave-holding country in which masters are thus obliged to part with their slaves. Besides, after thirty-five years service the slave works one-third less than the other slaves; after forty-five years one-half less, and after fifty years he is free and his master is bound to support him. The consequence of these laws is manifest. "There are more free people of colour," says Col. Flinter, "in Porto Rico alone, than in the whole of the French and English Islands put together; although in the latter, there are more than twenty times the number of slaves contained in the former island."* There is the same superiority of the Spanish colonies over those of other countries as to the moral and religious instruction of the slaves. This remark applies particularly to the earlier periods of the history of the British islands. Every planter in the Spanish islands, according to Flinter, is obliged to give

* The British West Indies containing a population of 760,000 souls, have 80,121 free people of colour. The three French islands, with a population above 200,000, have less than 20,000 free coloured people. While Porto Rico in 1830 had 127,287, and Cuba, in 1827, 106,494, making in these two Spanish islands 233,781 free coloured persons. Trinidad having been under Spanish laws before it fell into the hands of the English, has a greater number of free blacks than any other British colony. It has 16,000 free coloured people, out of a population of 64,000 (44,000 ?), while Jamaica has but 35,000 out of a population of 402,000. See Flinter, p. 225.

his slaves such religious instruction as shall prepare them for baptism within one year after their importation, and to send them to church on Sundays and festivals. No law analogous to this has existed in the protestant colonies. Marriage also is promoted by allowing the slaves of one owner to intermarry with those of another; the owner of the male slave being obliged to purchase the female slave, at a price fixed by arbiters; or should he not wish to purchase, he is compelled to sell his slave to the owner of the female on the same condition. The marriage relation is sanctioned and enjoined by law. In the Island of Cuba there were, during the year 1827, among free people of colour, 385 marriages; among the slaves 1381, together 1766; among the whites 1868; the white population being 311,051, and the coloured 393,436.* Thus it appears that there were almost as many marriages among the blacks as among the whites, in proportion to their numbers. This single fact speaks volumes. Until within a few years, "the marriage rite was altogether unknown in the British colonies, and among the free negroes and mulattoes it was of very rare occurrence indeed." As to the general treatment of the slaves, in regulating the amount of labour to be exacted from them, in prescribing the degree of punishment to which they might be subjected, and in specifying the allowance of their food and clothing, the Spanish laws were also distinguished for their mildness and benevolence. The consequence has been the general prosperity of the Spanish islands; their security from servile insurrections, and the general attachment of the slaves to their masters.† It is obvious that slavery must long since have ceased to exist in these islands, where so much facility for the acquisition of property and for obtaining their freedom was afforded the slaves, had it not been for the continuance of the slave-trade.

The British islands, in which the experiment of complete emancipation is now in progress, may be said in general to have been in a less favourable state, than those in which the milder Spanish laws had been long in force. A very great change for the better however had, for a number of years, been going forward in these islands, preparing the way for

* Flinter, p. 220.

† Col. Flinter states that there never has occurred a case of insurrection among the slaves in any Spanish colony subject to the crown of Spain.

the general manumission of the slaves. And it will be seen that the experiment is most successful in those islands, where these ameliorations had been most cordially adopted. Antigua contains a population of 37,000, of which about 30,000 were slaves in 1834, 4500 free people of colour, and 2500 are whites. For the religious instruction of this population, there are twenty-six ordained ministers, and eighteen regular places of worship. The island is divided into six parishes, in each of which the Episcopalians have a church and a rector. These rectors, together with the archdeacon and three other ministers, make ten clergymen belonging to the established church. According to an estimate of the archdeacon furnished to Mr. Thome, the number of blacks attending the established church is four thousand six hundred and thirty-six. The Moravians commenced their labours in this island in 1756, and have now five establishments, and twenty-two missionaries, of whom eleven are ordained ministers. About fifteen thousand blacks belong to this denomination, of whom upwards of five thousand are communicants. The Methodists commenced their mission in Antigua more than forty years ago, and have now five ministers, several local preachers, and seven places of worship. More than eight thousand people are under their charge. Thus it appears that Antigua is as well supplied with the means of religious instruction as any part of our own country. As these means have been, for the most part at least, in operation before the act of emancipation, they contributed greatly to the favourable issue of that measure. The same remark applies to the attention which had been paid to education. The schools under the superintendance of the clergy of the established church contained in 1833 about two thousand scholars; those under the Methodist, about the same number; and those under the Moravians between four and five hundred, besides those attached to the infant and adult schools under their care on the different estates. In addition to the means of moral and religious culture which had been long enjoyed in this island, there were other circumstances favourable to the success of immediate emancipation. There were more resident proprietors on this island than on many of the others; the planters had already modified their views of slavery and become more lenient in their treatment of their slaves. A gentleman assured Prof. Hovey that on the estate where he resides, and which has two hundred and seventy-four negroes, no driver

had been allowed to carry a whip for fifteen years, and that such was the general practice on the island.*

Barbadoes contains a population of upwards of 100,000, of whom in 1834, 82,807 were slaves, the whites about fifteen thousand, and the free people of colour between four and five thousand. As the island does not embrace more than 166 square miles, it must be under complete cultivation in order to sustain such a dense population. Slavery is said to have been here remarkably well managed, and reduced to a complete system. In this respect it had the advantage of many of the other islands, though much behind Antigua as to the means of moral and religious improvement. In 1834 there were twenty-one churches and chapels, and twenty-nine clergymen belonging to the established church. The chapel on the Codrington estate was the only one appropriated exclusively to the blacks, though the others are all open to them, when disposed to attend worship. The Methodists have seven chapels and three ordained ministers. The number (of communicants?) belonging to the several societies is 1,920, of whom 1,370 were formerly slaves. The Moravians have three establishments, and about 5,200 people under their care. The number of apprentices who receive instruction in connexion with the Episcopal church, Prof. Hovey estimates at about 6,000, and the whole number under the care of the three denominations at about 12,000, leaving 70,000 without the means of religious knowledge. This may be near the truth, though it allows only one thousand to the Methodists who have seven chapels. In 1825, there was but one public school on the island for the instruction of slaves, and that was on the Codrington estate. In 1834 there were connected with the established church 155 schools designed for the poor, including the apprentices, and embracing 7,447 scholars. The Wesleyans have one day school and six Sabbath schools with 1,188 scholars. The Moravians have three schools in which about 700 children are taught. In innumerating the means of improvement in Barbadoes, mention should be made of the Codrington estates, which comprise about eight hundred acres, and had upon them, previous to emancipation, three hundred and thirty slaves. They were left in 1710 by Gen. Codrington to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. A college has been erected on these

* See the account of Antigua given by Prof. Hovey, and also that given by Messrs. Thome and Kimball for the facts stated in this paragraph.

estates to educate young men as preachers and school masters. There is also a chapel designed for the exclusive accommodation of the slaves, and a chaplain appointed for their instruction. A school was also established on each estate for children. A little before emancipation, a plan was adopted of assigning a cottage and two acres of good land to the more deserving slaves, who were required to work four days in the week on the estate by way of rent. This plan succeeded so well that many of the proprietors were led to adopt it. The chaplain states in his report that within three years, commencing with July 1833, he had baptised 776 infants and adults, and married 135 couples. There are now upon the estate about seventy married couples: in 1822 there was but one.* It is obvious from the preceding statement, which is drawn principally from Prof. Hovey, that this island was by no means in such a favourable state for emancipation as Antigua. Mr. Thome indeed tells us that the governor, archdeacon and other residents, expressed the opinion that the slaves there were quite as well prepared for freedom as in the last mentioned island. It might have been safe, and even expedient to grant them immediate emancipation, but to say they were as well prepared for it, as the slaves on the sister island, is to say that religious instruction is of no value. In Antigua almost all the negroes were under pastoral supervision, whereas in Barbadoes not much more than 12,000 out of 82,000 enjoyed this advantage.

