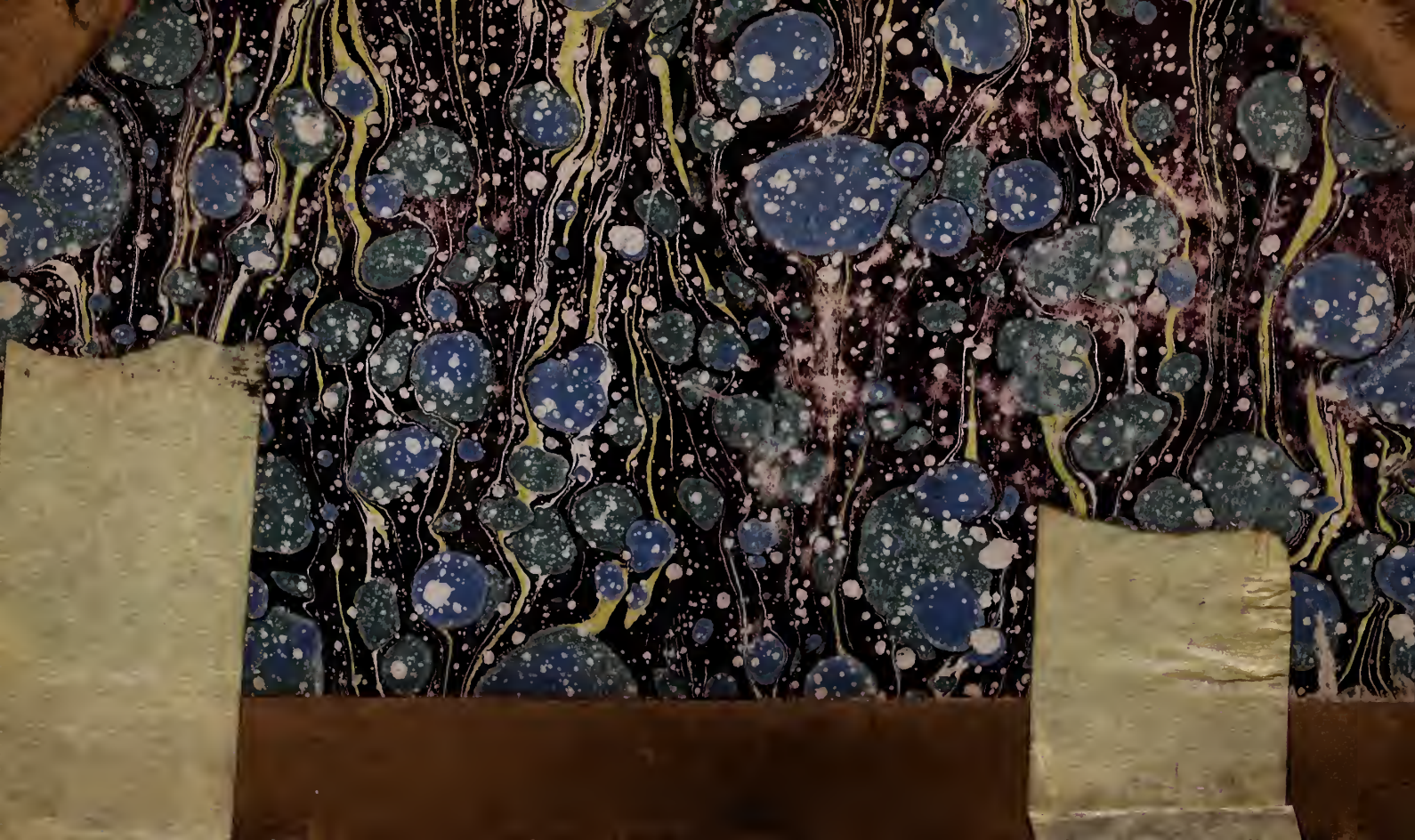

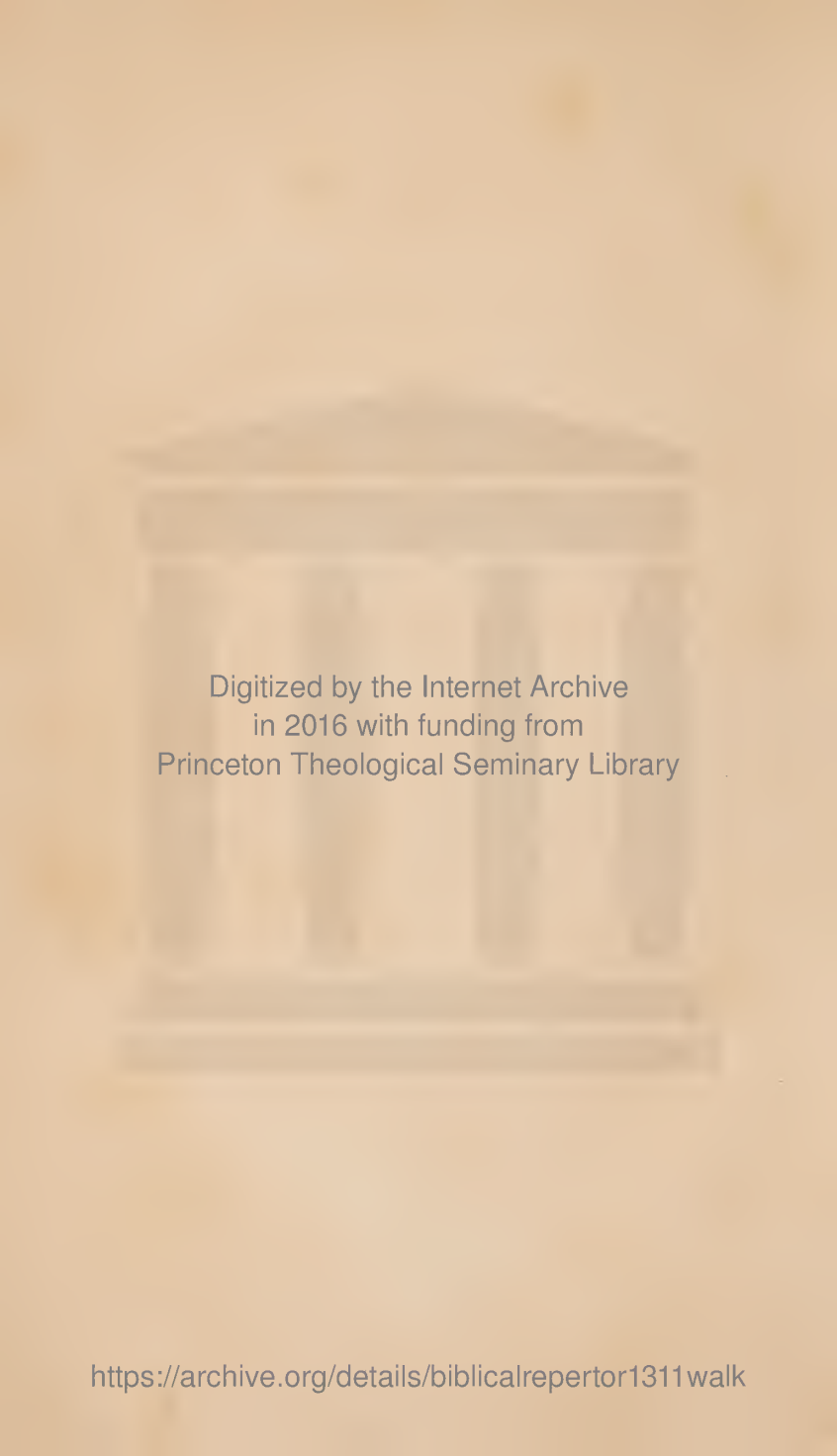

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# CONTENTS OF VOL. XIII.

## NO. I.



## NO. II.

## NO. III.

## NO. IV.

THE

# PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY 1841.

No. I.

ART. I.—*The Origin of the Episcopate in the Christian Church.* By Dr. F. C. Baur. Tubingen, 1838. pp. 187, 8vo.*

J. Addison Alexander

THE Presbyterian and Episcopalian are agreed in this, that the affairs of the primitive church were administered by Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; that Bishops were ministers or preachers of the gospel, of the highest rank; and that they possessed the power of ordination and of discipline. So far as these points are concerned, nothing is gained, on either side, by proving from the Scriptures or the Apostolic Fathers, that there were three orders of church-officers, and that the Bishop took precedence of the others. This is admitted and contended for, on both sides. If Clement or Ignatius says that nothing can be orderly performed without the Bishop, or insists upon his title to obedience and respect, this is nothing more than modern Presbyterians profess to teach and practice. The point, at which the parties really

* Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopats in der Christlichen Kirche. Prüfung der neuestens von Hrn. Dr. Rothe aufgestellten Ansicht. Von Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, ordentlichem Professor der Evangelischen Theologie an der Universität zu Tübingen.

diverge from one another, is the question, whether Presbyters and Deacons were, as such, gospel-ministers, as well as the Bishop; and whether the Bishop must, of course, have jurisdiction over more than one society or parish. The Presbyterian maintains that, while the Bishop, in some cases, may have governed a plurality of churches, he was commonly confined to one. The Episcopalian alleges that the Bishop, from the very nature of his office, was, in every case, the pastor of more flocks than one; nay, more than this, he was in every case an Upper Shepherd, having other shepherds under him, viz. the Presbyters. But these, according to the Presbyterian hypothesis, although they may have preached, and their so doing was by no means inconsistent with their office, yet it was not their essential and distinctive function. From these points of difference results another, viz. that while the Episcopalian supposes that the system of church-government could only be developed in a diocese, the Presbyterian maintains that it existed, in its full perfection, in a single church. Strictly speaking, both these systems are episcopal. They both acknowledge bishops as a necessary part, and as the most essential part, of the church-organization; but they differ as to the extent of jurisdiction, not which might be, but which must be, attached to this high office. One believes that an apostolic Bishop might be, and usually was, the ruler of a single church: the other, that he always was, and, from the nature of his office, must be over more than one. Hence the two systems may, with strict propriety, be designated as the systems of Parochial and Diocesan Episcopacy.

We have gone into this statement of the questions at issue, not for the purpose of discussing them at all, but with a view to show our readers the advantage, which the prelatist enjoys, from the mere *usus loquendi* of both churches. Both contend for the necessity of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in order to a perfect church-organization. Both provide for the existence of these three essential orders, and the prelatist retains the three original and proper titles; while the presbyterian retains but two, and in the place of the third and most important, has adopted the term Pastor. This is indeed a scriptural title, and is used by us in its proper application. But it never occurs in any enumeration of actual church-officers, or where they are directly and officially addressed. The term is rather poetical than technical. It certainly denotes a very intimate relation by a very plea-

sing figure. But it is not the original official title of the principal office-bearer in the church of Christ. The Church of Scotland substitutes for Bishop the generic title Minister. But both these substitutes have this effect in common, that they exclude the scriptural and proper name, as well from popular, as from official use. The consequence, of course, is, that the great majority of people think that we reject the office altogether; and as its apostolic authority is clear, we incur the undeserved reproach of sacrilegious mutilation. And this effect is aggravated by the great and culpable neglect of such inquiries by unlearned Christians. In a church or country where the common people are instructed in the history and constitution of the Christian church, the practical effect of this departure from the usage of antiquity and scripture may be comparatively unimportant. But with us, it has resulted in a practical belief, that the office of a Bishop does not exist among us, and that to assume the name is a mere childish imitation of our neighbours. We have seen this feeling manifested, even by our clergy, and have heard it stated in a numerous and venerable synod of our church, as a reason for not using the term Bishop in their minutes, that the Episcopalians laughed at it. So they do, no doubt. It is their interest to laugh it down, and thus compel us to plead guilty, in appearance, to the charge of having nullified an office, which the scriptures most distinctly recognize. And this effect is the more mortifying because they have themselves confessedly departed from the scriptural meaning of the title Bishop, which, according to their most approved and recent theories, has in scripture precisely the same meaning which it has in our Presbyterian standards. They admit that the primitive Bishop was what we call a Pastor, but allege that the name was afterwards given to a superior rank of ministers succeeding the Apostles. Now it certainly is very hard that we, whose standards give the title its original and aposolic meaning, as confessed on both sides, should be charged with having given name and thing up altogether. We have less right to complain, however, since the imputation has arisen from our own imprudent and unscriptural rejection of the title, while we kept the office. It is not a little curious, that we and our Episcopal opponents are both guilty of departing from the scriptures in relation to this matter. We have dropped the title of Bishop: they have kept it, but transferred it to another office, and, as we think, to an office of their own invention.

It is only fair to add, that they accuse us of the same thing, with regard to Presbyters, viz. that we retain the name but give it to an office not established in the scriptures. In justice to ourselves, too, let it be remembered that the deviation from the scriptures and from the apostolic usage, in relation to the title Bishop, has only taken place in common parlance and the ordinary forms of doing business. In our constitution and confession, and in certain forms which they prescribe, for instance, the commissioning of members to the General Assembly, the original title has been carefully retained. Its popular disuse has been entirely owing to the example of the European churches, from which the Presbyterians of America derive their origin. And their disuse of it can only be explained by a recurrence to the circumstances under which their reformation was effected, and themselves re-organized.

The Church of Rome was universally established in the west of Europe. A large part of its corruptions had arisen from the temporal possessions and the secular dominion of its prelates. The title of Bishop had for ages lost its purely spiritual meaning. It denoted a mixed office, half religious and half secular. The Bishop was not only an ecclesiastical but also a political and civil functionary. The Bishop of Rome, who was acknowledged as the head of the church on earth, held a place, and that a high one, among European Sovereigns. The persecutions and oppressions, which men suffered for the sake of their opinions, were conducted in the name of Bishops, and by their authority. Hence it naturally followed, that the office, as it then existed, and its very name, became associated in the minds of all who hated the corruptions of the church, and sought to be delivered from them, with the worst of these corruptions. The popular meaning of the title was so fixed, that any other use of it would have been unintelligible. If at any time the question was presented to the minds of the Reformers whether they were to have Bishops, they could scarcely fail to understand the term in its conventional import, and to answer in the negative. We find accordingly, that, in the German churches, where a higher class of clergymen was still retained, with powers of inspection and control, the ancient name of Bishop was discarded, and a new one, that of Superintendent, substituted for it. This proceeding, it is true, may have arisen, in some cases, or in some degree, from the conviction, that as Bishop was the proper title of a parish minister, it should

not be transferred to an extraordinary office, which the German Reformers never looked upon as primitive or indispensable, but merely as expedient in the actual condition of their own affairs. This would have amply justified their choosing to employ another title for the officers in question, and to limit that of Bishop to its apostolic import. But as this was never done, it seems altogether probable, that the rejection of the title Bishop was occasioned by its having gained a new signification, and become associated, in the minds of most men, with the corruptions of the church of Rome. Had it been retained in the popular usage of the Reformed Churches, it would either have appeared unmeaning and absurd, or have suggested the idea of a disposition to retain the arbitrary and corrupting powers of the Popish prelates. The result of these considerations was, that while the primitive character of Bishops was explicitly asserted in the standards of all Protestant communions which were organized on Presbyterian principles, the popular usage of the word itself was wholly discontinued.

The causes, which thus operated generally, took effect especially in Scotland. As the union of the church and state continued after the religious changes, Bishops were still an important part of the civil constitution. Their seats in Parliament, and their official revenues, could not be hastily disposed of; and a large part of the troubles which distracted Scotland afterwards arose from the agitation of these very subjects. Hence the name, and office, and authority, of Bishops, were for many generations an exhaustless topic of political discussion, even after the spiritual powers of the prelacy had long since ceased. Some idea of the popular associations with the title may be gathered from the story, told by one of the old church historians, of a zealous Presbyterian, who almost or altogether fainted upon seeing, for the first time, "one of thae beasts," as he called them, that is, one of Charles's bishops. Now, in this state of the public mind—and all our readers well know that the Scottish reformation was effected by the people—the use of the name Bishop, in familiar application to the parish minister, would have been like the retention of the title King, after the Tarquins were expelled from Rome.* But whatever may be thought

* There was, in fact, a very strong analogy between the cases. As in Rome, the useful and responsible magistrate was subject to a useless and injurious lord paramount, until the latter was removed by the indignation of the people, no longer able to endure oppression, and the power of the government

of these considerations, as excusing the course actually taken by the Presbyterian Protestants of Europe, after the reformation, it is not to be denied that evil has resulted from that course in later times. It has put a false and unfair face upon the controversy. It has not only taken from us the advantage which our principles afford us, but transferred it to our adversaries. When the unlearned Christian reads of Bishops in the Bible, he is naturally led to ask who has them now, and his conclusion from appearances is no less natural, viz. that others have them, and that we have not. And yet our constitution has not only recognized the office, but asserted its primitive, apostolic character.

The inconveniences resulting from this practice may be clearly seen by supposing that another course had been pursued. If the Reformed Churches had retained, not only the office, but the name, or rather if they had retained the name, not only in their constitutions and official records, but in common usage; and above all, if the term had been commonly applied to every pastor, as his most familiar title, just as it is applied by Papists and Episcopalians to their prelates, what would the results have been? We think it would have been a great and just advantage on the part of Presbyterians in the controversy with Episcopalians. The hasty and the half-informed inquirer would not then have thrown into the scale of prelacy, without discrimination, all those passages of scripture in which Bishops are mentioned. He would not have taken it for granted that all Presbyterian churches have rejected an office which is clearly recognized in scripture, as essential to the full organization of a Christian church. And when he came to weigh the arguments on either side, he would have seen that the question really at issue had reference not to the existence, but the nature and extent of the Episcopal office. In addition to this good effect upon indifferent spectators, Presbyterians themselves would have enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that the nomenclature of their office-bearers was precisely that of the apostolic churches, and that they had not, as is now the case, exchanged the technical distinctive designation of the gospel minister, for one which is only used in scripture incidentally, and rather as a metaphor than an official title.

If all this would have followed from a difference of usage,

was lodged in those hands which had always wielded it, when wielded to a right was beneficial end, so was it in the church, at the time of the reformation.

in relation to this title, it is an obvious and interesting question, why the change might not be now made in all Presbyterian churches, or at least in ours, as an example to the rest; the rather, as it would require no alteration in our constitution, but a mere acting out of its provisions in our forms of doing business, and in common parlance. In answer to this reasonable question, we shall try to state what we believe would be advanced as objections to the change proposed, if made a subject of discussion in church courts. The first objection would be that the thing is new, that we are now accustomed to the other form of speech, and that the change would be a useless innovation. To this we answer, that it would not be new long; that to the next generation it would seem as old as the existing plan is now to us; that it is no more an innovation than the return to primitive simplicity in more important matters; and that even if it were an innovation, it is not a useless one, as we have seen. The next objection would be that by making such a change, we should abandon, and thereby condemn those pure reformed churches from which ours and other Presbyterian bodies in America have sprung. But let it be observed that the departure would be only from their forms of business and colloquial usage, not from the provisions of their constitution. Are we apostates from the principles and doctrines of the Scottish reformation, because we do not talk of putting men upon the *leet*, or of *compearing* at the bar, or of *taking instruments* and *craving extracts?* The worst that could be charged upon us, in the case supposed, is that we are more consistent than our mother church in executing the provisions of our common standards. This remark admits of a familiar illustration. In the church of Scotland, we believe, the office of a Deacon exists only in connexion with that of Ruling Elder; but its constitution recognizes Deacons as a separate order. Such has also, for the most part, been the case among ourselves; but our last Assembly passed an act enjoining upon all the churches to provide for the separate existence of both offices, by choosing men who are not Elders, to be Deacons. Now, suppose this injunction to be universally obeyed, would any one accuse our church of wanton innovation, or of departing from the principles and usage of the best Reformed Churches? No; the worst that can be said of us, is this, that what the Scottish Church professes only, we profess and practice. And this would be no less true in the case of

Bishops; for, in either case, we should be actually doing what our constitution tells us should be done. A blind adherence to the practice of the mother church, in opposition to its standards and our own, would be absurd in any case; but its absurdity is greatly aggravated by the fact, that the reasons which induced the inconsistency in one case, have no operation or existence in the other. Among us, the word Bishop is a title purely spiritual, without political associations or a civil import. Neither public nor private inconvenience could result from its familiar application to the officers whose right it is, according to our standards. But, although the same objection which existed to its use among our European fathers cannot possibly exist among ourselves, there is another, wholly different in kind, which, we are much afraid, will operate on some minds to the same effect. It is the one already hinted at, viz. that the Episcopalians laugh at the assumption of the title Bishop, on the part of Presbyterians, as a childish imitation of their apostolic selves. We should not recur to this objection, had we not been thoroughly convinced, by observation, of its influence on many men who ought to know better. The only way in which we can encounter it is by the supposition of an analogous case, in reference to which our minds are wholly free from prejudice. Let us suppose, then, that the Scottish reformers, on account of the corruptions which had crept into the prayers of the church, and the evils which, as they believed, are incident to forms of prayer, however pure, had retained the word *prayer* in their catechisms and confession, but exchanged it, in ordinary use, for *supplications*, or some other substitute. The consequence might then have been that *prayer* would come, in course of time, to signify, in common use, liturgical or read prayer, as distinguished from extempore or free prayer, and that those who had imprudently discarded the word *prayer* would be considered by the ignorant and unobservant as neglecting an essential part of Christian worship. Now, in such a state of things, it would become the duty of the persons thus misrepresented and misunderstood, to vindicate themselves from so unfounded a reproach, by the resumption of the term which they had rashly laid aside. But we have no doubt that as soon as such a step was taken, or attempted, the worshippers of forms and rubrics would discover something eminently ludicrous in Presbyterians pretending to have prayers, to pray without a book! And

might there not be some Presbyterians who would stand in awe of this derision, and assert that to call supplications *prayers* was a miserable aping of Episcopal formalities? And what if this notable objection should suffice to knock the whole thing in the head, and to perpetuate the culpable departure from the simple phraseology of scripture? The supposed case is so clear, and so remote from all our party prepossessions, that we need not say a word to show how great an advantage would be lost, in the first instance, by the disuse of a simple scriptural expression, and how utterly absurd it would be to oppose its resuscitation on the ground that those who took advantage of its long disuse would laugh at its resumption. It is easy to perceive that, if the change were but persisted in until the force of habit and association could in some degree be broken, the laugh would very soon be on the other side. Now, we beg the reader just to substitute *bishop* for *prayer*, and *pastor* for *supplication*, and then ask himself in what respect the same conclusion does not hold good in both cases. What is there more absurd in the resumption of the title Bishop, in the one case, than there would be in that of the word Prayer in the other? For our own part, we are just as willing to be laughed at for applying the word Bishop to the very office which Paul used it to denote, as we are to be laughed at for worshipping God in the very way that Paul did. And we think that such analogies as that just stated would go far to satisfy most thinking men, that the argument derived from the laughter of opponents would be equally conclusive against any similar return to scriptural and apostolic usage.

Having now seen the disadvantages resulting from the prevalent usage, and the insufficiency of the objections which would probably be urged against its abrogation, we are met by the practical inquiry, what would be advisable in order to effect the change? In answer to this question, we suggest two measures, both of which are necessary to complete success. The first is, the adoption, by all judicatories, of the constitutional apostolic nomenclature, in their minutes and official acts. The example has been set for some years by the General Assembly in their printed minutes. Let it now be followed by the courts below. But even if this suggestion should be universally complied with, it would still be insufficient. The desired advantage can only be secured by combining popular and official action.

While the church courts do their part, let the people do their own. Let the Presbyterian laity at once assert the apostolic character of Presbyterian ministers, by giving them the title which the scriptures give them; and let this be done, not only upon public occasions, but in private conversation. If we are asked what would be the effect of these changes, and particularly that of the colloquial one, we venture to predict that it would be as follows. The change would at first make a great sensation, and excite some ridicule, the latter chiefly among Presbyterians. Episcopalians might affect to laugh, but they would see the alteration, unimportant as it might appear to others, to be big with danger to their own pretensions. Presbyterians themselves, would soon recover from their *mauvaise honte,* re-assured by the discovery, that, after the first novelty had passed away, the public could see nothing more absurd in Bishop Spring and Bishop Sprague, than in Bishop Onderdonk and Bishop De Lancey. The unfair advantage, arising from difference of title, being done away, comparisons, if made at all, would be made between the men themselves, and not to the disadvantage, we are sure, of our apostolical episcopate. In process of time, the ears of men would be accustomed to the change proposed, and the next generation, in comparing arguments and proofs upon the subject of the primitive church government, would have it in their power so to do, unbiassed by the exclusive use of an important title upon one side only, and its practical, though not its theoretical renunciation on the other.

We have used the ordinary license of reviewers, in employing Dr. Baur's book as a mere occasion for expressing our own views upon a practical question of some moment, which we wished to bring before our readers, unconnected with the general discussion of the subject. As it may, however, be a matter of some interest to know in what light the Episcopal controversy has been viewed in Germany, it is our purpose, in another article, to give the reader some account of the opinions held by Dr. Rothe, in the work to which the one before us is an answer, and of the arguments by which their several conclusions are supported.

Art. II.—*Gildas Salvianus; or, The Reformed Pastor.* By Richard Baxter. Abridged for the Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1839.

By Archibald Alexander

If any minister of modern times had a right to admonish pastors, and to prescribe to them rules to be followed in the management of their flocks, that man was Richard Baxter. For he exemplified in his own conduct every thing to which he exhorted others; and his success was equal to his fidelity and diligence. The fruits of his labours at Kidderminster were very remarkable, and they were permanent; for the change produced by his ministry in the religious and moral condition of that town are not entirely worn out to this day. And we are happy in having his own account of the means used, which were attended with such signal success. "Every Thursday evening, such of his neighbours as were desirous of it, met at his house for conversation and religious exercises; each one having liberty to propose his doubts, or to ask any questions. To those he gave suitable answers; and before they separated, it was his custom to call, first upon one and then another, to lead in prayer, besides praying with them himself. This, with the singing of a psalm, was all that was done. On another evening, some younger persons met and spent two or three hours in prayer. On every Saturday evening, it was customary to meet at each other's houses, to repeat the sermon of the preceding sabbath, and to prepare for the duties of the next day. Once in a few weeks they had, on one occasion or another, a day of humiliation and prayer. Every religious woman who escaped the dangers of child-birth, kept, with a select company of her neighbours, a day of thanksgiving for God's mercy in her safe deliverance. Every week, he and his assistant took fourteen families each, for catechising and conference; the assistant going into the country, and Mr. Baxter attending to such as were in the town. He first heard them recite the words of the catechism, and then examined them about the sense; and lastly, urged upon them the state of mind and practice which corresponded with the truths recited. He was careful not to press them hard, when through ignorance they were unable to answer, but passed them by, and said something by way of exhortation. He spent about an hour with each family, and permitted no other persons to

be present, lest through bashfulness any should be embarrassed and prevented from answering freely; or lest one should be lead to speak of the ignorance and mistakes of his neighbours. Every Monday and Tuesday afternoon was spent in these family visitations; and the mornings of the same days were spent by his assistant in the same exercises.

"Every first Wednesday in the month, a meeting was held for parish discipline; and every first Thursday of the month was the ministers' meeting for discipline and disputation. His public preaching met with an attentive, diligent auditory. Before he entered the ministry, God blessed his private conversation to the conversion of some who continued to be exemplary Christians. These, in the beginning of his ministry, he was wont to number as his jewels; yet, after a while, they so increased that he could not keep count. His church was commonly very full, and the hearers so increased, that it was found necessary to erect several additional galleries, for the accommodation of the people. On the Lord's day, there was no disturbance to be seen in the streets; and, as one passed along, he might hear a hundred families singing psalms, or engaged in repeating sermons. When he first came to Kidderminster, there might perhaps be found one family in a whole street who worshipped God. When he left the place, there were some whole streets in which there could not be found a single house in which the worship of God was not maintained. Even in those houses which were the worst, such as taverns and ale-houses, there were commonly found one or more who feared God and called upon his name. Such as conducted themselves scandalously were excommunicated; and of six hundred communicants, there were not twelve of whose piety he did not entertain a good hope.

"Some of the poor men of the congregation competently understood the body of divinity, and were able to judge in difficult controversies; and some of them were so able in prayer, that very few ministers were equal to them in order and fulness. Abundance of them were able to pray in a very proper manner with their families or others, possessing a remarkable gift and lively utterance, which rendered it edifying to hear them, and the innocency of their lives, and the temper of their minds, were such as to call forth the praises of all who regarded the truth. The professors of religion were generally of humble mind and carriage, of meek and quiet behaviour to others, and of blameless conversation."

The account which he gives of the means made use of to produce such a blessed state of things, are also worthy the attention of every pastor. The people among whom he was settled had not been previously hardened under the preaching of the gospel. They had never before enjoyed an awakening ministry; but only a few formal, cold sermons. Baxter himself was in his vigour, and full of ardour and animation. His voice too was naturally penetrating and moving, which with common hearers is a great matter. He preached also with the feelings of a dying man; for, on account of his bodily infirmities, he had the prospect of death continually before him; for his impression at this time was, that a year or two would terminate his earthly labours.

But the circumstance which seemed to gain him the most ready access to the hearts and consciences of his people was, the impression made on their minds that he sincerely sought their good. If the people had entertained the least suspicion of the purity and benevolence of his motives; if they had supposed that he was erroneous, scandalous, or covetous, the effect of his ministry would have been small. "A bishop must have a good report from those that are without." He was also greatly aided by the prayers and efforts of the godly in the place. They thirsted after the salvation of their neighbours, and being dispersed all over the town, they were every where ready to discountenance vice and error, to justify piety, and to convince, reprove, and exhort men, as occasion offered, and as there was need. They also inculcated the duty of prayer, and the sanctification of the Lord's day. And it was a custom for those who were intelligent and serious, when they had a meeting at their houses, to repeat sermons, &c. They invited their ignorant neighbours to attend, so that often the houses of the better sort of people, on such occasions, would be crowded with poor people. Their holy, humble, and exemplary lives were of the greatest advantage to the success of his ministry. Nothing so convinces men of the truth and reality of vital religion as the living example and meek and humble spirit of its professors; while, on the other hand, there is no greater obstruction to the gospel than the inconsistent lives and unsavoury spirit of many who are in the communion of the church. The unity and concord which were preserved among the pious were also of great benefit. The place was also, in a good degree, exempt from those sects and heresies which abounded at this time in most places of the land.

"Private meetings were found to be an effectual help to piety in the place, for by this means the truths that had slipped away were recalled, and serious impressions which were in danger of being worn away were renewed, and good desires cherished. These meetings were found also greatly to increase the knowledge of the people; and by the continual exercise of the gift of prayer, many improved in their gifts, and the younger learned to pray, by hearing those that were older. They furnished the preacher also with an opportunity of knowing the persons who were beginning to be serious; for, if any one was wounded by the arrows of truth, in the public dispensation of the word, he would be sure to drop into these meetings. By the means of these also, idle meetings, and the loss of time, were prevented; and so far were these religious meetings from producing schism, that they were the chief means of preventing any thing of the kind; for the pastor was commonly there in the midst of them; solving their doubts, silencing their objections, and moderating them in all things.

"It gave him also no small advantage, that being a single man, and spending little on himself, he was able to distribute the larger part of his income among the poor. And when he found any of their children possessing promising talents, he would, by means of his own funds and the aid of his friends, send them to be educated at the university. Several of these became useful preachers, and with their brethren were ejected by the act of uniformity; while others conformed and remained in the ministry. In giving charitable relief to the indigent, he never made it a question whether they were good or bad; for he thought the bad had souls and bodies which needed charity most. And he left this encouraging and important fact on record, "*That what little funds he ever acquired were obtained when he gave most away,*" *and that when he has been able to give little his increase has also been diminished.*

He also promoted the good work, by giving away good books. Most of these he wrote himself; and of some small books which he published, he gave every family one, which amounted to near eight hundred.

It was a saying of Baxter, verified in the experience of many pastors, "That freeholders and tradesmen are the strength of religion, and of the community, while gentlemen, and beggars, and servile tenants, are the strength of iniquity."

"Another great help to his success was the practice already mentioned, of dealing with every family apart, catechising and instructing them. That which was spoken to them personally, seemed to awaken their attention much more than the same truths heard from the pulpit,

"The faithful exercise of church disipline also, was no small furtherance of the people's good; for Baxter found, that without discipline he never could have kept the religious part of the church from divisions and separations. Pious people have, from their very character, an inclination to separate from the irreligious and profane; and if they had not seen a disposition to separate such from the communion, they would have been disposed to withdraw from the society. Many abstained from coming to the Lord's table for fear of discipline, for out of sixteen hundred of proper age to come to the Lord's table, there were no more than six hundred communicants. It was the custom, however, for all to come that would, so that their exclusion was their own act; and as to the posture in partaking of the ordinance, every one acted according to his own judgment. He baptized the children of all sorts, but he required the parents to give him, privately or publicly, an account of their faith, and if any father was a scandalous sinner, he made him confess his sin openly, before he would baptize his child. If the father refused, the administration of the ordinance was postponed until the mother brought the child; for he says, he rarely found both father and mother so destitute of knowledge and faith, as in a *church-sense* to be incapable of receiving this ordinance for their children.

"Another thing which facilitated his success as a pastor, was the manner in which he brought forth the truth in his preaching. He adapted his sermons to the peculiar circumstances of the flock. The subject of his preaching was the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, which were so frequently exhibited that they became familiar to the thoughts of the people. But to keep his hearers humble, and to prevent vain self-sufficiency, he was accustomed to put something in every sermon, which they did not know before. By this means they were kept in a learning state, and their thirst for knowledge was both excited and gratified. For he thought, if preachers tell their people but what they know already, they will be tempted to turn preachers themselves, and suppose that they have learned all the minister can teach them, and have become as wise as he is. Minis-

ters will be despised if they do not possess knowledge superior to that of their people, but if he communicates to them things which they did not know before, by a daily addition to their former knowledge, they will be led on with desire and delight. He never thought it expedient to take up their time with unprofitable controversies, which could not produce edification; nor did he affect novelties in doctrine, contrary to the received opinions of the universal church; but such things as tended to illustrate the great doctrines of the gospel.

"One important circumstance connected with the success of this eminent pastor was, THAT HE KEPT HIMSELF FREE FROM ALL WORLDLY ENTANGLEMENTS, so that his whole time was devoted to his ministry, except what was taken up by sickness. Personally he had nothing to do with the tithes of the parish; every thing of this kind he committed into the hands of others; and he directed that where his parishioners were poor, the debt should not be exacted, but entirely remitted."*

The preceding account of Baxter's labours is taken from the History of his own Life and Times, written by himself; and it contains the best practical commentary which can be given of his "Reformed Pastor." And a better model can scarcely be found for the imitation of the clergy of all denominations in our day. It is true, that Baxter was a man of great abilities and extensive learning; but these qualifications do not appear to have been those which contributed most to his success. His fervent zeal, his tender compassion for souls, his manifest sincerity, his wise selection of appropriate means, and his indefatigable diligence, were the true reasons of his success. And can it be shown, that any minister ever possessed these qualifications of an evangelical pastor, and yet laboured without effect? Why may not that which was done by Baxter be done by every pastor? Perhaps few can preach so well as he did; but if the hearts of ministers were now as much in their work as was his, their preaching would be with power, and a blessing would attend it. And if they would "watch for souls as they that must give account," they would find work enough to occupy their hearts and their hands. Entire devotedness to the duties of their office seems essential to an efficient ministry. Their worldly pursuits and avocations may be in themselves very innocent; but it is enough to condemn them that they are *avo-*

* See Baxter's Life abridged for the Board of Publication.