The experiment of emancipation has found its severest trial in Jamaica. The disadvantages with which it has there to contend are numerous and serious. Some of these relate to the slaves, and some to the masters. The population of Jamaica is about 400,000, of whom about 312,000 were slaves, 40,000 free people of colour, and the remainder whites. Sir Lionel Smith in his address to the House of Assembly in 1836, after stating that no man had enjoyed so extended an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the condition of the negro population in the West India islands, adds that he is sorry to proclaim that they are in Jamaica "in a more deplorably backward state than in any other." The principal causes of this fact are the following. The first is the mountainous character of the country. The estates are thus in many instances very difficult of access. The slaves upon them are thus cut

* This fact is assuredly very disgraceful to the society, considering that they had been in possession of the estate more than a century.

off, in a great measure, from all intercourse with civilized life, and remain in their original barbarism. Very frequently the only whites upon an estate with several hundred negroes, are the overseer, two book-keepers, and a carpenter, and these, as may be supposed, not always of a very edifying character. In the second place, there are fewer resident proprietors than in any other island. This is a circumstance of great importance. The owners of slaves are in the vast majority of instances far more solicitous for their welfare, more kind and considerate, than the miserable hirelings who, in their absence, have the immediate control of the negroes. In the third place, no adequate provision was ever made for the education or religious instruction of the slaves. It is true that the missionary force on this island, was absolutely greater than on any other, but by no means proportionate to the extent of the field. We have not the means of ascertaining, with any degree of accuracy, how far religious instruction was extended to the blacks. According to Prof. Hovey, in 1836, the Church Missionary Society had six missionaries; the London Society seven; Wesleyan, twenty-nine; the Baptist, sixteen; the Moravian, nineteen; that is, one missionary to about fifty thousand of the coloured population. The Moravians commenced their operations about 1754; the Wesleyans about 1794; the Independents since 1834. What is the number of clergy attached to the established church, we have not been able to ascertain. The Baptists are said to be the most numerous body of Christians; their chapels numbering thirty-one, and their members 32,960. The Wesleyans, in 1834, had 12,835 members, and 1005 Sunday scholars; at the beginning of 1837, 19,715 members, and 2,765 scholars. There are schools in connection with the different missions, and also with the established church. The former, Prof. Hovey says, he was told were crowded, but that the latter were languishing. This difference he ascribes to the fact that the Episcopal clergymen have not secured the confidence of the apprentices. There are twelve Mico* charity schools now in operation with 4,581 pupils. In the Wolmer free school, in Kingston, there are 502 scholars, of whom 72 are white, 430 coloured, 50 of whom were in 1837 the children of apprentices. The efforts for diffusing education have greatly increased since emancipation, but it is evident that the mass of the negroes on this island, were, pre-

* So called from the name of their founder.

vious to that event, in knowledge, as in other respects, much behind their brethren in some of the other islands.

The difficulties in way of emancipation in Jamaica, however, have arisen quite as much from the feelings of the masters, as from the want of preparation on the part of the slaves. As already stated, a very large proportion of the former were not proprietors, and hence the relation between them and the slaves was of a very unfriendly character. Another circumstance of still greater importance was the hostility of the planters to the proposals of the mother country for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. This had been strenuous and long continued. When in consequence of Mr. Canning's resolutions of 1823, a bill was introduced into the House of Assembly in Jamaica, "to enable slaves to give evidence in certain cases of crime committed against slaves, &c." though very far short of what the British government had recommended, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-four to one. In 1826 the House passed a new consolidated slave law, which, though rejected by the home government, was re-enacted session after session until 1831, when, the objectionable clauses being suppressed, it was allowed to pass into a law. During all this time the greatest excitement prevailed, and the strongest denunciations were freely uttered against the conduct of the English ministry and parliament. In consequence of this excitement, and especially of the knowledge on the part of the slaves that the planters were resisting measures designed for their benefit, a rebellion broke out in 1832; during which two hundred negroes were killed in the field, and five hundred were subsequently executed by order of a court martial. It may be easily imagined what exasperation of feeling this must have occasioned between the planters and slaves. In addition to this, it must be remembered that the planters, having long manifested great repugnance to the labour of the missionaries, on the breaking out of the rebellion, immediately charged them with having instigated it. This charge, as one of the magistrates who was present at the trial, and who was by no means partial to the missionaries, assured Prof. Hovey, was destitute of foundation, yet it led to a violent persecution. They were imprisoned, maltreated, and insulted, and their chapels were demolished; the Baptists lost six in this manner, and the Metho dists four. The loss of the former was estimated at $70,000. These events produced a great impression on the British parliament and nation, and further widened the breach between

the planters and slaves, in whose behalf the missionaries were suffering.

When the planters found that the English government was determined on the abolition of slavery, they were greatly exasperated, but finding the result inevitable, the assembly passed a resolution declaring that, on condition of receiving a just compensation for their loss of property, they were willing to pass a bill for complete emancipation. They were the first also to accede to the conditions on which the grant of £20,000,000 was made; but when they found how that sum was to be distributed, their dissatisfaction became as violent as ever. Two months before the emancipation act was to go into operation, they addressed a memorial to the king and council, in which they say, "Had we anticipated that the miserable reward of our submission would be, in chief part, withheld from us, to enrich the foreign settlements conquered from the enemy, we would have rejected with indignation the unworthy compromise, and incurred all the evils which the authority and anger of the mother country might have inflicted, protesting against her tyranny before the world, and reserving our rights to be vindicated and resumed at some happier moment."* When it is considered that the success of the great experiment of emancipation depended as much upon the hearty co-operation of the planters, as upon the disposition of the slaves, it is really a wonder that it did not, in this island, fail entirely. The difficulties which it has encountered have arisen mainly out of the strong conviction on the part of the planters that it would fail, and on their decided hostility to the whole scheme. The parent government could pass only a general law, which required in the several colonies possessing legislative assemblies, supplementary laws to carry it into effect. These laws in Jamaica were very deficient, and have given rise to a great deal of difficulty.†

Having said thus much on the state of these several islands previous to the decisive action of the British parliament in 1833, we must next give a very brief account of the process by which the slaves were emancipated. The act of emancipation provided first that slavery should cease from the first of August, 1834; that all children under six years of age

* See Prof. Hovey, Let. X., from whom the above details are principally borrowed.

† The evidence of the correctness of these remarks may be seen at length in an article on the Apprentice system in the Edinburgh Review, No. CXXXIV.

should be absolutely free, and be supported by their parents; secondly, that all slaves engaged in agriculture should be absolutely free on the first of August, 1840; and all others on the first of August, 1838. Thirdly, that in the mean time, the slaves engaged in agriculture should work for their former masters forty-five hours a week, in return for which they were to be allowed the same support and privileges which they had enjoyed during slavery. Fourthly, these apprentices, as they were now called, could not be removed from the estates to which they were attached, without the consent of a special justice, and they were at liberty to purchase their entire freedom at a price fixed by public appraisers. Fifthly, the masters were deprived of all power to punish their apprentices. Sixthly, a set of special justices, were appointed by the authority of the mother country, to whom all complaints of masters against apprentices, or of apprentices against masters, were to be referred. The negroes were thus emancipated from the control of arbitrary power, and placed under the control of law. Such were the more important provisions of the act as it passed the British parliament. In order to carry it into operation, auxiliary laws were necessary in those colonies having legislative assemblies, which laws were more satisfactory and effective in some islands than in others. It was also at the option of such colonies to adopt the apprentice system, or to grant immediate and complete emancipation. The latter course was adopted in Antigua and Bermudas; in the other colonies the apprentice system was carried into effect. The English government granted £20,000,000 to the proprietors, as a compensation for any loss, which they might sustain from the discontinuance of slavery. This sum was apportioned by commissioners between the different colonies, and afforded in Antigua about £14 for each slave; in Jamaica about £20; and in Barbadoes about £25.

The wisdom of this form of gradual emancipation has been keenly disputed. On the one hand, it has been contended that the apprentice system was a mere mockery of the hopes of the slave, leaving him in a condition little, if at all better than that of absolute slavery; and that so far from being a preparation for freedom it was an actual disqualification. On the other hand, it was maintained that it was absolutely necessary in order to effect the transition from slavery to freedom in a salutary manner, and that it has answered all reasonable expectations. Though this is a subject of great practical

importance, our limits forbid our entering upon the discussion. It seems very plain, that the degree of freedom which could be advantageously granted to the slaves, must depend mainly upon their state of improvement, and consequently that the apprentice system might be a wise measure in some colonies, and unwise in others. That this system is not a great improvement on that of slavery, is an assertion too extravagant for refutation. And it is scarcely less extravagant to say that it is not adapted to operate as a preparation for entire freedom. It taught the slave to look to the law for direction and protection; to rely upon his own exertions, to a certain extent, for the support of himself and children: it made him a hired labourer for a considerable portion of his time, and thus habituated him to the use and care of money. Where the system was cordially adopted, it worked well; and where it was reluctantly submitted to, and unkindly or unjustly executed, it has, as might be expected, very imperfectly effected the design of its authors. This however is no reproach to them. The law was wise in itself; the evils resulted in a great measure from its execution. Accordingly, Mr. Buxton reported in 1836, after a protracted examination at the head of a committee of the House of Commons, that even in Jamaica, the system was "working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from slavery to freedom." Where the slaves are prepared for immediate emancipation, it would be wise to grant it, as the result has shown; but where they are less improved, some such intermediate state as that provided by the apprentice system, would be highly salutary, if adopted with the cordial approbation of those by whom it was to be carried into effect.

It may be considered premature to speak positively of the results of emancipation in the West India islands, as the experiment of entire freedom in most of the colonies has but just commenced. There are some authenticated facts, however, which are worthy of careful consideration. In the first place, the transition from slavery to entire freedom in Antigua and Bermudas, and from slavery to the apprentice system in the other islands, was made without bloodshed, violence, or confusion. The history of the world scarcely affords an example of so great a revolution so silently effected. This fact is now notorious. The 1st of August 1834, was almost universally spent in religious exercises; the churches were all crowded; thanksgiving to God for the great boon of freedom ascended from thousands of joyful hearts, and with

exceptions too few and too transient to deserve notice, the memorable day passed without disturbance, and the negroes returned without reluctance to their accustomed labours. It is not wonderful that a very different result was by many confidently expected. It is difficult, after the event, to place ourselves in the position of those who were looking forward to the uncertain issue. No one could tell whether gratitude for the present, and joy in the prospect of future good, would prevail in the minds of the liberated slaves, over the passions excited by the recollections of the past. It was impossible to predict what would be the effect of removing the wonted motive of fear from so many thousand unenlightened minds, and substituting in its place, those of hope and interest, which operate but feebly in the absence of knowledge. The very advocates of the measure now admit that as to the *immediate* issue, they had some strange misgivings; that they found it almost impossible to hope that the transition from an unnatural to a natural state would be itself natural and easy, and society restored without passing through some painful discipline.* The apprehensions of those most deeply interested in the result, were naturally more excited. Many of the planters were convinced that certain destruction would be the consequence of emancipation. Mr. Thome tells us, though rather sneeringly, that some families in Antigua did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July. The solicitor general stated that there were many fears in Barbadoes for the results of the first day of abolition; and one of the special magistrates remarked that he could hardly believe his own eyes and ears, when he found there was no disturbance or excitement. In reference to Jamaica, Lord Sligo, in his despatch, dated the 21st of June 1835, says, "The first prophecy was blood and destruction on the first of August; in this they were wrong. The second, that this scene would take place at Christmas, as it had not taken place in August; in this they were wrong." In short, the result was awaited with indifference by none but the fanatical or obdurate, or, as Mr. Thome would express it, by those who looked at the issue "through philosophical principles." Whether these apprehensions were rational or not, the event has happily disappointed them; and if nothing else is certain, it is clear that abolition was accomplished without disturbance or disorder.

* Edinburgh Review, No. 134.

Secondly, emancipation has not lessened the amount of productive labour in these islands. This may be stated as the general result. In some cases the amount has declined; in others it has increased; and in others it has remained stationary. With regard to Jamaica, the facts are very different as it relates to different estates; which seems to prove that where the result has been unfavourable, it is to be attributed to some fault in the management, rather than to the system. Such was the prevalence of the impression that the system would not work well, that the requisite efforts were not made to secure its success. Of thirty-two persons examined by a committee of the Jamaica Assembly, in Nov. 1834, twenty-eight predicted a ruinous deficiency of produce; and the committee assert in their report the absolute certainty that their canes must rot on the ground, from the impossibility of procuring the requisite labour to manufacture them into sugar. Yet when the time came, no difficulty was experienced. Under the influence of these desponding views, some planters abandoned a portion of their estates; a Mr. Jones, for example, gave up the cultivation of one-third of those under his care, and he accordingly made only two hundred, instead of three hundred hogsheads of sugar. Others neglected to hire the extra time of their apprentices. Up to November 1835, there were as many as 237 estates, on which wages had not even been offered. On many of those on which they had been offered and accepted, it was only during crop. No one could expect that as much work would be done by the apprentices in forty-five hours a week, as was done by the slaves working ten hours a day.* But where any thing like the amount of the interest of the sum which the planter received from the compensation fund, was paid out in wages, there was no difficulty in procuring labour, and no decrease in the produce of the estates. Thus a Mr. Oldham received as interest on his portion of the compensation fund over £10,000 currency, and expended £8000 currency in wages, and made rather more from his estate than he did during slavery, though he hired only during about five months. Mr. Shirley succeeded still better by making a contract with his apprentices for the whole year, they agreeing to work as usual ten hours a day for four days in the week, and he pay-