*cations* which call them away from their proper work. When it was recently announced by a clergyman from the other side of the world, that the missionaries of a certain society had been deeply engaged in land speculations, how did it shock all our best moral feelings? And if it should be told that any of our American missionaries had so managed their small salaries that by judicious speculation they had become rich, and were living in splendour, what should we think? How should we feel? But who will undertake to prove, that pastors at home are not bound to be as dead to the world, and as much devoted to their work, as any missionary? Is not the ministerial character as sacred here as in foreign countries? and is not the salvation of the souls committed to them as important as the salvation of an equal number of the heathen? There is little doubt, but that the true reason why missionaries do commonly excel in piety, is because they are entirely cut loose from the possessions of the world. They give up all prospect of owning property. They have made up their minds to sacrifice entirely what the world calls *independence*, and to expect to have nothing but food, raiment, and shelter from the weather; and for these necessaries they are content to rely upon the free-will offerings of the church. If they can turn any talent to profit, it is not for themselves, but for the common cause. What a noble example, to see the venerable Carey labouring assiduously in teaching, not to enrich himself, but to bring every dollar of a large salary and cast it into the common treasury; and contented to receive from them no more than the common share of the poorest missionary. O, could we see such examples at home, of self-denial and disinterestedness, we might begin to hope that Zion was about to arise from the dust, and that God had put a new spirit into her watchmen. There is no vice, perhaps, which the clergy in our country are so liable to be infected with as covetousness; and yet this is no less a crime, according to the word of God, than idolatry. Ministers, it is true, are generally poor, but they may be greedy of gain notwithstanding this, and may neglect the responsible duties of their awful calling, for the sake of filthy lucre. The necessity which is often laid upon them by the unjust parsimony of their people, to provide by their own exertions for their own households, often becomes a snare to them. They get accustomed to worldly business, and perhaps expert in managing pecuniary matters, and when any man once gets his hand in, in the way of making money, by

lawful means, it will be difficult for him to relinquish the pursuit. And as to stopping when he has a sufficiency, this he is no more likely to do than other men who make riches the object of their pursuit. That point of *sufficiency* is a vanishing point; when the man approaches it, it recedes from him, and still keeps as far ahead as at the beginning; so that the pursuit which at first promised to be short and soon ended, proves to be interminable. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon," says our Saviour. This is eminently true as applied to the ardent pursuit of wealth, and the duties of the holy ministry. No man can be much occupied with worldly cares and business, and at the same time have his heart duly engaged in the duties of his pastoral office. These last will either be neglected, slightly performed, or the genuine spirit which should pervade and animate the whole service, will be wanting. And then it will be like a body without a spirit. Another danger is, that the leading and wealthy part of his parishioners, wanting an apology for their own love of the world, will be secretly delighted to find their minister, who should be their reprover, animated by the same spirit, and as thoroughly engaged in the pursuit of wealth as themselves. And how can he be faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God concerning the love of riches? Will not his mouth be stopped? Or, if inconsistently he performs his duty in the pulpit, will not every one be ready to apply to him that proverb, "Physician, heal thyself?" "Thou that teachest another, teachest not thou thyself?" The worldly minister, when he meets his parishioners from time to time, has so much to say about the common objects of their attention, that he cannot edge in a word of admonition or divine instruction. Indeed, such ministers have commonly little talent for religious conversation; and people do not expect it of them; or if, against the current of their thoughts and affections, they force themselves to give utterance to some common-place remarks on this subject, they come out so drily and formally that, instead of warming, they freeze the feelings of their people. Such ministers would relinquish the sacred office, if they could do it honourably; and surely it would be more consistent for some to give up the office than nominally to continue to wear the clerical character, while they perform scarcely any of its duties. Here is the secret of the frequent dissatisfaction between pastors and their flocks, and the cause of such frequent disruption of the sacred bond cast around them at their in-

stallation. When has it been known, that a people have been solicitous to be freed from the oversight and preaching of a truly devoted, faithful, and laborious minister? Though he may not be a first rate man as to talents, yet if he is humble, affectionate, sincere, and laborious, in the study, in the pulpit, and in the family, such a man will find himself seated in the affections of his flock; and if a few fastidious and conceited hearers wish for more learning, more eloquence, and a more fascinating style of preaching, the great body of the people will cleave to him, and with docility receive the word from his mouth; and will always rejoice to see their pastor entering their dwellings. The poor, among whose humble cottages he often directs his steps, will hail him as a friend and benefactor, and will bless God for giving them so faithful a guide and instructor.

While some pastors are rendered almost useless by worldly entanglements, others sink into a state of discouragement. When preparing for the sacred office, they pleased themselves with the hope of doing much good. In prospect, every thing looked fair and pleasing; and they anticipated that their labours would produce a great visible effect. But when they go forth, and are fixed in a charge where the people are careless and ignorant, and pay little attention to their instructions, and afford no visible fruits of their labours, they become disheartened; and perform their parochial duties with langour, because without hope of success. Fault is found with the situation of the parish, or the character of the flock; and some other place must be sought. But they cannot find a congregation of angels, or even one made up of saints; and they are never likely to be suited. We entertain the opinion, that more than half the cases of the removal of ministers will not be sanctioned by the great Head of the church, who sees and observes all the affairs of his kingdom on earth. Good men often make sad blunders in this matter. They literally *go from home*, because annoyed by some perverse neighbours, or unreasonable parishioners, who, finding how easily their sensibility is wounded, take pains to vex them. They cannot bear this thorn in the flesh, the piercings of which are not deep and dangerous, but constant, and they cannot get clear of it. O, if they would look to that God whose grace is sufficient to enable them to bear all trials, they would not leave their place to escape an evil which very probably, in the end, would do them good. We are much inclined to the opinion, that when a minister has been

called, in providence, to take charge of a people, if he would resolve to lay himself out to promote their best interests of every kind—if he would begin to instruct the ignorant, to train the youth, to warn the unruly, to feed the flock with the pure milk of the word, to make every sacrifice for their benefit, and to bear with unmurmuring patience all their ill treatment—still praying for them, and tenderly watching every opportunity to do them good, his difficulties in time would be removed or lessened; his enemies would become reconciled; the careless would take on them the serious profession of religion, and what was like a wilderness would become like the garden of the Lord. Who had a harder lot than Oberlin and Neff, among the wild rocks of the Alps, and a people as wild as the land which they inhabited? and yet, by patient endurance—by unceasing effort—by wise measures of improvement—and by the spirit of ardent, inextinguishable piety, they were enabled, by the blessing of heaven, which is sure to attend such labours, to see the work of God prospering in their hands. They had the pleasure of beholding such a transformation in the aspect of society as filled their hearts with joy and gratitude, and their mouths with praise. And what was there in Kidderminster, when Mr. Baxter began his labours there, which promised much comfort or success? But by faithful, persevering labours—such labours as are within the reach and ability of any pastor, if only his heart be right, he accomplished a glorious work of reformation, and was the honoured instrument of saving a multitude of souls, who are now as stars in his crown, while he rejoices with them before the throne of God.

To some, this kind of life, replete with labours, and cutting off the preacher from all the advantages of earthly gain, honour, and comfort, seems to be unreasonable. They are ready, not merely to apologize for the course pursued by ministers who engage in worldly pursuits, but to put in a plea of justification. Ministers are but men, and too much ought not to be expected of them. They commonly have families for which they are bound to provide, or be worse than infidels. They are educated men, and possess feelings as refined as others of this class; and why should this profession be doomed to a life of self-denial and hardship? If their people are unable or unwilling to make provision for them, they have a right, and are bound to attend to worldly affairs, in that degree which is necessary to furnish them with a sufficiency of this world's goods, if not an

independence. And by mingling with the people in the commerce and common intercourse of life, they conciliate the men of the world, and remove the prejudice so extensively imbibed, that religion renders men austere and unsociable, and is inimical to the innocent pleasures of life. And if, under the favour of providence, they acquire property by lawful exertions, they should not be censured for that which all other men are indulged to pursue and possess. Now, in this defence, there is so much truth and error mingled, that we will not undertake to discriminate between them. But, let us suppose that a fragment of authentic ecclesiastical history had come down to our times, containing the following statement of facts. "The Apostle Paul, though much devoted to his Master's service, yet was not inattentive to his own wordly interest. Travelling much, he had the opportunity of seeing the improvements of one country, and introducing them into another. By watching his opportunities of increasing his fortune, he was able to lay up money enough to purchase a handsome house at Corinth, which he furnished in a plain, but rich and elegant manner; and, while at Ephesus, he found an opportunity of making a very favourable speculation in some lots and houses, which were brought to the hammer, through the failure in business of their former owners. Some of his brethren, who were less skilful in trade, or less favoured with opportunities of making valuable acquisitions of this kind, seemed disposed to censure him as acting inconsistently with his high vocation; but he despised such censures, as knowing that they proceeded from envy of his success in business. And as long as he lived, though he met with some losses, he continued to increase in wealth; so that when he suffered martyrdom at Rome, he was worth an estate valued at ———." But we must stop. No Christian feelings can endure such a representation, either in the case of Paul, or Peter, or John, or Apollos, or Timothy, or any other primitive preacher. Such a narrative as the above, if it had been contained in the Acts of the Apostles, would have ruined the Christian religion. And our feelings are so correct on this subject, that any representation of a similar kind of traffic in the world, and acquisition of wealth by any of our missionaries abroad, would raise such a hue and cry against them, that the missionary cause could not sustain itself, in these circumstances, for a single year. But on what principles do we make so wide a difference between what was unbecoming and incon-

sistent with the sacred office, in the apostles' days, and in our times? Is it not the same Lord that we serve? Is it not the same gospel which is intrusted to us? Is not eternity as near to us and as important as to them? And is not the day of judgment many hundred years nearer? Is not the salvation of immortal souls as deeply interesting now as it ever was? And do not ministers now take upon them as solemn ordination vows as were ever assumed by men? Where, then, is the ground of our different feelings, in regard to certain courses of conduct? It has no just foundation. It may be traced to our own selfishness, which blinds us in regard to all that relates to our own interest or ease. But if it might be supposed that the circumstances of the apostles and primitive teachers, exposed as they were to persecution, and having the whole world opposed to them, might make them indifferent to worldly things, which, if they possessed, they could not retain; yet how shall we account for the high requisition which the Christian world makes on the missionary, compared with the pastor at home? Do we not condemn our own worldliness, self-indulgence, and indolence, while we would censure in a missionary what we, as a matter of course, allow ourselves to pursue or to enjoy? Certainly, ministers at home are as much bound to be self-denying, faithful and laborious, as those who go to foreign countries. The missionary may be exposed to more hardships necessarily; but we defy any man to show, that the minister at home is not under obligations to labour as faithfully, and to make for the cause of Christ as great sacrifices, as those beloved men, who have forsaken their native land, and all their dear relatives, without the expectation of ever seeing them again. Indeed, as these painful sacrifices are such as ministers are not required to make, they seem to be bound, in other ways, to show an equal attachment to Christ's kingdom; and to labour more indefatigably for the conversion of souls, perishing all around them. There is no escape from self-condemnation in this case; and the only way by which we can evade the condemnation of our Judge is, to condemn ourselves, and humble ourselves in penitence before him, lest he deal with us according to our sins, and reward us according to our iniquities. Let us remember, that the time is short; and that what we do must be done quickly. We must work while the day lasts, for soon the night cometh when no man can work. Is it not a sign of God's displeasure that he is calling off from the harvest field, some

of the most faithful and efficient labourers? But there is slight lamentation in the churches, for these great losses. "The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come." And let the ministers of God begin to lay to heart their true condition, and the evils which threaten the church. The enemy is coming like a flood, and yet the watchmen hold their peace—they are asleep—they sound no alarm—they appear to be at ease in Zion. "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, spare thy people, O LORD, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say, among the people, where is their God?"

Let us indulge our imagination for a moment, in conceiving of two ministers of equal talents and opportunities, but one of whom only has been faithful, self-denying, and laborious, entering together into the presence of their common Lord, and appearing before his judgement seat. The first is accosted in a language which surprises him, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord;" the other is confounded and abashed before he hears his sentence—his own conscience has already anticipated his doom. We need not be surprised that he trembles, and would gladly hide himself in some secret cavern. But stern necessity is laid upon him, and he is arraigned, and the charge against him is not for any enormous crime. No, his conduct was always moral and decent, but it is for sloth and unfaithfulness. He had a talent, and did not improve it. He was a steward, and yet he was unfaithful in dispensing his Lord's goods; and the dreadful sentence is, "take the wicked and slothful servant who neglected to do his Lord's work, and cast him into outer darkness, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." O, wretched man! where now are your treasures, your houses and lands, and all your earthly possessions, for the sake of which you betrayed your Master, and ruined your soul?

There is a class of ministers whose situation is truly deplorable. We know of no set of men who claim our compassion more. They are such as having been invested with the sacred office, by ordination, are unable to find any people willing to accept of them as their pastor; or, if they should happen to obtain a settlement, for want of acceptableness,

are speedily pushed off, and sent afloat upon the wide world, without the means of comfortable subsistence for their families. They wander about in search of a place of rest, and after spending much time, and being at inconvenient expense, in visiting vacant churches, are after all disappointed, and are often reduced to great straits to obtain the bare necessaries of life. No doubt there are good men, who have gone through the usual course of preliminary studies, and have had the hands of the presbytery laid upon them, who, nevertheless, are entirely unfit for the work, and however they may be regularly called by men, have never received the call of God to be ministers in his church; for, when God calls a man to any work, he always furnishes him with the necessary qualifications. If any person is found destitute of these, and cannot acquire them, though he may be, in the sight of the church, a regular minister, and his ministrations valid, yet he has mistaken his road; and sometimes such persons are convinced of this, when it is too late. For, according to the doctrine commonly received among us, the ministry can be laid down only by a regular deposition from office, by the competent authority. Whether this be a correct doctrine, has been with us a matter of serious and increasing doubt. If deposition were not attended with lasting disgrace, we should not be disposed to dissent from the received opinion. But take this case:— A young man is put to learning by his parents, that he may become a minister, and when he arrives at the proper age, he makes a serious profession of religion. His intellect may be sound, and his literary acquisitions may be good, but he speaks in a way so stammering and so cold and uninteresting, that it is painful to every one to hear; and to be obliged to do this once a week would not only be unedifying, but would be a penance, which few persons would be contented to endure long. Now, this young man ought to have had his attention directed by his friends and advisers, to some pursuit not requiring public speaking. And the presbyteries and Classes, when candidates appear before them, on trial, should make particular experiment of their gifts in this respect; which, however, is much neglected, and young men, who are scarcely ever proper judges of their own defects, are introduced to an office for the duties of which they possess no competency. Formerly, it was a part of every candidate's trials for the ministry, to preach in public, and the sermon was, on this account, called "a popular discourse;"

but this salutary custom begins, at least in the presbyteries in this section of country, to be laid aside; and the candidate is only required to read his popular sermon before the presbytery, as he does any other written discourse required of him. In consequence of this, no proper trial is made of the candidate's capacity to speak audibly and fluently in public. But the point to which we wish to direct our remarks is, that a conscientious person, who has been induced to enter the ministry without the necessary qualifications, when he is convinced of his incompetency, should be permitted, with the consent of the presbytery, to resign his office. If he may not, then a man who has become a preacher without the call of God—and all will acknowledge that such a case may occur—must be forced to remain in an office, the duties of which he is unable to fulfil, and which he ought never to have entered. And hence it comes to pass, that there are among us many presbyters who preach not at all, and hang heavily on the skirts of the church, and are an encumbrance to our ecclesiastical bodies. We see not why, even in cases of confirmed ill health, which disqualifies a man from preaching, as when the voice is lost, a minister should not be permitted to resign his office. But what if he should so recover it again as to be able to preach? we answer, that all that would be necessary would be to recognise him again as a minister. He would need no new ordination; as, indeed, the custom is not to re-ordain a minister who has been deposed and excommunicated, when he is restored to his office and standing in the church. We are aware that our Book of Discipline makes no provision for a minister's resigning his office after ordination; but the question is, would it not be well to have such a provision? and do not the circumstances of our church call for something of the kind? What we have said on this point, we wish to be considered as not the expression of a decided opinion on the subject, respecting which probably the conductors of this Review would not entirely agree; but as intended to turn the attention of the church to the point, and to elicit discussion, which may lead to the adoption of a new section in our Book of Discipline; or may confirm us more fully in the doctrine which has been commonly received, and in favour of which we are aware that there are some able advocates.

We would take this occasion to declare, that we hardly know a more responsible and awful duty, which men are ever called to perform, than the conferring the sacred office

on a fellow creature. The regulations of our church on this subject are truly excellent; and if they were always carried into effect with that strict fidelity which the importance of the transaction demands, all would be well—at least, as well as human wisdom and care could make it. But we seriously apprehend that these trials are too often but superficially entered into; especially as it regards personal piety. If a young man is a member of the church—if he has been through College, and the Theological Seminary, and seeks to be a minister, it is thought to be hard to throw any obstacle in his way, after his having spent so much time and expense in preparation. We think that the laxity of presbyteries does not relate so much to the literary qualifications and orthodoxy required, as to the examination on experimental religion, and making a thorough trial of the ability of the candidate to preach to the acceptance and edification of the people. In regard to the first, we remember a case in which a young man of education presented himself before a large and respectable presbytery, and when called upon to give some account of his experimental acquaintance with religion, had literally nothing to say, and could only answer to some leading questions—which is a very unsatisfactory method of examination. The presbytery hesitated, and called him in again, but still there was nothing like a narrative of a work of grace: they voted to receive him on trial, and in due time, he was licensed. He had been but a short time a probationer, before he declared himself an infidel. Afterwards, indeed, it was reported that he had repented, and renounced his errors; but surely he ought never to have been licensed.

In regard to the ability of the candidate to preach to the acceptance of the people, this it may be said is sufficiently provided for by his licensure, when he enters on this part of his probation. But we are of opinion, that it is attended with great evil, even to license a man as a probationer, who is not fit for the ministry; for if we bring a man thus far, unless he commit some scandalous offence, he will contrive to get into the ministry. And people generally are accustomed to make very little distinction between a licentiate and an ordained minister. Let the man be fairly, but strictly tried, before he is sent out. Presbyteries are not restricted to the particular trials specified in the Book of Discipline; they are at full liberty to institute other trials, if they think it necessary. And why, we ask, would it not be expedient, to have some trial of the ability of the candidate in

extempore speaking; and in giving the sense of passages of scripture, without the opportunity of recourse to commentaries? for who is so dull, that he cannot write down what he finds in books of exposition? We are of opinion, that no man is truly qualified for the ministry, who is not able to express himself promptly and clearly on any plain subject, without having recourse to books, or to his pen. Not that we would discourage the use of the pen; but we would have the tongue trained to ready utterance, as well as the hand to compose.

But to return to the subject of pastoral duty. We entertain the opinion, notwithstanding the fierce opposition to the clergy which is rising and organizing itself in the east, that the pastoral office is the most honourable, the most useful, and, when rightly filled and executed, the most happy office in the world. But, at the same time, we are ready to admit, that to a man destitute of genuine piety, it must be a heavy yoke, and intolerable drudgery; and that to the man who serves God in it, with a mind divided between its duties and the pursuit of the world, and distracted with secular avocations, it must be a painful service; that the conscience of such a man must be ill at ease, and his comfort in the exercise of the office very small. To enjoy this holy service, the heart must be unreservedly devoted, and every thing made subordinate to its claims upon our time and our energies. Let us then again bring into view, what is required by the great Head of the Church, of those who undertake to be ministers of the gospel. We shall say nothing at present of the missionary service; our concern is with the ministry at home, and especially with the pastors of the churches. And to such, we would affectionately, but solemnly, say, divest yourselves at once of all worldly engagements and entanglements, that interfere with your making full proof of your ministry. Though avarice may plead—though the love of ease and pleasure may solicit—be resolved and cut off the right hand, and pluck out the right eye, which offend, and begin your work anew; not under the influence of a momentary impulse, but from a conviction that God calls you to engage in this work with renewed zeal and effort. An account of your stewardship must be rendered, and that soon; and surely you ought to desire to be in a situation to give this account with joy and not with grief. Set apart a day for humiliation and prayer, and for the solemn consideration of your past ministerial life. Be determined to look honestly into the case;

and if you have been remiss—if you have been unfaithful in "warning every man, and teaching every man"—determine now that you will hereafter keep your great business so habitually on your mind, that you will not suffer any opportunity of doing good to escape you. Never be in any company without recollecting that you are there as the ambassador of Jesus Christ, and that you have a commission to seek the eternal salvation of every man, woman, and child, with whom you may meet at any time. Be 'fishers of men.' Throw out your bait, and draw into the gospel net as many as you can. Omit nothing which promises to be a means of winning men to Christ. Personally address such as in your conscience you think will be benefitted by such application. Let not the fear of giving offence, or of hurting the feelings of your friends, prevent you from kindly admonishing them, and patiently instructing them. Go around among your people—begin with the poor—pass not by the wretched dwelling of the profligate. Who knows but you may save a soul from death, and cover a multitude of sins? Sometimes, the blaspheming drunkard has a wife, whose heart, broken with afflictions of the heaviest kind, is prepared to receive the consolations which the gospel brings. Learn to bear with patience the abuse and even the curses of the wicked. Make no other return, but to bless, and pray for those who despitefully use you. Remember, that great will be your reward in heaven.

Try to engage others to co-operate with you. Go to your elders, and exhort them to untiring diligence and conscientious fidelity in performing the duties of their office. Make it a point to convene them once a week for prayer and conference, in relation to the affairs of the church, of which you and they are appointed rulers. Instruct them in their duty, and urge them to go among the poor and ignorant, and to visit the sick and afflicted. But your best hopes must rest upon the training of the young. Catechise them in the family—catechise them in meetings appointed for the purpose, and also in the church. Enlist others in the work. Give a class to pious young women to instruct. And whatever you do, do not neglect to form your young people into classes for Bible instruction. Try every lawful method to make your instructions interesting to the young. Enter into the service with all your heart. Prepare yourself for the meeting. Communicate as much solid instruction as you can, and the good seed lodged in the tender minds of youth will

not be wholly lost. And when their minds are open to receive instruction, will be the best opportunity to make effectual addresses to the heart and conscience. One such opportunity affords fully as hopeful a prospect of saving benefit, as a public discourse to a promiscuous multitude. If your people are distinguished into ranks, who do not mingle together in social intercourse, have different classes in different places, and become all things to all men. Some ministers who profess to be great friends to revivals, seem to think that nothing can be done until the revival comes; and therefore when they have preached on the sabbath, they sit down and fold their arms and complain. People should be prepared for a revival by sound instruction, or they will get little good from having their feelings powerfully excited, or even their consciences awfully awakened. The main thing that men do is to sow the seed and water it, and to look to God, by incessant prayer, that he may give the increase.

When ministers live near each other it answers an excellent purpose to aid one another in preaching and visiting. Two ministers are enough, or three, at most. The same truths inculcated every sabbath by the pastor will sometimes come with a new power when uttered by the voice of another. And a stranger can often take greater liberty in reproving some sins, and treating some subjects, than the pastor; and while the preaching of one is suited best to one class of hearers, the preaching of another, though inferior, will make a deeper impression on another class. Let ministers join, on these occasions, in visiting each others' congregations.

And when ministers meet in presbytery, let it be a main object to stir up and edify one another, and to promote religion in the parish where they are convened. How delightful and how profitable these ecclesiastical meetings of ministers might be, if, exempt from all jealousy, envy and ill-will, they should come together in the true spirit of their Lord and Master.

ART. III. — *The Works of* Thomas Chalmers, D. D. *and* LL.D., *Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France.* Volumes I—VII. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal Street. 1840.

By Archibald Alexander & James W. Alexander

WE should perhaps have been more in the line of our duty, if we had noticed these volumes one by one, as they issued from the press of the enterprising publisher; to whom American Presbyterians are indebted for a number of valuable orthodox works. As it is, we are startled at the amount of matter, thus subjected to our view in more than two thousand pages, and must be more cursory in our observations than we could wish. If therefore many momentous truths escape our attention, and even if errors fail to be pointed out, our readers must bear in mind the copiousness of the books, and the limits of the composition. It must be enough, for the present, that we indicate the subjects and scope of the treatises respectively; dwelling on one or two questionable points of great interest, and giving in a desultory way our impressions concerning the merits of this great luminary of the Scottish Kirk.

Without a contest, Chalmers takes his place among the very first rank, not merely of Presbyterians, or even of churchmen, but of British minds. By genius and eloquence, by patriotism and piety, by industry and courage, he has won such a standing, as leaves him no superior, and not many equals, even among the dignitaries and theologians of a peculiarly arrogant and fastidious sister-church.

The first two volumes of this series are taken up with Natural Theology. More than a hundred pages are given to Preliminary Views; among which are discussions of the Difference between the Ethics of Theology, and the Objects of Theology—the duty which is laid on men by the probability or even the imagination of a God. Here also he has an excellent chapter upon the a priori arguments for the being of a God, in general, and the celebrated argument of Doctor Clarke in particular; with which our author declares himself to be dissatisfied. Then he examines, in a special chapter, the objection of Hume to the a posteriori argument, grounded on his assertion that the world is a singular effect. No part of the volume before us demands a more careful examina-

tion than this; for Chalmers conceives that the argument of Hume has never been fully met; and especially that Reid and Stewart have taken dangerous ground, in conceding that the argument for a God, is not an experimental one, inasmuch as the inference of design from its effects is a result neither of reasoning nor experience; thus conjuring up, as he is pleased to express it, a new principle for the purpose of refuting Hume's special sophistries, and making a gratuitous and questionable addition to mental philosophy, in the shape of a distinct law of the human understanding, which had never been heard of before. Chalmers, on the other hand, attempts to show, on the principles of Hume himself, or at least with the help of no other principles than our uniform faith in the lessons of experience, that there is a fallacy in the argument. And we might as well say here, that Chalmers disposes of the famous objection of the same subtile scoffer to the evidence of miracles, in the same way; taking similar exceptions to the answer proposed by Campbell; here also falling back upon the constant faith of mankind; besides showing a contradiction between the two vaunted fallacies of the shrewd metaphysician. The argument of Dr. Chalmers, respecting the former, occupies forty pages; it strikes us as conclusive; yet for all that we can see it might have been adequately presented in the tenth part of the space. As a lecture in the divinity-schools, which it doubtless was, this repetition made it more accessible to the young men, but it is a wasteful exuberance in a printed book. The same remark applies to the treatise on Optimism, at the end of the second volume, and to most of the articles which pertain to metaphysics. Yet we must not quarrel with one who delights us, and who the more he expatiates the more carries us away into the regions of imagination and emotion.

The second book presents the proofs visible in the dispositions of matter. That is, the main evidence for a God, as far as this can be collected from visible nature, lies not in the existence of matter, nor in its laws, but in its *dispositions.* Here Chalmers finds himself called upon to lay out his greatest strength in grappling with the atheistical argument of La Place. We cannot venture to give a sample-brick from such an edifice. The treatise shows the close acquaintance of its author with the most recent conclusions of mathematicians and astronomers, and his remarkable turn for inquiries of this sort. He then goes into the proofs for a beginning of our present world, as deduced from Geology.

The third chapter of this book, is one of very pleasing recapitulation; and as the author seems to have felt, at every step, the striking dissimilarity between his own lofty, indistinct, and oratorical manner, and the homely greatness and exactness of Paley, he glides, with the easy permission that he is ready to give himself at all times, into a portrait of his celebrated predecessor. Though we regard this as very far from doing justice to the greatness of its subject, we give it at length.

"A writer," thus he characterizes him, "of whom it is not too much to say, that he has done more than any other individual who can be named, to accommodate the defence both of the Natural and the Christian Theology to the general understanding of our times. He, in particular, has illustrated with great felicity and effect the argument for a God from those final causes which may be descried in the appearances of nature—and, although he has confined himself chiefly to one department, (that is, the anatomical,) yet that being far the most prolific of this sort of evidence, he has altogether composed from it a most impressive pleading on the side of Theism. He attempts no eloquence; but there is all the power of eloquence in his graphic representation of natural scenes and natural objects, —just as a painter of the Flemish School may without any creative faculty of his own, but on the strength of his imitative faculties only, minister to the spectators of his art all those emotions both of the Sublime and Beautiful which the reality of visible things is fitted to awaken. And so without aught of the imaginative, or aught of the etherial about him—but in virtue of the just impression which external things make upon his mind, and of the admirable sense and truth wherewith he reflects them back again, does our author by acting merely the part of a faithful copyist, give a fuller sense of the richness and repleteness of this argument, than is or can be effected by all the elaborations of an ambitious oratory. Of him it may be said, and with as emphatic justice as of any man who ever wrote, that there is no nonsense about him—and so, with all his conceptions most appropriate to the subject that he is treating, and these bodied forth in words each of which is instict with significancy, and strikingly appropriate—we have altogether a performance neither vitiated in expression by one clause or epithet of verbiage, nor vitiated in substance by one impertinence of prurient or misplaced imagination. His predominant faculty is

judgment—and therefore it is, that he is always sure to seize on the relevancies or strong points of an argument, which never suffer from his mode of rendering them, because, to use a familiar but expressive phrase, they are at all times exceedingly well put. His perfect freedom from all aim and all affectation, is a mighty disencumbrance to him—he having evidently no other object, than to give forth in as clear and correct delineation as possible, those impressions which nature and truth had spontaneously made on his own just and vigorous understanding. So that, altogether, although we should say of the mind of Paley that it was of a decidedly prosaic or secular cast—although we should be at a loss to find out what is termed the poetry of his character, and doubt in fact whether any of the elements of poetry were there—although never to be found in the walk of sentiment or of metaphysics, or indeed in any high transcendental walk whatever, whether of the reason or of the fancy—yet to him there most unquestionably belonged a very high order of faculties. His most original work is the Horæ Paulinæ, yet even there he discovers more of the observational than the inventive; for, after all, it was but a new track of observation which he opened up, and not a new species of argument which he devised that might immortalize its author, like the discovery of a before unknown calculus in the mathematics. All the mental exercises of Paley lie within the limits of sense and of experience—nor would one ever think of awarding to him the meed of genius. Yet in the whole staple and substance of his thoughts there was something better than genius—the home-bred product of a hale and well-conditioned intellect, that dealt in the *ipsa corpora* of truth, and studied use and not ornament in the drapery wherewith he invested it. We admit that he had neither the organ of high poetry nor of high metaphysics—and perhaps would have recoiled from both as from some unmeaning mysticism of which nothing could be made. Yet he had most efficient organs notwithstanding—and the volumes he has given to the world, plain perspicuous and powerful, as was the habitude of his own understanding—fraught throughout with meaning, and lighted up not in the gorgeous colouring of fancy but in the clearness of truth's own element—these Volumes form one of the most precious contributions which, for the last half century, have been added to the theological literature of our land.

"It has been said that there is nothing more uncommon

than common sense. It is the perfection of his common sense which makes Paley at once so rare and so valuable a specimen of our nature. The characteristics of his mind make up a most interesting variety, and constitute him into what may be termed a literary phenomenon. One likes to behold the action and re-action of dissimilar minds—and therefore it were curious to have ascertained how he would have stood affected by the perusal of a volume of Kant, or by a volume of lake poetry. We figure that he would have liked Franklin; and that, coming down to our day, the strength of Cobbett would have had in it a redeeming quality, to make even his coarseness palatable. He would have abhorred all German sentimentalism—and of the *a priori* argument of Clarke, he would have wanted the perception chiefly because he wanted patience for it. His appetite for truth and sense would make him intolerant of all which did not engage the discerning faculties of his soul—and from the sheer force and promptitude of his decided judgment, he would throw off *instanter* all that he felt to be uncongenial to it. The general solidity of his mind, posted him as if by gravitation on the *terra firma* of experience, and restrained his flight into any region of transcendental speculation. Yet Coleridge makes obeisance to him—and differently moulded as these men were, this testimony from the distinguished metaphysician and poet does honour to both."

The Third Book presents the Proofs for the Being of a God in the Constitution of the Human Mind. It is plainly a favourite part of the author's labours. He believes, that the mental phenomena speak more distinctly and decisively on this subject, than the material phenomena of creation. At the same time, the immensity of the field allows the discursive genius of Chalmers to draw into the train of his argument a great variety of subjects, between which and his main point other minds might have discerned little alliance. Among these we do not, however, class his admirable chapter on the Supremacy of Conscience; which we assure ourselves cannot be read by any right-minded Christian moralist without a thrill of pleasure. After declaring, what we believe none who have any knowledge of the literature of Ethics need to be told, that it was Bishop Butler, who first "made the natural Supremacy of Conscience the subject of a full reflex cognizance"—and by this achievement alone became the author of one of the most important contributions

ever made to moral science—he shows with characteristic purity of sentiment and fervour of affection, how clearly this sets forth, as a God of righteousness, Him who hath made his creatures of such a moral constitution. The same course is pursued with regard to the inherent pleasure of the virtuous, and misery of the vicious affections; and the power and operation of Habit. Here the author founds a great argument on the undeniable truth, that by every act of virtue we become more powerful for its service; and by every act of vice we become more helplessly its slaves.

The Fourth Book is upon the Evidences for a God in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Mental Constitution of Man. He considers this adaptation first in general, and then in certain special instances; treats of those special affections which conduce to the civil, political and economic well-being of society; and holds up to view the capacity of our world for making a virtuous species happy; and the argument deducible from this, both for the character of God, and the immortality of man. Under these heads, the author finds occasion to apply himself, with more than a casual touch, to some points which thus appear for the first time as we suppose in a system of Natural Theology:—such are the Poor Rates—Malthus on Population—the Tithe System of England, and the Origin of Property. The opulence of the author's mind, and his burning zeal for the well-being of his church and kingdom, are the causes of this seeming incongruity; it is only a seeming one. Out of a multitude of 'adaptations,' some must needs be selected, and the selection has been directed by the strong tendencies of the writer's mind, and the imperative claims of the circumstances amidst which his book was to be read.

The Fifth Book is on the Inscrutability of God's Counsels and ways, and on Natural Theology viewed as an Imperfect System, and as a Precursor to the Christian Theology. It is not in the author's view, a 'terminating science,' but a science *in transitu*, and its lessons are those of a preparatory school.

The Third and Fourth Volumes are on the Evidences of Christianity: of these the germ is the Treatise first published in the New Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, and then in a volume, and which established the fame of the author. The field in which Dr. Chalmers has done best service is that of Apologetic Theology, the defence of the outworks of Christianity against Atheism, Deism, and general Scepticism. It was for

this that his early learning, mathematical and physical, fitted him; to this his early efforts were directed; and in this his arm is still almost unrivalled. Hence it is not uncommon for him to turn aside from the discussion of positive doctrines, in revealed religion, to expend his greatest strength upon the objections of the infidel. And as this is his favourite department, so it is that in which he is most satisfactory; as he uniformly contributes less to the amount of our distinct knowledge, in proportion as he advances into the citadel of the faith. But we are willing to omit many things which it would be interesting to notice in the first four volumes, for the sake of dwelling with a little more particularity on the Fifth, which is taken up with Discourses on Moral and Mental Philosophy. We had understood that this subject had occupied much of Dr. Chalmers's attention, and this was natural enough, as he was sometime Professor of Moral Philosophy in the university of St. Andrews. It is doubtless known to many of our readers that the two subjects go together in Scotland. Dr. Chalmers argues however with great force, that Ethics may be investigated without the least acquaintance with the Philosophy of the Mind, and that there is no more real and necessary connexion between these two departments of philosophy than between others which are always separated.

With characteristic and unnecessary diffuseness Dr. Chalmers sets forth the difficulties which attend the prosecution of Mental Philosophy. His presentation of the subject is less remarkable for novelty than strength. In his very laborious attempts to explain the precise meaning of some of the principal terms, he has encumbered himself by adopting the whole nomenclature of Dr. Thomas Brown; which, however philosophical, is unwieldy, and little used by any even of his followers, except Payne. It was not without solicitude that we observed the name of Brown here and there in the pages of Chalmers, and we looked with some avidity to discover whether, in the face of the orthodox clergy of Scotland, whose leader he is understood to be, he would adopt the philosopher's theory of Cause and Effect. The utmost that we can find is a strong recommendation of the Treatise on Cause and Effect, unaccompanied by any word of caution or suspicion. From this we might conclude that he agrees with Brown upon this subject. Yet as he has not discussed it in detail, nor even declared an opinion explicitly, we do not feel called upon to examine it; especially as we

have already done this at large, in a former volume.* It is but just however, to a writer who follows no leader, to add that Chalmers does not scruple to dissent from Brown's opinions in several important particulars, while he places him far above all who have treated this branch of science; a pre-eminence due to Brown, so far as originality and genius are concerned. In giving an exact analysis of human thought and feeling, he has so far exceeded others that there is scarcely room for comparison. But this praise receives a great limitation, when we add that he has defended opinions which are extremely dangerous. Hence we cannot for a moment follow Dr. Chalmers in recommending his Treatise without a caution to young men, nor do we think his Lectures should be read by them except under the direction and animadversion of a judicious teacher.

Dr. Chalmers reasons forcibly against the opinion of Brown, Mill, and others, that desire and will are identical; and, as we think, exhibits this point in its true light. We would gladly transfer to our pages what is said upon this subject, but space is wanting.

On another important point, where Chalmers dissents from Brown, we are constrained to agree with the philosopher against the theologian. It is a topic not merely interesting to the metaphysician, but lying at the foundation of morals. This must be our apology for dwelling upon it more than we have done on any that have been mentioned. And in order to clear the way, let it be here premised, that Chalmers uses the word *emotion* to signify all our feelings, desires, and affections; distinguishing these, however, from *volitions*, which Brown included under the same category, because he admitted no distinction between desire and will. We have been accustomed to use the word *emotion* in the old sense, as designating that class of mental operations which consist in being felt, and which though they have a cause, have no object; such are surprise, joy, grief, and the like. In the present case, however, to avoid further explanation, we shall use the term in the same sense as the respected professor. As it regards *volition*, he employs the word, as we have been used to do, to signify a determination to put forth some act, mental or corporeal.

We are now prepared to state the doctrine maintained by Dr. Chalmers. It is this: that morality can be ascribed to

* Biblical Repertory for 1829, p. 326.

no feeling or emotion unless it be the consequence of volition, or some how connected with volition. This he regards as arising from the universally admitted maxim, that no action is morally good or bad, which is not voluntary. He supposes that a man can be accountable for his emotions, only by having the power to place himself in a situation in which he knows they will arise; that this is done by an act of the will; and that the praise or blame properly attaches not to the involuntary emotion, but to the volition. It will be remembered, that Brown distinguished our emotions into such as have a moral character, and such as have not; and that he does not make the morality of emotions to depend on volition.

As we cannot follow the author through the wilderness of words, employed in preliminary explanation, we shall merely state the result to which he comes, in his own terms: "That an action, then," says he, "be the rightful object either of moral censure or approval, it must have the consent of the will to go along with it. It must be the fruit of volition, else it is utterly beyond the scope, either of praise for its virtuousness, or of blame for its criminality. If an action be involuntary, it is as unfit a subject for any moral reckoning as are the pulsations of the wrist." Again: "We think that Dr. Brown has made a wrong discrimination, when he speaks of certain of the emotions, which involve in them a moral feeling, and certain others of them which do not. There is no moral designation applicable to any of the emotions, viewed nakedly and in themselves. They are our volitions, and our volitions only, which admit of being thus characterized; and emotions are no further virtuous or vicious than as volitions are blended with them, so far as to have given them their direction and their birth."