* "Before the 1st of Aug. 1834 the great body of the slaves in Jamaica were required, during seven months of the year, to work sixty hours weekly; during the remaining five, upwards of seventy." Edinburgh Review.

ing wages for the fifth day. A still more striking example of the effect of good management, is mentioned by one of the special magistrates. "An estate in my district," he says, "was rented at the commencement of the apprentice system by Mr. Walcott of this parish, from Mr. Lyons of London, on the following terms:—Forty hogsheads to be given yearly, and every thing replaced at the end of the apprenticeship that may be deficient. I am given to understand that, for many years past, this estate has not paid one fraction to the proprietor, and that Mr. Walcott has, notwithstanding, been so fortunate as to clear £1200 on the last crop, and will probably do so (if not even better) to the end of the time." The Edinburgh Reviewers, from whom most of the above facts are borrowed, after a strict examination of the parliamentary papers relating to this subject, arrive at the conclusion, "that if any planter be a loser under the new system, it is only because he has not used his capital judiciously." There are other causes besides the mere want of judgment in the use of capital, which ought to be taken into view in estimating the result of the new system on the pecuniary interests of the planters. The most important has been alluded to, the want of confidence in the system on the part of the planters, which led not only to neglect, but to harsh and irritating measures towards the apprentices. The planters had a right to forty-five hours work a week, which might be distributed as they thought best. The plan of making the apprentices work about eight hours a day for six days, was extensively adopted; thus leaving the negroes mere fragments of time at their own disposal. This excited the greatest dissatisfaction, and yet it was persisted in, until it had produced a great deal of evil. There are also in Jamaica many estates nearly exhausted, and which, under any system, would produce less and less every year; and others which could only be cultivated by working the slaves beyond their strength. Notwithstanding all these and other causes of decline, the produce of Jamaica for the first year under the apprenticeship fell short only about 8.3 per cent. The second year was one of the most unfavourable seasons which had occurred for forty years, and therefore affords no fair criterion; still the average produce of 1835 and 1836 fell below the average from 1829 to 1834 by only 19.3 per cent. This result was far more favourable than the gloomy apprehensions of the planters allowed them to anticipate. They confidently predicted that the cultivation of their estates could not be carried on under the new system,

and memorialized the home government that the only way to save them from absolute ruin was the transmission, at the expense of the mother country, of large bodies of white labourers. When experience had corrected these apprehensions, and the planters became more reconciled to the new state of things, a great improvement took place, and the planters found they could do very well, at least until the expiration of the apprenticeship.* Among the many facts which prove that this feeling prevailed, it may be mentioned, that the time of an apprentice having three years to serve, was often sold for the price of a good slave before emancipation. Real estate had greatly advanced in value. Several estates had, when Prof. Hovey was on the island, recently been sold at an advance of more than forty per cent. on their value ten years ago; and this, he was informed, was no uncommon occurrence. Real estate was in great demand, and the rent of houses in Kingston had considerably risen. The institution of banks, the construction of railroads, and the introduction of steam navigation, are further indications of the increasing prosperity of the island. It is at least certain that even in Jamacia, where it has encountered the greatest difficulties, emancipation has not been attended by the disasterous results which the planters anticipated. On the contrary their condition is more prosperous than it was before. They have, by the compensation which they have received, been relieved from a great amount of debt; property and produce have risen in value, and estates, which formerly yielded little or nothing, now afford profitable returns.† The

* It is difficult to estimate the effect of emancipation on the wealth of the island, from the official returns of the exports. The amount exported in different years, varied very much before the introduction of the new system. Thus from 1821 to 1826 both inclusive, the exports of sugar were in round numbers, 111; 88; 94; 99; 73; 99, thousand hhds; and of coffee in 1821, 16 millions; in 1824, 27 millions of pounds. It is said too that formerly the hogshead contained on an average eighteen hundred weight, whereas they now vary from twenty to twenty two hundred. See appendix to Mr. Thome's book. The price also has greatly risen; so that according to the Edinburgh Review the value of a year's produce since abolition, notwithstanding the diminution in the amount, was £230,000 more than it was before that event.

† West India property was greatly depreciated long before abolition was thought of. In 1792 Bryan Edwards speaks of the great mass of the planters as "men of oppressed fortunes." In 1807 the Assembly state, in a communication made to the House of Commons, that "the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one fourth of the whole number in the colony." In 1812 they say, "Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident." Again, in

apprentice system therefore has not ruined the island. What will be the result of complete emancipation, it is of course too early to say. There will probably be a good deal of difficulty until the rate of wages can be adjusted, and both parties get accustomed to the change. But the experience of other islands; the testimony of Lord Sligo and others as to the willingness of the negroes to work for reasonable wages, apart from all general considerations, give abundant ground for the most pleasing anticipations.

With regard to Barbadoes the result of emancipation, as to the point now under consideration, has been much more favourable. Here the negroes were more improved than in Jamacia; there was a far greater porportion of resident planters upon the island, and though they resisted the abolition act so long as to endanger their share of the compensation fund, when the act was passed, they entered more cordially into efforts to render it successful. According to the table given in the Edinburgh Review, the average sugar crop in the two years after emancipation exceeded by 4.5 per cent the average of the six preceding years. And this result was secured without any lavish expenditure; for Prof. Hovey states that it was estimated that not more than $12,000 were expended the preceding year for extra work. He says, it was generally admitted by the planters that the apprentices did as much work now in 45 hours, as they did formerly during the whole week. The testimony is abundant and almost uniform, that cultivation was never better conducted or more productive than since the introduction of the new system. Mr. Hinkston, a planter of thirty-six years standing, stated, that the planters were getting on much better under the new system than under the old; that it was admitted that the island was never under better cultivation, and that the crops for the year 1836 and 1837 would exceed the average by several thousand hogsheads.* Major Colthurst, in a written reply to certain queries, says, "When the planters themselves admit that general cultivation was never in a better state, and the plantations extremely clean, it is more than presumptive proof that agriculture generally is in a most prosperous condition." And again, "The whole body of respectable planters are fully satisfied with the apprentice-

1832, they call upon parliament to adopt prompt measures "to preserve them from inevitable ruin." Matters are surely not so bad now. See Prof. Hovey, p. 41.