Dr. Chalmers does not, however, consider the mere voluntariness of an action sufficient to give it a moral character. He says: "There is a second axiom as indisputable as the first, and without the aid of which we should not be able to complete our estimate on the morality of the emotions. For a thing to be done virtuously, it must be done voluntarily; but this is not enough—it is not all. The other condition is, that it must be done because of its virtuousness; or its virtuousness must be the prompting consideration which led to the doing of it. It is not volition alone which makes a thing virtuous, but volition under a sense of duty; and that only is a moral performance to which a man is urged by the sense

or feeling of moral obligation," &c. We introduce this last element of morality, not because it has any immediate connexion with the question before us, but that entire justice may be done to Dr. Chalmers's views of the nature of virtue.

As the whole matter rests upon an undisputed maxim, that all moral actions must be voluntary, there is no room for mistake, except in the true meaning and proper application of this maxim; but there is no more fruitful source of error, than misapprehending and misrepresenting the true import of self-evident principles of truth.

In this case, Dr. Chalmers has, we think, mistaken the true import of the maxim on which his theory is built; and when applied as it is by him, it will not be sanctioned by the common judgment of unbiassed men. This maxim, that all moral actions must be voluntary, was never received as true in reference merely to volition. Under the term *voluntary* were included all spontaneous acts. And by spontaneous acts, we mean the desires and affections of the mind. These have ever been considered as susceptible of a moral nature as much as acts of volition; nay more than these acts. And it is so far from being correct that emotions of this kind derive their moral quality from preceding or accompanying acts of volition, that the very contrary is true; namely, that volitions derive all their moral character from the emotions from which they proceed, and by which they are prompted. And here we confidently appeal to the common sense of all men. When we have traced an action up to the volition which was the immediate cause of it, we have not yet arrived at the true source of its morality; we must go one step further, and inquire into the motives, that is, the emotions from which the volition arose, and by which it was prompted and governed. Two men perform the same external action, let it be the giving money to a needy fellow creature. The action being the same, the volition by which they respectively performed the action must be the same; yet the one action may be bad, and the other good; because the motive in the one may have been vain-glory, and in the other a sincere desire to obey God by promoting the happiness of a fellow creature. Mere volition, then, is not the true and only source of virtuous or vicious action, but the volitions, according to the judgment of mankind in every age and country, take their moral character from what Dr. Chalmers calls the emotions: that is, all men agree that the moral character of the action must be determined

by the motive which produced it; and all virtuous and vicious motives are of the nature of emotions. The unbiassed judgment of men can no where be better learned than by attending to their proceedings in courts of justice, when life and property are brought into jeopardy, and when they who express opinions are acting under the solemnity of an oath. A man, let us suppose, is arraigned for the act of killing a fellow creature. The evidence of the fact is undoubted; indeed he does not deny the fact. Here is an action in which the hand took hold of a deadly weapon, and so directed it with force that it put an end to the life of him on whom the stroke fell. Now as there is no question about the outward act, so there can be none about the volition which produced the act. Whatever might be the motive, the volition was the same, a determination to exert the cause in such a direction, and with such a force; but this determines nothing as to the moral character of the act. The whole investigation therefore is intended to detect the motive from which the act was performed. Suppose the accused makes it appear that the act was purely in self-defence; or that it was in obedience to law; or suppose his friends set up the plea that he was labouring under insanity: in all these cases the act was not vicious, yet the volition producing it was the same. If however the court and jury be of opinion that the motive was malice prepense, then the act is judged to be criminal, entirely from the motive.

But will it be said, that the motives are always included with the volition when we make voluntariness the whole ground of virtue or vice? This is precisely what we maintain, that the emotions are comprehended in the will, when we assert that all moral acts, whether good or bad, are voluntary. There was no foundation, then, for distinguishing between the morality of volitions and emotions; they go together, and when there is an external act, both must exist as producing it, and giving it moral character. Much less is there any just ground to assert that all morality consists in mere volition, and that emotions have no morality, except as derived from volition. On the contrary, we maintain, that all virtuous and vicious actions derive their quality primarily from the emotions.

If it should be alleged, that in the exercise of the emotions of love and hatred, benevolence and ill-will, there is an accompanying act of volition, this would be a gratuitous assumption, having no foundation in our conscience and expe-

rience. But Dr. Chalmers's method of bringing the emotions into the circle of morality is by supposing a previous act of the will, by which the moral agent determines to put himself into a situation in which he knows that certain emotions will arise, and thus he would make him indirectly responsible for his emotions. But if we apply the maxim, that actions must be judged by their motives, we might still ask, What motive prompted him to come to that determination? and so we are back again at the same point as before, that all volition receives its moral character from the motives which led to it; that is, that volition is no otherwise moral than as connected with the emotions.

Dr. Chalmers has accomplished nothing by showing that there are emotions for which we are not accountable, and which have no moral character; we could set off against these innumerable acts of volition which have no moral character. Dr. Brown, therefore, as we have already intimated, distinguished, with philosophical accuracy, between those emotions which involve a moral feeling and those which do not. It would indeed be an untenable ground, that all our emotions have a moral character; but no one within our knowledge has taken such a position.

That volition is moral on account of its connexion with moral emotions, has been shown; but emotions are moral which are not followed by any volition. When the first man was created, he had a nature susceptible of love and reverence for his Creator, as soon as his true character should be made known to him. Suppose—what is not improbable—that the first hour of his existence was spent in the contemplation of the august and glorious Being of whose attributes he had now some conception, we would respectfully ask Dr. Chalmers, whether the love and reverence, which would be spontaneously, and, if you please, involuntarily excited, were not of a moral nature? Yes; every man in his senses must answer, the very highest kind of virtuous exercise! But here is no volition—there is need of none. As soon as he looks abroad upon the glorious scene before him, he recognises a God of infinite excellence, and his love flows forth. Surely it will not be denied that love to God is a moral, yea, a holy exercise, and not the less so because not preceded or prompted by a volition.

If—as would have been natural—man, in innocence, had wished to give expression to his feelings, there would have been place for volition, to move his tongue and bend his

body; but even then the volition would add nothing to the devout and holy affections of the heart, but would derive all its virtue from these. It is the same volition which moves the tongue of the saint, and of the hypocrite; the difference is in the motive.

Dr. Chalmers apologizes for saying so much to explain a mere truism. We experience somewhat of the same feeling, in endeavouring to make evident what, perhaps, needs nothing more than a simple statement; as it is a matter not to be decided by reasoning, but by intuition. We are only following a great example in this reiteration; and our zeal arises from the conviction that the opinion which we are opposing is one of very extensive relations, and that its bearings on several important points in theology are very important.

According to this theory of morals, however much inclination a man may have to evil, if the consent of the will is not obtained, there is no sin. A person may feel a covetous desire of his neighbour's property, or a lustful desire of his neighbour's wife; but if the will, under the influence of some stronger principle, does not consent to do any act towards the accomplishment of these desires, there is no sin. This would seem to be the revival of the old Popish doctrine, that concupiscence remaining in believers, unless the consent of the will be given, is no sin. But we must not mix up theological questions with those which are philosophical.

There is, in our opinion, a nice point in morality here, which requires exact discrimination, in order to be distinctly exhibited. And we cannot but think that Dr. Chalmers has failed of distinguishing between things which are immensely different. He places all emotions which precede the act of the will in the same predicament. He clears from every taint of criminality all those mental acts, of whatever kind, and of whatever strength, until they are matured by the positive act of the will. "It is not," says he, "because his desire did solicit, but because his desire did prevail. It is not because his passions, his affections, and his sensibilities urged him on to that which is evil, but because his will first fostered their excitements, and then lent itself to their unworthy gratification—it is for this, and this alone, that he is the subject of a moral reckoning—it is at the point when the will hath formed its purpose, or sent forth to the various dependents upon its authority its edicts for the execution of

it. It is then that the praise of righteousness is earned, or then that the guilt of iniquity is contracted." Now, here we think there is a grand mistake, but very naturally rising out of the primary position, or axiom, which Dr. Chalmers defends.

Dr. Reid makes a distinction between *animal* and *rational* motives, which we believe is just; although we entirely dissent from the application which he makes of the distinction. This distinction Dr. Chalmers ought to have made here, and thus he would have avoided the untenable and dangerous positions which he has assumed in the last quotation. It will not be amiss, therefore, to illustrate this distinction, and apply it to the case in hand.

Animal motives originate in the body. They are such as hunger, thirst, the susceptibility of pain, &c. These operate directly and blindly on the will; and with such strength of solicitation, that it requires a strong sense of duty, or regard to our temporal welfare to resist them. But every one sees that the mere feeling of hunger or thirst, or pain, is no sin, and has nothing of a moral nature. Thus far Dr. Chalmers was correct. But when he confounds with these bodily feelings, *rational motives*, as Dr. Reid calls them, and teaches that these have no moral quality until they gain the consent of the will, we must believe that he has fallen into an egregious error in morals, as well as in philosophy; and the error is so plain and palpable that it will need no other refutation than to be distinctly stated. Take the following case; a man feels, from time to time, ill-will to his neighbour rising in his heart, soliciting him, and it may be urging him to do some injury to his person, reputation, or estate. But by various considerations he is restrained from willing to do the injury. Now is there a moral faculty in the world which would not judge this hatred of his brother—for it is nothing less—to be sinful? yet it does not prevail over him. It does not lead to any injurious action. It leads to no volition. According to Dr. Chalmers's theory—and he is not alone—there is no sin in such a disposition. As we said, we think it unnecessary to argue this point. If merely holding it up to view before the moral faculty does not produce an instantaneous judgment of the moral turpitude of such an emotion, all reasoning would be in vain. The same thing might be illustrated by every virtuous and by every vicious affection of the human heart. When the motive to volition is of the animal kind, as it is a blind impulse arising from a phy-

sical cause, there is no sin in the mere feeling of such a motive; nor until there is some consent of the will: but when the motive is of the rational kind, in all its motions and degrees, it is good or evil; as the love of God, or good-will to men, on the one hand, or malice, envy, and contempt, on the other. Just so far as these exist, or come into exercise, they are good or evil. And we go further and say, that the latent temper and disposition of the soul which gives origin to such thoughts, has a moral character, good or evil. And here we arrive at the very point at which the Pelagian system of morals begins to diverge from the truth.

The latter part of this volume contains two excellent chapters; the first on the undue estimate put upon our emotions, the reference being chiefly to that indulgence of sentimentatality, which awhile ago by many was put in the place of virtuous action; the second on the final causes of our emotions.

The Sixth Volume contains the Commercial Discourses, with the addition of seven which did not appear in the original volume. The Seventh contains the celebrated Astronomical Discourses. It is too late in the day to review either series of familiar works which have long since reached their due place in public esteem. They will renew in many minds the impressions made long since by the almost meteoric apparition of this great luminary. Indeed so many years have elapsed since Dr. Chalmers first appeared as an author, and so voluminous have been his publications, that it can scarcely be expected of us to communicate any new ideas with regard to his manner either of thinking or writing. We have perhaps already conveyed our impression that his *fort* is not in metaphysics. Though he has wonderful vigour of intellect, great perspicacity, and ardent love of truth, we must be permitted to think that he lacks that cool, patient, and deliberative turn of mind, which makes the metaphysician. He rushes forward like a mountain torrent, and when he is right, as he generally is, he sweeps errors before him with tremendous power. But in the vehemence of his progress he sometimes fails to respect those subsidiary considerations, which smaller minds might observe, and which are of real importance in the discussion. And when, in some rare instance, he happens to get on a wrong track, he lays all nature under requisition to furnish plausibility to his argument, and to reconcile his error with principles which he himself acknowledges and holds dear. It would be idle to refuse Dr. Chalmers the highest rank as to talent, but

most unjust to deny that his very impetuosity is unfavourable to inquiries which demand patience rather than gigantic ardour, and acuteness rather than strength.

If there are any who regard Chalmers as a model of good writing, we belong not to the number. For the sake of golden thoughts, bright and fresh from the mine, and abundant even to profuseness, we are willing to put up with a style which violates in turn every canon of criticism;—such in our judgment is the style of Chalmers. The mannerism is so obtruded upon us, the adventurous caprice of the language is so extreme, the diffuse irregularity is so gaudy, and (to use his own favourite figure of alliteration) so gorgeous and grandiloquent, that it is the highest tribute to his real greatness that the age has been willing to relish his beauties in such a dress. It is shower after shower—and when, as on an April morning, you think the refreshing irrigation has ceased for the day—down it pours again in a splendid repetition. There is no denying that this very profuseness makes him one of the most delightful writers of the day. Except his countryman Wilson, we know of none living who can more entirely make us forget every thing but his ever-varying train of glowing, and still more intensely glowing sentiment, and carry us along into the very paroxysm of feeling which he experiences himself. And this, while he is trampling upon every usage of the language, playing off upon us artifices of diction almost vulgar and almost barbarous, and flooding us with Scoticisms which need a glossary for their explanation.

We suppose Dr. Chalmers to be as diffuse as any author living; and even past ages may be safely challenged to furnish a philosopher or a theologian who has gone beyond him in this particular. Yet his is not the prolixity which wearies, or the amplification of weakness. True, there is a perpetual repetition, a revolution of the same orb, and we see the same body in new phases, but always with such changes of the accessories as make us willing to catch even the hundredth glimpse of the old friend, for the sake of the noble dress which decks and almost disguises him. The portraiture is the same, but always with a new back ground: the principal figure is constantly returning, but in new attitudes and with a new retinue. On this account it is, that almost every reader of Chalmers is disappointed, when he asks himself at the end of a book or chapter, What truths have I now learnt? The manner is admirably fitted to strike and

hold, and captivate, and thrill a popular assembly, for it has just those attributes which distinguish oral from written eloquence. But for the same reasons, and in the same proportion, it is unsatisfactory on subjects of philosophy or theology. The truth is, beyond a certain point there are no new conclusions, and it is new conclusions which we crave in an argument. After the first fair presentation of the grand thesis—and every discourse or treatise of the Professor's usually has one such—we are disappointed at finding, that, however delightfully the interval is filled with the music of his periods and the colours of his imagery, there is nothing added to this original proposition. A greater preacher, and we think a greater reasoner than Chalmers, has precisely expressed what we intend. The writer we mean is Robert Hall, and we leave our readers, as Dr. Gregory has left us, to fill the blank. "His mind resembles that optical instrument lately invented; what do you call it?"—"You mean, I presume, the kaleidoscope." "Yes sir, it is just as if thrown into a kaleidoscope. Every turn presents the object in a new and beautiful form; but the object presented is still the same. Have you not been struck with the degree in which Dr. —— possesses this faculty?"—"*His mind seems to move on hinges, not on wheels.* There is incessant motion, but no progress."

If we were not commenting on one of the greatest men of our own or any age, we should have less fear about the imitation of his faults; but Chalmers seems destined to be followed by an endless procession of apes. It is therefore a duty we owe to the young to declare that his blemishes, though superficial, are broad and unsightly. His style is hasty, and may be cited to show that the mere use of the pen is no safe-guard against bad taste, inventions in language, incorrectness, vagueness, and verbosity.

The two great British preachers of our day, we suppose all to grant, have been Chalmers and Hall; both producing immense impression by their discourses as delivered, both 'giants of mighty bone and bold emprise.' Yet never were two great men more unlike. A writer in the Quarterly Review attributes the looseness and other deformities of Chalmers's diction to the Scottish practice of extemporaneous speaking, a practice fitted, says he, to cultivate preaching and spoil writing. This, like most flippant remarks, is unfounded: for it was the redundant Chalmers who never preached without a manuscript, and the classic Hall who

never wrote his sermons until he had preached them. No doubt, for common minds, and for the purpose of awakening present feeling, the amplification of Chalmers would be the most effective; but few can read his overloaded paragraphs a second time. To Hall, who, none will pretend, was less a reasoner, and who moved his auditories in a manner almost Demosthenic, we recur as to a model. Such is the fruit of wise care:

> Ut pictura, poësis: erit quae, si propius stes,
> Te capiet magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes.
> Haec amat obscurum; volet haec sub luce videri,
> Judicis argutum quae non formidet acumen:
> Haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit.

Yet what are all these foibles when we consider the genuine grandeur of such a mind, in the perpetual, living, widening flow of thoughts like a mighty river, that scorns conventional boundaries, and rushes foaming and brilliant over all the bars and obstacles of puny criticism or puny argument. It is this which makes Chalmers the preacher that he is; this accelerative force and swelling torrent is the secret of his power. The coruscations of which we spoke above are not puerile ornaments, nor is the flame lambent and inoperative: on the contrary, the origin of the whole display is genuine earnestness, labouring with the imperfections of language, and making various successive efforts to communicate itself to the hearer. He rushes onward to a single object, and this he triumphantly gains. In the heat of the pursuit you are irresistibly carried along, and it is only when the course is over, and you begin to take breath, that you have time to discover how many a frail fence of rhetorical pasteboard or buckram has been overwhelmed by his fiery wheels. In his greatest sermons this is remarkably his manner, and here he is undoubtedly most successful. It is to be regretted that he has carried the same method too much from the pulpit to the theological chair. Such spirits are too etherial to be unstopped and examined in the closet. We are half of the mind of Fox, that a discourse must fall slightly short of the most available eloquence which will do to be printed.

In the discussion of high metaphysical and theological points, we do not find in Chalmers all that satisfaction which his fame had led us to expect. We should infer that his theological discipline had not familiarized him with the peculiar methods of the old Reformed Theologians. This school, beyond all others, is characterized by clearness, precision,

method, exact statement of the question, definition so multiplied and so exact as to preclude mistake, and concatenation of arguments almost mathematical. If the reader does not already recur in thought to the men we mean—that is, if his reading has been confined to theology in the English language—he has a pleasure yet in reserve, provided always, that he is capable of a logical pleasure. Let him go to Calvin, or to Turretine, or to any of the great Calvinists who wrote about the time of the Synod of Dort. They are as clear as a crystal current, and they never leave you a moment in doubt as to whither you are going. They boldly tell you what they mean to prove, and they generally accomplish their purpose. This is a method which exposes crude and shallow thinkers to great inconvenience, and which does not comport with the haste and discursive variety of our day. Now, we could wish that Doctor Chalmers, whose intellectual force is gigantic, and who has felt called upon to grapple with some of the most awful questions, had cultivated in his researches a clearer method of delivering himself, and had oftener descended to the homely task of laying down his series of propositions, and showing their connexion. In consequence of the defect which we have indicated, we cannot but think, that there are feebler men who are abler expounders of the faith.

A recent contest with the Earl of Aberdeen has shown how serenely true greatness, even when unsupported by rank or title, can carry itself over the little assumptions of mere worldly dignity. The insult cast upon this venerable clergyman will no doubt continue to be one of the most bitter recollections of its hasty author. The contest, of which this occurrence was a part, has already occupied many of our pages, and must employ us again; for we cannot be dead to any thing which concerns the freedom and independence of the church of our fathers. Doctor Chalmers, as is known to every Presbyterian reader, has identified himself with the orthodox part of the church, in this controvesy, as its acknowledged champion. How successfully he has fought its battles in the General Assembly is known and felt by the adverse or Moderate portion of the church, who after having been the preponderating weight for a long period, have now given place to men of sounder principles; an event due, under Providence, chiefly to the labours of this single man.

In Great Britain, much more than in America, ministers

of the gospel feel a freedom to mingle in political and politico-economical controversies. This is easily accounted for. The union of church and state makes it the duty of all who are connected with either of the established churches, to keep a vigilant eye upon the rights secured to them by law. The higher clergy, therefore, both in England and Scotland, are familiar with many details of state proceedings, and are active and prominent in furthering great measures, even in cases where these are of the most delicate or the most momentous kind. This is known to all who are accustomed to read the reported speeches of the English bishops. That it is not equally true of the clergy of the Scottish church, arises from the fact, that while they belong to an established church, they have been most unequally dealt by, in having been denied any place or representation in the parliament of the United Kingdom. The only great deliberative body, therefore, in which the eloquence of the Scottish ecclesiastic can find an arena, is the General Assembly. Here Dr. Chalmers has long been a leader: and both here and elsewhere, both orally and in print, he has come forth with great boldness as the champion of opinions distasteful to a great class of minds, which it would have been natural for him to conciliate. His avowed predilections for a national establishment made him a sudden favourite with the dignitaries of the Anglican Church. His works were cited and lauded from the bench of bishops; his visits to the metropolis were courted and gazetted; and his Lectures on Establishments were frequented by the élite of the aristocracy. No clergyman in Scotland, if we except Sir David Brewster, who never entered on actual clerical functions, is so widely known as Chalmers. It was just in the height of this unexampled popularity, that the crisis occurred in the history of Scottish Presbyterianism, on the occasion of the Auchterarder affair. It might have been expected by one ignorant of Dr. Chalmers's opinions, that he would have ranged himself on the side on which is found so large a proportion of the Presbyterian rank and opulence. But the exact reverse took place; and be the event as it may, in regard to the independence of the Church, posterity will rank Chalmers with the Knoxes, Melvilles, Bruces, and Hendersons, of the heroic age of Reformation.

It strikes us as a pleasing fact, that as he advances in life, Dr. Chalmers becomes more and more a man of active effort. After a long and toilsome preparation in the closet

and the schools, he has come with great vigour into the heat of conflict. Certainly no endeavours of his life have been so public, so multiplied, or so efficacious, as those by which he has succeeded in bringing the great body of the Church of Scotland up to their present vantage-ground, in the contest for the Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ over his church.

Several works of the distinguished author have not been yet reached in this course of republication. If the complete series were before us, we could not be exempt from the duty of endeavouring to characterize Chalmers as a philanthropist. In all that regards the progress of society, the wealth of nations, the growth of knowledge and civilization, in a word Political Economy,—which, when not disseverced from religion, is in truth the Philosophy of Benevolence,—he is an enthusiast. Hence he cannot enter the lists even of Natural Theology, without breaking a lance with the English political-economists. We touch the subject here, however, in order to add, that Dr. Chalmers deserves as well as any man living the name of a Christian Philanthropist. His heart manifestly burns with an unquenchable love to his race, and his soul is as clearly penetrated with a conviction that Christianity is a perfect, as that it is an accessible remedy, for 'the ills that flesh is heir to.' His zeal has never, so far as we know, expended itself in fanatical agitation, or sought a vent through ephemeral and unscriptural movements of the people, but has taken the safer, wiser direction of holding out great lights for the guidance of senates, and especially for the national and municipal administration of his own country. It is too early to see the fruit of his labours, but our sagacity must go for little if the day do not come when some of the principles of his "Christian and Civic economy of Large Towns" will be the directory of states and churches in sending truth and holiness to the utmost ramifications of the social tree.

As we have not the books before us, we shall express no judgment as to the side which Dr. Chalmers has taken in the controversies respecting population, pauperism, and the allied subjects. Let it suffice to say, that he is not a desponding politician, and that his philanthropy is stimulated by an irrepressible hope. Greatly removed from the sentiments of those who, in the infidel sense, assert the perfectibility of the race, and augur a millennium from the mere workings of natural manhood, he takes his auspices from

heaven, and finds in Christianity a system of mighty principles, unfolding itself from age to age in an ever ready correspondence with every change in society and every new exigence of the people. The Scripture is his citadel and watch-tower of hope. And with its principles, he attaches himself with alacrity to all the great schemes of the age, which promise to enlighten and exalt the masses. No man has uttered more weighty arguments on the education of the people. On this topic, the extracts which here follow will be an interesting specimen of his manner as a preacher:

"Did a king come to take up his residence amongst us—did he shed a grandeur over our city by the presence of his court, and give the impulse of his expenditure to the trade of its population—it were not easy to rate the value and the magnitude which such an event would have on the estimation of a common understanding, or the degree of personal importance which would attach to him, who stood a lofty object in the eye of admiring townsmen. And yet it is possible, out of the raw and ragged materials of an obscurest lane, to rear an individual of more inherent worth, than him who thus draws the gaze of the world upon his person. By the act of training in wisdom's ways the most tattered and neglected boy who runs upon our pavements, do we present the community with that which, in wisdom's estimation, is of greater price, than this gorgeous inhabitant of a palace. And when one thinks how such a process may be multiplied among the crowded families that are around us—when one thinks of the extent and the density of that mine of moral wealth, which retires and deepens, and accumulates, behind each front of the street along which we are passing—when one tries to compute the quantity of spirit that is imbedded in the depth and the frequency of these human habitations, and reflects of this native ore, that more than the worth of a monarch may be stamped, by instruction, on each separate portion of it—a field is thus opened for the patriotism of those who want to give an augmented value to the produce of our land, which throws into insignificance all the enterprises of vulgar speculation. Commerce may flourish, or may fail—and amid the ruin of her many fluctuations, may elevate a few of the more fortunate of her sons to the affluence of princes. Thy merchants may be princes, and thy traffickers be the honourable of the earth. But if there be truth in our text,* there may, on the very basis of human

* Eccle. iv. 13.

society, and by a silent process of education, materials be formed, which far outweigh in cost and true dignity, all the blazing pinnacles that glitter upon its summit—and it is indeed a cheering thought to the heart of a philanthropist, that near him lies a territory so ample, on which he may expatiate—where for all his pains, and all his sacrifices, he is sure of a repayment more substantial, than was ever wafted by richly laden flotilla to our shores—where the return comes to him, not in that which superficially decks the man, bnt in a solid increment of value fixed and perpetuated on the man himself—where additions to the worth of the soul form the proceeds of his productive operation—and where when he reckons up the profits of his enterprise, he finds them to consist of that, which, on the highest of all authorities, he is assured to be more than meat, of that which is greatly more than raiment."

"And before I pass on to the application of these remarks, let me just state, that the great instrument for thus elevating the poor, is that gospel of Jesus Christ, which may be preached unto the poor. It is the doctrine of His cross finding an easier admission into their hearts, than it does through those barriers of human resistance, which are often reared on the basis of literature. Let the testimony of God be simply taken in, that on His own Son he has laid the iniquities of us all—and from this point does the humble scholar of Christianity pass into light, and enlargement, and progressive holiness. On the reception of this great truth, there hinges the emancipation of his heart from a thraldom which represses all the spiritual energies of those who live without hope, and, therefore, live without God in the world. It is guilt—it is the sense of his awakened and unexpiated guilt, which keeps man at so wide a distance from the God whom he has offended. Could some method be devised, by which God, jealous of his honour, and man jealous of his safety, might be brought together on a firm ground of reconciliation—it would translate the sinner under a new moral influence, to the power of which, and the charm of which, He, before, was utterly impracticable. Jesus Christ died, the just for the unjust, to bring us unto God. This is a truth, which, when all the world shall receive it, all the world will be renovated. Many do not see how a principle, so mighty in operation, should be enveloped in a proposition so simple of utterance. But let a man, by faith in this utterance, come to know that God is his friend, and that heaven is the home

of his fondest expectation; and in contact with such new elements as these, he will evince the reach, and the habit, and the desire of a new creature. It is this doctrine which is the alone instrument of God for the moral transformation of our species. When every demonstration from the chair of philosophy shall fail, this will achieve its miracles of light and virtue among the people—and however infidelity may now deride—or profaneness may now lift her appalling voice upon our streets—or licentiousness may now offer her sickening spectacles—or moral worthlessness may have now deeply tainted the families of our outcast and long-neglected population,—however unequal may appear the contest with the powers and the principles of darkness—yet let not the teachers of righteousness abandon it in despair; God will bring forth judgment unto victory, and on the triumphs of the word of his own testimony, will he usher in the glory of the latter days.

"There is one kind of institution that never has been set up in a country, without deceiving and degrading its people; and another kind of institution that never has been set up in a country, without raising both the comfort and the character of its families. We leave it to the policy of our sister kingdom, by the pomp and the pretension of her charities, to disguise the wretchedness which she cannot do away. The glory of Scotland lies in her schools. Out of the abundance of her moral and literary wealth, that wealth which communication cannot dissipate—that wealth which its possessor may spread and multiply among thousands, and yet be as affluent as ever—that wealth, which grows by competition, instead of being exhausted—this is what, we trust, she will be ever ready to bestow on all her people. *Silver and gold she may have none—but such as she has she will give—she will send them to school.* She cannot make pensioners of them—but will, if they like, make scholars of them. She will give them of that food by which she nurses and sustains all her offspring—by which she renders wise the poorest of her children—by which, if there be truth in our text, she puts into many a single cottager, a glory surpassing that of the mightiest potentates in our world. To hold out any other boon, is to hold out a promise which she and no country in the universe, can ever realize—it is to decoy, and then most wretchedly to deceive—it is to put on a front of invitation, by which numbers are allured to hunger, and nakedness, and contempt. It is to spread a ta-

ble, and to hang out such signals of hospitality, as draw around it a multitude expecting to be fed, and who find that they must famish over a scanty entertainment. A system, replete with practical mischief, can put on the semblance of charity, even as Satan, the father of all lying and deceitful promises, can put on the semblance of an angel of light. But, we trust, that the country in which we live will ever be preserved from the cruelty of its tender mercies—that she will keep by her schools, and her scriptures, and her moralizing process; and that, instead of vainly attempting so to force the exuberance of nature, as to meet and satisfy the demands of a population, whom she has led astray, she will make it her constant aim so to exalt her population as to establish every interest that belongs to them, on the foundation of their own worth and their own capabilities—that taunted, as she has been, by her contemptuous neighbour, for the poverty of her soil, she will at least prove, by deed and by example, that it is fitted to sustain an erect, and honourable, and high-minded peasantry; and leaving England to enjoy the fatness of her own fields, and a complacency with her own institutions, that we shall make a clean escape from her error, and never again be entangled therein—that unseduced by the false lights of a mistaken philanthropy, and mistaken patriotism, we shall be enabled to hold on in the way of our ancestors; to ward off every near and threatening blight from the character of our beloved people; and so to labour with the manhood of the present, and the boyhood of the coming generation, as to enrich our land with that wisdom which is more precious than gold, and that righteousness which exalteth a kingdom."

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ART. IV.—*A View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation; demonstrating their ancient Discovery and Progressive Settlement of the Continent of America.* By John Dunmore Lang, D. D., senior minister of the Scots Church, and Principal of the Australian College, Sidney. Author of an Historical, and Statistical account of New South Wales. London, 1834.

Archibald Alexander

THE way in which America was originally peopled, or the nations of the old world from which the aborigines of

the American Continent derived their origin, is a question which has employed the pens of many learned and ingenious writers; and the subject is still involved in no small doubt and darkness. The probability is, that no one theory is sufficient to account for the existence of so many different tribes and nations, whose languages are, in many cases, radically distinct from each other, and whose difference of civilization, when discovered, indicates a widely different origin. The probability therefore is, that this continent was settled by emigrants from different nations, and at periods widely different. There exist numerous indubitable evidences, that the Mississippi valley was once inhabited by a people very different from the savage tribes, which removed from place to place, when the country was discovered by Europeans. And the recent discoveries in Mexico and South America, of ruins and antiquities, equal, it is said, to those of Egypt or any other country, furnish convincing evidence that America is no *new world*, but that a high degree of knowledge and civilization existed here, when most of the countries of Europe were in a barbarous state. We hope that the late residence of Mr. Stevens in South America, will be the occasion of our receiving new light, in regard to those ruins of ancient buildings and cities, concerning which we have heard so much of late.

Dr. Lang's book on the Polynesian Nations, is here introduced, because this learned and enterprising clergyman has brought forward a new theory; maintaining with great confidence, that America was settled from the islands of the Pacific. But as some had held the very contrary, that these islands were peopled from the American continent, Dr. Lang undertakes, in the first place, to refute this opinion, and to prove that the Polynesian nations derived their origin from Asia, and all from one common source. In these views we concur with the learned author, and wonder that any one should ever have entertained a different opinion. The nation to which these islanders may be traced is the Malayan, to whom they bear a strong resemblance in many respects. As long as the Malays have been known to Europeans, they have been a maritime people; and have been in the habit of visiting all the countries on the south east of Asia, in their vessels. For ages they have had a fishery on the North coast of Australia, and which they still carry on annually, employing two hundred *proas* or fishing vessels, which sufficiently shows that they are adventurous naviga-

tors. And the inhabitants of Polynesia are famous for their bold, and even reckless undertakings; whalers have frequently picked up canoes of these people, which had been blown off so far from any land, that they could never have returned by their own unassisted efforts. As also they have been much engaged in war with one another, and as theirs are wars of extermination, the vanquished people to save their lives, would embark in their canoes, with the hope of reaching some place of safety, and though most of them might perish at sea, yet, sometimes, a few of them would be driven to some distant and uninhabited island, where of course, they would take up their abode. And thus, it can readily be conceived, that this enterprising and sea-faring people might pass from island to island, until at length, they arrived at such a distance from the place of their origin, that it would seem almost impossible that they could have come there in vessels so small and frail.

The author, who has passed between Great Britain and New South Wales no less than seven times, is fully of opinon, that New Zealand received its original inhabitants from the Friendly Islands; and he plausibly accounts for the prevalence of cannibalism, in all the South Sea islands, from the necessity which arose to devour one another, to preserve life, in those long voyages at sea, when their little stock of provisions was exhausted.

The considerations by which Dr. Lang attempts to prove the identity of the Polynesian nation with the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, are the following:

1. Distinction of Caste—the most ancient and most remarkable feature of Asiatic society; which, he says, prevails to a great extent, in the South Sea Islands.

2. The singular institution of *taboo*, which obtains universally in the South Sea Islands. "It may be difficult," says he, "to account for this custom, but its Asiatic origin is evident and indubitable. Its influence and operation may be traced from the straits of Malacca.

3. The rite of circumcision, he says, is practised in several of the groups of Polynesia, as in the Figii and Friendly Islands, which must be of Asiatic origin.

4. There is a striking resemblance in the idols worshipped in the South Seas, and in Eastern Asia. In both cases, the idols are in a recumbent posture, and the legs disproportionably small, having the hands clasped before them.

5. In their physical conformation and appearance, as well

as colour, the natives of the South Sea Islands strongly resemble the Malays.

6. Numerous customs, domestic and religious, are common to both nations. The men and women never eat together, and certain kinds of food are prohibited to the latter which are allowed to the former. The posture of sitting cross legged on the ground, is derived from Asia. The New Zealanders and the Friendly Islanders salute each other by touching their noses—a ceremony not unknown, Dr. Lang says, in Eastern Asia. In the Fijii Islands, the principal wife must be strangled at the death of her husband, and buried along with him—a custom evidently derived from the *Suttees* of Hindostan.

7. The general tradition of the inhabitants of Polynesia is, that their ancestors came from the north westward.

8. Mr. Marsden has remarked, that the principal clothing of the people of Sumatra, is the same as that of the South Sea Islands; called Otaheitan cloth, in Europe.

9. But the most indubitable evidence of the Malayan origin of these Islanders, is the language. This furnishes the most satisfactory evidence of the descent of one nation from another; or of a common origin. The identity of the languages spoken in the Islands of the Pacific was observed by Captain Cook; and the resemblance between these dialects and that of the Indian Archipelago was also remarked by this judicious navigator, and by his successors. According to Mr. Marsden—a very competent witness—"there is a remarkable resemblance in the general character, particular form and genius, of all the languages spoken within the limits of the Indian Islands. This observation extends to every country from the north-west extremity of Sumatra, to the shores of New Guinea." "One original language," observes Sir Stamford Raffles, "seems in a remote period to have pervaded the whole Archipelago, and to have spread towards Madagascar, on the one side, and the Islands in the South Sea, on the other." "At first," says Perouse, "we observed no difference between the language of the Navigator's Islands and those of the Friendly and Society Islands; but a closer examination taught us, that they spoke dialects of the same tongue. To me it appears demonstrated, that these different nations are derived from Malay colonies, who conquered these Islands at very remote periods." It has also been fully ascertained, that the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands speak a dialect of the same language spoken

at the Society Islands; Mr. Ellis could preach to the Sandwichers, in a few days after his arrival.

Dr. Lang thinks, that by the languages spoken in Polynesia, we may not only ascertain the Asiatic origin of the inhabitants; but that, by an attentive consideration of the same thing, we may form a probable conjecture of the period of time which has elapsed since their separation from the original stock. For, at present, the Malayan language is very much corrupted; or enriched, perhaps we ought to say, by a mixture of Arabic and Sanscrit words; but the language of the South Sea Islander is free from such foreign mixture. Hence it may be inferred, that the emigration of these tribes took place before the Mahommedan conquests, in the east, when Arabic was first introduced into Hindustan; and also, before the spread of the Sanscrit language in the east, by which now all the languages of India have been affected.

But while we believe that the Polynesian nations derived their origin from Asia, we are not prepared to receive the Doctor's new opinion, that the continent of America is indebted for its settlement, to these South Sea Islanders. This opinion is to us not only new, but bold, and, in our opinion, unwarranted. Even if the fact could be established, which has been taken from some Spanish writer, that a tribe has been found in some part of South America, which spoke a dialect of the Polynesian language, it would only lead to the conclusion, that by some accident, some of the inhabitants of the nearest of those Islands had been driven on the American coast—an event not improbable, as the distance is less than between some of the groups of these Islands from each other. But that the first settlement of America, both North and South, was by these Islanders, is to us the most incredible hypothesis, which has yet been advanced, to account for the peopling of America. But let us weigh the reasons which Dr. Lang adduces in support of his theory.

1. He says that the civilization and aspect of society in Mexico and Peru, when first discovered by Europeans, were plainly Polynesian. And here he makes the remark, that it is easy and natural for man to degenerate in the scale of civilization; but it is absolutely an unheard of thing, for a whole nation to rise by its own energies, from a state of barbarism to a state of comparative civilization. This remark is just; and although intended to operate against Dr. Robertson's hypothesis of America's being peopled from the north east of Asia, by the way of the Aleutian Islands,

where the people are sunk into the lowest state of rudeness, yet it serves equally to show the weakness of his own theory. "Can it be believed, that these savage Asiatics, could ever have raised themselves to that degree of civilization which existed in Mexico and Peru, when discovered by the Europeans?" Now this operates as much against his own theory, as against that which he opposes; and in our opinion, is conclusive against them both. The history of the world furnishes no examples of nations rising from a rude and barbarous state to one of civilization and refinement, without intercourse with civilized people. But what was the state of civilization in the Islands of the Pacific, when discovered? Is it easy to conceive of human beings much more degraded? This fact, therefore, makes nothing in favour of Dr. Lang's hypothesis. We shall be more fully convinced of the groundlessness of this notion, when we have considered all the arguments by which it is attempted to be supported; as 1. The Mexicans and Peruvians were divided into kings, nobles and commons. The king could not go to war, or engage in any other undertaking of importance, without the assent of a council of chiefs. How this should be supposed to afford any assistance we cannot perceive. It seems too general, too common, and too vague a circumstance, on which to build any thing. 2. The Incas, or sovereigns of Peru, conjoined the regal and sacerdotal office, and such he informs us was the case in the Friendly Islands. He might as well have inferred that they derived their origin from Melchisedeck. 3. There was in Mexico a language of ceremony, when inferiors addressed their superiors. And is not this true of all nations, whose rulers are despotic?

4. The right of property was recognised and established, among the Indo-American nations; but the lower orders, generally, cultivated a considerable extent of ground, in common, the produce of which was laid up by their superiors in store houses called *tambos*, and distributed to each as he had need. In New Zealand the seed potatoes, or a quantity of provisions, are laid up for the public service against any emergency. But there is no such custom in Polynesia; nor in all the Aboriginal tribes of North America; and if there were, what would it prove? We might as well argue the identity of two nations because they both laid up provisions for the winter.

5. Taxes were levied, in *kind*, for the support of the government of Mexico. They are levied in a similar way

in the South Sea Islands. This surely requires no answer.

6. "A variety of handicrafts were practiced in Mexico, and the Spaniards were often astonished, not only at the perseverance of the people, but at the neatness of their work, compared with the rudeness of the implements. Similar remarks have been made a thousand and a thousand times, in regard to the South Sea Islanders." Yes, and might be made with respect to almost any tribe of people upon earth, who are in an uncivilized state.

7. "The Mexicans were remarkably fond of ornaments, and formed figures of birds, &c. with variously coloured feathers, neatly disposed. The South Sea Islanders are equally fond of ornaments; and they form some of those most highly prized in a similar way." And who ever heard of a savage tribe of whom something similar might not be said?

8. "The Peruvians cultivated the ground with a mattock of hard wood; so do the New Zealanders. The Mexicans manufactured a sort of paper, exactly similar in its texture, to the paper cloth of Otaheite." When metal instruments were wanting, of what materials should we expect agricultural instruments to be made, except of wood or stone? The North Americans used the latter; the Peruvians the former.

9. "The Indo-Americans had no temples with roofs, but open walls, and mounds of earth, ascended by steps, and surmounted by a sort of altar; similar *high places* are erected in the South Sea Islands, called *Morais*". But the fact is, that there is no resemblance between a *morai* and the sacred places of the Americans.

10. "The Mexican divinities were supposed to be pleased with human victims; and so it is with the Polynesian nations." Here is, indeed, a coincidence; but it will apply equally well to almost any ancient nation, at some period of their history. But does not hold in regard to the aboriginal tribes of North America, who never offer human victims to the Great Spirit.

11. "The houses of the Mexicans had no windows, and the door was always so low that they had to stoop down in crossing the threshold. The New Zealander constructs his hut in precisely the same manner." And so do the Icelander and Laplander, and many other tribes, *ergo*, &c.

12. "Remains of ancient buildings, in a singular massive

style of architecture, are found in various parts of the continent of America. Precisely similar remains are found in the South Sea Islands." This resemblance, as here stated, is too general and vague to prove any thing. Besides, the facts want confirmation. Remains of fortifications, tumuli, and pyramids, are mentioned; but that between these relics of antiquity in America, and the South Sea Islands, there is such a similarity as to lay a foundation for the belief that the people are identical, remains to be proved by a more accurate examination of these antiquities. And those, at least, in North America, are the remains of a people who seem to have become, long since, extinct.

But the Malay countenance has been detected in South America. And by whom, but Capt. Basil Hall, could such a discovery have been made? "Their features and colour," says he, speaking of the inhabitants of Acapulco, "partake somewhat of the Malay character," &c. But to sustain his hypothesis, the general aspect of the aborigines of America should partake of the Malayan character; but the fact is not so.

Our author comes, at last, to the consideration of the similarity of languages; and if he could establish the fact, that the languages of America, and of the Polynesian nations, are the same, in the deficiency of all other proofs, this, of itself, would be sufficient. But the evidence of any such similarity is entirely wanting, and the contrary is capable of being clearly established, in regard to all the languages of the Indians of North America. Their structure, as well as sound,has no affinity with the languages of these Islanders. We may be excused, therefore, from following Dr. Lang through his learned, but unsatisfactory dissertation, respecting the radical languages of the world.

Dr. Lang introduces another theory, which if it had any evidence to support it, would be the easiest of all, as it requires no oceans to be navigated, and no mountains or deserts to be traversed, in coming to America; but supposes that the Aboriginal Americans have no connexion with any other part of the human species, but sprang up in this, as their proper land, just as indigenous plants have grown up in America. This hypothesis, our author treats as it deserves. The author, or traveller, to whom he refers, as advocating this opinion, is a learned Bavarian, by the name of Von Martius. The following is an extract from the work of this learned German:—"The indigenous race of the new

world is distinguished from all the other nations of the earth, externally, by peculiarities of make, but still more internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The Aboriginal American is at once, in the incapacity of infancy, and unpliancy of old age, unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. This strange and inexplicable condition has hitherto frustrated almost every attempt to reconcile him completely with the European, to whom he gives way, so as to make him a cheerful and happy member of the community; and it is this, his double nature, which presents the greatest difficulty to science, when she endeavours to investigate his origin, and earlier epochs of history, in which he has, for thousands of years, moved indeed, but made no improvement in his condition."

The infidel theory, respecting the origin of the nations of the earth, subjects them to many difficulties. This Dr. Von Martius seems to be completely imbued with the free-thinking spirit, so prevalent in Germany; and reasons as coolly upon these principles as if they were all most certain, and incapable of being controverted; but, his theory apart, he seems to be a careful and impartial observer of facts; and as he visited parts of South America not frequently trodden by European feet, it will be worth while to hear some of his statements, which we take from Dr. Lang's book:—"We behold," says he, "in Brazil, a thinly scattered population of aboriginal natives, who agree in bodily make, temperament, disposition, manners, customs, and modes of living; but their languages present a truly astonishing discordance. We often meet with one used only by a few individuals, connected with each other by relationship, who are thus completely isolated, and can hold no communication with any of their other countrymen, far and near. Out of the twenty Indians employed as rowers in the boat, in which we navigated the streams of the interior, there were often not more than three or four who understood any common language; and we had before our eyes, the melancholy spectacle of individuals labouring jointly, though entirely isolated with respect to every thing which contributes to the satisfaction of the first wants of life. In gloomy silence, did these Indians ply the oar together, and join in managing the boat, or in taking their frugal meals; but no common voice or common interest cheered them, as they sat beside each other, during a journey of several hundred miles, which their various fortunes had called them to perform together."

This traveller reckons one hundred and fifty languages and dialects, spoken in Brazil alone; and that there are more than two hundred and fifty different names of nations, hordes, or tribes. Some of these consist of only a few families, entirely cut off from all communication with their neighbours, cautiously concealed in their primeval forests, from which they never issue, except when terrified by some external cause. "Yet," says he, "this rude and melancholy condition is, beyond a doubt, not the first in which the American was placed: it is a degenerate and debased state. Far beyond it, and separated by the obscurity of ages, lies a nobler past, which he once enjoyed, but which can now be only inferred from a few relics. Colossal works of architecture, comparable in extent to the remains of ancient Egypt, (as those of Tiahuanacu, on the lake of Titicaca, which the Peruvians, as far back as the time of the Spanish conquest, beheld with wonder, as the remains of a much more ancient people; raised, according to tradition, as if by magic, in a single night; and similar creations, scattered in enigmatic fragments, here and there, over both the Americas,) bear witness that their inhabitants had, in remote ages, developed a moral power and mental cultivation which have now entirely vanished." "But in Brazil, no such trace of an earlier civilization has yet been discovered; and if it ever existed here, it must have been in a remotely distant period."

From the facts observed by this traveller, we may fairly infer, that a mere resemblance in colour and external habits furnishes no certain evidence of the identity of tribes and nations. Almost the only criterion which is certain, is similarity of language; especially where all tradition is wanting. What Dr. Von Martius remarks, respecting the exact resemblance in complexion and modes of life, between neighbouring tribes, while their language is radically different, has an exact parallel in many of the Aboriginal tribes of North America. Necessity often assimilates people, who in their origin were widely different. The hunting life, all over the world, induces similar habits. Several of the Indian nations with which we are best acquainted, resemble each other very much in complexion and modes of life, and indeed, in all external circumstances, whose languages are radically diverse from each other. We may take the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, who occupied the south-western part of what is now the United States. And although in appearance, modes of life, and, indeed, in all external circumstan-

ces, there is very little to distinguish them, yet their languages are totally and radically different; not only in the sound of the words, but in the idioms of the respective languages. We were informed by a person who had been among them, that, except in borrowed words, there was not the least resemblance. The intelligent and pious man who gave this information, gave as an instance of the difference between the Cherokees and Choctaws, that in the relative position of the adjective and substantive, the idiom of the languages of these two nations was uniformly opposite, the one placing the adjective always before the word which it qualifies, and the other after it. And although this may seem a little thing, it is one of that kind which no people are ever likely to change, if they should alter the sound of every word in their language. And here we cannot but express the wish, that the Missionaries among the Aborigines would avail themselves of their favourable circumstances to acquire a thorough knowledge of the languages of the respective tribes; and that some man among them would, at his leisure hours, make out a vocabulary of several languages in parallel columns, and give it to the public; also such knowledge as he could obtain of the respective idioms of these Aboriginal tongues.

As language is the best criterion by which to judge of the common origin of nations, so a diversity of tongues will prove, that those who use them, however they may now resemble each other, and occupy the same country for ages past, are nevertheless of different origin. Instead therefore, of reasoning on the principle, that all the Aboriginal inhabitants proceeded from one place, and came to this country at the same time; it will be much more consistent with probability, to take it for granted, that the present inhabitants of America derived their origin from many different countries and nations, and found their way to America in many different ways, and at different times. If then we should be able to trace some particular tribe, by means of their language, or peculiar customs, to an Asiatic, or European, or African nation, that would determine nothing respecting the multitude of tribes, who speak a language radically different. Dr. Lang seems to take it for granted, that all the American languages have diverged from one point, and are but dialects of the same original tongue, but this is no how consonant with the observed facts of the case. Another error, into which he has been led by his hypothesis is, that the

languages of Asia, having been originally monosyllabic, the American languages were at first of this structure also; but nothing can be more remote from the truth than this, for it is characteristic of these languages,—at any rate, of those of North America—that they abound in words of extraordinary length. That they abound in vowel sounds is true of some of them; and if it were of all, yet it furnishes no criterion by which any judgment can be formed of the origin of these tribes.

That some of the Indians of the American continent came across the straits of Behring, where the two continents approach each other so nearly, that they may both be seen in a clear day, from a point in the midst of these straits. There is no more reason for thinking that a wandering people, living by fishing or hunting, would be restrained from crossing such a narrow sea, than from crossing a wide river. Indeed, accident, if nothing else, would have driven some of the canoes of the Asiatics over to America. But it has been satisfactorily ascertained, that the barbarous people on both sides have not only the same contour of countenance, and the same structure of body, but that they actually speak a dialect of the same language. What was formerly considered the great difficulty, in accounting for the peopling of America, when it was not ascertained that the two continents approached each other, arose from conceiving how a people who knew nothing of navigation, and had no vessel larger than a canoe, could find their way across the wide ocean; but now there remains no difficulty in seeing how America could be reached by people unacquainted with the compass, and unable to construct or navigate vessels which could live through a sea voyage. Indeed it seems probable, that Greenland is a part of the American continent from which it may be possible to reach the known parts of the American continent, over land.

We admit, that our hypothesis, which supposes that in former times colonies were sent to America from many different nations and countries, involves the subject, as it relates to any certain knowledge of the aboriginal tribes, in still greater perplexity than before. But there are many things in the existing condition of the human race, for which we can give no satisfactory account; and many great nations have lived upon earth, and have long since disappeared, of whose history nothing has reached us. Some of the remains of their greatness, and of their power and skill, are

still extant, filling the traveller with astonishment; but of their existence and exploits, by sea and land, history says not a word We do not believe, that the present race of Indians, either in North or South America, are the lineal descendants of those who erected the buildings and threw up the fortifications, the relics of which are still visible. If they were, they would certainly have retained some tradition of the design and origin of these structures. Such a complete oblivion of past events, in the same race, is not easily to be credited, and is not analogous to the facts, as observed in other nations. It is undoubtedly the fact, that our North American tribes know nothing whatever of the design or origin of the numerous tumuli, fortifications, &c., which abound in the Mississippi valley. They erect no such works, and have no tradition respecting them; and we have understood that the same is true of the extraordinary ruins in South America. This continent has undoubtedly been the seat of great and mighty nations, and the theatre of tremendous wars between contending powers; and the only probable account of their disappearance is, that they destroyed each other; and yet this supposition is liable to solid objections. To account for the disappearance of the former inhabitants of America, is a problem of far greater difficulty than to account for the way in which the present native inhabitants came hither. Dr. Lang reasons forcibly, we think, against the opinion that the miserable savages who are found on the north east of Asia should ever have given rise to the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru; but there are certain periods, when the spirit of emigration seizes upon a whole people, who, leaving their native country, push forward in large masses, in search of a better country, and better climate. What uninterrupted columns did the northern hives pour forth, in the fifth and sixth centuries and onwards; spreading ruin and desolation in their track. A large portion of the southern nations of Europe, are the descendants of those northern barbarians who penetrated even to Africa, where, under the name of Visigoths, they had for a long time the complete possession of the country. Another thing which has not unfrequently occurred in the history of the world is, that the invading and conquering nations have driven from their homes, the original inhabitants, and these had no alternative but to go in pursuit of another country. And if it were once known—as it would be—that

there was an easy passage into another continent, by crossing a narrow sea, what would be more natural than that enterprising or exiled nations would direct their course to this distant land? And thus we can readily account for the origin of our wandering North American Indians. And this emigration, when commenced, would probably continue for centuries, as was the fact in regard to the northern nations of Europe. And as was also the case in regard to them, the example of one nation would influence others, who were near; just as among individuals, the emigration of one family to the western country, is frequently the occasion of many others going also. Thus successive waves of emigrants, from all the North of Asia, and even from the interior regions, may have followed each other, for centuries. And each of these companies would have its own language, and would continue to live separately from other tribes. It is also in this way, that we can account for the fact, that the aboriginal tribes of America have always existed separately from each other. A tribe has been known to separate into two, as is the fact in regard to the Osages and Creeks; but for one tribe to form a union, or amalgamate with another, was never heard of. However they may be reduced, they still remain separate, as Dr. Von Martius tells us is the case in Brazil, where sometimes a tribe consists of no more than one family.

We find no difficulty, therefore, in accounting for the coming of our North American tribes, however various their languages; but we confess, that we cannot believe that the Mexicans and Peruvians came into America by this channel. We fully believe in Dr. Lang's doctrine, that there is no example, in all authentic history, of a barbarous tribe or nation, raising itself, by its own unaided exertions, to a state of refinement and civilization. The Greeks were once as great barbarians as our Indians, but they were visited by men from Phenicia, and from Egypt, then the centres of refinement, and the arts; and these brought with them the letters and useful arts of their own countries. The Romans were, at first, a mere banditti—a horde of robbers, who lived by violence and plunder; but they adopted the arts and civilized customs of the people whom they conquered. They continued, however, to be a rude and unpolished people, until a free intercourse with the Greeks taught them to cultivate a taste for literature and for the fine arts. The Gauls and Britons were as thorough savages as can easily

be found in this or any other continent; but the Romans transplanted all their improvements, and even their language, into conquered countries. There are examples enough of civilized nations becoming, by degrees, barbarians. Indeed, the downward path is easily trodden. To preserve a nation in a high state of improvement in literature, and in the fine arts, or even the useful mechanic arts, requires unceasing exertion. While the march is onward, and upward, in improvement, the progress is comparatively easy. Success and competition bring forth the resources of the people. But when a nation reaches its *acme*, it is very apt to retrograde, and when this ebbing tide begins to set in strongly, no human efforts can retard the backward course; and seldom does it stop short of the lowest degradation. Look at the descendants of the Egyptians, the Syrians, the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and even Greece itself, and see the low and ignorant state of the descendants of the most polished nations of antiquity. And the same retrograde course is in rapid progress in Italy. Except a few favoured spots, which are like the verdant oasis in the midst of a sandy desert, every thing is in a state of mournful degeneracy. The same degrading tendency has, it is to be feared, already commenced in some other European countries. The doctrine of a certain infidel school of philosophy is that man, at first, was merely a higher species of animal, possessing, however, more numerous instincts, and more improveable capacities; and that, by slow degrees, he rose from one step of advancement to another, until at last he reached the highest point of improvement which has yet been attained; but which falls far short of the perfectibility of which his nature is capable. This theory, we say, is refuted by the whole history of the world; and may be considered as exploded; for even Doctor Von Martius does not advocate it, but thinks that the Americans have fallen from a high state of improvement, which they once enjoyed. We agree, therefore, with Dr. Lang, that the common theory, that all the aboriginal inhabitants came in by the way of the Aleutian Islands, will not satisfactorily account for the existence of such semi-civilized nations as even the Mexicans and Peruvians, when first discovered by the Spaniards; much less will it account for the existence here of a people far more advanced in improvement than these nations. We refer to the people, the relics of whose greatness and power have recently attracted so much attention among the learned. We feel ourselves,

therefore, under the necessity of adopting some other hypothesis; but we cannot receive that of Dr. Lang, which he advocates with so much zeal and learning; and that for the very same reason that he rejects Dr. Robertson's theory; because the Polynesian nations are savages, in the lowest state of degradation. If he supposes that they were once civilized, he may as well suppose the same of the inhabitants of Greenland or Kamschatka. We must, therefore, think of some more satisfactory hypothesis. And there are two, neither of which have any historical evidence; but we will exhibit them, and let the reader judge for himself of the probabilities of each.

In the first place then, we think it nowise improbable, that in the early ages of the world, when commerce was carried on between nations widely separated, and when navigation was in a high state of improvement, intercourse existed between some of the people around the Mediterranean sea, and the American continent. The Phenicians were the most skilful and expert in maritime affairs, as we learn from the Bible, at a period long prior to that in which profane history commences. The Egyptians also, were a learned and enterprising people from a period commencing not many centuries after the flood. The Carthaginians also, of whom we read nothing in history, sacred or profane, until we find them extending their conquests through Sicily and Spain, and possessing a naval power superior to any then in the world, and such power and skill in war as enabled them to compete with the Romans in their greatest strength, and often to obtain a superiority over them; so that at one time Rome itself was very near falling into their hands, and all the greater part of Italy was actually conquered. Now what should hinder, but that some of these maritime and powerful nations extended their discoveries even to America? There is so striking a resemblance between the antiquities discovered in Mexico and Peru, and those of Egypt, that we feel ourselves strongly inclined to favour this hypothesis. And if that is true, which has recently been reported, that extensive mummy-pits have been discovered, with the bodies preserved and enveloped, after the Egyptian fashion, it will reduce a plausible hypothesis, to a moral certainty. We may soon expect from our own enterprising traveller, by the aid of the ingenious Catherwood, such complete information on this subject, as will either confirm or disprove our hypothesis. But we do not

make it a necessary part of our theory, that the Egyptians, or Phenicians, or Carthaginians, came to America in the common course of navigation. They might, by some tremendous storm, have been driven so far to the west, that they may have concluded that land was probably nearer in that direction than to the east. And having once discovered this continent, they might have ventured home with such an account of the fertility and pleasantness of the country, as would fire the hearts of multitudes, as in the times of Columbus, to seek their fortune in the new world. And skilful navigators, such as the Phenicians, would have had no difficulty in crossing the Atlantic without a compass, when they knew the right direction. In clear weather they would have found no difficulty whatever, as they were so accustomed to regulate their course by the sun and stars, and especially by the north polar star, that they would have been at no loss. There are many masters of vessels who could now cross the Atlantic without difficulty, in a good substantial vessel; and if in cloudy weather they should get out of their course, as soon as it cleared away, they could readily return to their proper track. How often have shipwrecked sailors, in an open boat, without quadrant or compass, and even in the midst of storms, made their way for hundreds of miles, and reached the land for which they steered. All this only goes to show the possibility of this theory; but millions of things are possible, which are not true. We shall, therefore, patiently wait for further developements, respecting the extraordinary antiquities of South America; and will proceed to lay before the reader another hypothesis, older than any of the rest, and greatly favoured by the voice of antiquity, not by direct but by collateral testimony—a hypothesis, which if it be once admitted, will remove every difficulty arising from the existence of beasts, birds, and reptiles, existing in such abundance, in this continent. And it is one which will not contradict, but rather coincide with the preceding theory, which refers the origin of the Mexicans and Peruvians to some Mediterranean people, either in Asia or Africa.

As the hypothesis which we are now about to exhibit, has been explained and defended in a very learned and ingenious manner, by Mr. Catcott, in his work on the Deluge, we will avail ourselves of his ideas, without confining ourselves to his words.

This learned author assures us, in the beginning of his

work, that the opinion which he advocates, was confidently maintained by the great critic, BENGEL; and by other learned men. Catcott, before he comes to the main point, lays down several positions, which he endeavours, and we think successfully, to confirm.

1. That America was peopled after the flood; for which opinion it is unnecessary to allege any other proof, than that the tradition of this great catastrophe was found rife both among the Mexicans and Peruvians.

2. That though this country was colonized after the flood, yet it was at a period earlier than the use of alphabetical writing; and before men had discovered the art of working iron. He admits, indeed, that this art was known before the flood, (Gen. iv. 22,) but he thinks it was lost soon afterwards.

3. The early peopling of America may be fairly argued from the ignorance of that useful and noble structure, the ARCH, and also of the art of making cement, to unite solid materials, by the Peruvians and Mexicans; for all their works are destitute of the arch; and all their most massive edifices are without cement. The learned author admits that the builders of Babel used cement, but that was the natural production of the country, and not made by the artful combination of materials. And their using *asphaltus*, or *naptha*, he considers a clear proof, that the way to make artificial cement was not then discovered.

4. The fourth position of our learned author is, that America was peopled by land. This he thinks is evident, beyond contradiction, because the country is full of wild beasts, and a great many species of insects and reptiles, many of which are ferocious, and poisonous, and disgustful; such as no emigrants would or could have conveyed across the ocean. This brings us to the main point of his hypothesis, which is, that all the continents of the world were, immediately after the flood, connected together; but that at a certain period, not long after the flood, a *disruption* took place, between the eastern and the western continents; or, that a large tract of land, between Europe and Africa, on the one side, and America, on the other, in consequence of an earthquake, or, it may be, as a natural consequence of the flood itself, was submerged; from which time all intercourse by land, between the two continents, was rendered impracticable. But before this disruption, or *division of the earth*, America was peopled from the east, and was furnished with its pro-

per quota of animals and vegetables, as other portions of the globe. The people were commanded to disperse and occupy the several parts of the habitable world; for it was said to man: "Replenish the earth and subdue it;" but America, though not a half, makes two-fifths of the whole land upon the globe. And we know that the impious attempt to build the tower of Babel was to prevent a dispersion, and this was the reason of God's high displeasure at the enterprise: and the punishment which he inflicted was calculated and intended to enforce his command, for the dispersion of the people; for he put a stop to the work by confounding their language. As only those who after this spoke the same dialect could hold intercourse, the people were naturally led to distribute themselves into separate tribes, which, having received such a miraculous admonition, left the plains of Shinar, and proceeded to their respective regions. As America was far off, it is not necessary to suppose that any would proceed at once to these ends of the earth; but the dispersion would extend farther and farther from the centre, as the people multiplied.

But, according to the hypothesis, this peopling of America, and separation of the continents, must have occurred long before the time of Moses, and why does he make no mention of an event so important? This would, indeed, be a formidable objection, if the fact were as stated. But Moses has recorded this extraordinary event, as distinctly as any other; though with great brevity, as is his usual practice. We have it in Gen. x. 25:—"*And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days was the earth divided.*" The name Peleg, signifies *division*, as we are informed in the margin, and as every Hebrew scholar knows. Catcott, whose skill in the Hebrew is undoubted, asserts, that these words can refer to nothing else but such a division of the body of the earth as has been mentioned; and he is sustained in this, by the justest rules of exegesis. But as he wished to fortify his interpretation, by an authority so weighty, and so generally acknowledged as that of Bengel, he cites the words of this learned and impartial critic:—"The earth, after the deluge, was divided by degrees, by a genealogical and political division, (or dispersion,) which is expressed by the Hebrew words נפצה and נרדו; but a very different kind of division is meant by the word נפלגה, namely, a *physical division;* which happened at once, and which was so remarkable, and of such

extent, as to render it suitable to name the patriarch therefrom. By this word, that kind of division is denoted, which is applicable to land and water, whence in the Hebrew פלג signifies a *river*, and in the Greek πελαγος the sea, and *pelagus*, in Latin, the same. From the precise meaning of the word, therefore, we may conclude, that the earth was split or divided asunder for a very great extent, and that the sea came in between the parts thus severed; and that this great event happened in the days of *Peleg*. And, surely, when any person views the situation of America, and considers how it is disjoined from this part of the world, and what an immense sea divides it from us, he will not be backward in allowing that this was the grand division intended by the passage under consideration."

Bengel, whose words we have been reciting, goes on to remark, "That soon after the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind upon the face of the whole earth, some of the sons of Ham—to whom Africa was allotted—went into that part of America which now looks towards Africa; and the earth being divided, or split asunder, in the days of Peleg, they with their posterity (the Americans) were, for many ages, separated from the rest of mankind."

Catcott appeals also to ancient heathen history for the confirmation of his opinion. In the *Timaeus* of Plato, there is mention made of "a vast tract of land, or of an island, greater than Lybia and Asia, situated beyond the bounds of Africa and Europe, which, by the concussion of an earthquake, was swallowed up in the ocean." And this fact is introduced by Plato, on the authority of Solon, who, when in Egypt, heard it from an old Egyptian priest; who, reproaching the Greeks for their ignorance, said, "There was formerly an island at the entrance of the ocean, where stand the pillars of Hercules. This island was larger than all Lybia and Asia; and from it was an easy passage to many other islands, and from these islands to all that continent which was opposite to the true sea, (αληθινον πονπον.) Yet, within the mouth, there was a gulph, with a narrow entry; but that land, which surrounded the sea, called *Pelagus*, (πελαγος) might justly be called a continent."—"In after times, there happened a dreadful earthquake, and an inundation of water, which continued for the space of a whole day and night; and this island, ATLANTIS, being covered and overwhelmed by the waves, sunk beneath the ocean, and so disappeared; wherefore that sea (πελαγος) is now

impassable, on account of the slime and mud left by the immersed island." This very ancient testimony is confirmed by our author, by what is written in the eighteenth chapter of the third book of *Ælian*, who introduces two persons discoursing, one of whom asserts, that Lybia, Europe, and Asia, should be considered islands, which the ocean wholly surrounds; and that the part of the world which lies beyond these, ought to be esteemed the continent, as it was of an immense extent, and nourished very different, and larger kinds of animals, than this side of the world; and the men that inhabited it were twice as large."

Our author thinks, that from these testimonies, it may be concluded, that Africa and America were once united; or at least, separated only by a narrow sea.

He next endeavours to fix the time of this disruption of the earth which occurred in the days of Peleg; for we are told, that in his days, "*the earth was divided.*" The words do not signify that this event occurred in the year of his birth, but more likely, in his advanced age. The name was, therefore, given to him prophetically, as was Noah's, in relation to an event which would occur in his days. From the Pentateuch, it appears, that Peleg was born in the one hundred and first year after the flood, and that he lived two hundred and thirty-nine years; so that it is probable, that this extraordinary disruption of the earth happened about three hundred years after the flood. Before this time, if the people multiplied as fast as the children of Israel did in Egypt, the number of inhabitants on the earth must have been great. And we know that Noah, on leaving the ark, received, with his sons, a special blessing from God, in relation to this matter; for, "*God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.*" Now we have the fullest assurance that it was not the will of God that the human family should continue in the same parts of the world, clustered together like bees in a hive; but that they should disperse and occupy the different countries of the globe. It seems unreasonable, therefore, to suppose, that so large a portion of the earth as America, should originally have been so situated, that no emigrants should be able to reach that continent. We have already remarked, on the ground of God's displeasure against the builders of Babel, and the means employed to separate and scatter the people, who were reluctant to go and colonize other regions. And that the dispersion now

produced was effectual, and related to all countries, we learn from the express words of the sacred historian, who says, "*And from thence did the Lord scatter them upon the face of the whole earth.*" But as this continent was more remote than the other habitable parts of the globe, the reluctance to go so far from the place of their nativity would probably be much greater, than to emigrate to the contiguous regions; and as it would require a considerable time to fill these up, there would be for a while no need to send colonies to so great a distance. Our author therefore allows another century for the peopling of America, after Asia, Europe, and Africa, were occupied.

The plausibility of this hypothesis is greatly increased by an examination of the geographical and geological appearances in the islands which lie between Africa and America. Some things corroborative of his opinion are introduced, in relation to this point, by Mr. Catcott, in a letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, in which the volcanic appearances in the island of Teneriffe are mentioned, and other interesting particulars, which are necessarily excluded from our pages, for the want of room. The subject is sufficiently presented to the reader to enable him to form his own judgment, which we shall not attempt to forestall by any remarks of our own.

We have yet said nothing of a theory widely circulated in this country, and embracing among its advocates some very distinguished men. We refer to the opinion, that the Indians, of North America at least, are the descendants of Abraham, and a portion of the long lost ten tribes carried away from the land of Israel by the king of Assyria, and their place filled up by other people sent to take their place. This event, according to Usher's chronology, occurred about 720 years before the Christian era. (See 2 Kings, xvii.) That which invests this opinion—otherwise very improbable—with some plausibility and interest is, that most of those who have been its advocates, have either resided among the American Indians, or have received their information from those who had lived among them, and were well acquainted with their customs and religious ceremonies.

In a history of the Indian nations written by James Adair, an Indian trader, who had resided among them, in different tribes, for more than forty years, this hypothesis is maintained in an elaborate essay, embracing no small degree of learning. To establish his opinion, he adduces no less than twenty-three distinct arguments. If arguments were

to go by number instead of weight, he had surely gained his cause; but after examining these arguments, while we are disposed to accord to the writer no small ingenuity and extraordinary learning for a person in his situation, we profess ourselves unconvinced that the theory which he advocates is founded in fact.

A distinguished statesman and philanthropist of our own country, Elias Boudinot, LL. D., has also entered zealously into the defence of the same opinion, in a work entitled THE STAR IN THE WEST, which, when first published, attracted considerable attention, and probably made some converts to the opinion of the learned author. As the work is readily accessible to any one who desires to peruse it, we decline entering into any detail respecting the arguments and facts depended on to sustain the hypothesis. Both of these authors refer the emigration to a period, when the first temple was yet standing, when Shalmaneser carried captive the ten tribes, as before mentioned. This theory does not propose a new method of reaching the American continent, but takes it for granted that the emigrants passed into America from the north east of Asia. Our reasons for dissenting from this opinion are, that the Aborigines of America have not the obscurest tradition of any such descent, or of any of the remarkable facts recorded in the Mosaic history, which could no more have been utterly lost, than their language. And this again furnishes another strong argument against the hypothesis, in question; for as far as we know, it has never been alleged by any Hebraist, that the languages of our Indian tribes have any affinity, or the least resemblance to the ancient Hebrew. We have indeed seen a collection of words from the language of the Carribees, which had a resemblance to Hebrew words of the same signification; but the hypothesis under consideration relates to our wandering tribes, in North America, from whose religious ceremonies all the arguments are derived. But the entire diversity of languages among these tribes, already mentioned, is inconsistent with the idea, that, originally, they all used one tongue; for living in the same country, such an entire diversity could never have occurred. But the most conclusive argument is, the universal defect of the covenant seal of circumcision, by which all the descendants of Abraham, in every line, are distinguished; and which is of itself sufficient to overthrow the theory. And as to the arguments derived from certain religious observances and ceremonies, they are such as that something

similar may be found in many nations, who certainly cannot claim any kindred with Abraham. This similarity of religious rites, among different nations, rather goes to prove, that the religions of the heathen nations had a common origin, and that they were derived from institutions of divine appointment, which, however, were greatly perverted from their original design.

That remarkable man, Joseph Wolf, has spent many years in travelling over the earth, to see if he could find the habitation of the Ten Tribes; and with the view, it is said, of ascertaining whether there was any foundation for the opinion which we have been considering, came to this country, intending to visit the several tribes in the United States. But when he was at Washington City, he had the opportunity of seeing a number of Indian chiefs, from several tribes; and whether from these specimens he was satisfied that they had no claim to be considered the seed of Abraham, or whether other reasons induced him to decline, we cannot tell; but he relinquished his purpose of going among the Indian tribes; and, we have understood, had no belief that they had any connexion with the tribes of Israel. And although on many subjects, we should be unwilling to confide in the judgment of this benevolent enthusiast, yet, in regard to this point, we know no one whose opinion should be more decisive; especially when it is found on the negative of the question.

There is only one circumstance in the case of the Aborigines of America, which seems to have no analogy to the other nations of the earth; and that is the uniformity of their complexion, from Labrador to Cape Horn. We confess, that, considering the many climates which they occupy, it seems somewhat unaccountable that there should be such a uniformity of colour. The Spanish writers who gave an account of the first discovery of America, mention this fact with great surprise. They expected to find the inhabitants of the countries within the tropics, of as dark a colour as in Asia or Africa; but they found little or no change of complexion from that of the higher latitudes.

Mr. Adair, the gentleman who resided so long among them, attempts to account for the fact, in the following manner. "The Indians," says he, "are of a copper, or red-clay colour; and they delight in using things which they imagine may promote and increase it. Accordingly, they paint their faces with vermillion, as the best and most beautiful ingre-

dient." "All the Indians are so strongly attached to, and prejudiced in favour of their own colour, that they think as meanly of the whites as they can possibly do of them." But Mr. Adair does not admit, that the colour of the Indian is the same in all climates. "The hotter or colder the climate," says he, "where the Indians have long resided, the greater proportion have they of the white or red colour. I took particular notice of the Shawano (Shawnese) Indians, as they were passing from the northward, and I observed them to be much fairer than the Chickasaws, though I am satisfied their endeavours to cultivate the copper colour were alike."

"Many incidents and observations lead me to believe that the Indian colour is not natural, but that the external difference between them and the whites, proceeds entirely from their customs and methods of living, and not from any inherent spring of nature, which will entirely overcome Lord Kaimes's whole system of colour and separate races of men." "That the Indian colour is merely accidental or artificial, appears pretty evident. Their own traditions record them to have come to their present lands from the west, from a far distant country." "It is sheer prejudice which induces us to believe that the first man was white. It is much more probable that he was red, as his name signifies; or some intermediate colour between white and black, which are the extremes; red or yellow of different shades, is the colour of four-fifths of the human race. Probably the Indians retain the colour which their forefathers had when they came to America. In the greatest extent of the country, both in North and South America, there exist no sufficient causes to change the colour much; for even the tropical regions are in the vicinity of high mountains always covered with snow."