* Thome and Kimball p. 239.

ship, and would not go back to the old system on any account whatever."* Capt. Hamilton of the navy, another special magistrate, in answer to the same queries, says, "The state of agriculture is very flourishing. Experienced planters acknowledge that it is generally far superior to what it was during slavery." "The most prejudiced planters would not return to the old system if they possibly could. They admit that they get more work from the labourers now than they formerly did, and they are relieved from a great responsibility."† This is a specimen of the testimony on this subject; and we recollect nothing of an opposite character. The increase in the value of property is a further proof of the prosperity of the island under the new system. Prof. Hovey states the increase at from 20 to 25 per cent; Capt. Hamilton as at least one-third; Mr. Jones, a native of Barbadoes and superintendent of the rural police, at nearly fifty per cent. The testimony is uniform as to the advance, though it varies so much as to the degree. In Barbadoes, therefore, emancipation has not effected injuriously the interests of planters.

The prosperity of British Guiana is still more striking; "which, under the threefold advantage of an exhaustless soil, a most intelligent and energetic governor, and *no* independent legislature, has been, from the very beginning, making uninterrupted advances in every direction."‡ The productions of this colony have increased 18 per cent. since emancipation.

In Antigua the Assembly rejected the apprentice system and granted the slaves their freedom at once. The principal reasons for adopting this course, were the desire to have the affair immediately settled; dislike of the system of stipendiary magistrates, and of the distinction made between the praedail and non praedial slaves; and the peculiar preparation of the slaves for immediate emancipation. In granting them their freedom the Assembly enacted, that the slaves should remain one year in the places which they then occupied; that the use of their houses and patches of ground should be continued to them; that they should work for their masters for wages; that they should be free from all coercion except that of law; that, if after the first year they wished to go into other service, they must give one month's notice, &c. The result, as to the interests of the planters, seems to have

* Thome and Kimball, p. 279. † *Ibid.* p. 284. ‡ Edinburgh Review.

exceeded their expectations: which is the more remarkable as Antigua has suffered much from natural causes since emancipation. In 1835 there was one of the severest hurricanes which had occurred for many years; cultivation was arrested by a drought, and the yellow fever prevailed with great severity. The next year the drought returned with increased severity.* We can hardly reconcile with these statements the fact that the average crop for two years after emancipation was only 9.6 per cent. less than the average for the six preceding years. It at least proves that this small decline cannot fairly be ascribed to emancipation. The testimony in favour of the increasing prosperity of the island, is as uniform as in the case of Barbadoes. Prof. Hovey states that, "Some said, that the estates alone are worth as much now, as both the estates and slaves were ten years ago. This is true, if we estimate their value by their returns, and the annual expense of cultivation; and this may eventually be the price which they will command; but at present they are not sold for so much. Before emancipation, it was almost impossible to sell real estate at any rate; but it is now easily disposed of at an advanced price of fifteen or twenty per cent. Some poor estates, which had been abandoned under the old system because the incomes did not meet the expenses, have been again brought into cultivation under the new." p. 75. This latter circumstance is conclusive proof that the new system is more economical than the old. This fact is confirmed by the testimony of many competent witnesses. Dr. Nugent, long the speaker of the Assembly, says, "The expenses of cultivating sugar estates have in no instance, I believe, been found greater than before. As far as my experience goes, they are certainly less, particularly as it regards those properties which were overhanded before, when proprietors were compelled to support more dependents than they required. In some cases the present cost is less by one-third." Mr. Hatley, manager of Fay's estate, said his "expenses during the last year of slavery were £1371, 2s. 4½d.; the expenses for 1835 were £821, 16s. 7½d." Ano-

* The Rev. Mr. Gilbert of the English church, and a proprietor, said, "that for thirty years the island has not experienced such a drought." Thome, p. 17. Mr. Farley, said he "had been thirty-five years in the island, yet never knew so long a season of dry weather," p. 51. Dr. Nugent said "that the crop on his estate had almost totally failed, on account of the drought; being reduced from one hundred and fifty hogsheads, the average crop, to fifteen. . . . And that the cattle were dying for want of water and grass. He had himself lost five oxen within the past week," p. 52.

ther gentleman stated that his average weekly expenses during slavery were £45; the present average does not exceed £20.* It is very natural that this should be the result. Wages are low in Antigua, about 11 cents a day. The negroes support themselves at a cheaper rate than their masters could do it; fewer hands accomplish a greater amount of work; and lastly the master is now burdened with the support of only the working hands; the young, the old, the sick, the supernumeraries are now dependent upon their friends.

The testimony is equally strong as to the readiness of blacks to labour, and the general prosperity of the island. The governor stated that "it was universally admitted that emancipation had been a great blessing to the island." Dr. Daniell, a member of Council, said, "I do not know of more than one or two planters, who do not consider emancipation as a decided advantage to all parties." p. 158. Dr. Ferguson, of St. Johns, stated that, "Emancipation is working most admirably, especially for the planters. The credit of the island has decidedly improved. The internal improvement of the island is advancing in an increased ratio. More buildings have been erected since emancipation, than for twenty years before. Stores and shops have multiplied astonishingly; I can safely say that their number has more than quintupled since the abolition of slavery." James Scotland, Sen. Esq., of St. Johns, stated that "Emancipation had very greatly increased the value of, and consequently the demand for, real estate. That which three years ago was a drug, altogether unsaleable by a private bargain, has now many inquirers after it, and ready purchasers at good prices. The importation of British manufactured goods has been considerably augmented, probably one-fourth. The credit of the planters, who have been chiefly affected by the change, has been much improved. And the great reduction of expense in managing the estates, has made them men of more real wealth, and consequently raised their credit both with the English merchants and our own." p. 194. It may therefore be stated, as a general result, that as it regards wealth, the planters of the West India Islands have not been losers by the abolition of slavery. If such be now the case, it is evident that the prospect for the future is very encouraging, when the plough shall take the place of the hoe, the cart of the basket, and when labour-saving machinery and animal

* Thome and Kimball, p. 160.

power shall supercede the necessity for such a multitude of human labourers.

A third result of emancipation, beneficial to the planter, is a great increase of security for life and property. Dr. Madden enumerates no less than twenty-two open rebellions, six conspiracies to assassinate the white inhabitants detected on the eve of execution, and one mutiny which took place in Jamaica alone since the introdution of slavery. The last rebellion occurred in 1832, and is said to have cost the island $4,000,000. In Barbadoes the last extended insurrection was in 1816, which resulted in the death of above five hundred slaves, and the destruction of a vast amount of property. Since emancipation, all fear of insurrections has disappeared. There cannot be a clearer proof of this fact than the decrease of the military establishment which has taken place since that event. "Many of the troops in the colonies," says Prof. Hovey, "are already disbanded, and it is supposed that a small force, composed of negroes, to man the garrisons, will eventually be sufficient for their defence." p. 174. In Antigua, within five months after emancipation, the Christmas guards, which had been regularly and uninterruptedly kept for nearly one hundred years, were dispensed with. The governor issued his proclamation stating that in consequence of the abolition of slavery such precaution was unnecessary. Such facts are more convincing than any testimony of the planters, though that is abundant and unanimous. Dr. Nugent says, "Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded, not even by those planters who were most cruel in the time of slavery." And again, "There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity—quite the contrary. Property is more secure, for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever." The proprietor of Edgecome estate in Barbadoes, a native of the island and member of the council, said, "He thought there was no such thing in the island as a sense of insecurity, either as it respects persons or property." Major Colthurst and Capt. Hamilton, the magistrates already quoted, give the same testimony, as does also Mr. Anderson, the Solicitor General, in relation to Jamaica. It is unnecessary to multiply such testimony; as it is all on one side, and as the rise in the value of property, the improvement of credit, the increase of public improvements, prove conclusively the general sense of security.

Having said so much in reference to the results of emancipation as it regards the master, we must briefly notice its

more prominent effects as it regards the slaves; first as to their physical, and secondly as to their social and moral condition. The benefits to the slave, under the first head, are almost too obvious to need enumeration. He has been freed from the burden of oppressive labour. Instead of working sixty or seventy hours weekly without any other renumeration than a support, he is required to labour only forty-five. All beyond this is voluntary and compensated labour. Secondly, he is freed from all the evils of arbitrary power. Before emancipation the lowest class of white men were, in most instances, his immediate masters, who were clothed with the power of punishment almost at discretion. Now he cannot be punished, except after trial and by sentence of a magistrate, who cannot order more than twenty lashes for refusing or neglecting work, nor for any offence more than fifty. No female apprentice can be punished by flogging at all. No one can tell what relief from suffering these regulations have occasioned. That this relief is great may safely be inferred from the nature of the case; from the uniform testimony of all concerned as to the frequency and severity of all kinds of punishments during slavery; and from the prevalence and strength of the opinion that the whip was absolutely necessary to make the negro work and to keep him in subjection.* Within ten months, ending May 1836, punishments of all kinds had, even in Jamaica, been reduced by about one-fourth: corporal punishments by not less than two-thirds. In British Guiana the change is still more striking. In 1831 the average monthly floggings, from July to Dec., were 1039; in 1834-5, from August to August 181; in August 1835, 81; in December 21. What an amazing reduction; from upward of a thousand to twenty-one! Since May 1836, say the Edinburgh Reviewers, from whom the above details are borrowed, "we believe that flogging has been almost entirely

* As one proof of the severity of West India slavery reference may be made to the falling off in the number of slaves. In eleven years, from 1817 to 1828, the decrease was 52,887; and this decrease was greatest where the price of slaves and the profits of sugar cultivation were highest; in Demarara it was one-sixth, in Trinidad one-fourth of the slave population. Mr. Buxton, in a speech in parliament, said, on the authority of Lord Stanley, that, "In the year 1829, the recorded number of separate punishments in Demarara, when the praedial slave population amounted to 60,500 was 17,359. In 1830, the number of slaves had decreased to 59,547 while the production of sugar had increased, and the number of punishments had also increased to 18,324. The number of lashes inflicted in that year, being no less than 194,744. In 1831, the praedial population had still further decreased to 58,404; but the punishments had increased to 21,656, and the number of lashes to 199,507."

discontinued in this well governed colony. In the Bahamas, it has been for some time abolished by law, owing to the excellent exertions of Sir William Colebroke." Such is the relief afforded even by the apprentice system; of course since it has ceased, the blacks are subject to no other punishments than such as can be inflicted on freemen. There is also great improvement in their dwellings, dress, and mode of living.*

Secondly, emancipation has rendered the negro a more industrious and effective labourer. It was a common apprehension that, from constitutional indolence, the blacks would refuse to work, when they were not driven to it by fear of punishment. There is, no doubt, ground for this apprehension in regard to all labourers in a low state of civilization. Labour is painful, and will be avoided unless the motives to exertion are sufficiently strong to overcome the natural repugnance to it. The higher motives have little influence on those who have few wants beyond the mere cravings of nature; no self-respect, and no ambition to improve their condition. Savages, therefore, rarely labour more than is necessary to support life. It appears, however that the slaves in all the West India islands, were sufficiently improved to feel the force of the motives which address themselves to the desire to elevate the condition of themselves and families. Where this is the case, it needs no argument to prove that men will labour more effectively, when they labour for themselves and their children, than when working for others. The testimony in proof of the willingness of the blacks to work for wages, and of the greater efficiency of their labour, is uniform and abundant. Lord Sligo, in one of his early reports in reference to Jamaica, says, "I know of no instance where the usual wages were offered, and where they were refused." The governor of Antigua stated, "He was assured by planters in every part of the island, that the negroes were very industriously disposed." "My people," says Mr. Watkins, of Donoran, "have become much more industrious since they were emancipated. I have been induced to extend the sugar cultivation over a number of acres more than had ever been cultivated before." Dr. Daniell said, "I have frequently adopted the job system for short periods;

* "The houses are to be larger than those at present in use, they are to be built of stone instead of mud and sticks." Thome, p. 27. "The negroes pay a great deal more attention to their personal appearance, than they were accustomed to do while slaves. The women especially have improved astonishingly in their dress and manners." Dr. Daniell, *Ibid.* 193.

the results have always been gratifying—the negroes accomplish twice as much as when they worked for daily wages, because they make more money." The general apprehension prior to emancipation," says Dr. Nugent, "was that the negroes would not work after they were made free. . . . Time, however, has proved that there was no foundation for this apprehension. The estates were never in better order than they are at present. . . If we have no rain the crops must inevitably fail. But we can always depend upon the labourers.—When slaves, the negroes were glad to find an excuse for deserting their labour, and they were incessantly feigning sickness. The sick house was thronged with real, and pretended invalids. After 1834 it was wholly deserted. The negroes would not go near it; and in truth, I have lately used it for a stable." Mr. Howell stated, that "Though the labourers on both the estates under my management, have been considerably reduced since freedom, yet the grounds have never been in a finer state of cultivation than they are at present. When my work is backward, I give it out in jobs, and it is always done in half the usual time."* Such testimonies might be indefinitely multiplied, but it is certainly unnecessary. The single fact, that in Antigua, where complete emancipation was granted, cultivation was as well and as easily conducted as ever; that in Barbadoes and Guiana, where the duration of compulsory labour was reduced one-fourth, the sugar crop was increased, in the former from 343,513 to 359,058 *cwts.*, and in the latter, from 874,347 to 1,032,342 *cwts.*, is a sufficient proof of the readiness of the blacks to work for a reasonable compensation. This fact however does not stand alone. Admiral Fleming, who spent a great portion of his life in the West India islands, in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, said, "All the free people are in very good condition in the island of Cuba. . . . I never heard any complaints of their want of industry. . . . I am of opinion that the West Indies could be cultivated by free labour; and I ground my opinion on what I have seen in Hayti, and in the Carraccas, particularly where all are free, and in the islands of Trinidad and Cuba, and upon the industry of the free negroes in the islands of the Bahamas. . . . I never saw a beggar in Hayti. . . . The most happy, the richest, the best fed, and most comfortable negroes that I saw in the West Indies, were in Hayti,