Mr. Adair also explains a circumstance on which Lord Kaimes had laid great stress, to prove that the Indians were a distinct race from the whites. This was, "that there is not a single hair on the body of an American, nor the least appearance of a beard." This, Adair, who had the best opportunity of knowing, affirms to be utterly destitute of foundation. "It is known to all men," says he, "that the Indians are in the habit of eradicating their beards, with tweezers." Returning again to colour, he says, "that the web, under the outer skin, is red in the Indian, and white in us," which he ascribes to their exposure to the parching winds and hot sun-beams, beating on their naked bodies,

which necessarily tarnishes their skin with the tawny or red colour. "Add to this," says he, "their constant anointing their bodies with bear's oil, mixed with a certain red root, which, by a peculiar property, is able alone, in a few years, to produce the Indian colour in those who are white born, and who have even advanced to maturity. These metamorphoses I have often seen. At the Shawano camp, I saw a Pennsylvanian, a white man by birth, and in profession a Christian, who, by the inclemency of the sun, and his endeavours to produce the Indian colour, was tarnished with as deep an Indian hue as any in the camp; though he had been in the woods only four years." And whatever may be the original cause of the red, or any other colour of the skin, we know that after a while it becomes hereditary; which we see every day exemplified, not only in the national complexion of a whole people, but in the dark or fair colour and hair in particular families of the same nation.

The Indians are almost universally well formed, and remarkably free from deformities, or bodily defects. When a number of them, from a distant tribe, visited New York, a few years ago, they were taken to the deaf and dumb asylum; and, at first, they would not believe what was told them respecting the mutes, and declared that no instances of similar defects had ever been known among them.

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J. N. Yeomans.

ART. V.—1. *Religion of the Bible, in Select Discourses.* By Thomas H. Skinner. New York: John S. Taylor. 1839. pp. 323.

2. *Aids to Preaching and Hearing.* By Thomas H. Skinner. New York: John S. Taylor. 1839. pp. 305.

WE have kept the first of these books for several months upon our table, with the design of taking the first opportunity of preparing for our pages a few thoughts on the character of the work, and the subjects of the several discourses; and we now fulfil our intention, with no fear that our remarks will be deemed unseasonable, although the author has more recently given to the public the other volume.

The pious sentiments of Dr. Skinner, and his eminence and popularity as a preacher and a writer, afford high hope of increasing advantage to the cause of truth and righteous-

ness from his pen. While he makes free use of the press—a use which, in his case, we wish by no means to discourage as excessive—he owes it to his own reputation, to the edification of his contemporaries, and to the spiritual good of those whom he may secure as his readers in coming generations, to employ his talents with discretion. It is not of small importance what a man writes who can write well. He is not at liberty to lavish eminent abilities on unworthy themes; nor does it become him to handle great themes for the sake of their minor and incidental bearings: nor yet can he fitly occupy an excellent talent which he has, in endeavours to emulate or display a talent which he has not.

In estimating the comparative worth of the intellectual abilities which are appointed to the service of the church on earth, we are not permitted to assign to an inferior place the power of an attractive writer. The Holy Spirit works pre-eminently like himself while employing literary accomplishments among the means by which he takes of Christ's, and shows it to the people. And he clothes those instruments, while he uses them, with his own sacredness and dignity. Who shall say whether they are of the lower order of means or of the higher? It avails nothing to the due honour of the servants of God, that we distinguish by rank the different talents called into his service. How, or to what purpose, should we judge, whether he be the greater who settles and fortifies truth by impregnable argument, or he who wins the world's attention to it by the adventitious charms of an elegant pen?

Let both be admonished that the Lord hath need of them; and whether more of the one than of the other, let neither inquire. Shall the argument say to the trope, I have no need of thee? Truth, as a subject for the mental exercises, offers all the faculties employment. The logic she stands on yields no greater advantage to reason, than her form, dress and position may yield to taste. Persons who feel the power of truth, are wont to appreciate the greatest beauties of its language. It will never become the church to decry or to slight the power of elegant letters, till she has forgotten the profound and refined erudition of Luther, and the grace and sweetness of Melancthon; till literary taste, used as it has been and is, by many of the most successful preachers of the Gospel, shall cease to conciliate men to the hearing and belief of the word of God; nay, till the Bible itself shall be shorn of its literary splendour. He therefore performs no

unworthy office, who adds a literary charm to that truth which may have been prepared to his hand by another's logic; who polishes arrows which another may have forged. Only let him take choice arrows for his purpose, which will be sharp in the hearts of the king's enemies, whereby the people shall fall under him. To such, his superior finish will give superior efficiency. If beautiful language speak powerful truth, the greater beauty will exert the greater power.

If it be a high service to the church for which we claim Dr. Skinner as a writer, it is one to which he may hopefully aspire. For readers qualified and disposed to appreciate their author's diligent exertion to please a cultivated taste, his books have rare attractions. His style, though wrought to excess, is manly, perspicuous, and often exceedingly forcible; his language is select and elevated; and although his pages have less vivacity than elegance, they are remarkably free from those intervals of extreme dulness on the one hand, and those paroxysms of sprightliness on the other, which mar the productions of many a prolific and popular writer. But what we most of all admire in his books, is the uniform and amiable ardour of piety which enlivens and illumines every page. His thoughts shine but never flash. We are never startled and arrested by passages of dazzling and elaborate brilliancy;—a characteristic which seems beyond the range equally of his power and his ambition;—but we glide agreeably along through the placid and luminous medium of his pious emotion, moved by the warmth of his feeling, even when least impressed by the force of his thought. This conspicuous virtue of our author covers many a peculiarity which would otherwise be far less tolerable in his style. It counteracts his rhetorical rigidity. When the reader of literary experience and discernment finds his attention caught by the extremely precise and artificial arrangement of words, he will not stop and lay aside the book with indifference, as in most other such cases he would very likely do; but will go on without pausing, even to scan the fault. He will be carried over the bar by the tide of the author's feeling. If he sometimes meets a true thought in a false expression,* he will charge the defect rather to the writer's zeal and warmth

* As on page 116. "It is not he who studies and thinks, but he who loveth, that knoweth God." And on page 124. "As the Scriptures were given, not to afford materials for criticism and comment," &c.

in gathering strength for his favourite point, than to error in his deliberate views of the subject.

We commend the subjects of these "Select Discourses," as worthy of the ablest and amplest discussion; and while suggesting sundry infelicities in the writer's treatment of his subjects, we have the double aim, of stating and illustrating some general principles brought to our minds by the reading of this book, and applicable to all popular discussions of religious truth; and of intimating what we hope from Dr. Skinner's labours hereafter.

If any reader of the "Religion of the Bible" should drop a passing criticism on the title, he might ask with some surprise how a writer, not ambitious of eccentricity, nor vainly inclined to overrate his own productions, should think of such a title for such a book. We pass this singularity, however, with the only remark, that the title of a book may be its description or only its name. If the title in this case be only a name, it is faultless, for the reader should use it as the author does, to denote the book and not the subjects of it. So the intelligent reader will perhaps be tempted to use the title of this volume, and the more so, the farther he reads in several of the prominent essays; notwithstanding the author's prefatory explanation of his title, and his virtual apology for using it.

The subject of the first of these discourses is "Spiritual Religion." It is so called, as one of three kinds of religion here distinguished; the first being unbelief under the cloak of religion; the second, the lower grade of religious experience,—the assuming of the duties of Christianity without the enjoyment of its privileges, the third "Spiritual Religion." Three different sorts of religion. But the first is no religion at all in the Christian sense of the word; and the second, if it embrace no degree of true religious experience, is also no religion; if it embrace any degree of true religious experience it is so far spiritual religion. True, this is not intended, nor shall we be so unfair as to treat it as a fixed distinction in the writer's theology. The distinction is taken only for the occasion;—as a method chosen by the author for the time, to illustrate and enforce the obligation, and recommend the privilege of Christians, to maintain pure and lively religious affections. We are concerned only with the question, whether the method is wisely chosen for the author's own purpose, as being adapted to exhibit his subject to the best

advantage of itself, and of the system of religious duty and experience as a whole.

The distinction disregards the manifest connexion between one of these kinds of religion and another; and leaves the reader whose impressions on this point are to be formed from this discourse, to presume that to adopt the higher grade of piety, here denominated "Spiritual Religion," he must renounce the religion he already has. Of the author's first kind of religion, this presumption is just. Of this he truly says, "it were well if the world were destitute." "The form of Godliness without its power; the religion which would serve at the same time two masters; would join light and darkness, Christ and Belial, believers and infidels together, avails nothing towards true scriptural religion in any of its degrees. No matter how far and how entirely these two sorts of religion (if there is any propriety in calling them two sorts of the same thing) are put asunder. They have no affinity for each other; and are as diverse in their nature as they can be in theological definition. But the religion of "the mass of those who bear, and are not supposed to dishonour, the Christian name,"* is not thus to be set aside in the account of spiritual religion. For the difference between the piety of these Christians and the piety of Leighton, Baxter, Edwards, Brainerd and Martyn, whom the author quotes as examples of spiritual religion, is a difference rather in degree than in kind. "The hope of heaven different from that of the self-righteous, which springs from reflection on the general tenour of our conduct, regarded as an evidence of our spiritual character and state, .... the hope of the mass of professed Christians,"† though it be "not *assurance* of hope;" though it "does not preclude doubt, but only despair; and leaves its subjects uncertain of their state, and not *sure* of their calling and election," is nevertheless to be treated as the first stage of a genuine Gospel hope; not to be cast away to make room for another sort of hope; but to be trained and cherished, till the grain of mustard seed grows to a tree; till "reflections on the general tenour of our conduct, regarded as an evidence of our spiritual character and state," shall be gradually displaced by reflections on the life-giving word of God, his glorious character and wonderful works, and all the animating objects of the Christian faith; till the hope which now only overcomes despair

* Page 16. † Page 23.

shall extend its conquest over doubt, and grow into assurance. While therefore a writer proposes to himself the truly Christian endeavour of showing the reader the nature and value of Spiritual Religion, he can hardly secure to himself the credit and confidence due to well adjusted, complete, and consistent views of his subject, if he disregard the essential connexion between that high and holy principle and the feebler but not less divine principle of saving faith in the lowest stages of the spiritual life; still less if he adopt a set of distinctions and a course of reasoning which shut out from the reader's view the progressive character of all true and available religion in the soul.

Nor is it the mere *fact* of an essential connexion between the lower grade of Christian virtue and the higher, which we expect to find prominent in a just treatise on spiritual religion; we should judge the discussion deficient without due and studious attention to the *growth* of the spiritual principle, from the smallest beginnings to the perfect stature of the man in Christ Jesus. We cleave to the author's distinction. He insists upon it with all needful form and stress throughout the essay; we, therefore, insist upon it in testing his argument. It is the distinction between these two kinds of religion; first, "the middle path of Christianity, embracing, besides a profession of religion and the observance of ordinances, a belief of the doctrines, and an irreprehensible outward conformity to the duties of the gospel;* joined with a hope of heaven different from that of the self-righteous, which springs from reflection on the general tenour of our conduct, regarded as an evidence of our spiritual character and state.† Second, that religion which rises to the privileges of the gospel; including those lively hopes and anticipations, those holy joys and sorrows, that sensible intercourse and fellowship with God and Christ, that enrapturing communion with the Holy Spirit, that vivid and permanent earnest and assurance of heaven which the gospel warrants and encourages in every believer."‡ We take special note of what the writer embraces in the first of these two kinds of religion. It includes a hope which he would not speak against, except to lament that it should be made so generally the measure of spiritual enjoyment. It does not leave its subjects to the certain doom of unbelievers, but only fails of giving satisfying assurance to themselves.§ In

* Page 14. † Page 23. ‡ Page 14. § Page 23.

other words, it is a lower measure, and feebler developement of piety in the soul. While, therefore, we read successive pages of the essay, in full possession of the author's distinction between the smaller degree of piety and the greater, we fall with surprise upon one of the divisions of his discourse in which he asserts and goes on to prove, that the latter is the only kind of religion which *perceptibly advances the soul in the life and likeness of God.** This advancing in the life and likeness of God, means, as we discover from his remarks under this head, growing in grace; and the amount of this paragraph is, that no perceptible growth in grace can be experienced except by proficients in the higher attainments of the spiritual life. This we do not suppose to be our author's doctrine; but it appears the obvious drift of his inadvertent reasonings here. Would he teach that the leaven never works until the three measures of meal are largely leavened; that the blade and the ear remain stationary until the full corn comes forth in the ear; that the least of all seeds never germinates and grows, until the tree stands up in full strength and expansion?

The notable infelicity into which the writer is betrayed by the distinctions at the foundation of this discourse appears in his formal arrangement and discussion of some of the "many respects in which the kind of religion" he has delineated, "has greatly the pre-eminence above every other." When the reader has definitely ascertained his author's idea, expressed by the terms "spiritual religion," and understands him to intend a high and lively state of the religious affections, in distinction from a low and languid state of those affections, and from no religious affections at all, he is introduced to a formal argument for its superiority; and finds his attention engaged with an ardent demonstration that a high degree of piety is more scriptural than a low, or than none at all—more rational—more joyful—more increasingly God-like—more useful—and a more powerful support under evil. True; very true indeed. The soundness of the proposition is unquestionable. But from an argument of such pretensions, ought we to look for such a common-place conclusion?

Although words without knowledge yield only dark counsel to a perplexed and afflicted inquirer, they are not always entirely useless. When a superfluity of ratiocina-

* Page 28.

tion is adopted as the medium of uttering and transmitting a glowing ardour of the soul, it is not to be denounced. A writer may reason to *some* good purpose, though he prove nothing. He may himself traverse a region of entertainment and salubrity, and to the readers, his paths may drop fatness; while the point he aims at in his course, may be of little concern to him or them. Still, though the sacred vocation of the religious teacher may not positively forbid sentimental journeys and voyages to Lilliput, after matters for serious or entertaining talk, it is nevertheless most highly honoured by that ardent piety which attends and impels reason to the most momentous conclusions. Nothing is gained by arranging religious instruction in the order of an argument, unless the conclusion arrived at be definite and worthy of distinct contemplation.

We are aware of the several uses which have been made of this discourse, in different forms of publication, by the author, and by others engaged in doing good; for all which, the attractive and valuable qualities we have ascribed to Dr. Skinner as a writer, sufficiently account. It savours throughout of an amiable Christian zeal which strongly commends it to religious people. It presents a mass and a variety of pious exhortation and counsel which cannot be read by Christians without advantage. In these respects, it is more creditable to the author than as a treatise on the nature and culture of spiritual religion. If, after extending our remarks on this part of the book already beyond our design, we should offer a thought on the tendency of this form of discussing points of religious experience, we would suggest its liability to mislead persons of small knowledge and little familiarity with the nature of true religion. We have often recoiled from the rashness and denunciation with which a class of preachers are wont to address professed believers of the less advanced and decided character; calling upon them to renounce all pretensions to faith and hope in Christ in their present state, and take for granted that to this moment they have been dead in trespasses and sins. It is neither unaccountable nor uncommon that the reviving sensibilities of a languid and backslidden child of God should be attended with alarm at the thought of the spiritual slumber from which he is rising; and that he should suspect some of the livelier and stronger pious affections of his earliest experience to have been delusive and insincere. But in the treatment of such cases by a minister of the gospel, it better suits, in

our view, the "religion of the Bible," to regard the feeblest faith in Jesus as a genuine gospel faith, and the hesitating hope which attends it, as a genuine gospel hope; to account them, in their measure, the proof and the fruit of the grace of God in the soul; and rather to cherish and encourage them, and provoke their enlarged developement and freest exercise, than discountenance them as another—a suspicious and a worthless sort of religion. It is also most unhappy for the cause of true piety, when the livelier and more bustling sort of Christians lavish censure on those of less decided character, as persons of no religion, and a discredit to the church; and when unstable believers acquire the habit of indulging alternate despair and hope, as the tide of their religious affections ebbs and flows. It should be one part of a pastor's solemn endeavour to help the feeble to judge between the true faith and hope, and the false; and having found the true, to prize it, and exhort his people to prize it, as the pearl of great value. We do not suspect Dr. Skinner of purposely aiming to encourage an indiscriminate denunciation of all or of any small degrees of piety; yet the connexion between such a practice and the form into which he has chosen to throw his discussion of spiritual religion is, in our view, too obvious to pass unnoticed.

The second discourse in this volume is entitled "Spiritual Joy." The sermonical prefix of which it was shorn to adapt it to its destined form of publication, is a part of Nehemiah's encouraging exhortation to his desponding countrymen who were giving way to heart-rending sorrow, under the convincing power of the law of God;* and the joy indicated by the text and its circumstances, is such as was naturally associated with one of the most exhilarating of all the yearly feasts of that people. The exhortation calls for those manifestations of sacred joyfulness, which befitted that holy festival; and adds as an encouragement to gladness, the assurance of that security which they who trust with most joyful confidence in Jehovah are always most entitled to feel in his powerful protection and support. "The joy of the Lord is your strength." With this passage the discourse associates spiritual joy;—the definition of which, as we gather it from a fervid and desultory paragraph through which it is diffused,† is substantially this: it is the joy of a pure heart, engaged in the animating contemplation of God

* Nehemiah 8: 10. † Pages 47, 48.

and goodness, and in the exercise of benevolence towards his creatures. But the pretence of strict definition being disclaimed, it is announced as the object of the discussion to show the power of this joy, "as a practical principle." The body of the discourse is then built on the extended propositon: that joy "is the spring of our greatest efficiency, for good; the great mover and inciter of the soul to holy action and achievement; the sustainer also of our energies in accomplishing our benevolent undertakings; what above all things, keeps the mind going cheerfully forward in its spiritual efforts and adventures, and bears it on, without fainting or weariness, to a successful issue of its struggles and conflicts."*

"Joy is the achiever of almost every good or noble thing that is done under the sun."† Although this proposition inverted would sound more like true philosophy and common sense, it has some truth as it stands; for joy as we find on the next page, is to be taken in a very wide sense, including the "pleasurable interest" by which all classes of successful labourers "are held to their respective sorts of work." And if the principle fails, which holds people to their work, they will not achieve much, to be sure. The author's view of the practical power of joy is then presented, by showing that joy gives life and spirit to all the mental powers and operations; that it brightens, by this means, the objects of intellection; that it sustains and enlivens the performance of devotional exercises; invigorates the other affections; bears up the mind amidst assaults of outward affliction; resists the influence of worldly good; and prompts the requisite sacrifices and exertions for the universal spread of the Gospel. For the sake of these benefits to his religious character and interests, the reader is addressed with earnest persuasives to the cultivation of joy; and an abstract of several paragraphs will indicate the general position of the subject in the author's mind.

Under the vivifying effusions of joy, imagination awakes, perception becomes acute, the range of observation is enlarged, judgment is invigorated, memory is sharpened, taste refined, the whole soul, in short, is instinct with the spirit of intellectual life; and the will itself is in a great degree influenced, if not determined by joy; all the objects of contemplation, whether objects of fancy and taste, or of faith,

* Pages 48, 49. † Page 49.

are peculiarly vivid to the joyful mind; the sanctuary, the place of social prayer, the closet, the solitary vale, become the gate of heaven, and the joyful Christian is inclined to pray always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit; love, hope, even in full assurance, faith, every good exercise of which the mind is capable, acquire a zest and a strength from spiritual joy which nothing else does give them, and which nothing else can; it gives faith and hope their strength to keep the soul, amidst seasons of storm and darkness, from sinking into the deep waters of despair; it overcomes the world's attractions by presenting the superior attractions of those objects in which the spiritual mind rejoices; it strengthens and prompts Christians to make the requisite sacrifices and exertions for the universal spread of the Gospel; producing liberality, and engaging the interest of the people of God on the behalf of the dark and perishing nations of the earth.

In this view of the subject, joy becomes a sort of indispensable preliminary to every other good in the character and experience of men. And as such it is treated for the most part throughout the discourse.

Now the unspeakable value of spiritual joy as an ingredient of true religious experience cannot be overrated; nor can it occupy too frequently or too profoundly the meditations of those who wish to know the nature, the evidence, and the effects of pure religion in the soul. It is one of the most inspiring and fruitful topics for a Christian teacher. No subject of fervent and intelligent discussion, excepting only the love itself of God, so powerfully seizes our attention and engages our most devout affections as this. None other so pleasingly occupies our labours in the study and the pulpit. It is the manna of the wilderness; the water from the spiritual rock that follows the people of God; the milk and honey of the promised land. A frigid writer on this kindling theme would be inexcusable. The very title of a disquisition on the joy of religion, prepossesses our attention, and gives us promise of a refreshing entertainment; and we are predisposed to overlook many things on which the eye of cool and searching criticism would fasten. But when a writer makes it his chief end to teach us, not the sources, the properties, or the value only of spiritual joy, but its philosophical relations, we feel ourselves drawn aside from the train of merely devout reflection, to note the justness of his philosophy.

And hence we inquire :—Is it indeed so? Is joy in any proper sense the achiever of almost every good and noble thing which is done under the sun? Can this be said of joy with any stress with which the same thing cannot be said of almost every other pure and active principle of the human mind? Is it less true that a man's employment gives him pleasure, and that his industry and perseverance make him happy, than that his happiness makes him industrious and persevering? Which of these two forms of speech agrees best with the order of nature?

The discourse before us first defines spiritual joy to be the joy of holy love; by which we understand while reading the definition, a joy which proceeds from love, and is its natural and inseparable attendant; as heat is of sun-light; and this sense we the more thought just, from our belief in that philosophy which describes love to be a pleasurable emotion. Of course our train of thought was interrupted when we read* that "Love often exists apart from joy." Do the adversities incidental to benevolent affections in this world warrant the assertion that love is not always attended with pleasure? When does the heart love without "finding delight in loving?" And then it seems a sort of circular philosophy which defines spiritual joy† to be the joy of holy love, and afterwards describes it‡ as the parent in a certain sense, and the nourisher of love. It is doubtless true that a man is happy because he loves, and then loves the more because he is happy. It is true that perfect love casteth out fear, and whatever else hath torment; and it is also true that the grateful love of a pure and joyful mind is nourished by its very enjoyments. But it throws one's meditations on this subject into confusion to be told in one breath that spiritual joy is the joy of holy love, that is, a joy which holy love only and always yields; and in the next, that joy should be sought in order to love. So also of hope. The most obvious and usual view of the relation of hope to joy represents it as the cause, and not as the effect; as rather the fountain than the stream. And it must be only in an exceedingly qualified sense, that "the full assurance of hope is always the effect of joy reigning in the soul."§ The reflex confirmation which hope receives from joy is but an effect of its own operation. Joy springs from hope, as one of its chief sources in the Christian's soul; and hope thus strengthens

* Page 58. † Page 48. ‡ Pages 58, 59. § Page 59.

itself by its own productiveness. "Faith likewise rises and approximates to vision when joy gives it wings."* Or otherwise, joy rises when faith gives it wings. The Bible speaks oftener of the joy of faith than of the faith of joy. The pleasures of faith arise from the pleasing sense of the value and attainableness of its objects, and from the congeniality of faith itself to the dependant condition and confiding temper of the Christian believer. Faith is before joy therefore in all its soarings; for what spiritual joy can a believer have in the world except what comes more or less directly from the exercise of his faith, and from the things believed in? "It must give zest and strength to every good feeling of which the mind is capable to have that feeling attended with conscious delight."† Very true. A good feeling without conscious delight must be a restless and weak affair. But when one such feeling shall have been duly discovered and proven in any human mind, it will be high time that our philosophy of mind and morals should be revolutionized.

The fifth head of the discourse‡ is a most conclusive demonstration of the power of spiritual joy to support the mind amidst the troubles of the world. Hope and faith, though needful, are powerless against the floods of trouble, without joy. There is nothing like joy to drive away sorrow.

In short, the putting happiness before holiness of heart and action, in the line of argument and exhortation, seems to us so little like the real "religion of the Bible," that we strongly incline to question the identity of the two. Whether, as an abstract proposition, the expression, *the good man is happy* be better philosophy than *the happy man is good*, it may avail little to dispute. But if the question be, by which of these propositions you will shape your persuasives to make men both good and happy, it is no light matter. Better set men's faces right, than toil to push them backwards in the ways of virtue. Nor is the question a trifle, by which of these propositions the Bible itself proceeds; whether it says, blessed is he that feareth the Lord, or, he who is blessed feareth the Lord; whether it says, the generation of the upright shall be blessed, or, the generation of the blessed will be upright; whether it says, blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, or,

† Page 60. ‡ Pages 60—62.

righteous are they which do hunger and thirst after blessedness, whether it says, believing ye rejoice, or, rejoicing ye believe. A strenuous and dogmatical obtrusion of the preposterous which betrays an ambition to thwart and confound the common thoughts of religious people in a plain matter, or to raise some gratuitous and startling novelty in theological discussion, while it violates the symmetry and the sanctity of truth, so far from abetting the pious intent, dishonours and defeats it; takes it away from the direct rays of scripture light, into the reflections of evangelized, but unregulated, fancy, and is useless and dangerous to those who do not discern it, and offensive to those who do. No writer in such a train can carry himself straight through his subject; and is liable, at every flexure, to turn upon himself, with discrepancies which demand explanations, or with contradictions which defy them. For example: On one page,* he will insist that prayer languishes for lack of pious joy, and on another,† admonish that to be infrequent, cursory, and cold in prayer, is the secret of the Christian's want of religious joy. On one page,‡ he will exclaim, until God send abroad the spirit of holy joy in the hearts of his unfaithful, unworthy people, there will not, there cannot be holiness to the Lord inscribed on men's secular pursuits, nor indifference for worldly honour, nor tranquil and submissive unconcern about the comforts of life; on another,§ Alas, that we should so love lucre, pre-eminence, and sensual pleasure—the secret of our want of religious joy. On one page (75), nothing is wanting to fill the treasury of the Lord, but that Christians should be filled with joy; on another (p. 129), nothing is wanting to fill Christians with joy, but that they fill the treasury of the Lord. Here (p. 72), let joy enter the heart, and covetousness is gone out of it; there (p. 84), love of lucre produces our lack of religious joy. Here (p. 66), joy vanquishes the sinful love of the world; there (p. 84), all forms and degrees of sin hinder joy.

Such a train of thought, as the leading one of this discourse, runs awkwardly on the track of either scripture, philosophy, or common sense. Christians are slothful, worldly minded, dejected, feeble in faith, hope, and holy love, languid in prayer and praise, and sunk in intellectual heaviness and darkness,—because they are unhappy. Men are wicked because they are wretched. Sin is the child of

* Page 56. † Page 85. ‡ Pages 67, 68. § Pages 84, 85.

misery! Just so sickness is the offspring of pain. If a man would break his fever, let him put away his anguish, his rolling, wearisome restlessness; for, how can organic functions go rightly on while every part is full of pain? The writhings and turmoil of the body politic—cannot our statesmen see that these spring from nothing but the want of general happiness? Let the community become peaceful and joyful, and how firm, pure, healthful, thrifty, and beneficent become at once the institutions of the state? And the world of mankind,—alas, so little pious joy is felt among men that the larger portion of the world lieth in wickedness!

Well, be it so; and to what purpose is it proven? Suppose men so follow their common sense afar off as to fall under the intercepting influence of fervid and illusive exhortations formed on this theory. The result is an inverted use of the means of Christian improvement; the pursuit of happiness in order to goodness. The Christian starts in the pursuit of joy, for the purpose of obtaining mental activity and illumination, and strong faith, and lively hope, and pure devotion, and spirituality of mind, and faithfulness in duty to God and to man; and with what probability of success, those may judge best who have most experience in the process of spiritual culture. There is ample room in this course for one perverted spirit to plead the want of comfort in excuse for neglect of duty; for another, in some raving of fanatical rapture, to magnify his goodness, through the delusive medium of a fancied happiness; and for all to seek and find not, because they seek amiss.

The third and fourth discourses are on the subject of Doing Good.

The discussion sets out with this classification "of those who take the sacred interests of religion as their appropriate calling:"* "A part labour in the field of intellectual theology; a part choose a life of prayer and contemplation, and a part employ themselves in works of active goodness." This inauspicious preliminary raises sundry such questions as these: Is this triple division of the religious community according to fact? Can the distinction be rigidly drawn? To which of the classes alone or respectively do Edwards, and the other select models of the "Religion of the Bible," belong? What are works of active goodness, as strictly

* Page 87.

distinct from labours in intellectual* theology? Is it to the body only that the activity of goodness appertains? Or does mental activity fall also within the compass of the terms? If so, why not the so called intellectual theology, and prayer and contemplation likewise, when practised in the spirit of true devotion to God and goodness? But not to dwell on this distinction and classification, which diffuses what we think an undesirable peculiarity through the discussion, we chiefly mark a few points in the treatment of the subject of the two discourses.

In the first discourse, the life of Christ is presented with great force and justness, as a life of active beneficence; and as the intended example, in this particular, for all his people. It is then shown, that the life of Christian beneficence ought to be formed by the Saviour's pattern; that all judge the Saviour's life to be the best that in such a world as this can be lived; that this imitation of the Saviour's life is presupposed in the doctrine of the spiritual oneness of Christ and his people; that such a life suits the real state of the world; that to produce such a life is what God is chiefly intent upon in all his works in our behalf; and that it is the only means by which Christianity can advance among mankind. The second part of the discussion contends that this pursuit of active goodness is of all things most conducive to correct theology, to improvement of Christian character, and to present and future happiness.

In the main, we commend the reasonings, and most heartily do we join in the solemn and pungent appeals of Dr. Skinner on this important subject; and while writing our few and fraternal strictures on some of his chosen means of illustration and enforcement, we are warmed and moved ourselves by his fervent plea in behalf of the law of love. A few thoughts first on some passages of the discussion, and then on one peculiarity of the discussion as a whole, will elucidate a principle or two which in our judgment ought to have place in the practical treatment of this and the other branches of Christian obedience.

The discourses manifest throughout, and in some places quite unhappily, the effect of the classification given, at the outset, of the lives of religious people. There is an evident effort to keep up a distinction between religion in pious mental exercises, and religion in beneficent action, as different

* What is *intellectual* theology?

elements of goodness. Yet confusion and failure attend it for want of clear definitions. Here,* active goodness is distinguished from labours in theological science, and from retired devout exercises, as a thing to be contrasted with them, and preferred before them in a separate course of religious practice; there,† it appears only as *the beneficent principle*, to pervade not only the public life, but also the labours of the study, and the prayers and contemplations of retirement. What is active goodness? For want of a clear definition to reveal at the first the subject of discourse, and to be adhered to throughout, some of the best thoughts in the treatise float in chaos. The reader perceives not what the writer would have him to do.

On page 103 occurs the following: "As the will or main purpose of God concerning his people, in all that he has done and is doing for them, by his Son, his Spirit, his servants, his word, and his high Providence, is their sanctification or personal holiness; and as holiness, in such circumstances as ours, naturally takes the form of BENEFICENCE, it is evident that what God is chiefly intent upon, in all things respecting us, is that our life should be a life of active goodness." In this wide sweep after a motive for doing good, the writer disturbs some half dozen points of no value to his main design, and embarrassing his subject with doubtful, if not inaccurate statements. Is beneficence in our circumstances the form of holiness? Even if we so enlarge the meaning of beneficence as to embrace all the expressions of love to our neighbour, would it be the only form of holiness among men? Love to God has many forms of expression which cannot, without abusing language, be comprehended in beneficence; and this is as appropriate to our circumstances as love to man. And as to our circumstances in respect of our fellow men; the mutual relations of men are reciprocal, and so are their duties. Beneficence must be answered by gratitude; and is not the form of gratitude as befitting to holiness as the form of beneficence? Could he not more safely have challenged contradiction, if he had said that holiness in our circumstances naturally takes the form of gratitude; for how frequently, in the circumstances of some of mankind, is beneficence, in its proper sense, impracticable? He would not surely insist that the good will and act of him who gives is any *more* appropriate to holiness

* Page 87. † Page 118.

than those of him who receives. And the word "*naturally*," we suppose it refers to the nature of the holy man, or of holiness as a human attribute. Then comes up the query, Is beneficence any more natural to the saint, than other expressions of pious affection towards God; is the second table of the law more congenial to his spirit of obedience than the first? "What God is intent upon in all things respecting us, is that our life should be a life of active goodness." Such language would be proper if the writer believed, and if it were true, that the end of holiness is usefulness; if the utilitarian philosophy were true, that every thing is good that does good; and that virtue consists in doing good. To assert that God sanctifies his people mainly for the sake of their usefulness, to distinguish the life of active goodness, from a life devoted to the adoring study of the works, character, and word of God, and from prayer and contemplation, and set that forth as the chief intent of God in all things respecting us; to represent holiness not as the ultimate good, but as means to an end, is the beginning of a departure from scriptural and rational views of holiness, the end of which it would be difficult to find far short of absurdity. But this point we are not now concerned to pursue.

A word or two on the connexion between doing good and sound doctrine. From the words of our Saviour, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God," our author takes a sentiment which he thus dilates: Page 115. "The light of true knowledge in divine things, shines with greater purity and brightness, not in the cloister of the recluse, the study of the scholar, the groves of philosophy, the halls of sacred science, but in the open and wide field where active goodness performs its journeys and its labours. On that field, assuredly more than any where else on earth rests the sunlight of spiritual truth. There is to be found *the light of life*, in which heavenly minds rejoice, the light of God's countenance, the illumination of the Spirit—that which alone deserves to be called light. He it is who best knows the truth and will know it more and more who doeth the will of God. It is not he who studies or thinks, but he who loveth that knoweth God, for God is love."

Without insisting that we exactly understand either the language of Christ or that of Dr. Skinner, we freely say, that the words of both do not convey to our minds precisely the same idea. To satisfy us that he has fairly transferred to

his page the doctrine of the Saviour's words, the writer must show that he intends by "active goodness" precisely what Christ intended by "doing the will of God." Then we should ask for assurance that what he means by true and correct theological views is neither less nor more than the Saviour would express by "knowing the doctrine whether it be of God." And when we have ascertained that his language is to be taken in its usual and obvious sense, and that it is faithful to truth, we shall be compelled to believe that the study of the scholar and the halls of sacred science are most unfavourable to a correct knowledge of the divine will; that the pious colporteur, or the industrious tract distributor knows more correct theology than Leighton, in the study of the scholar, or Edwards, in the groves of philosophy; or that Leighton and Edwards learned less of divine truth in their studies than in their good works abroad.

Dr. Skinner shows, by his own commendable practice, that he believes "the will of God" may be done in the study; and, if it be so done, the student comes in, by the terms of the Saviour's promise, for a share of true doctrine. For, that any cloud hangs over she scene of devout study, which does not equally overshadow "the field where active goodness performs its journeys and its labours," will not be pretended. Many an inquiring believer, who is searching diligently for the path of true light, would thankfully receive instruction on this point. If the different spheres of Christian duty are variegated with different degrees of light; if those who feed and clothe the poor, and teach the ignorant, and comfort the sorrowful, and *go about* doing these things, have a pledge of better knowledge of divine things than "those who study and think;" who task a disciplined and unwearied understanding in searching the scriptures, and finding out their meaning, and employing the means of securing their life-giving doctrines against perversion; who bestow their devout endeavours in the groves of philosophy, on demonstrations of the "Analogy of Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature," or "Humble Inquiries concerning the Freedom of the Will," or explanation and arrangement of the "Evidences of Christianity," or preparing philosophical discussions of the "Religion of the Bible," and aids to preaching on the "Doctrine of Ability," —the proof of the matter would be grateful to many who are sincerely studying the best means of growing in grace and in the knowledge of their Lord and Saviour Jesus

Christ. It would afford a welcome relief also to many others who would rather go about than study, and who in their mental waywardness or indolence, lack the comforting belief that they are in the best way of gaining true and extensive knowledge of divine things.

It is more agreeable to us to blame a brother's rhetorie than his doctrines. We do not eharge Dr. Skinner with the deliberate belief of what is expressed by his language above quoted. We suppose he holds, with us all, the doctrine that the humble, submissive and obedient Christian, is most likely, *caeteris paribus*, to know the truth; and we take for granted it was his intention to give strong and effeetive utterance to that doetrine, without undertaking to assert an exclusive preference for any particular form of obedience; and that he would teaeh that the spirit of Christian obedienee manifested in any of its forms, the disciple to "be taught of God." If, then, he would teach, that the humble and dutiful believer is predisposed to reeeive true doetrine when he understands it; that his eandour, his earnest attention to the sourees of right knowledge, and his freedom from the intellectual confusion of a vagrant skepticism facilitate his diseernment between truth and error; and that he has a promise of spiritual illumination as a graeious effeet of the Holy Spirit, through his faith and obedience,—if this is the substance of the writer's doctrine, we only say, that he has ehosen an unhappy way of illustrating it in this head of his diseourse. If he intends either more or less than this, we ehoose not now to reeognise it.

Stephen Colwell

Art. VI.—1. *The Principles of Population, and their Connexion with Human Happiness.* By A. Alison. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1840.

2. *The Sixth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners.* 8vo. London: 1840.