* Thome and Kimball, p. 161, *et seq.*

even better than in the Carraccas."* The decrease of the growth of sugar in Hayti, he attributed mainly to the destruction of the works and want of capital to re-establish them. According to Col. Flinter three fourths of the produce of Porto Rico are cultivated by free labour. The island has in round numbers about 400,000 inhabitants, of whom about 45,000 are slaves, about 127,000 free people of colour, and the residue whites. Of the slaves, not more than 30,000 men, women and children are engaged in agriculture, which gives an average of not more than 27 to each estate. The slaves however are principally upon the sugar estates, as he assigns to free labour only 80,000 quintals of sugar out 414,663, the produce of the island in 1832; whereas, of 250,000 quintals of coffee the crop of the same year, he estimates 205,000 to be the product of free labour. To the same source he assigns all the tobacco, 34,902 quintals; all the cotton, 9,627 quintals; all the cattle exported, amounting in value to 220,000 dollars. He further states that in the productive year 1823, Jamaica, with nearly nine times as many slaves, produced only three and a half times more sugar than Porto Rico; and the whole British West Indies, with fifteen and a half times as many slaves, produced only seven and a half times more sugar; showing how largely free labour in Porto Rico contributes to the production even of sugar. This island has increased wonderfully in agricultural prosperity, since the distribution of the crown lands to occupants who would agree to cultivate them. In 1810 the value of produce exported amounted only to 65,672 dollars; and in 1832 it exceeded three millions of dollars.†

* Prof. Hovey, p. 176.

† Flinter's account of Puerto Rico, ch. 9. We must refer to the work itself for further details. The author goes into a long calculation as to the expense of conducting a sugar plantation capable of raising 200 hogsheads of sugar by slave labour. He makes the profits about 3 1-2 per cent. Even this was probably much above the actual returns in the British islands; for with all their advantages from soil and climate, and from the discriminating duties in their favour in the mother country, the planters, as stated above, were oppressed with debt, and their property almost unsaleable. This result can only be attributed to the expensiveness of slave labour; which is liable, in a merely economical point of view, to the great objections of requiring a large investment of capital, and a costly array of managers, while it is necessarily less efficient and more wasteful than the labour of free men. We have already, under a previous head, adverted to this subject; and would refer to the numerous details given by Col. Flinter in proof that the productions of the West Indies can be more economically produced under the new system than under the old. If the experiment succeeds even partially during the first few years, there is every prospect of ultimate prosperity.

It may be well to conclude what we have to say on this head with the following extract, furnished by Prof. Hovey, from a work by Archdeacon Eliot, of Barbadoes. "The free blacks have, by their superior industry, driven the lower order of whites from almost every trade requiring skill and continued exertion. I believe not one in twenty of the working shoemakers in Barbadoes is a white man. The working carpenters, masons, tailors, smiths, &c., are for the most part men of colour; and this at a time when a large white population are in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness. In the application for casual charity the number of white persons soliciting relief is far greater than that of the free coloured. The free black and coloured inhabitants have always contributed, in their full proportion, to the parochial taxes, for the support of the poor whites; while their own poor receive no parochial relief, but are supported by private contributions among the more wealthy of their own class." This is just what might have been expected. In some parts of our country, the most degraded class of the population is the free blacks; in the West Indies it is the poor whites. The fact that the one or the other thrives, depends, therefore, far more upon their circumstances, than upon any peculiarity of natural disposition. Place the coloured man in a favourable situation, and he becomes industrious and prosperous; place the white man in disadvantageous circumstances, particularly in the midst of a labouring black population, and he sinks in the scale of civilization.

Thirdly, the chief advantage to the blacks of emancipation is, that it has greatly promoted their moral and intellectual improvement. This is not only in itself the greatest of all benefits, but it secures the attainment of all others. We can conceive of emancipation, under certain circumstances, having a contrary effect. Where the slaves are in a very low state of civilization, or where they are removed from external influences suited to elevate and improve them, the removal of the restraints of bondage might cause their relapse into barbarism. But where they have already attained some knowledge of the wants and manners of civilized life, and especially where they have access to the example and teaching of their superiors in knowledge and refinement, there is no ground to apprehend such a result. In point of fact, the opposite effect has been conspicuously the result in the West India islands, as far as can yet be ascertained. There has been an increase of the means of improvement, an increase

of disposition, on the part of the blacks, to avail themselves of these means, and a consequent increase in knowledge and morality. Formerly "the slave codes in all the colonies were exceedingly severe, not to say barbarous. In regard to the education of slaves, they were particularly pointed. They prohibited their marriage, and instruction of every kind, as well in religion as the rudiments of education."* These laws had been greatly softened down, and religious instruction was, in all the islands, to a greater or less extent, afforded to the slaves. Still the opposition on the part of the planters to such instruction was very great, especially of the less respectable portion of them, the attorneys, and overseers. This opposition was strongest in Jamaica; it was less in Barbadoes, and still less in Antigua. Emancipation has removed all these barriers, and thrown open this wide field to the benevolence and enterprise of British Christians. In all the islands of which we have any knowledge, the number of ministers, churches and schools is rapidly increasing. The Independents commenced their mission in Jamaica since emancipation, and have now seven missionaries. The Baptists added to their number of members, in the year 1836, three thousand three hundred and forty-four. Other denominations have increased, but not in the same proportion. In the several schools in Kingston the number of scholars in 1831 was 4088, in 1837, 8753.† We have given above all the information we could collect as to the present means of religious instruction, and of education enjoyed in the several islands, without being able to ascertain the precise amount of the increase since 1834; beyond such general statements as that "Since that event, additional churches and chapels have been built, at the expense and under the direction of the colonial governments: and the number of missionaries of different denominations has been greatly increased." The testimony is almost uniform as to the readiness of the negroes to avail themselves of all the means of improvement

* Prof. Hovey, p. 192. Col. Flinter says, "It is a very rare occurrence that free people of colour marry in the French colonies, and the slaves were not permitted to marry under any circumstances." p. 224. "In the Dutch colonies, the curate who should officiate at the marriage of a slave, would be fined 500 dollars, and be deprived of his curacy." p. 235.