The great problem of human well-being appears to be now claiming that attention from the wise and good, which affords hope of its ultimate solution. An active inquisition into the present condition of the human race is going on in a vigilant, unwearying and benevolent spirit. The inquiry will disclose the vices and maladies of our various social systems more thoroughly than has yet been done; and it may be hoped, will suggest remedies more successful than any yet tried. Of the multitudes who have, in successive ages, appeared in the world, and of whom history has given us little knowledge, except when they were hewn down by the sword, or destroyed by pestilence or famine, the great mass have been slaves. Even now the majority of men are in bondage, and yield obedience of mind or body, through ignorance or by compulsion, to circumstances which they cannot control, or to men from whose power they cannot escape. Let us look, for example, at the actual condition of the people of Great Britain. And we refer to that country, not from an invidious feeling, but as furnishing a signal example for our present purpose. She is called the most happy, the most rich, the most wise, the most powerful, and the most Christian country in the world. She sends the Heralds of the Cross to all the benighted regions of the earth. She sends the Bible abroad to all people. She raises and pays more money for benevolent purposes than all other countries of the world. She has expended millions on millions for the suppression of the slave trade, and has recently, by the payment of nearly a hundred millions of dollars, purchased off the chains of nearly a million of Africans, in her West India possessions. These facts proclaim loudly the benevolence of the government, and the charity of the people. A country which collects and distributes a revenue of two hundred and fifty millions; possessing a territory which encircles the earth; whose merchants hold sway over empires. A country renowned in science and in arms; famed for its commerce, manufactures and agricul-

ture; for its free institutions, and its wise legislation; for the proud bearing of its people, and for the luxury and ease in which they live. A country which boasts of having the word comfort in its language, and of its exclusive enjoyment in house and home. A country which pays for the support of the Protestant religion, twenty millions; for the support of its poor, forty millions. A country of public credit so firm, that it bears itself, not only as high, but above all others, under a load of debt which almost defies computation—a debt which a thousand men could not count and pay over in dollars in a twelvemonth, being equivalent to 100,000 tons of silver.

This is the bright foreground; let us now turn to the dark shades of this picture, and observe the contrasts of this high state of religion and morals, of this wealth, knowledge, and civilization. It is not because we think that the condition of the poor in Great Britain is worse than in other European nations, that we select her poor laws as the subject of discussion. On the contrary, we believe that a comparison between England and almost any other European state in reference to this subject, would result greatly in favour of the former. Nor are we influenced by that unnatural hostility, which some Americans seem to think it a part of patriotism to cherish against the land of our forefathers. Far from it. With all her faults, we still love and reverence her as the home and the source of civil and religious liberty; as Protestant England, as the fountain of benevolent influence for half the globe; as our mother, from whom we have derived our language and our principles of law, order and religion, in whose honour we have still a share, and whose disgrace is part of our shame. We can never turn our eyes to Mexico and South America, without feeling how immense is our debt of gratitude to England; to whom we are indebted for all that raises us above the degraded descendants of Catholic Spain. It is because of our English descent; because so many of our institutions and habits are of British origin, that the condition of the British poor is a subject of peculiar interest to us, who need the experience of England to enable us to avoid the evils under which she now suffers.

To have a full view of this subject, we must go back a little. While the feudal system yet held its iron sway in England, the mass of the people were either absolutely slaves, or attached to the soil as serfs, who could not lawfully be driven from the lands they occupied, but who were

sold without their consent to a new master, and conveyed as a part of the stock accumulated on the land. But they had their home on the soil, and if they belonged to the land, it also belonged to them, subject to such conditions as had been originally freely accepted. These conditions were not in general onerous, as a charge upon the product of the soil. The personal duties required were however extremely vexations, and led in the course of time to open conflicts between the feudal lord and his vassals, and terminated in the emancipation of the latter on their yielding all right in the lands. When war had ceased to be the business of the barons, and plunder no longer supplied their wants, they found their lands would be much more profitably occupied, either by being judiciously tilled by themselves, with hired labour, or by being leased for a rent in money or in kind. It became the advantage therefore of the lords of the soil to make their serfs so uneasy in that condition, as very readily to yield their interest in the land for their liberty.

The poor beings, thus enfranchised, were doomed never again to have so much interest in the land; they and their descendants were henceforward to figure in English history as "*common labourers*," as "*vagrants, vagabonds, sturdy beggars*," against whom as the pests of society, as the nursery of all *villany*, the whole vengeance of the law was to be directed. They lost a master, but gained not their liberty; for in 1388, a statute forbade any labourer to leave his hundred, city or borough without written leave from a justice, showing reasonable cause for his going; and any one found out of his district without such letter was to be put in the stocks, and to find surety for his return. In 1531 a statute directed that no poor person should beg out of his district under penalty of imprisonment in the stocks, and diet of bread and water. The evil increased, and in 1536 the respective parishes were required to keep their sturdy vagabonds within their own limits, to compel them to work, and to furnish them with subsistence. By this statute the vagrant was to be whipped for the first offence of begging, cropped of his right ear for the second, and to suffer death as a felon for the third. In 1547, a statute recites that the "foolish pity and mercy of them which should have seen the said goodly laws executed, have made the said laws of no effect," and have left the vagabond persons to increase; and enacts that the able-bodied poor person who will not work at some honest labour, or *offer to serve for meat and drink*, if

he cannot do better, shall be arrested as a vagabond, branded with the letter V, and be adjudged a slave for two years to any one who will take him, to be fed on bread and water, and *refuse meat*, and caused to work by chaining, beating or otherwise. If he ran away, he was to be branded with an S, and adjudged a slave for life, and if he ran away a second time, he was to suffer death as a felon. If no one demanded such slave, he was to be a slave of the parish in which he was born. This statute was not long in force. After the year 1550, the enactments contained provisions for the regular relief of the poor, at first by voluntary contribution, and finally by compulsory assessments of poor rates. The chaining and beating as a means of compelling labour, and confinement to their parishes, were still features of the new enactments. In the year 1572, in the reign of Elizabeth, the recital of a statute shows that the evils of poverty and its results had not yielded to the severity of the older, nor to the mildness of the later enactments. It states that "all parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues and vagabonds and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth horrible murders, and other great outrages," &c., and then renews the former rigour by enacting that "all persons set forth to be rogues, vagabonds or sturdy beggars, shall for the first offence be *grievously* whipped and burnt through the right ear with a hot iron of an inch about, for the second be deemed felons, and for the third suffer death without benefit of clergy." This statute makes provision for regular assessment of poor rates, and for the regular relief of the impotent, but mingled with rigorous penalties. A statute of 1598 explains that all wandering persons, and common labourers, being able-bodied persons, and loitering and refusing to work for such reasonable wages as are commonly given, are the persons liable to the penalties fixed in previous statutes. The great evil of vagrancy and public begging, which seems especially to have excited the horror of the English public and the ire of English legislation, not having been mitigated by these various enactments, a new principle was adopted in the year 1601, at the end of Elizabeth's reign. This was to require labour from all sexes, ages and conditions capable of it, as the condition of relief. The mode of application adopted was substantially that of the present day. This law was more efficient in the restraint of vagrancy than its more severe predecessors; but another was deemed necessary in 1609 for that

purpose ; and another in 1661, which especially enforces the confinement of the poor to their own parish. Under the operation of these later enactments, vagrancy had diminished, and the poor had become paupers, subsisting on the distribution, and confined to the narrow limits of their respective parishes. Not being allowed to go elsewhere for labour, the pauper regarded his parish as bound to support him, and became finally afraid to leave those boundaries upon any adventure of bettering his condition. The government had banished the poor from before their eyes on condition of supporting them: but this was found insufficient to satisfy the public, for in 1723 a statute provided for the erection of workhouses in which the poor might be compelled to work, and be restrained in their wandering propensities. The government having by this time fairly undertaken the support of the poor, the chief question in future enactments became one of economy. The great effort was now to hedge in the public crib, and keep off all that by possibility could live above the point of starvation ; to feed and lodge those who were on the pauper rolls in the most saving way, and to get as much for their labour as possible, to be applied to the cost of keeping. There was greater humanity in general in the application of relief, but great irregularity where so much was left to the discretion of the administrators. But under this system difficulties increased ; the expense increased, and under kinder treatment the paupers increased.

It is not our purpose to examine the English Poor Laws, as they now stand ; the evil they are intended to remedy is what engages our attention. That evil is mighty and portentous ; its existence is acknowledged by all parties in religion and politics, but its intensity is known to those only who are wllling to contemplate all that is dreadful in human suffering, all that is touching in human wretchedness, all that is loathsome in human degradation, and all that is dangerous in human depravity. It has given rise to constant discussion in countless volumes, to protracted debates and to laborious inquiries.

One grand fatal error has, as we conceive, pervaded all the legislation, and the greater part of the discussions on this subject. The poor have not been regarded as brethren of the same family, as citizens of the same country, but as pests of society, enemies of the public peace, who were to be got rid of, if possible, and if not, then to be driven out of sight ; or they have been deemed a burdensome excrescence,

and an evil inevitable in the body politic, to be reduced or mitigated, but not removed. The poor were confined to their respective parishes long before the parishes were required to support them; it was enough for the hundreds to endure the sight of their own vagabonds, without being afflicted by their neighbours. When the sufferings of a century had begot towards them kinder feelings, the great measure which followed was the determination to support them at public expense, and thus has their condition as paupers been fixed. If the general policy and legislation of England, in regard to navigation, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, be considered in a mere worldly point of view, it has been eminently sagacious, profound, and successful. In all this wise course, she has sternly disregarded the interests and welfare of far more than one half her population, for the purpose of enriching the remainder; and in this she has succeeded in a degree to which past ages and the present time can furnish no parallel. How far that overgrown prosperity of one part of the people has been promoted by the depression of the other, would be an interesting inquiry, but we have not space for it here. The grand result is wealth and power almost boundless, and poverty and destitution the deepest and the most absolute, in the same country and at the same time.

Leaving out of view the fact that the interests of the poor have been disregarded in the general policy of the country, the following may be stated as leading causes of their present hopeless condition. 1. They were rooted out and torn from the soil, by that enfranchisement which oppression drove them to seek; and they, and the personal slaves, also set free, were left to seek their living where there was no adequate demand for their labour, and no place for them in the social system. 2. The small farms were rapidly consolidated, and improved modes of agriculture introduced, in which process cottages were pulled down, small gardens destroyed, and millions of acres converted from tillage to meadow and pasture for support of sheep and horses. And this system has been steadily pursued for three hundred years. As fast as the poor occupants could be got out of their hovels, these were demolished to prevent the intrusion of others. For the landlords, in lapse of time, found that these poor were troublesome and dangerous neighbours, and that driving them off was a double advantage; they regained possession of ground for which

they had received no rent, and the poorer and poorer their discarded tenants became, the cheaper they could employ them as occasion required. 3. The cheapness of labour, and the protection of tariffs, encouraged the establishment of manufactures, which held out inducements sufficient to attract large numbers of the suffering poor into the manufacturing towns, where they soon found themselves in crowds entirely at the mercy of the manufacturer, besides being subjected to distress by the fluctuations of trade. In the ten years, from 1821 to 1831, the whole population increased at the rate of 16 per cent. Manchester increased at the rate of 36; Liverpool, at 38; Birmingham, at 37; Bury, at 42; Leeds, at 47; Sheffield, at 39; Huddersfield, at 43; Bradford, at 77 per cent. The growth of Glasgow and Paisley was proportionably rapid. 4. There are kept in England nearly 1,500,000 horses, of which about 200,000 are for mere purposes of luxury, and more than 350,000 dogs, which consume what would abundantly relieve the starving poor, and by the demand which they create for those kinds of food which the poor use, greatly enhance the price. 5. Confinement to the limits of their respective parishes, which has been enforced against them since the reign of Richard II., a period of more than 450 years. It has deadened all energy and extinguished the spirit of adventure. The pauper has been made to feel that he incurred the risk of starvation, if he lost the right to feed at the manger of his own parish. 6. The heavy taxation of England, supervening upon the already depressed and impoverished condition of the lower classes, has effectually kept down those who were prostrated; they cannot rise without being exposed to demands which soon sweep their hard earnings; while those who are unavoidably subjected to these heavy assessments, can only save themselves by absorbing the labour of the poor, at a rate which barely affords them a subsistence, at the lowest stage of human feeding. It is because the businessmen of England can command any amount of labour at this low rate, that they grow rich, and pay the highest taxes to which any people are subject. The distribution of the taxes in England has generally been deemed the highest effort of human ingenuity in that branch of administration; but it requires little examination to see that the burden falls upon the labourer at last, and those charges which are most easily thus shifted are doubtless deemed the lightest. It is a very imperfect view of the subject, to suppose that the

English labourer has no concern in the pressure of taxation, except where it bears on the articles of his consumption.

It is not easy, from any returns or tables we have ever seen, to ascertain the number of the poor in England. In many elaborate tables of population there seems an obvious concealment of the facts from which conclusions on this subject could be drawn. The sums raised for the relief of the poor are fully set forth; so also the ratio of increase and decrease of pauperism; the proportion which the whole sum disbursed for the poor bears to each individual of the whole population; and a variety of other statements, all interesting, but not showing the whole number of the poor. It must be kept in mind, that those actually receiving relief from the poor rates are but a part, and we believe but a small part, of the poor of England. There still remain those whom private charity saves from the degradation of pauperism, and those who struggle through life, battling with misery and want, subsisting as they can, upon that labour which it is a boon to perform, though it scarce netts them an existence. The greatest suffering is doubtless endured by this class, who undergo every stage of distress before they incur the miseries and delays of an application for public relief.

The last decennial return of the population in England was made in 1831. In that year, the number relieved by the poor rates, was 1,275,974, about one-tenth of the whole population at that period. There are many who receive relief only occasionally, as in cases of sickness, accident, and inability to procure employ. We may, therefore, safely estimate that there are in all 2,000,000, who are compelled to apply for aid, either constantly or occasionally. The classes, among whom the indigent are mostly found, are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Agricultural labourers, - - - | 4,800,000 |
| Mining labourers, - - - | 600,000 |
| Manufacturing labourers, - - | 2,400,000 |
| Mechanics, - - - - - | 2,630,000 |
| Disabled paupers, - - - | 110,000 |
| Seamen and soldiers, - - - | 831,000 |
| Tenants living upon rented lands, - | 1,500,000 |
| | 12,871,000 |

The following classes make up the whole population:

| | |
|---|---|
| Owners of land, and other estates, yielding income, - - - | 1,116,398 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Shopkeepers, - - - - | 2,100,000 |
| Professional men, - - - | 450,000 |
| | 3,666,398 |

Of those included in the 12,871,000, there are male servants 226,479, female servants 518,100; to these may be added, by conjecture, 100,000, as holding situations equally removed from want; if to all these be added, the soldiers and seamen 831,000, and the tenants renting land 1,500,000, making in all 3,175,579, and this sum be taken from the above total of 12,871,000, we have remaining 9,695,421 dependant on the contingencies of employment, adequate wages, and parish relief, for a bare livelihood.

All parties in religion and politics, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, admit fully the utter wretchedness of the labouring classes, and differ only when they come to assign causes or devise remedies. A late writer remarks,—"the two words most frequently used in English politics are distress and pauperism. After these, speaking of the poor, the most common are vice and misery, wretchedness, sufferings, ignorance, degradation, discontent, depravity, drunkenness, and the increase of crime." Mr. Sadler called the English peasantry white slaves; an English Tory and Bishop testified that he had seen them harnessed to carts like cattle; and both these remarks were made in their respective places in parliament. The writer above quoted says:—"English slaves are harnessed beasts, ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed, and variously ill treated. American slaves live longer than their masters, while English slaves die prematurely, of hunger, wet, cold, and sorrow. The peasant of the south of England suffers nearly all the evils, but enjoys none of the advantages of slavery. He is not a freeman, nor is he a slave: he is a pauper." Another English author thus describes a pauper. "What is that defective being with calfless legs and stooping shoulders, weak in body and mind, inert, pusillanimous, and stupid, whose premature wrinkles and furtive glance tell of misery and degradation? That is an English peasant, or pauper: the words are synonymous. His sire was a pauper, and his mother's milk wanted nourishment. From infancy his food has been bad and insufficient, and he now feels the pains of unsatisfied hunger, nearly always when he is awake."—"His miserable career will be short: want and exposure are conducting him to the work-house, where he will breathe his last without one

pleasant recollection, and so make room for another wretch, there to die in the same way." Facts need not be addueed to confirm these statements. English books, magazines, and parliamentary reports, abound in proofs, and there could be no neeessity of referring to evidence but for the incredible nature of the statement. There are upwards of one million of able-bodied agricultural labourers in the whole population, who are either unemployed, or employed at insuffieient wages, and who all their lives endure the eombined distresses of hunger, eold, exposure, disease, neglect, and contumely. The pauper is made to feel that he is a hateful burden to his own parish, and that he is wholly rejected by every other. He cannot obtain food nor elothing nor lodging for himself and his children, in a country whieh furnishes clean straw, warm stables, and good grooming, to nearly 200,000 horses, kept for racing, show, and luxury, and which furnishes abundance to more than 350,000 dogs, kept for the pleasure of the rich.

"A man willing to work, and unable to get work, is perhaps the saddest sight that Fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun. A poor man *seeking work:* seeking leave to toil that he might be fed and sheltered! That he might be put on a level with the beasts of the field. There is not a horse willing to work, but can get food and shelter in requital. But he is nobody's animal: he is not even anybody's slave." It is lamentable, but not surprising, that the body has not been the only sufferer under these heavy privations. The mind and moral qualities are sunk as low as the frame in which they are held. Those who have nothing to gain by reputation, will care little to retain it; those who feel that the whole body of the laws is an injury, will entertain little respect for them; those who feel as if every man's hand was against them, will readily raise their hand against every man. The annals of crime furnish no parallel to the inflictions of punishment in England. In the reign of Henry VIII. 72,000 were hung, by way of getting rid of the vicious and vagabond population, and the bloody code of England continued to perform its dreadful work until the expedient of transportation drew off some of the victims, and the advance of civilization had mitigated its penalties. The annals of the poor teach us that they are not only drawn to commit such crimes as subject them to heavy punishments, but others, in a moral point of view scarce less criminal, are so common as to be characteristic.

Parental affection and authority scarce exist among these paupers. There are no domestic influences but those of the worst kind. Parents have no power to be kind to their offspring, and the children owe nothing to their parents. One of the writers already quoted, speaking of the pauper, says, "He is married of course; for to this he would have been driven by the poor laws," for the sake of the extra provision, "but he has never tasted the highest joys of husband and father. His partner and his little ones being, like himself, often hungry, and seldom warm, sometimes sick without aid, and always sorrowful without hope, are greedy, selfish and vexing, so 'he hates the sight of them,' an expression but too common in his mouth." "The child of the very poor," says Lamb, "does not prattle, no one has time to dandle it, no one thinks worth while to coax it, to soothe it, to toss it up and down, to humour it. There is none to kiss away its tears. If it cries it can only be beaten. It never had a toy, or knew what a coral meant. It was never sung to, no one ever told it a nursery tale. It was dragged, not brought up, to live or die, as it happened. It had no young dreams. It broke at once into the iron realities of life. It is only another mouth to be fed, a pair of little hands to be early inured to labour. It is the rival, till it can be the co-operator for food with the parent. It is never his mirth, his solace, it never makes him young again. — Said I not truly that the home of the poor is no home?"

In this general ruin of the noblest affections of our nature, female chastity is destroyed with the rest. In the immense population dependant partially, or wholly, upon the poor rates, pregnancy almost invariably precedes marriage. "I appeal," says the author of one of the reports to the Poor Law Commissioners, "to the experience of all overseers in rural districts, whether the instances of marriage taking place among the labouring classes, without previous pregnancy, are not so very rare as to constitute no exception to the general assertion that pregnancy precedes marriage." (1833, page 392.) The same gentleman asserts that "the operation of the poor laws in this department is to make want of chastity on the woman's part the shortest road to obtaining either a husband or a competent maintenance. It would be impossible for the heart of man or demon to devise a more effective instrument for extinguishing every noble feeling in the female heart,—for blighting the sweetest domestic affections, and for degrading the male and female,

who are dependant upon parish relief—than this truly diabolical institution."

This is the language of Mr. Cowell, addressed to the Poor Law Commissioners, in reply to their request for information on topics connected with their office, and to be found on page 393 of their report to Parliament for the year 1833. This report informs us that the laws make a larger allowance for an illegitimate than for a legitimate child; that the annuity of a woman with a family of illegitimate children is quite a fortune to a marrying pauper; that a very different kind of single women had in later years become the mothers of children; formerly it had been confined to the daughters of cottagers and girls employed in farm husbandry, but latterly very respectable farmers' daughters had been found in that situation applying to have their offspring taken care of by the parish.

We have mentioned that an English Bishop, in his place in the House of Lords, asserted that the English poor were slaves. It may be worth while to examine briefly the grounds of an opinion which many in England partake with the Bishop. The labourer is confined to his own parish, either by being returned to it by force if he leaves it, or by the fear of losing his settlement, the only resource of old age and sickness. He receives a rate of wages, whether paid by the parish or by the farmer, or both, which is barely sufficient to keep him alive. He would gladly exchange his earnings for the food and raiment of the American slave, and would profit greatly by the exchange. He has no voice in fixing his wages, and no choice but to accept what is offered. It is the same with his children. Mark the label on the work house, "Strong healthy boys and girls with the usual fees; apply within." In London that fee is £10, and the annals of crime are not without instances of children being taken for the fee, and either murdered outright, or tortured to death, for the sake of another victim with the *usual fee*. The cases of Brownrig and Hibner, convicted of this offence, are not forgotten; and but a few months since, two mothers in Stockport, near Manchester, destroyed their own offspring for the sake of the burial fees. In some parishes the whole of the paupers are let to the lowest bidder for a specified time, and this contractor in human flesh works and feeds the souls thus placed in his charge according to contract; that is, he keeps them alive, and takes the avails of their labour for a round sum, which is found by the parish to be a very eco-

nomical proceeding. One of these contractors who had farmed the poor of a parish, being called upon by the Poor Law Commissioner for his opinion of this contract system, very frankly declared it was far the most saving scheme: and he specified that the parish officers were too little interested to weigh with sufficient exactness the daily allowance of the inmates of the poor house. He had found on coming into his contract, that the scales, by the constant wiping on the side on which the provisions were put, and the accumulation of filth on the other, had lost their balance by half an ounce in favour of the poor. He estimated that the parish had thus lost some thousand pounds of beef, consumed by the poor beyond their rightful quantity. He had the balances carefully adjusted, and the poor no longer received more than the life-preserving allowance. In one parish, a very Reverend Clergyman, who also held a commission of the Peace, put in force a system which is highly extolled by those to whose official attention it was brought. The applicant, who entered his work-house on "the plea that he was starving for want of work, was taken at his word, and informed that the luxuries and benefits of the house could only be given for work. The man went into one side of the house, the wife to the other, the children to the school room. *Separation was steadily enforced.* They were clothed in the uniform of the work-house. No beer, tobacco, or snuff allowed. No access to bed-rooms during the day. *No communication with friends out of doors.* Breaking stones in the yard by the grate, as large a quantity required every day as an able-bodied labourer can break." This system very fast reduced the number of inmates, and thus furnished the most indubitable evidence of the wisdom of the plan. The gentleman who reports this fact very significantly asks, "what is there in all this of which an applicant for the property of others, on the ground that he is starving, has any right to complain?" No: but where are slaves thus treated? Hard labour and separation from wife, children and friends, approximates very closely to the advantages of prison discipline. And the Rev. Mr. Lowe must be indebted to some such consideration for his plan, rather than to any system of slavery now in force.

A vast deal has been written in England on the subject of the proper quantity of food to support life. Volumes might be filled with the estimates of this kind which have been published. This is a curious subject as treated in that coun-

try, in which the most economical mode of feeding more than half of the whole population, is a question of most engrossing interest. We must pass it for the present, by giving a scale, which is received as the ratio of the feeding of various classes in that land of comfort. This scale is drawn from official returns, is published by authority, and is based upon the known rates of wages, parish relief, and the known usual prices of food:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. *The Agricultural Labourer.* | | |
| Bread per week, - - - | 119 oz. | |
| Bacon, 4 oz. loss in cooking 1, - | 3 | |
| | | 122 oz. |
| II. *The Soldier.* | | |
| Bread per week, - - - | 112 | |
| Meat, 84 oz. loss 28, - - - | 56 | |
| | | 168 |
| III. *The able-bodied Pauper.* | | |
| Bread per week, - - - | 98 | |
| Meat, 31, loss 10, - - - | 21 | |
| Cheese, - - - - - | 16 | |
| Pudding, - - - - - | 16 | |
| | | 151 |

In addition to this, the inmates of most work-houses have 48 ounces vegetables, 3 quarts soup, 3 quarts milk porridge, 7 quarts of table beer, and other comforts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IV. *The suspected Thief.* | | |
| Bread per week, - - - | 112 | |
| Meat cooked, - - - - | 16 | |
| Oat meal, - - - - | 40 | |
| Rice, - - - - - | 5 | |
| Peas, - - - - - | 4 | |
| Cheese, - - - - - | 4 | |
| | | 181 |

In some places, this allowance in bread and meat is raised to 203 ounces.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| V. *The convicted Thief.* | | |
| Bread per week, - - - | 140 | |
| Meat cooked, - - - - | 38 | |
| Scotch barley, - - - - | 28 | |
| Oat meal, - - - - - | 21 | |
| Cheese, - - - - - | 12 | |
| | | 239 |

VI. *The transported Thief.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 10½ lbs. flour, equal to bread per week, | 218 oz. |
| 10½ lbs. meat per week, equal to - | 112 |
| | 330 oz. |

Thus it appears, that the labourer of England, who refuses to apply for parish relief until driven by sheer necessity, cannot procure for himself half the food which is allowed the transported thief. If we recollect rightly, the physicians of Guy's Hospital allow their convalescing patients about 320 ounces of solid food; what they would allow a man in full health, and at hard labour, we are not informed. Alas! for the labourer, who, by the sweat of his brow, feeds the rich and the poor, and fertilizes a soil which yields crops that make English farming the boast of the world; he exists upon 122 ounces of food per week, or 400 pounds for a year. He gathers 400 bushels of potatoes from an acre of ground, and receives what is equal to about 8 or 10 bushels, for his yearly consumption. He gathers in the oats and hay from five acres of ground, and all this goes to feed one of his generous employer's many horses! Where is the slave who could be induced to exchange positions with him who, for the labour of himself and family, is scarce allowed the product of the tenth of an acre of ground, whilst myriads of horses, kept for pleasure or vanity, each consume the fruits of five acres?

The preceding remarks refer chiefly to the condition of the agricultural labourers in England. We come now to consider a subject of more immediate interest to the people of this country. It will be long before we can be exposed to the mischiefs and misfortunes of the English rural population; before any circumstances can drive off the proprietors of our soil, and concentrate its ownership in the hands of a few, to the ruin of the many. We are protected from this danger, by the system of proprietorship which has prevailed here from the first colonization of our continent. The present English system has grown out of feudal domination. We have had a fair start: we began the race as freemen, and owners of the soil; and no system or policy is likely to change this state of things, the more especially as we have cut off all entails, and have made real estate liable for debt, both in the hands of the owner and of his heirs. The rich are free to purchase and monopolize, it is true, but experience has shown, that, under our institutions, this monopoly is soon broken down, and bold adventure and vigorous

industry is constantly outstripping, in the race of wealth, the possessor of paternal acres. We, therefore, look confidently forward to long generations of prosperity, competence, and comfort for our agricultural population. In regard to the labouring classes in our cities, and our manufacturing artisans, although in this we have the advantage of supplying them from a superior population, in the first instance, we can by no means flatter ourselves that we are not destined to tread hard upon the footsteps of our brethren in Great Britain, and that we shall not, in less than a quarter of a century from this time, exhibit some of the dreadful scenes which now sicken us when we look abroad. At all events, it becomes all those who have the true welfare of the country at heart, to examine this subject with anxious care, and be ready to apply the preventive, or the remedy, at the moment when it may be most effective.

The great increase of the manufacturing labourers, which has taken place in the cities and towns of Great Britain in the last fifty years, has been drawn from the agricultural classes, whose condition we have attempted to portray. These carried with them all the vices which belonged to their former condition, and as, in their new position, they were crowded in the foul and hot air of filthy streets and close manufactories, the leaven of vice within them soon swelled the sum of their misery and wickedness to a mass so huge and revolting as to be the deadliest sore on the body politic. This, observes one writer, is "the slumbering volcano which may, at any time, shatter the whole fabric to atoms, and involve, in one common ruin, themselves, the master, and the manufacturer."

The condition of the manufacturing labourer may be considered in the several aspects of the labour required, of wages, of physical comfort, of health, of morals and religion. As the great body of English manufacturers are engaged in the various branches of the woollen, cotton and silk manufacture, what we shall say will relate more nearly to them. The distresses which exist among the miners, the workers in iron and brass, and other trades, are not less, but they are peculiar to themselves, and will be included to some extent in the remarks on the poor in the great cities.

The adult labourer rises at day light, the year round, and works until 8 o'clock, at which time from 30 to 40 minutes are allowed for breakfast. In many mills, however, the engines are not stopped, and the workman snatches his scanty

meal as he overlooks his work; but generally breakfast is taken at the mill; very few are permitted to go home for that meal. After this no cessation of work until 12 o'clock, when the engine stops, and one hour is allowed for dinner; for this they go home. They re-assemble at one, and labour until eight or nine o'clock, with only an intermission of twenty minutes allowed for tea, which is always taken at the mill. By this distribution of time, about sixteen hours of the day are devoted exclusively to labour. In many mills, and especially where trade is brisk, the time of labour is increased, and then what is called long hours and night work is introduced. This mode of working is thus described by one of the witnesses in the evidence taken on the Factory Bill.

"We started at 1 o'clock on Monday morning and worked till 5—rested half an hour; went on till 8 o'clock, and took half an hour for breakfast: went on till 12 o'clock, and took half an hour for dinner—then till 5 o'clock, and took half an hour for tea; then till half past 11 o'clock, then rest an hour and a half; then till 5 o'clock on Tuesday morning, —rest half an hour: then till breakfast, for which was allowed half an hour; then again till 12 o'clock—dinner half an hour; then till 5 o'clock—half an hour for tea; and then till half past eleven, when we gave over until Wednesday morning at five." In 46 successive hours this only allows, all counted, 10 hours for sleeping, eating, &c. This process is repeated twice more in the week—allowing the labourer only part of three nights in the week for sleep, and requiring 105 hours of labour in the 144 of six days. Of course, in various branches and at different times and places, the rule of working varied. All accounts agree that the labour required was too great, the watchfulness and care too intense and too long continued, to be consistent with health or happiness or human endurance. To this terrible slavery were subject also the wives and children of these ill-fated operatives. If the hours were shortened for females and children, it was merely to accommodate their powers of vitality. It was not deemed for the interest of the proprietor that they should die at their work, but only of their work. The details laid before Parliament on the occasion of the inquiry into these abuses, shocked the whole nation, blunted as it has long been by the continual exhibition of human woe in all the conceivable intensity of famine, disease and anguish. We regret exceedingly to find it stated that the humanity

which was roused, by these appalling disclosures, to pass a bill for the relief of the factory children, has failed of its purpose, and that the law is, to a very considerable extent, evaded or disregarded. While it is more profitable to employ females and children than men, we fear the law will in a great measure be a dead letter. These wretched people have still a desire to live, and if they cannot procure employment for themselves and their children upon their own terms or the terms of the law, they must accept the terms of the proprietors. Delay is death.

As might be expected, this close confinement and unintermitting labour is not without its visible effects upon the frame and constitution of the labourer. The deterioration which actual observers have noted in these respects in thirty years, fill the mind with the most painful emotions and the saddest anticipations. Men, women and children are described as ugly, sallow, pallid, flat-featured, low of stature, with slender limbs and awkward movement; bow-legged women and girls lame and with defective spines, flat feet, hair thin and straight; men with little beard, and that in patches, a spiritless and dejected air, a sprawling action of the legs, and flabby, unelastic flesh. (Gaskell, 162.)

By those who have written upon the subject of the degraded and miserable condition of these labourers, it is very generally asserted that their destitution does not arise from the insufficiency of their wages, but from improvidence, dissipation, and want of economy. It is true that the rate of wages received by the manufacturing labourers is higher than that received by the agricultural. The latter is paid at the rate of from 8 to 12 shillings sterling per week, and finds little employment for his wife, and none for his children, while the former receives from 10 to 16 shillings, his wife from 7 to 9, and his children above nine years of age from 4 to 6 shillings. But when the difference in expense of living in large cities or crowded towns, as to rents and the price of provisions, and above all when the extra expenses of births, sickness, medicines, funerals, &c., in such places are considered, the chances of comfortable living will not be widely separate.

The agricultural labourer either applies habitually to the poor rate for that addition to his wages which will enable him to live, or, in cases of sickness, death, or other extra expense, he receives relief from necessity. The manufacturing labourer seldom asks for or is allowed such extra relief,

as his rate of wages is a sufficient reply to any such petition. Undoubtedly, in proportion to the working hours, to the wear and tear of his system, and the exhaustion he undergoes, the factory labourer is worse paid than the other. His extra expenses, arising from a sinking frame and feeble health, will be so increased as to deduct heavily from his earnings. One thing is certain, these labourers so incessantly engaged in their tasks have no time for economy; they can neither select the best time, nor the best place, nor the best articles for their purchases. They are at the mercy of those with whom they deal, and purchasing every article at the minutest retail, they pay far higher prices for a poor article than their employers do for a better one.

But, how is the fact? What do they get for their money? What is their actual condition? "The houses of great numbers of the labouring community, in the manufacturing districts, present many of the traces of savage life: filthy, unfurnished, deprived of all the accessories to decency or comfort."—(Gaskell.) They are described as being situate in narrow unpaved courts, without back-yard, without privy, without drainage, damp, ill ventilated, and out of repair; the courts but a few feet wide, and the only outlet for slops, filth, and water. Most of these houses have cellars, inhabited by a class of beings still poorer than those above them. Of 11,000 houses at Nottingham, 8,000 are built back to back, and are without ventilation. In Liverpool there are 7,862 inhabited cellars, containing one-seventh of the whole population; of whom, 39,300 belong to the working classes. There are, besides, 2,270 courts, of which few have more than one outlet. In Manchester, upwards of 15,000 of the workers inhabit cellars. At Bury, one-third of the working classes are so badly off, that in 773 houses, one bed served four persons; in 207, there was one bed to five, and in 78, one bed to six persons. These cells swarm with vermin, and are loaded with filth, and not seldom contain a pig which revels in the luxuries of the place, until it, in turn, becomes the food of the inmates. But the manufacturing labourers do not always inhabit their own hired houses; they resort in multitudes to lodging-houses, of which, as the veriest nuisances in the town, 300 have been counted in Manchester. The appearance of these houses "during the night," says Gaskell, "must fill the heart of any man open to the feelings of humanity with pain and unutterable disgust." Rooms, filled with beds spread on the

floor, "covered with clothing of the most scanty and filthy description, occupied indiscriminately by persons of both sexes—young men, young women, men, wives, and their children—all lying in a noisome atmosphere, swarming with vermin, and often intoxicated. But a veil must be drawn over the atrocities committed. Villany and debauchery are here portrayed in their darkest character." An author of repute, speaking of the condition of the factory labourers, says, "they are crowded together in such numbers, and in situations so shocking, that the most unbounded charity is unable to discover the multitude of its objects, or shrinks from the scenes of horror which they exhibit."—(Alison on Population, II. 177, 1840.)

An observer remarks, that there is a wide difference in the market of Manchester, at those hours when the better classes purchase their marketing, and on Saturdays in the afternoon, when the factory labourers receive there wages and make their purchases. For the use of the first, "the best animal food, flesh, fish, and fowl, and the best vegetables, are abundantly provided, and order, decency, and civility reign while the business goes on." For the others, "coarse, badly fed, too long kept, and not unfrequently diseased animal food, takes the place of the excellent article used by the middle and upper classes. The vegetables are equally deteriorated, being the refuse of previous markets." And these are purchased in confusion, noise and riot. We have seen that breakfast and tea are usually taken at the mills, in an interval of half an hour allowed for that purpose. "It consists generally of weak tea, nearly cold, with a little bread. In some places, of milk porridge." They sup in the evening in the mill, upon the same as for their breakfast. An hour being allowed for dinner, they go home for that meal. "It consists of potatoes boiled; very often eaten alone; sometimes with a little bacon. These are imperfectly cooked by some mere child left for that purpose. The entire family surround the table if they have one, each striving which can most rapidly devour the miserable fare before them, which is sufficient in quantity to satisfy the cravings of hunger, but possesses little nutritive quality. Half masticated, and hastily swallowed, it is thrust into the stomach in a state unfavourable to digestion." —(Gaskell.) The shortness of time allowed, and the distance many have to go, make haste inevitable in going to and fro, and in their eating. Those labourers who are not employed in the mills, but in such branches of the manufac-

ture as may be followed at their dwellings, fare no better; many of them far worse, being compelled to resort to the parish for some allowance in addition to their wages. In the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for 1833, we find it stated, that "they are in a state of great destitution: houses bare of furniture, children half clad, food chiefly potatoes, oat meal porridge, and milk, a herring or a little bacon on Sunday; and the women a little tea, coffee and bread. Butter, beer, and meat are beyond their reach, and even sliced onions, fried with lard, too dear for common use. The weavers have a lean and hungry look, and say they do not get enough to eat."—(p. 340.) The wages of these families do not average, for five persons, more than ten shillings and sixpence per week, and they are not certain of employment at that rate.

A German author has said that cities are the graves of our race. The truth of the saying is receiving a melancholy exemplification in the mortality of the great British manufacturing towns. A comparison of the town and rural population, lately made, thus shows the fatality of certain diseases in the towns over that in the country:—Convulsions, and water on the brain, 300 per cent.; acute diseases of the lungs, from 100 to 250 per cent.; consumption, 39 per cent.; childbirth, 71 per cent; typhus fever, 221 per cent. In the year ending March, 1838, of 77,186 who received parochial relief, 13,972 were attacked with fever, besides those who suffered from all other diseases. In one parish, of 5,856 paupers, 2,400 were attacked with fever, and in another, of 1,476 paupers, 1,276 became its subjects. In one district, the mortality was as 1 in 3.8, and in 13 others as 1 in 8.5 of those attacked. Taking all the fever cases, one in every 11 died. One fifth of all who receive parochial relief in London are attacked with fever, and the victims seem very generally to be heads of families. In Glasgow, 21,800 persons were seized with typhus fever in 1837; of these 2,180 died. In Dundee, 10,000 have had fever in the last four years. "Glasgow exhibits (Cowan's Rural Statistics of Glasgow) a frightful state of mortality, unequalled *perhaps* by any city in Britain. The prevalence of fever is productive of an amount of human misery credible only by those who have witnessed it." In 1823, in that city, the mortality was 1 in 41; in 1837, it was as 1 in 24; in London, it is as 1 in 36."

"We have seen," says a late number of the Quarterly Review, "in one small garret, the husband ill of a typhus, a

child laid across the sick man's bed, also ill; two others sleeping under the bed; the two window recesses let to two Irish lodgers at sixpence a week, as resting places for the night; the wife lying on the same bed with her sick husband at night, and supporting the family by taking in washing, which was hung across the room to dry." Such are the instances, which might be multiplied to volumes, from the reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, and recent English publications. It seems very clear that while favourable circumstances are operating to reduce the mortality of the whole population, that of the manufacturing towns has been fearfully increased. The truest test of the misery which is endured by these wretched people, is not to be found in the mortality, but in the sickness to which they are exposed, in their want of preparation for such afflictions. Well may the Reviewer (London Quarterly Review, No. 131,) from whom we have derived some of our latest information, exclaim,— "Poverty need not be so embittered; want of food is not the *sole* cause, for the agricultural labourer works as hard and is as ill fed. It is the impurity of the dwelling, and the contamination which ensues where vice is allowed to herd with want, that fills our towns with miseries and disease."

Mr. Gaskell (The Manufacturing Population of England), in speaking of the moral condition of the agricultural poor, from whom the ranks of the manufacturers are recruited, says, "Bad as its effects were, they sink into utter insignificance when compared with the condition of the present manufacturing population." Another witness says, "The fact then undoubtedly is, that the licentiousness which prevails among the dense population of manufacturing towns, is carried to a degree which it is appalling to contemplate, which baffles all statistical inquiries, and which can be learned only from the testimony of personal observers." Mr. Gaskell speaks of "the almost entire extinction of sexual decency, the laxity in all the moral obligations which ought to exist between the sexes, as the darkest stain upon the manufacturing population." "Houses were established in which scenes were enacted that even put to the blush the lascivious Saturnalia of the Romans, the rites of the Pagoda girls of India, and the Harem life of the most voluptuous Ottoman." The details on the subject of the utter and boundless licentiousness which prevails in the densely peopled manufacturing districts, are such as we dare not exhibit here, and such as would be wholly incredible were they not

repeated in various works of authority, and in numerous parliamentary inquiries. These details present a state of society which in this respect can find no parallel except among the veriest barbarians. This is no partial evil; it is *the condition of a large mass* of the population of Great Britain.

After unchastity, intemperance is the great vice of these factory operatives, and the facts furnished on this head are scarcely less lamentable. In Manchester alone there are about one thousand inns, beer houses and gin vaults, of which at least nine-tenths are kept for the supply of the labouring population; open at early dawn, to tempt poor creatures on their way to the morning task, late at night to receive them when weary of their labour, and to offer constantly the opiate in which to drown all the sorrows of a wearisome life. One of these dens of evil was watched closely for eight successive Saturdays, and the average visits in forty minutes were 112 men and 163 women, or at the rate of 412 per hour. These visiters are men, women with infants, the girl and sweetheart, the mother and daughter, father and son, grey haired grand-sire and half-clad grand-child, prostitutes and pickpockets, all jumbled in a mass of evil, to the "ruin of every thing chaste in woman, and every honest feeling in man." "Mingling in wild carouse:—blasphemy, fornication, adultery, incest, child murder, form the dark back-ground; while drunkenness, thieving and obscenity stand out boldly in front." At Glasgow it is said that 30,000 persons are every Saturday night in a state of brutal intoxication, and that every twelfth house is devoted to the sale of ardent spirits. In London, as Mr. Buckingham asserted in Parliament, fourteen of the principal gin-shops were visited in one week by 142,453 men, 108,593 women, and 18,391 children, in all 269,437. But details of the dreadful progress of intemperance in London abound in a variety of publications.

The state of acknowledged and deplorable ignorance, and semi-barbarism, in which a large mass of the British population is found, proves that the laudable exertions, made in the last twenty years, for the diffusion of knowledge and the improvement of education, have not yet borne all the fruits which may have been expected. There is no doubt that these efforts will be continued, and good fruits may yet appear. The words of inspiration must not be forgotten, however, by those engaged in this good work: *The destruc-*

*tion of the poor is their poverty:* and while that remains, no plan of education can be effective in raising the poor from their degraded condition. If, as the adversary said, a man will give all that he hath for his life, the naked, starving paupers will refuse all advantages which do not include food and clothing and shelter. Nay: they must be emancipated from work-houses, and provided with *homes*, before they can be induced to receive, or be made susceptible of all the blessings of civilization.

The religious condition of the pauper population is fully evinced by the foregoing sketch. There is good reason to believe that their morals are not so bad as in those ages when the statutes branded them as "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." But there is no good reason to believe them more fully imbued with the spirit of the gospel in this day, than when they were under Catholic domination. And it cannot be denied, that the charity which fed them at convents and monasteries, was much more tender than that which has driven them to the work-house. As the Church of England, established by law, fell heir to all the charitable foundations of the Catholics, and as the immense funds of these endowments have been chiefly, by law, devoted to the maintenance of the ecclesiastics of the established church, it seems to follow, that the poor have a claim upon those funds for religious teaching if for nothing more.* That obligation is, in the opinion of some Englishmen, nobly redeemed. "*It is the church of the poor.*" "Its fundamental principle is

* In 1793, was published in London, by Thomas Ruggles, F. A. S., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, "The History of the Poor: the rights, duties, and laws, respecting them." The object of this work was to trace the church estates to their origin, both tithes and glebes, and having done this, to show that all the present church properties were gifts, not to bishops and priests for their own use, but gifts IN TRUST for certain purposes, one of which was the maintenance of the poor; he insisted that the right of the poor, in these estates, had neither been destroyed by act of parliament, nor become extinct by lapse of time: he urged that as *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesiae* was a maxim of the church, and, that as the poor were the children of the church, therefore *nullum tempus occurrit pauperibus*. "The poor are a part of the church; the possessions of the church are the possessions of the poor; they were obtained in the name of the poor, for the love of God. Is not that the law of the part, which is the law of the whole?" And he calls upon those who doubt his position, "to find, if they can, an affirmative injunction, that the church should hold its revenues, free and clear of those trusts, for the poor, created by the donors when they gave lands and tithes, for eleemosynary purposes." Such was the alarm which these doctrines, put forth with ability, created among the beneficed clergy, that Mr. Ruggles was induced to publish an edition of his book from which all these dangerous propositions were expurgated.

*gratuitous instruction.*" The following language, from the London "Times," is quoted by Alison with the strongest approbation. "The Established Church is peculiarly *the church of the poor man.* Was ever a truth more undeniable, or more pregnant with vast and awful consequences? The parish church is open to the whole community. The humblest inhabitant of this wide realm, the most destitute pauper, that knows not where else to seek a resting place, enters therein, with a spirit humble indeed *as befits him* towards his Maker, but towards man erect, in conscious equality of brotherhood with the wealthiest and noblest of his fellow creatures."

These are lofty words, and bear abundance of promise to the ear; but the poverty-stricken wretches, who by millions are the CHILDREN OF THE CHURCH, are little the better for their noble maternity. The country parish churches, it is true, stand open, and in some there is room, but why do these special children of the church remain without? Who is in fault, the mother or the offspring? But in London, where these words first met the public eye, how is the fact about the open doors? There are said to be not more than 200 churches in London, belonging to the establishment; and there are in that city, of proper age to attend church, about one million persons; of course, if all were to enter the free churches, and if the wealthy and noble were thus confronted with the poor, the assemblages would average about 5,000 each. So small is the accommodation afforded the poor in London, in fact, that, although the Dissenters have 268 places of worship, it is computed that there is no room for from 300,000 to 500,000 of the population. In an elaborate work on the *Poor of London*, the Rev. Mr. Yates, a benevolent and intelligent divine of the Church of England, affirmed, that in 1822 there were no less than 760,000 unconverted pagans in the city of London.—(p. 272.) In 1838, a report was made by a parliamentary committee, appointed to inquire into the state of church accommodation, which says, that there are 66,000 human beings in Glasgow, for whom there was no room in any place of public worship of any persuasion within the city or suburbs; and Alison (on Population, II. 87,) who quotes this fact, adds: "The number of poor, in such circumstances of spiritual destitution, is 15,000 greater at this moment (1840) than when this magnificent effort (*the appointment of the committee*) was commenced, to give the blessings of Christianity to that

hideous mass of civilized heathenism." Such, then, are the facts in the two largest cities of Great Britain, in reference to the provision for religious instruction made by the two great established churches. That this destitution is not confined to these two great cities, we are informed by the reports of the committee above referred to: "Nothing has so much crippled the energies of the established church, as the want of churches and ministers in the large towns and populous districts of the kingdom. The growth of the population has been so rapid as to outrun the means of the church to meet its spiritual wants; and the result has been, that a vast proportion of the people are left destitute of the opportunities of public worship and Christian instruction, even when every allowance is made for the exertions of those religious bodies which are not in connexion with the established church."—(Second Report, page 6.) And another furnishes proof that of the 10,501 church livings, more than 4,500 were vacant at one time, or, in other words, the incumbents were non-residents.

It is no part of our design to hold up British legislators as exclusively guilty in their treatment of the poor. We speak not in the spirit of recrimination, but in grief and soberness. We know that our people of the southern states hold men in slavery; we know that intemperate men in the north have, by indiscretion and wicked zeal, contributed to rivet more closely the chains of our poor Africans; we acknowledge that we have, as a nation, sinned grievously against the poor Indians; we know that we have many other and great national sins, for which we must answer, one of the chief of which is a signal abuse of our civil and religious blessings. Every nation lies under heavy responsibilities. None have the right, however, to plead the oppressions of others in palliation of their own. We admit that many who are most loud in the condemnation of others, would, in the same circumstances, be guilty of the same acts themselves. We believe, that when the accounts of all nations and men are given up before God, no one will have whereof to glory over another nation, or another man. The slaveholder and the abolitionist will stand there to be judged by a different rule from that which they have applied to each other. Many good deeds, which in the atmosphere of this world shone with unquestioned splendour, will, in that day, be shorn of their brightness, when placed under the light of unerring truth.

Who, for instanee, ean venture to foretell what will be the final doom of God upon that act of the British nation which expended a hundred millions of dollars to emaneipate a million of slaves in the West Indies, and passed over more than eight millions, whose eondition, in all respects but name, was less endurable than that of those so munificently unyoked from bondage? We err in saying passed over: the millions of money thus sent abroad to wipe away the name and reproaeh of slavery, were wrung from the withered sinews and over-wrought museles of the labourer at home. Is not the wealth of Jamaica the product of the slave's labour? It is just as true that the taxes of Britain, though paid by the rich, are the earnings of the poor. The oil and the wine, which the British Samaritan poured upon the wounds and bruises of the West India slaves, were the marrow and blood of his own ehildren. Was this grand movement intended to appease the eonseience of a nation to whieh the spirits of a thousand millions of British paupers, who in the last four centuries have lived in suffering and died in want, were appealing for justiee and merey to their descendants? What has that aet, which sheds so mueh glory on the nation, done for the eountless multitudes of hungered and miserable ereatures who paid the eost? Will the emancipated negro ever aequit the debt he owes his starving benefactors? And is there no bondage in Britain? Let that question be settled at the final day, when the empty boast of the eommon law, that no slave can tread upon English soil, will not avail against the naked, awful truth. Faets will then stand out unveiled, the reason will then be unclouded, the illusions of language and sophistry will have been swept away; and what will then be the difference between the ingredients of the eup administered in this world to the British pauper and the Afriean slave? Whose bondage is the heavier, he who is elaimed by legal title and taken care of as valuable property, or he who is erushed, and starved, and east aside? He who is sold to the highest bidder, or he who is sold to the lowest bidder, whose person is thrust upon the rieh with a fee for taking the outcast of soeiety, and whose utmost labour is not valued at food and raiment, and air and a plaee to stand upon in the land of his birth? He who lives upon the compulsory eharity of his masters, or he whose master is deeply interested to provide all that may lend to his health and strength? He who, when he runs away, is driven baek and refused by his masters, until a law suit eompels them to

receive him, or he who is sought carefully at great expense, and carried back as a lost sheep that is found? Pauperism is a non-descript kind of bondage. The pauper is not valued at a bargain and sale, is not worth the fetters of slavery: he is an odious burden to his many-headed master, the Parish, without hope or comfort in this life, and without the teaching which promises hope in the life to come.

Nor should the conscience of that nation be quieted by its crusade against the slave-trade, nor by the recent scheme of carrying English civilization into Africa, upon which immense sums are to be expended, nor by any other, nor by all its grand schemes of foreign dominion, foreign trade and foreign benevolence. Nor should the millions raised by the poor rates be a subject of self-gratulation; for "though I *bestow all my goods to feed the poor*, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Bestowing all our goods to feed the poor is not charity! What then are we to call that which renders a small part of our goods upon compulsion?

The practical lesson which we design to impress upon our readers by the foregoing sketch, is the great truth that such a mass of human woe and anguish is allowed to exist in Great Britain without any wise, direct or earnest effort for its removal. And this in a Protestant country, in which all men are by law required to be religious, in the nineteenth century, when the light of revelation and the light of science is streaming abroad over the whole earth! And why is it? The solution is found in one of the strongest principles of our nature, habit. The present generation of Britons have grown up and witnessed from their infancy these sad sights, and heard these sad narratives. They are used to it: inured to it. Generations before them, centuries of generations were in like manner hardened. If any sudden disaster of fire or flood were to strip of their all a town of five thousand inhabitants in England, a hundred thousand purses would be open for their relief; they would soon be restored to abundance. The suddenness of their misfortune would be their title to succour. If the Emperor of Russia were to threaten the woes of pauperism to five thousand Britons in his power, the whole nation would be roused, and the people be called to stand by their arms; but if he should carry his threat into execution, an electric emotion of anger would flash over the country, a thousand cannon would be pointed, millions of money would be voted, and the nation would

peril its existence in a shock of arms against all the power of the Autocrat, to rescue the ill-fated beings suffering in the gripe of his despotism. National honour would demand this effort. Is there no corresponding sentiment which can be roused to such an effort in behalf of the more than five millions enduring these woes at home? Where are the Bishops and other clergy? Surely they have read that—"He that laboureth, laboureth for himself, for his mouth craveth it of him." And again, "Rob not the poor because he is poor, for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them." Have they no desire to secure for their young Queen, who must yet be open to good impressions, the blessing;—"The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established forever." It appears to us that if the good people of Great Britain could, through the mists of selfishness in which they have been brought up, obtain a clear view of their responsibilities before God in this matter, they would place their faces in their hands and their hands in the dust, and make a solemn vow to give no rest to their hands or their feet, or their minds, until the work of restoration had commenced, which would give all the blessings of their beautiful Island to the now unhappy bulk of the population. Is not this state of things a memorable warning to watch the growth of national sins and abuses,—a lesson to all nations to examine rigidly whether there be not some deformity in their system, to which constant use has rendered them criminally indulgent?

The subject which should press with constant vigour upon the heart of every man that has power in the nation, is, what is to be done for the well-being of the people—not of the paupers, but *the people, all the people.* Abolish that legislation which legislates for the rich, as rich, and for the poor, as paupers. Abandon those interminable discussions upon the relative merit of the voluntary and compulsory system of supporting the poor; they are a guilty evasion of the real question. That debate can never end; and victory will be claimed by both parties. One exclaims, behold the English poor under the compulsory system; the other, behold the Irish poor under the voluntary system! And the demonstration could not be more complete on both sides. If the eloquence, argument and ingenuity which have been expended in this false discussion had been applied to the single point of elevating the condition of these millions of

abject beings, some progress towards the resolution of the true difficulty might have been made. It is not a question of economy, in which the triumph will be complete, when the scales are so nearly adjusted, that delivery can be made to each pauper of the precise number of pennyweights which will sustain him in life, and none over. It is a question, how the mass of the British nation is to receive the benefits of industry, civilization and Christianity. It is not an inquiry how the natural increase of our race can be best brought under the influence of the "preventive check," nor merely how food may be provided for the consumption of the increase if the check be unavailing. It is not a question of law nor of the constitution; it is a question of human justice and of duty to God. The error which has grown into the English law and constitution, and which has so deeply rooted itself in the English mind is, that the lot of the poor is regarded as inevitable; as susceptible of alleviation but not of change. The poor do not belong to any order in the political system; they are a mighty excrescence feeding upon the body politic; there is no cover placed for them at the banquet of life, and they have presented themselves unbidden at the feast. But their claims are sternly disregarded, and they are scarce permitted to touch crumb or fragment, until weighed in balances adjusted to the life-preserving point.

We are not of the number of those who contend that men may force themselves, or be legislated into equality of possession. That plan is a scheme of knaves, or a vision of enthusiasts. So long as men have different powers of body and mind; as some are industrious, and others indolent; as some will improve the gifts of nature, and others neglect them; as some are bold, and others are timid; so long as soils and climates vary; so long as accidental advantages may enrich some, and accidental disadvantages impoverish others; above all, so long as selfishness holds sway in the human heart, equality of property is an impossibility. Nor, on the other hand, are we of that school of political economists, which protests against all interference of government in what concerns the distribution of wealth, and the protection of honest industry, averring that all this may be better left to its natural course, and the adjustment of time and circumstances. So long as the main elements which govern or influence this adjustment are large capital, superior talent, great skill and intelligence, the most intense selfishness, hidden fraud, open ignorance, unsuspecting simplicity, and

all the combinations of favourable and unfavourable accident; so long, if society be worth maintaining, will the poor, the unwary, the ignorant, and unfortunate claim the interference of government, in providing such laws as will preserve them from being wholly excluded from the benefits of the social system. When men are left free to prey upon each other, the benefits of association are lost, and the greater number will be stripped of their all, and their industry become the prey of their victors.

What, then, is to be done for the down-trodden millions of Great Britain and Ireland? We freely admit there is a wide difference between pointing out an evil and finding a remedy. History abounds in cases where the remedy has proved worse than the disease; and the bodies of men often experience heavy wrongs, for which the wisdom of their minds can devise no adequate remedy. No feature in the mind of man has more contributed to stay the real progress of human well-being, than the want of due consideration about changes and remedies; than the disposition to adventure upon revolution, without principles for its conduct or its conclusion. How much blood has been shed in the assertion of rights which have been lost as soon as they were won? Great Britain and Ireland must soon or late undergo a thorough revolution. The government should meet the exigency, and not be overtaken by it: to be beneficial, it should be managed and guided by the government, and not in opposition to it. If the measure be fraught with a complication of difficulties, no government on earth can bring more wisdom and address to the task, as the history of the last hundred years proves. In no period, and in no nation, has the mind of man shown greater power. If the great measure of elevating the degraded mass be undertaken in the right spirit, it will succeed, and the moral and religious power of that empire will then surpass the power of her intellect, of her arms, and of her wealth. If the moral power she now boasts is wielded by four or five millions, how will that power be felt when it is wielded by a population of twenty millions? Can motive be wanting for this good work, in a nation which is publishing the word of God in all languages, and which is, of course, proclaiming the law of charity to all the world? Can a nation so rich towards God, deny the boon of righteous legislation and equal justice to her own subjects? Can she be obstinately blind to the temporal and spiritual destitution of the

heathen *children of the Church* in her own Isle, whilst she is ministering to the temporal and spiritual necessities of barbarian strangers in the remotest regions of the earth? And if this far-sighted benevolence is to prevail longer; if Lazarus, at the gate, is to be thrust away and excluded from blessings conferred upon Lazarus beyond sea, ought we not here, from sympathy with our suffering brethren in Great Britain, to remonstrate against the inconsistency?

Where signal abuses exist, it is difficult, in any country, to enter peaceably and discreetly upon the subject of reform, and especially where the laws or institutions to be reformed have the sanction of time in their favour. Questions of this kind, it is readily admitted, require more wisdom and deliberation than some of the ardent friends of humanity are willing to concede. It is frequently deemed dangerous to lay a reforming hand upon any part of a system which appears so constituted as not to admit of change; as to require the good and bad to stand or fall together. There are to be found in every society men, who, by the constitution of their mind, or by their position in life, are violently opposed to all change. Men of experience too, in the affairs of the world, who have learned how much more easy it is rashly to pull down, than wisely to build up or restore, are often opposed to changes of which they cannot exactly beforehand measure the results. The opposition to changes in the social system embraces therefore some of the more powerful elements of society. When these find themselves pressed for reform, they too often content themselves with examining and rejecting the crude projects which are offered, without honestly inquiring whether there may not be just cause of complaint, which might be met and removed. It is not always the case that those who seek relief are the best calculated to devise remedies for the ills of which they complain. So it is in Great Britain, at this time. We would not by any means assume the ground that all the measures which have been pressed upon that government, on the part of those professing to be the special friends of the oppressed classes, are wise or needful. Mere political power is not the relief which the people need; universal suffrage would neither feed nor clothe them. They are wholly unprepared for the exercise of such a power, and long training would be required for that purpose.

If the government, however, continue to hesitate, and to shun the difficulties of the emergency, the people will press

forward, unprepared as they are, and, by rashness or violence, overturn the vast institutions of the country, and, losing the advantages of which they are in search, precipitate others into the gulf from which they have risen. For more than two centuries, a certain class of writers in England have confidently predicted the speedy downfall of that country, and these prophecies, which are yet repeated, have had more probability in their favour than the failure of fulfilment would seem to warrant. England has been saved by the more than usual skill in administration, which has characterized her government. This may yet suffice for a long time to come, and good management and cunning may yet defer her ruin to a distant period. But it may come soon, and it will come at last. The people of Great Britain and Ireland, unless their physical and moral condition be improved, will eventually rise upon their oppressors, and then what is seized by force will be wasted in the riot of power. Then will be lost the wisdom and experience of centuries; a new social system will be commenced, to contract, in its growth, as many evils as were lamented in that which was destroyed.

Can there be a doubt, if the government of Great Britain would honestly and earnestly engage in the humane work of elevating her labouring classes, of her ultimate success? If undertaken in that spirit of determination and self-sacrifice, so often exhibited on other occasions, the success would be rapid and complete. How small a part of that expenditure and effort which was applied to subjugate her injured colonies in America, would have sufficed to elevate to usefulness and happiness more than as many millions of her subjects at home? How small a portion of the money which has been expended in subsidizing and feeding foreign troops, would have purchased up the various interests which now oppose the permanent elevation of the poor? How certainly would those means, which have been expended for the benefit of those whom the people of England never saw, have, if properly applied, afforded permanent advantage to her oppressed millions at home! Do the people of Great Britain hesitate to exercise the right kind of liberality to their paupers, through fear that the poor may not be always with them?

Joseph Henry

ART. VII.—*Report of the Tenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Glasgow, Sept.* 1840. Reported for the London Athenaeum.

THE name of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, must be familiar to all our readers. The Institution has been in existence since 1830, and has succeeded in keeping up the interest of its meetings, with more success than its most sanguine supporters could have hoped for. It has no permanent location, but holds its meetings in rotation in the principal cities of Great Britain and Ireland. The first meeting took place at Oxford; the others, in order, have been held at York, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin, Bristol, Liverpool, Newcastle, Birmingham, and the last at Glasgow. The next is to be at Manchester.

The objects of this society, which has been aptly called her Majesty's parliament of science, are to give an impulse and a proper direction to scientific inquiries—to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science with one another —to obtain a more general attention to the subject, and to remove any disadvantages, of a public kind, which may impede its progress. The requisitions for admission are very few, and scarcely extend beyond a taste for science, and the ability to pay one guinea, per annum, into the treasury. The number of members has, consequently, been very great, amounting to several thousand. The receipts for 1839 were nearly 15,000 dollars, and this sum, after paying the few incidental expenses of the institution, is devoted to the promotion of objects of science, which would be too expensive for the unaided efforts of individuals. We can give only a few of the objects for which appropriations were made at the meeting before the last, and these are taken at random from a synopsis given in the Report for that year. First, for the reduction of meteorological observations. For the revision of the nomenclature of the stars. For magnetic observations. For observations on subterranean temperature. For the translation of foreign scientific memoirs. For researches on atmospheric air. For experiments on the action of sea water on Iron. For experiments on the preservation of animal substances. For various physiological researches. *For inquiries respecting the velocity of American steamboats.* For experiments on the best form of vessels, &c.

These experiments and observations are intrusted to persons of character and scientific skill, who are competent to prosecute them in the manner best suited to promote the desired results. The appropriations are therefore of great importance in extending several departments of science, which could make but slow advance without such aid. The society is also of considerable use in collecting many interesting scientific facts, which are brought out of the discussions of the different sections, and which would otherwise, by their insulation, be lost to the general cause. But perhaps the most interesting as well as important means, adopted by the institution for the promotion of its object, is that of appointing competent persons to prepare elaborate reports of the present state of different branches of science, and of the *desiderata* in any branch to which attention should be given, in order to its more rapid advancement. The reports which have thus been prepared now form the greater portion of eight large octavo volumes, and as they are the productions of some of the most prominent cultivators of science, not only in Great Britain, but in different parts of the world, they cannot be otherwise than important aids to the diffusion as well as the promotion of scientific knowledge. Among these reports we notice one, of much interest, on the Geology of the United States, by Professor Rodgers, of Philadelphia; and we perceive also that our esteemed countryman, Dr. Bache, of Girard College, was requested, at the meeting of 1839, to prepare one on the Meteorology of North America.

It must be confessed, however, that this society is not free from defects, and that with much good, some evil is combined in its operations. From the great number of its members, and the little scientific acquirement necessary to admission, matters of a trifling character often occupy the attention of the *sections;* and persons of third and fourth rate acquirements are sometimes puffed into ephemeral importance by receiving the countenance of men of scientific character, but who perhaps have little knowledge of the subject on which the claims of distinction are founded. Currency has thus, in some cases, been given to error, which has done injury to the cause of science by retarding the advance of a knowledge of truth. The late proceedings of the society, however, appear to have somewhat improved in this respect; and checks have been introduced which tend to prevent the recurrence of gross results of the kind men-

tioned. The business of the society is managed by committees composed of persons of established reputation; the officers are chosen by these, and the appropriation of money is made under their direction. They now also decide on the several papers which are to be read before the sections, and are thus enabled to keep in check and control those who would intrude on the society with subjects of a trifling nature. Still, notwithstanding these precautions, the proceedings of the last meetings are not entirely free from some communications which have no claims to a scientific character, but which have been given to the world by being suffered to pass without comment. Besides this, public discussion is not the most proper mode of eliciting scientific truth; and the man of real worth, if he has the diffidence of true knowledge, is completely thrown into the back-ground by one of much inferior grade, who possesses more assurance or the faculty of fluent public speaking.

Notwithstanding these defects, which perhaps are in a measure unavoidable, the society has certainly done much good; and were no other result to be produced by its organization, than that of originating the grand series of magnetic observations which are now in progress in various parts of the world, and for which the expedition of Captain Ross to the South Pole was instituted; we should say that the anticipations of its founders had not been disappointed. But we cannot perhaps give a better idea of the objects and nature of this institution, than by occupying the remainder of this article with a condensed, and, in most cases, an explanatory account of the proceedings of the last meeting.

The business of the society is transacted in sections corresponding to the principal divisions of science; namely, a section of Mathematics and Physics, of Chemistry, of Geology, of Zoology and Botany, of Medicine, of Statistics, and of Mechanical Science.

### *Mathematical and Physical Section.*

*Light and Heat.* This subject, as usual, occupied a measure of attention in the section. Professor Powell of Oxford had prepared a report on radiant heat, supplementary to one before given, on the same subject. This report was not read, but some account of the contents was given. The many discoveries which have been made, in reference to light, within the last thirty years, have rendered it necessary

to adopt some other mode of generalizing the phenomena, than that of the theory, which supposes light to consist in minute particles of matter, emanating from a luminous source. The facts are now found to be much more in accordance with the supposition, that light consists in the vibrations of an ethereal medium, which pervades all space, and which is put in motion by the agency of the luminous body: in other words, light is no longer considered as matter, but motion.

By the late researches of Melloni and Forbes, it is shown that all the new phenomena, as they may be called, of light, have analogies in the kindred principle of heat. The radiant heat from boiling water, unaccompanied by light, is reflected according to the same laws to which light is subjected; also when heat is passed through a glass in a direction forming an angle with the surface, it is reflected or bent out of its course, just as light is: again, when a beam of light passes through certain crystalline bodies, it becomes impressed with a new property called polarization, which consists in the existence of different properties, in reference to the different sides of the beam; Professor Forbes has found that the same phenomenon is exhibited by radiant heat, under the same circumstances. It would appear from these facts, and others of a like kind, that whatever hypothesis we assume for the explanation of the phenomena of light, the same, with the necessary modifications, must be adopted in reference to the cause of heat. We say with modifications, because, although the two principles are similar in some of their properties, yet they are very different in others. According to the theory of Ampere, these differences are produced by the different lengths of the waves which constitute light and heat respectively, and in the case of the propagation of heat in the interior of a body, he supposes the particles of the gross matter also to be put into a state of vibration.

Melloni has found that the power of heat to pass through a body, increases as the source from which it emanates approaches the luminous state; also, that there is a very remarkable difference in the transmitting power of different substances for heat, although they may be equally transparent. Thus, rock salt is almost entirely "permeable" to heat from the lowest source; its transmissive power is eight times greater than that of an equal thickness of alum of the same transparency. Hence lenses made of this substance are of great use in concentrating the ray of heat from non-luminous sources. The light of the moon has been examined by a

lens of this kind, and with the delicate instrument of Melloni, which indicates less than the one-thousandth part of a degree of the Centigrade thermometer, yet no indications of any effect could be obtained. Professor Forbes stated that if there be any heat in the rays of the moon, it must be less than the 1-300,000th part of a degree of Centigrade.

Considerable discussion took place in the section concerning the applicability of the undulating theory to the explanation of the phenomena of the quantitive measures of heat belonging to different bodies; but the remarks were not of much importance, and the explanation given by Lamè, on the supposition of different degrees of condensation of the ether in different bodies, was not mentioned. The interesting fact however was stated, that the length of the wave of heat must be nearly three times that of light, while their refractive indices are nearly the same. This fact was shown, from the investigations of Professor Powell, to be a mathematical inference from the principles of the wave theory.

Sir David Brewster said he would be glad to learn if any phenomena of heat had been observed, which were analogous to those of opalescence in reference to light. The intimate particles of bodies were found to exert occasionally a peculiar action on light; thus when it was transmitted through a particular variety of fluor spar, a blue colour was reflected, and opalescence produced: also the solution in alcohol of many vegetables exhibited similar effects; the solution of laurel leaves, when placed in a square phial of clear glass, and looked through in such a position that the rays had to pass through a thick stratum of the liquid, returned to the eye red light so abundantly as to give a tinge of colour the same as opalescence. Sir David thought these effects depended on a partial decomposition of the light, by the molecules of the opalescent body through which it was passing. Similar results could be produced by placing a small quantity of oil of cassia between plates of glass; a decomposing influence is exercised upon the light, from which opalescence resulted. Also when white soap is rubbed between two glass plates, the mixture of minute portions of soap and air produces prismatic colours, analogous as he conceived to opalescence. Professor Forbes thought that there were phenomena in heat analogous to those just mentioned; the effects of mica reduced to bundles of thin plates by the action of heat, he considered to be of this kind.

Professor Powell had also prepared a report for the Soci-

ety on the present state of knowledge of Refractive Indices of the principal rays of the solar spectrum in different media. The undulatory theory was for a long time at fault in explaining what is called the dispersion of light; that is the different separation of the rays of different colours when light is passed through prisms of various substances. According to this theory, colour consists in the difference of the lengths of different waves; and in either theory of light, the degree of refraction depends on the different velocity of light in the two media through which it passes; but in the case of sound, all vibrations, whatever be their length, move with the same velocity; how, then, can waves of different lengths, or different colours, have different velocities so as to produce the phenomena of dispersion? This difficulty has at length been overcome by the researches of Cauchy of Paris, by some modifications of the hypothesis in reference to the constitution of the ether, and the action of the atoms of matter on it. In this report, a tabular view is given of various results obtained from direct measurement of the dispersion of different substances, which could be compared with those deduced from the wave theory, as a test of the same.

An account was given in a letter from the Meteorologist, Col. Reid, of a blue sun seen at Bermuda. All objects within doors appeared of a sickly blue colour, and the sea of a dingy yellow; the latter produced, probably, from the accidental colour of the contrast of the blue. Sir David Brewster was of opinion that this phenomenon was caused by vapour of water in a vesicular state interposed between the sun and the observer. Owing to this cause, the sun may exhibit any colour, and, in point of fact, he had once seen it of a bright salmon. A similar effect is sometimes produced when the sun is seen through a glass window covered with frost. The whole belongs to the subject of colours produced by mixed plates.

Sir David Brewster read a paper on the position of the principal dark lines found in the solar spectrum, in answer to some publications on the subject by Professor Powell. Also, the same gentleman made a very interesting communication relative to the beautiful colours, exhibited by the surface of old glass, which had been for a long time exposed to the weather. The phenomenon was supposed to be due to a gradual change in the arrangement of the molecules of the glass; the silex of which slowly assumes a crystalline structure. He also read a paper on *muscae volantes*. Several

other communications were made on the subject of light and heat which our limits will not permit us to note.

*Electricity and Magnetism.*

The first communication under this head, consists of a long account of a new theory of electricity, by a stranger in the ranks of science, a Mr. C. J. Kennedy; and, although he occupies nearly five columns of the Report, yet the real amount of his labours would be expressed algebraically by a small negative quantity. The next communication is from Professor Jacobi, of St. Petersburgh, giving an account of his experiments on the application of electro-magnetism, as a moving power in the arts. After stating a number of theoretical and experimental results relative to the laws of the developement of magnetism in soft iron, by the action of the galvanic current, he noticed the experiments he had made last year in propelling a boat on the Neva, by magnetic power. The machine, which occupied very little space, was put in motion by a battery of sixty-four pairs of platina plates, each containing thirty-four square inches of surface, and excited according to the plan of Mr. Grove, with nitric and diluted sulphuric acid. The vessel, which was twenty-eight feet in length, and seven feet and a half in width, drawing two feet and three-quarters of water, and carrying fourteen persons, was propelled at the rate of about three English miles per hour. He had gone thus on the Neva more than once, during the whole day, partly with and partly against the stream, and with a velocity not much less than that of the first steam-boat. A gentleman asked the power of the engine. Professor Jacobi replied, "about one or one and a half horse;" but the term horse-power was vague.

The President of the Section, Professor Forbes, congratulated the audience on the advance made towards the introduction of electro-magnetism as a useful moving power. We cannot help thinking, however, that this compliment to Professor Jacobi was given at the expense of science, and will tend to raise public expectations which cannot be realized. The state of knowledge, in reference to this subject, is, in our opinion, not yet ripe for the useful application of this power, and all attempts at present of this kind must be failures. The question is not alone as to the possibility of moving a powerful machine by galvanism; but also, will such a machine, with its batteries and acid, be convenient; but, above all,

can it compete, in ease of application and cheapness, with steam. On the last mentioned points, Professor Jacobi is silent; but we can state, from some attention to the subject, that this power will be found, in round numbers, at least fifty times more expensive than steam; and this assertion will perhaps not appear extravagant when we reflect that the power in question is derived from the constant destruction of zinc and acid, and that these articles are not like coal, the spontaneous productions of nature, but are manufactured, at the expense of much manual labour, and the consumption of a great quantity of fuel. Indeed, the magnetic motion, as the current of galvanism is now developed, consists in a very indirect method of applying the power derived from the combustion of fuel.

*Terrestial Magnetism.* This branch of science will, perhaps, be advanced more than any other by the operations of the Association. The plan of an extended series of simultaneous observations on the changes of the direction and intensity of the magnetic force of the earth at points very distant from each other, was first suggested by the illustrious traveller Humboldt, to whom almost every branch of science is indebted. In 1828 and 1830, he succeeded, by his great personal influence, in procuring the establishment of magnetic observatories, not only in several parts of the Russian Possessions in the north, but also at Pekin itself. Also in the Crimea, in the mines of Freyberg in Saxony, at Sitka in Russian America, and even in Iceland observatories were established by his solicitations. But not contented with these efforts he addressed a letter in 1836 to the Duke of Sussex, then President of the Royal Society, urging the co-operation of the English government in the enterprise. The subject however was taken up by the British Association, and through its influence the whole plan was enlarged, and an expedition consisting of two vessels under the command of Captain Ross, was fitted out by the government for making magnetic observations in the southern hemisphere.