† This increase of attention to the religious instruction has been going on for many years. According to a table furnished to Prof. Hovey by the Bishop of Barbadoes, there were in 1812 in his diocese (including seventeen islands) 37 ministers and 2 schools connected with the established church; in 1834, 81 ministers and 405 schools.

afforded them.* Under these circumstances, as might be expected, they are already advancing in intelligence and morals. The governor of Antigua stated, that "He had been well acquainted with the country districts of England, and had also travelled extensively in Europe, yet he had never found such a peaceable, orderly, and law-abiding people as those of Antigua." Thome, p. 37. The Rev. Mr. Jones, the rector of St. Phillips, said, "There had been a manifest improvement in the manners and morals of the children, since education had become general among them. With regard to marriage there had been a complete revolution in the habits of the people." p. 57. In the report for 1836 of the Antigua Branch of the Society for Promoting the Christian Faith in the West Indies, it is stated that "Regular marriages having become quite common among the labouring classes in Antigua, it is no longer necessary to notice their numerical increase as an indication of moral improvement, any farther than to state that their number has been considerably increased since the emancipation, and that now all marriages are solemnized according to law. The number of marriages in the six parishes of the island, in the year 1835, the first entire year of freedom, was 476; all of which, excepting about fifty, were between persons formerly slaves. The total number of marriages between slaves solemnized in the church during the nine years ending Dec. 31, 1833, was 157; in 1833, the last entire year of slavery, it was 61." p. 98. And this was in Antigua, the best instructed and most improved of all the British islands. What then must have been the state of things in Jamaica! This discountenancing of marriage among the slaves is the most indelible blot on the character

* All parties are becoming more alive to the importance of this subject. The British Government have promised to contribute towards defraying the increased expenses of education and religious instruction. For education they have already made several grants; that for 1835 was £20,000. Dr. Nugent, of Antigua, when asked whether any evils had resulted from giving religious instruction, answered, "None at all; but on the contrary the greatest possible benefits. It has been the great instrument of preparing the slaves for freedom." Sir Lionel Smith, in his address to the Jamaica Assembly, said, "Gentlemen, we have hardly four years more to watch over the experiment of apprenticeship—give every facility you can to the missionaries' labours. Banish from your mind the idea that they are your enemies. I will answer with my head for their loyalty and fidelity. Encourage their peaceable settlement among your people—let every four or five estates combine for the erection of chapel schools; and knowing, as you well do, the attachment of the negro to the place of his birth, and the burial place of his parents, you may, as I sincerely believe, by these means, finally locate on your estates a contented peasantry."

of the West India planters. It was the shortest and surest way of debasing the labouring population. Without marriage, there can be no family ties, no home, no purity of morals, no motives to improvement. There is, therefore, no one fact half so significant of the elevation of the blacks as the rapid increase of marriages among them. On this subject the testimony is abundant. Mr. Jones, the superintendent of police in Barbadoes, said, "That marriages had greatly increased since abolition. . . There had, he believed, been more marriages within the last three years among the negro population, than have occurred before since the settlement of the island." p. 278. Mr. Harris stated in reference to the same island, "Marriage is rapidly spreading among the apprentices, and the general morals of the community, high and low, white, coloured, and black, were rapidly improving." p. 296. Mr. Anderson, Solicitor General for Jamaica, said in reference to the negroes, "Formerly marriage was unknown among them; they were in fact only regarded by their masters, and I fear by themselves too, as so many brutes for labour, and for increase. Now they seek the benefits of the social institution of marriage and its train of hallowed relationships." p. 468. As a necessary consequence of this change, "the family relations are becoming more sacred; the state of concubinage is considered disreputable; mothers are more fond of their children; and it is believed, that the number of births is greater, and the number of deaths among children considerably less, than it was during slavery."*

The number of societies among the people in Antigua for religious and benevolent purposes, shows a high degree of improvement, and their increased prosperity since emancipation proves the beneficial influence of that event. There are, for example, nearly fifty branch associations among the negroes connected with the Bible Society; there are missionary associations, temperance societies, friendly societies, dis-

* Prof. Hovey, p. 108. With regard to concubinage, the uniform testimony is, that it is greatly on the decline. The governor of Antigua said, "The great crime of this island, as indeed of all the West India colonies, has been licentiousness, but we are certainly fast improving in this particular." An aged Christian stated to Mr. Thome, that he thought "there was not one-third as much concubinage as formerly. This he said was owing mainly to the greater frequency of marriage, &c." A planter long in the island said, "now mothers hold their daughters up for marriage" instead of encouraging their forming temporary connections with white men. A public man remarked that the next generation of coloured people would be fit associates for the whites "because they would be chiefly born in wedlock." Thome and Kimball, p. 99, 101.

tressed female societies. Some of these have been formed, and all have extended their operations since emancipation.

Contrary to all expectation the commission of crimes has not increased since emancipation, but on the contrary, declined. The number of offences appearing on the police reports has indeed in some instances increased, but this is satisfactorily accounted for, by the consideration that a multitude of misdemeanors formerly punished on the spot by the master, are now brought under notice of the magistrate. "The greater part of the offences committed by the apprentices are of a trivial character, such as petty thefts, indolence, tardiness at work, carelessness and insolent language to their employers." In the House of Correction for the parish of Kingston, containing about 30,000 souls, there were, May 10, 1834, seventy-three apprentices in confinement, and May 10, 1837, fifty; at least eleven-twelfths of whom were committed for such offences as those just specified.* The superintendent of police in Antigua said, "To judge of the past and present state of society throughout the island, I presume that the lives and properties of all classes are as secure in this, as in any other portion of his majesty's dominions."† Mr. H. a planter of thirty six years standing in Barbadoes, said "He was confident that there was less crime in the island. He was ready to say both as a planter and a magistrate, that vice and crime generally had decreased, and were still on the decrease. The principal offences are petty thefts. He has not had occasion to send a single apprentice to the court of sessions for the last six months." p. 240. The Solicitor General said, "It was his opinion, that there were fewer petty offences, such as thefts, larcenies, &c. than during slavery. As for serious crime, it was hardly known in the island." p. 263. Major Colthurst stated that, "what is usually denominated crime in the old countries, is by no means frequent among the blacks and coloured persons. It is amazing how few material breaches of the law occur in so extraordinary a community." Capt. Hamilton, another magistrate, says the same thing. Mr. Lyon, a special justice in Jamaica, said, "In no community in the word is crime less prevalent. At the quarter sessions, in January last, for the precinct of St. Thomas in the East, and St. David, which contains an apprentice population of about thirty thousand there was only one apprentice tried." p. 466. Such testimonies might be multiplied; but it is not necessary.

* Prof. Hovey, p. 100, 145. † Thome and Kimball, p. 181.

We have thus attempted to gather from the works before us, and from other sources, a brief, but comprehensive view of the results of the great experiment of West India emancipation. We think the review must fill every reader with astonishment, and swell every bosom with gratitude. The result has disappointed both advocates and opposers of the measure. The former looked forward to the trial with anxiety; the latter with the full persuasion of ruin.* This ruin has not come. The change was effected without disorder. The prosperity of the islands has not been seriously diminished, even for the present; while the future opens before them with every thing to inspire confidence. That in some cases there will be a period of depression is to be expected; but the ultimate results can hardly be other than benign. Those beautiful islands now raise their verdant plains and lofty mountains, covered with a free population in the infancy of civilization and of Christian knowledge. They are not to be left to themselves; they possess the models of refinement, and the teachers of religion, to stimulate and guide their efforts; and we look forward with cheerful confidence to their yearly progress in intelligence, prosperity, and virtue.

* "We *know*," said the West India proprietors, "and we are ready to prove what we assert in the face of our country, our well grounded conviction, that the speedy annihilation of slavery would be attended with the devastation of the West India colonies, with loss of life and property to the white inhabitants, with inevitable distress and misery to the black population; and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of this empire." Prof. Hovey, p. 169.