According to a report on the subject at the present meeting of the Association, from a committee composed of Sir J. Herschel, Mr. Whewell, Mr. Peacock, and Professor Lloyd, it appears that there are now organized between thirty and forty observatories for simultaneous magnetic observations in various and remote parts of the globe, and that these are provided with requisite instruments, and with observers carefully selected, and competent to carry out a complete set of

two-hourly observations day and night (Sunday excepted) during three years; together with monthly observations of twenty-four hours each, at intervals of two and a half minutes. Of these observatories, that at Dublin has been provided for by the liberality of the university of that city. Those at Toronto (Canada), the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and Van Dieman's Land, as also the two itinerant observatories of the expedition, by the British government. Those of Madras, Simla, Sincapore, and Aden, by the East India Company; to which are to be added, ten stations in European and Asiatic Russia, and one at Pekin, established by Russia; two by Austria, at Prague and Milan; one by the French government, at Algiers; one by the Prussian, at Breslau; one by the Bavarian, at Munich; one by the Spanish, at Cadiz; one by the Belgian, at Brussels; one by the *Pasha* of Egypt, at Cairo; and one by the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, in India.

In connexion with this list, we blush for the intelligence of the legislators of our country, when we are in truth obliged to say, that although the subject has been brought before Congress, by a petition from a committee of the American Philosophical Society, requesting the establishment of observatories at several of our military stations, in order that we too might co-operate in this interesting work, and show as much interest in the advance of science as the Pasha of Egypt or a Rajah of the East, yet nothing could be done. We know not in what manner the object was defeated; but be this as it may, the whole plan will be incomplete, unless the extended territory of the United States be included in the field of observation. The only complete set of observations at present in progress in our country is that carried on by the indefatigable labours of Dr. Bache, of Girard College, and this has been thus far supported by the liberality of a few private individuals. The observations have now been going on night and day for nine months, and already some highly interesting results have been obtained, in connexion with some of the distant observatories, relative to the simultaneous motions of the needle. A partial set of observations, including five days, at the magnetic terms, we believe, for every five minutes, are in operation at the University of Cambridge, (Boston). These are under the direction of Professors Pierce and Lovering and Mr. Bond. We have, however, just learned that the American Academy of Arts and Sciences has re-

solved to co-operate in these observations, and has made the liberal appropriation of 1,000 dollars for purchasing the necessary instruments.

The committee called attention to the extremely remarkable Aurora exhibited at Toronto on the 29th and 30th of May last. During the whole time of the appearance of the meteor, as well as for some hours previous, while it might be presumed to be in progress, though invisible in day-light, all the three magnetical instruments were thrown into a state of continual and very extraordinary disturbance, and this was so great as to carry the needle in a single minute of time over ten minutes of arc. And during the most brilliant part of the evening's display, the motions were such as to throw the scales of both the vertical and horizontal force magnetometers out of the field of view, and to produce a change of declination, amounting to one degree and fifty-nine minutes. It should be remarked, that the greatest and most sudden disturbances were coincident with great bursts of the auroral streamers. Should it fortunately have happened that Captain Ross has been able to observe, at the same time, at Kerguelen's Land, which is not far from the antipodes of Toronto, an indication will be afforded, whether or not the electrical streams of the Aurora are to be regarded as diverging from one magnetic pole or region, and converging to another. In connexion with this, we may state, that the same Aurora produced analogous effects on the instruments at Boston and Philadelphia. The Royal Astronomer stated, that an Aurora had been noticed on the same day at Cambridge, and that the disturbance of the instruments exceeded in amount any which had been observed there on previous occasions.

Dr. Lamont gave an account of the magnetic observatory of Munich, which differs in two respects from other establishments of the same kind. In the first place, it is not a house, but a subterranean building, 13 feet below the surface of the earth; thus affording the advantages of nearly an equal temperature throughout the year; which obviates, in a great measure, the corrections necessary for changes of the thermometer. In the second place, the instruments are of greater dimensions than those usually employed. The magnetic bars or needles, if they can be so called, weigh 25 pounds each; the theodolite has a circle of two feet and a half diameter, and an achromatic telescope of three and a half inches aperture. The instrument which indicates the

changes of the horizontal force of the earth's magnetism is deflected at right angles to the meridian, by a spiral spring.

Major Sabine presented to the Section, several copies of a report made to the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, upon the magnetic observations made by the direction of the Russian government.

*Meteorology.* This subject has always been a favourite one with the physical section, and at this meeting it occupied perhaps more than usual attention. Professor Forbes gave an abstract of a report on meteorology, which he had prepared as supplementary to one which he had presented in 1833. It contained a full account of the instruments for the measurement of temperature, with their improvements and defects, as well as of the decrease and the accumulation of heat—of the fact of the temperature decreasing in a geometrical series in ascending through arithmetically increasing heights. It referred to the subject of the limits of the atmosphere—to the temperature of space itself beyond the earth, the source of which was supposed to be the radiating influence of the stars; also to the temperature of the earth below the surface, and the mean temperature of a place. It showed that while within the tropics it was sufficient to plunge a thermometer a foot under the ground in order to get the mean temperature, in high latitudes this would not be sufficient. Under the head of pressure the use and construction of the barometer was considered, with the importance of curves in recording and comparing its indications; facts were also given which would tend to diminish our confidence in the barometer as a means of measuring heights. The Caspian sea is found by actual measurement to be 82 feet below the Black sea, while the barometer, from some unknown anomaly, indicates a difference of level between the two of 320 feet. The humidity of the atmosphere and the use of the wet-bulb thermometer in detemining its amount was next considered, also the distribution of moisture, the theories of winds, and a notice of the researches of Col. Reed, Mr. Redfield, and Mr. Espy, was given. On the subject of atmospheric electricity, it was stated that little had been done of late. The recurrence of the phenomena of shooting stars was also discussed. Sir David Brewster gave a report on a series of hourly observations with the thermometer and barometer at Kingussie and Inverness, which were begun at the commencement of the meteorological year, 1838, and continued hourly by competent observers.

Besides observations on the barometer and thermometer, the character of the weather and the direction of the wind were noted every hour, also the number of hours of wind—of breeze—of calm—of rain—of snow, and of cloudy and clear weather, with a particular account of the appearance of the Aurora were registered. The results of these observations were compared with those of other hourly observaiions made at South Plymouth, Padua and Philadelphia, and with two-hourly observations, made at Columbo, Kandy, and Trimcomalee; from this it appeared that the interval of time between the observations which gave the morning and evening mean temperature, from all the observations was 11h. 5m. In comparing the number of hours of calm throughout the year, it appeared that they occurred when the temperature was lowest. This was considered as an important result, and was confirmed by the observations of Mr. Osler of Birmingham, who gave the results of his investigations in reference to the force of the wind, deduced from 26,000 observations. In tabulating these results the curve obtained is almost identical with that for the temperature not only for the whole year but for each season. The increase of tempeature however precedes the rise of the wind, but as evening approaches, the wind declines more rapidly than the temperature.

Mr. Caldecott then made a communication respecting an hourly register of observations made at the observatory of His Royal Highness, the Rajah of Travancore, which had been established in consequence of the Rajah having seen a recommendation to that effect by the British Association. The observers were all natives, and after the first difficulty of instructing them was surmounted, their patient, diligent and temperate habits peculiarly fitted them for the office. Professor Forbes rejoiced to find that the influence of the association was felt within the palaces of the native princes of India. These registers contained not only the observations in their original state, but also corrected so as to be immediately applicable to the determination of general laws.

Professor Phillips gave an account of his proposed new researches on rain, in which it was intended, by observing the quantities of rain received on horizontal surfaces at different elevations, and by contemporaneous experiments on the direction and angle of inclination of the descending drops, to furnish data of importance in the theory of rain. He also described a new form of rain-gauge, by which the directions

were to be determined: it consisted, as it were, of five gauges placed together; one with its mouth horizontal, and the other four vertically, and facing the different cardinal points. By measuring the quantity of rain in the horizontal gauge, and in one or two of the others, as circumstances might happen, he was able to determine, by a simple calculation, the angles of the descending drops. He had found, that the angle, with the vertical, varied from 0° to 6°, 13°, 17°, and, in one case, to 35°, without perceiving that these variations produced any difference in the relative quantities of rain at different elevations.

But the communication which attracted most attention, was from our countryman, Mr. Espy, on storms. He commenced by stating, that he had found, by observation, that the wind blows inward, on all sides of a storm, towards its central parts—towards a point, if the storm is round, and towards a line, extending through the longer diameter, if it be oblong. He also stated, that within the last five years, he had investigated the phenomena of seventeen storms, without finding a single exception to the general rule. He illustrated his position, by the particular example of the storm which occurred in Great Britain on the 6th of January, 1839. Mr. Epsy also stated, that he had visited the tracks of eighteen tornadoes; examined several of them with great care, and found that all gave indications of the inward motion of currents of air. Also, he said the same inference ought to be drawn from the well-known fact that the barometer stands lower in the middle than on the borders of a storm. Sir John Herschel, however, had considered this fact as fatal to the theory; since it appeared to him that the only way of accounting for the fall of the barometer was by supposing a centrifugal force in the air. But Mr. Epsy brought forward several recorded cases of an inward motion of wind, accompanied by a fall of the barometer. He then stated, that he had found by calculation, according to well-known laws, that the caloric of elasticity given out into the air in which a cloud is formed, would expand the air about 8,000 cubic feet for every foot of water formed by the condensation of the vapour.

He next gave an account of his theory, which occupies more than ten pages of the Report; but, notwithstanding its length, some difficulty will be experienced in getting a clear idea of his principles from this exposition. The theory, as we understand it, may be stated generally as follows:

When a portion of air, resting on the surface of the earth, is rendered lighter by being more heated or more highly charged with aqueous vapour than the surrounding atmosphere, its equilibrium will be instable, and an ascending column will be produced by the slightest disturbance; and as this rises, the air, which forms the upper part of it, will be less compressed, and will therefore expand, and on this account will become colder; hence the vapour which it contains will, at least in part, be condensed or converted into a cloud. The condensation of the vapour should lessen, as it would seem, the bulk of the air, and render it specifically heavier; but the tendency to this is more than counteracted by the action of the latent caloric, which is given out by the same condensation, and which expands the air much more than it would be diminished by the abstraction of the vapour; hence the column is rendered still lighter, and ascends to a still greater altitude, and at the same time presses laterally on the surrounding atmosphere, so as to form an annulus of air somewhat condensed, under which the barometer should stand higher than its mean altitude; and in the centre of which, or under the ascending column, it should be found lower. Fresh portions of air, charged with moisture, will constantly be forced in, under the ascending column, and by the deposition of vapour increase and continue the effect, while they produce, at the surface of the earth, a strong wind from all sides towards the centre of the storm. The air in the annulus, being compressed by the lateral expansion, is more dense than the surrounding atmosphere, and hence will descend, and thus assist in forcing up the ascending column; but, on the outside of the ring, the air will be pressed outwards, and may produce, at a certain altitude and distance from the centre of the base of the storm, a gentle breeze, radiating in every direction outwards. The upward motion is supposed to be so great as to carry up in the centre the condensed vapour, which is then thrown outwards and falls on all sides in the form of rain; and in some cases the altitude, to which the drops are carried, may be so great that they become frozen, and hence the production of the hail which accompanies violent storms. If we now suppose the ascending column, and the annulus which surrounds its upper part, to be moved by any extraneous cause along the surface of the earth, the upward and other motions being preserved, we shall have an idea of the general principles of Mr. Espy's theoretical storm. According to

this theory, any cause which disturbs the equilibrium of a portion of a moist atmosphere may commence the storm, and hence Mr. Espy supposes, that under favourable circumstances, artificial fires may be employed as the exciting means, and the upward current, together with the deposition of moisture, the production of wind and rain will be the consequence.

It is stated in the Report, that this paper gave rise to a very interesting conversation, but from the great length of the article attention can be directed only to the leading points of this discussion. Professor Stevelly called the attention of the Section to the fact, that he had, at the Edinburgh meeting in 1834, used the principle of cold, produced by rarefaction, to explain the secondary formation of clouds, and thus the *propagation of storms.* He objected, however, to the main position of Mr. Espy's theory, and inferred, from theoretical considerations, that the cloud produced by the condensation of the moisture is colder instead of hotter than the surrounding air, and therefore the violent ascending vortex calculated upon by Mr. Espy could not exist. Professor Forbes had three objections to Mr. Espy's theory. "1st. The small funnel at the centre of a tornado, through which Mr. Espy supposed the air to rise, would be insufficient to vent all the air which would rush, during a tornado, with the frightful velocity we know it to attain. 2d. As the tornado had a progressive motion, it would be more difficult than Mr. Espy supposes, to deduce the actual source of the atmospheric particles at any instant, as each would move with a motion compounded of two motions, both varying in relative direction and magnitude. 3d. He thought that all the vapour in the air would be condensed into a cloud much sooner than Mr. Espy supposed." Whatever may be the merits of Mr. Espy's theory, we think the objections of Professor Forbes amount to but little. They were answered at considerable length by Mr. Espy himself; but the remarks are not reported.

Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the fact that Mr. Redfield of New York, after many years of assiduous study of the phenomena of storms, has come to the conclusion that they consist in large gyrations of air, or immense whirlwinds, often several hundred miles in diameter, which start from near the equator and move in curved lines towards the poles: the direction of revolution of those in the northern hemisphere being the

same as that of the hands of a watch placed horizontally with its face upwards. The fall of the barometer in the centre, and its rise in the borders of the storm, is produced by the air being thrown outwards by centrifugal force, and compressed on the circumference. In support and extension of this theory, Col. Reid, now Governor of Bermuda, has published a large octavo volume, and the theory has also found favour with the principal British meteorologists.

Mr. Osler said, that from the investigations he had made on this subject, he was convinced that the centripetal action described by Mr. Espy did take place in most hurricanes, and that the motions of the great storm of the 6th and 7th of January, 1839, was not rotatory at the surface of the earth when it passed over England. He differed, however, both from Mr. Espy and Mr. Redfield in one point, for he believed it would be almost impossible to have a violent hurricane unaccompanied by both rotatory and centripetal action. Mr. Archibald Smith said that there was one point which must not be overlooked in any correct comparisons of the several theories; from the principle of the conservation of areas, it was perfectly certain, that if a storm was caused in the manner supposed by Mr. Espy, there must be a rotation greater or less at the centre; because unless the motion of all the currents was accurately directed to one point which was indefinitely impossible, a motion of rotation must be the result; as in the instance of the motion of water in a funnel. Sir David Brewster thought it was impossible to form any definite opinion on the subject from the great want of well attested facts, and as Mr. Espy founded his theory expressly on observations often made by himself, it was impossible to do justice to his ingenious views until a greater number of facts had been collected. Mr. Espy's facts were opposed to those observed by others, he (Mr. E.) regarded water spouts as formed in the same manner as tornadoes, but Col. Reid had distinctly stated, in a letter which had been read to the section, that he had actually seen, by means of a telescope, a water spout revolving like the hands on the dial plate of a watch; one observation like this was worth a thousand inferences. Professor Phillips said that he thought the statement of facts in the American journals, was more consistent with Mr. Espy's than with Mr. Redfield's theory; and Col. Reid's thinking he saw rotation in a water spout could not invalidate the abiding evidence from up-rooted forests. Mr. Espy's reply to these remarks

is not given. He seemed to think, however, that he had been misunderstood, and, as is stated, answered Professor Forbes's objections at considerable length.

It is certainly a matter of congratulation to those who are interested in the cause of American science, that so much has been done among us in the way of meteorology. The interesting theories of Espy and of Redfield, contradictory as they may now appear, will probably be found not incompatible with each other; and they undoubtedly form the most important steps towards the widest generalization which have yet been attempted in reference to the complex phenomena of the motions of the atmosphere.

The next communication on the subject of meteorology was made by Col. Sykes, relative to a remarkable phenomenon, the facts of which were transmitted to him in a letter from Capt. Aston, one of the diplomatic agents of the government of Bombay. During a thunder storm which took place on the 24th of March 1840, at Rajket in Kattywar, a shower of grain fell to the earth over a considerable extent of country. The natives flocked to Capt. Aston to learn his opinion of the phenomenon, for not only did the heavens raining grain upon them excite terror, but the omen was aggravated by the fact that the seed was not one of the cultivated grains of the country, but was entirely unknown to them. A specimen of the grain was presented to the Association by Col. Sykes; the genus and species was not immediately recognizable, but was thought by some of the members of the Botanical Section to be either a *spartium* or a *vicia*. Col. S. also mentioned a similar case of falling fish which occurred about sixty years ago in Madras.

Several other communications were also made on the subject of meteorology, but our limits will not permit us to dwell longer on this division of the labours of the Association.

*Astronomy.* The first communication on this subject was from a committee composed of Sir J. Herschel, Mr. Whewell, and Mr. Baily, which had been appointed to revise the nomenclature of the stars. The revision of the northern hemisphere had been continued by Mr. Baily; it consisted in a careful examination of each star, an investigation of its history and of the designations it had received from its several observers. In the course of the work many singular instances of confusion in naming and placing particular stars had been detected. Sir J. Herschel had continued and nearly completed a chart of all the stars of the southern hemi-

sphere, distinctly visible to the naked eye. In this chart each star is represented of its true magnitude according to a scale in which the interval between the brightest and feeblest star is divided into eighteen degrees.

Professor Nichol gave an account of the observatory erecting near Glasgow, and adverted at some length to the principles on which the plan of the institution was arranged. It was intended to devote this observatory to investigations which lay, for the most part, out of the way of other establishments of the kind, and which in the present state of Astronomy were numerous and important. He also described the instruments of the observatory, and stated that it was intended to add to these a set for magnetic observations. Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal, said that, as an old observer, he would venture to suggest to Dr. Nichol that he should not extend his observations farther than he had an opportunity of reducing them. The task of reduction was laborious, and it must be remembered that in the present state of astronomy, unreduced observations were of comparatively small value.

The part of astronomy which has most occupied the attention of the Association, and to which it has rendered most important service, is that of the tides. The theory of this subject is really a matter of observation, and can be determined only by a series of registers being kept in various parts of the world, and continued during several periods of the revolutions of the moon's nodes. The Association has established registers of this kind, and reports of these were made at the present meeting. The complexity of the phenomena of the tides may be imagined from the fact, that the tides in the channels around England are modified by those raised in an opposite hemisphere of the earth. The attraction of the sun and moon can become sensible only when operating on an extended surface of water, and hence the Pacific Ocean is almost the principal source of all the tides on the surface of the globe. The great wave raised in this ocean is transmitted to the Atlantic, and is thence propagated nearly to the poles in each direction, modifying in its course the smaller tides formed in other seas and oceans.

We have now filled the number of pages allotted to this article, but have not completed the account of the proceedings of the Association; we propose, therefore, to continue the subject in the next number.

QUARTERLY LIST

OF

# NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

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Christ to return: A Practical Exposition of the Prophecy recorded in the 24th and 25th chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. With a Preface, by the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D.D., Bishop of the diocese of North Carolina. By G. Emlen Hare, Rector of Trinity Church, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 12mo. pp. xxiii. 132.

The second advent of the Lord Jesus Christ begins to attract more attention in the American churches; and there are probably ten times as many students of the prophecies concerning this event, as there were ten years ago. It would not befit the character of this notice, representing as it does the opinions of a number, to open the question of the millennium. We may however with all freedom commend this little volume to the pious reader; who may be assured that he will find in it nothing to remind him of the exorbitant vagary which characterizes some of the English prophetic writers. It comprises six lectures, delivered in the ordinary course of preaching, and therefore popular and practical, rather than critical. The style, though much compressed and sometimes abrupt, is vigorous, earnest, and awakening; and the spirit of the whole discussion is solemn and reverent. It is well known to all acquainted with the author, that his accurate and extensive hermeneutical researches would furnish abundant material for a larger and more critical exposition of this subject.

The Principles of Greek Grammar; comprising the substance of the most approved Grammars extant, for the use of Colleges and Academies. Second Edition, revised and corrected. By the Rev. Peter Bullions, D.D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy, &c. &c. New York: Collins, Keese & Co. Albany: Oliver Steele. 1841. pp. 320. 12mo.

It is with pleasure that we welcome a second edition of this manual; which we continue to regard as still unsurpassed by any similar work in our language. The typography and the quality of the paper are uncommonly good. We observe valuable additions and alterations. For all that we can see, every thing worth knowing in Thiersch, is here condensed into a few pages: we have certainly never seen the anatomy of the Greek verb so neatly demonstrated. Most heartily do we agree with the learned author in his old-fashioned declaration, that 'no system of Grammar will answer a good purpose, which does not present the leading facts and principles in such a way as *to be easily*

*committed to memory*, and so to be ready for immediate application when necessary.' The Syntax will be found remarkably to accord with this principle. To learners who are beginning this language, and especially to teachers of grammar-schools, we earnestly recommend this book.

The Principles of English Grammar; comprising the substance of the most approved English Grammars extant: with copious exercises in Parsing and Syntax, for the use of Academies and common schools. (On the plan of Murray's Grammar.) Third Edition, revised and corrected. By the Rev. Peter Bullions, D.D., Professor of Languages in the Albany Academy, &c. Albany: Oliver Steele. 1841. 12mo. pp. 187.

After what we have already said of Dr. Bullions, our readers will expect, in his English Grammar, something different from the catchpenny publications which we are, ever and anon, receiving from New England. It is the *English* language which Dr. Bullions undertakes to analyze, and not a systematized provincialism, invented, one might suppose, to render the English and American language as unlike as possible. The book contains no new nomenclature, no innovations in language, no startling paradoxes, no short-cuts to literature. Though simple, plain, and short, it is such a book as none but a scholar could produce. The circulation of a hundred thousand copies would do wonders in correcting our national tendency towards a corrupt dialect and idiom; a tendency from which no district is free, yet which many among us seem resolved to strengthen, rather than destroy. Nothing will save us from an American language, as marked as lowland Scotch, but a perpetual resort to genuine English usage.

An abstract of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, (in connexion with the Church of Scotland.) Session X. Holden at Toronto, 2d—7th July, 1840. Toronto: pp. 44. 8vo.

The prosperity of our brethren in British America ought to lie near our hearts; of this prosperity the pamphlet before us is a pleasing token. The synodal acts are given in such detail as to be satisfactory even to a stranger. The Synod of Canada is composed of seven Presbyteries, of which we give the names and the number of ministers; viz. Glengarry, 8; Hamilton, 17; Quebec, 15; Bathurst, 12; Kingston, 11; Toronto, 13; Total, 76. The United Synod of Upper Canada was, at this session, incorporated with the Canada Synod; an event of an auspicious nature. May it be followed by the union of all sound Calvinistic Presbyterians! The accession hereby made amounts to 17 ministers, and one probationer; which increases the total to 93. These ministers were united to the respective Presbyteries, within whose bounds they severally reside; a judicious measure, which will, more than any thing else, preclude the return of old prejudices and separate interests.

The scheme of a Presbyterian College has begun to be carried out on a large scale of execution. The Canadian subscriptions have been extensive. The Church of Scotland has given warm encouragement. A Bill has passed the Provincial Legislature, and obtained the sanction of the Crown, for the establishment of a Literary, Scientific, and Theological Institution, to be

called QUEEN'S COLLEGE, and to be erected at Kingston. It is our belief that this college is already in operation. Not only the Professors, but the Trustees, subscribe a formula, in which each of them 'sincerely owns and declares the Confession of Faith, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, to be the confession of *his* faith.' It is worthy of notice that a *Synod Library* has been founded. Might not something of the kind be connected with our Presbyteries? The Synod, after the example of the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk, appoints a Commission, to watch over the general interests of the Church. The Synod caused a letter to be addressed to our own General Assembly, from which we quote the following passage:

"Esteemed and Beloved Brethren in Christ,—In continuing the fraternal correspondence, which, with a view to our mutual advantage, we have agreed to hold, we greatly rejoice that we are now able to congratulate you, not only on the vindication, in the supreme civil court, of the important measure, which, in purging your church from error and irregularity, you were compelled to adopt, and the legal sanction which, at the same time, you have obtained, to the great principle of religious liberty, that the awards of pure ecclesiastical discipline are beyond the control or interference of the civil tribunals; but also on the many happy results which have since followed, and the comparative peace and prosperity which, as a church, you now enjoy. We trust and pray that this peace and prosperity may long prevail, and that your church, freed from the shackles which error and irregularity had imposed upon her, may continue and extend, with growing energy and success, her labours of love for the advancement of pure religion within your own borders, and for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in heathen lands. We sympathize with you, at the present moment, in the happy results of that noble stand for the cause of evangelical religion, which, in the face of many difficulties, you have been enabled to make, the more deeply, that the Church of Scotland, which we are delighted to recognize with you as 'our common mother,' and which is bound to us by ties of peculiar tenderness and strength, is now involved in difficulties not dissimilar in some respects to those with which you have had to contend, and which at least have called her to stand forth, as the asserter of the same spiritual independence of the church of Christ, which you have been honoured to maintain, and that in consequence she now awakens not a little of the same interest and sympathy which of late we extended to you."

Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Northwest Coast of North America, and the adjacent Territories; illustrated by a Map and a Geographical View of those Countries. By Robert Greenhow, Translator and Librarian to the Department of State. Washington: Blair & Rives. 1840. 8vo. pp. 228.

By many to whom this Document of the Senate is sent, it will be thrown aside as waste-paper: such is the result of the prodigal distribution of State Papers. Such a disposal of it, however, can proceed only from ignorance of

its contents. It is an elaborate history of North Western America; the only history of the kind; and therefore in the highest degree interesting to the patriot and the missionary. The work relates chiefly to the southern and middle portions of the northwest coast of our continent, of which it not only gives a complete history, as to the series of discoveries and settlements and the physical peculiarities, but affords a clear view of the pretensions of each of the claimant powers. The work is written in a correct and manly style, and has a fair claim to stand among great American histories. It will, no doubt, be opened with avidity by European geographers and politicians.

The Extent and Efficacy of the Atonement. By Howard Malcom, President of Georgetown College, Kentucky. Second Edition. New York: Robert Carter. 1840. pp. 136.

"Instead of attempting," says Mr. Malcom, "to dispute all errors in regard to the atonement, or even to show my own views on the whole subject, I mean only to examine a doctrine which was formerly considered a part of the Arminian system, but which some who consider themselves orthodox have recently advocated, viz: indefinite atonement. In doing this, it will not be requisite to embarrass ourselves with the question, whether the atonement be general or limited. That controversy seems to be the result either of misunderstanding between the parties, or of each party looking too exclusively to those aspects of the doctrine which seem best to comport with their systems of theology. In some respects, the atonement is general, and in others, limited; in respect of sufficiency, it is infinite. But in no respect is it indefinite; in respect to the final salvation of men, it is limited. This is all that I shall attempt to show."

We are not quite certain that we understand these distinctions; but Mr. Malcom makes his views of the subject sufficiently clear in the course of his book. The design, the nature, and the efficacy of the atonement are forcibly presented and urged. And this is done in a manner suited to produce a good religious impression on the mind of the reader.

The Primitive and Apostolic Order of the Church of Christ Vindicated. By Samuel Miller, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Philadelphia Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: 1840. pp. 388.

This is a plea for the salvation of Presbyterians. It is a protest against the sentence of condemnation contained in the declaration, that "Where the gospel is proclaimed, communion with the church, by the participation of its ordinances, at the hands of the duly authorized [i. e. prelatically ordained] priesthood, is the indispensable condition of salvation." Such was the language of one of the most distinguished prelates of the Episcopal Church in this country. Any man who regards an indignant protest against such a doctrine as sectarian, is welcome to his opinion. We sincerely pity the man who believes it. His chance of heaven, if we may use such language, is on his own principles slender indeed. The man whose title to his estate depends upon his being able to prove that there has been no invalid marriage in the line of

his ancestry for two thousand years, would be well off, compared with him whose hope of salvation rests on the assumption that there has been no invalid ordination in the ecclesiastical progenitors of his parish priest since the days of the apostles. Let it be remembered that one invalid ordination (or consecration) would, in the course of a few generations, vitiate hundreds, and then thousands. Alas, for those who have no hope but on the uninterrupted succession!

It is not our object to commend this work of Dr. Miller. His name is its commendation. Since the publication of his Letters on the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry, in 1807, High Churchmen have so shifted their ground as to impose upon the author the necessity of essentially modifying his plan and course of argument. There are hundreds of his children in the ministry, who will receive with filial affection this book from hands which have been so long engaged in the service of the church, and who, with one heart, will pray that those hands may not lose their strength for yet many years.

Views of the Architecture of the Heavens. In a series of Letters to a Lady. By J. P. Nichol, LL.D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Republished from the last London and Edinburgh editions; to which has been added Notes, a Glossary, &c., by the American Publishers. New York: H. A. Chapin & Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 158.

We are acquainted with no recent work more fitted than this to startle the uninitiated by the novelty and surprising character of the truths it teaches. The author's aim has been to draw forth from their repositories, in the transactions of various learned societies, such modern discoveries as tend to shed light upon the extent, the origin, and the destiny of the material universe, and to exhibit them in a manner adapted to popular apprehension. These discoveries had their origin chiefly in the observations made by Sir William Herschel, near the beginning of the present century, upon double stars and nebulae. The paper published by Herschel in 1803, in the Philosophical Transactions, "On the changes in the relative situation of double stars in twenty-five years," forms an epoch in the science of Sidereal Astronomy. In 1811 he published another paper on nebulae; in 1814, another on the same subject, in which he noticed the breaking up of the Milky-Way; and, in 1817, still another on the Collocation of Stars and on the Milky-Way. These memoirs contained speculations founded upon results afforded by the great telescope; which, though familiar to students of the higher astronomy, have been, until now, as completely hidden from the unscientific as if they had been laid up in the outskirts of the stellar system. Since the time of Herschel many observations have been made by Struve, Bessel, South, Airy, and especially by Sir John Herschel, upon the phenomena presented by nebulae, double stars, the variableness of stars in colour and in the intensity of their light, the disappearance of some stars from their well-known places, and the appearance of others that had not been before seen, and some other like

facts. The results of these observations, and the speculations to which they lead, have been presented by Prof. Nichol in a more popular form than we should have thought it possible to give them We cannot indeed, in all respects, yield our faith to his guidance. His conclusions seem to us frequently too peremptory for his premises. There is more of the spirit of true philosophy in the wise caution with which M. Comte treats the same class of facts than in the hasty generalizations of Dr. Nichol. We know of but two really scientific conceptions that the Stellar Astronomy has as yet yielded, the one the method proposed by Sir John Herschel for determining the orbits of double stars, in which he dispenses entirely with measures of distances, and determines the necessary elements from observed angles of position only,—and the other, the really beautiful method proposed by Savary, and subsequently explained at length by M. Arago, in the *Annuaire de Bureau des Longitudes*, for determining, within certain limits, the distances of some of the double stars from our earth. The latter of these is explained in this work,—of the former, we do not perceive that any notice has been taken. The general conclusions which the anthor teaches relative to the constitution and extent of the material universe, and the cosmogony which he adopts, which is nothing more than the *nebular hypothesis* of La Place, cannot yet be received as positive truths of science. They are as yet only conjectures. It was with no higher claim on its behalf that the nebular hypothesis was modestly proposed by its distinguished author. But then, on the other hand, let us remember that the theory of our solar system was a conjecture long before Newton proved it to be true. Even the conjectures of science are often found, in the progress of our knowledge, to have been the utterance of the first hints and surmises of the truth. And it may be that the hypothesis so eloquently explained and enforced by Dr. Nichol will hereafter be found to be the true theory of the universe. His work will at least have the effect of expanding and elevating the ideas of its readers. They who have been in the habit of looking upon the fixed stars, placed at a distance which even light occupies years in travelling over, as the extreme boundaries of creation, will be astonished to find that this distance is but the measuring unit with which they start forth across the dark abyss to find other firmaments like our own: and they will return from this adventurous flight with the imagination wearied perhaps from its exercise, but with juster ideas of that infinitude which we ascribe to the glorious Author of the universe. We earnestly commend this work, being sure that it cannot be read without instruction and profit, even where it fails to win entire conviction.

We wish we could dismiss this edition of Dr. Nichol's work with no sharper censure than has yet fallen from us. But unfortunately the American publishers were not willing to give us the work without some attempt to amend it. They have added to it some notes and a glossary. This they perhaps had a right to do, for there is no law prohibiting the publication of nonsense; and if they wished to deliver themselves of any crude matter

that was troubling them, we know not that any harm would have been done by inserting it between the same covers that contained the original work, provided they were honest enough, as they have been, to let the reader know which was Dr. Nichol's and which their own. But they were not content with this. They must improve the original, for they kindly inform us that "on comparing the republication with the original text, it will be seen that *many* slight alterations have been made in words and points of punctuation." We have not the slightest doubt that every one of these "many" alterations has been for the worse. The editor has given us, in his notes and glossary, ample means of judging of his taste and capacity for the work of amendment. He tells us that Tycho Brahe "first asserted the principle that the earth remains fixed, and that the sun moves around it, which was disproved by Copernicus." If Tycho Brahe first asserted this principle he must have been the predecessor of Ptolemy, and time must have flowed backward from the seventeenth century to the first. But we are further told that Copernicus disproved the system of Tycho. The mundane system of Tycho, though it had been the subject of correspondence with the Landgrave of Hesse some years before, was first announced to the world in his Progymnasmata, in the year 1602, and the Astronomia Instaurata of Copernicus, *which refuted it*, was published in 1543, a few days before the death of its author! This would seem to fall in with the same reverse order of time which makes Tycho the predecessor of Ptolemy. Of the philosophical precision of the editor we will take a specimen at random from his notes. In the first to which we open we find this precious morceau, "*Inertia*, as related to this power (gravitation) in moving bodies, would seem to be its negative." *Inertia* the negative of gravitation! Upon what ground an editor, thus fitted for his work, could presume to lay his hands upon the text of Dr. Nichol, a scholar, and an elegant writer, we are at a loss to imagine. It is bad enough that our reprints of foreign works should be disfigured by prefaces, introductory essays, and additional notes, that are at best but useless lumber, but it is intolerable that we cannot have the text free from the mutilation of ignorant hands.

The Inquirer directed to an Experimental and Practical view of the work of the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow, author of an Experimental and Practical view of the Atonement. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal Street. 1840. pp. 282.

This is a delightful book:—modest and unpretending, but imbued with the spirit of the gospel. The author commences, as he should do, with a conclusive scriptural proof, of the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit. He then passes on to "an experimental and practical view" of the work of the Spirit as a quickener. This subject he presents in two divisions, first, the state of the heart, the influences of the Spirit, and the evidences of his operations, before, and in the act of Regeneration, and second, the same class of topics, in their application to the soul after conversion. The next chapter is on the Indwelling of the Spirit; the believer a Temple

of the Holy Ghost. The remaining subjects are:—The Sanctification of the Spirit, showing the necessity and nature of true holiness,—The sealing of the Spirit,—The Spirit the Author of prayer,—and the Spirit a comforter:—the broken heart bound up. The address is affectionate and winning, yet closely practical. It strongly reminds one of the manner of Flavel and Doddridge and others of the olden time. The discriminations of character are close and happy: and the whole book evinces a deep knowledge of the heart, and a familiar, practical, and divinely illumined acquaintance with the Scriptures.

A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English, compiled from the most approved sources, Oriental and European, Jewish and Christian; containing all the Words, with their usual inflexions, idiomatic usages, &c., as found in the Hebrew and Chaldee Texts of the Old Testament, and, for the convenience of the learner, arranged, as far as practicable, in the order of the Hebrew Alphabet; many hitherto obscure terms, phrases, and passages, explained; and many errors of former grammarians and commentators pointed out and corrected. To which are added three appendixes, the first, containing a plan with two sections, and a short description of the temple of Solomon, its courts, furniture, &c. The second, an English Index, alphabetically arranged, forming a reversed dictionary, English, Hebrew, and Chaldee. The third, presenting certain additions, corrections, &c., to the Lexicon generally. By Samuel Lee, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge; D.D. of the University of Halle; Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and of the Historical Society of Rhode Island, America; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of its Oriental Translation Committee; also of the Foreign Translation Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; Prebendary of Bristol; Rector of Barley, Herts, &c. &c. 1 vol. 8vo. Duncan and Malcom: London.

We give this portentous title-page at length, because it furnishes a pretty full description of the book and of its author, being something between a very short review and a very long advertisement. We have nothing to add in the way of description, and very little in the way of criticism. Dr. Lee is a self-taught orientalist of great celebrity. His power of acquisition and his memory are far superior to his judgment, and of taste he seems quite destitute. This Lexicon, composed amidst a great variety of avocations, is not likely either to increase his fame, or to promote the study of the language. Many of the articles are loose, ill-written, undigested dissertations on difficult words or passages of scripture, wholly unsuited to the nature and design of an elementary lexicon. This is especially the case in the first part of the work. The last part, which was chiefly written by Professor Jarrett, is much more perspicuous, concise and scholar-like. Dr. Lee's real strength is in his intimate acquaintance with the cognate languages, of which, however, he makes more display than use. The contemptuous tone in which he speaks of such men as De Sacy and Gesenius, is offensive in itself, and absurdly misplaced in the columns of a lexicon. The book will probably have little circulation out of England. To the ordinary student it is not well suited, for the reason just

assigned; but to a place upon the shelves of the biblical scholar it is fairly entitled by the author's reputation, and the real learning which, with all its faults, it certainly exhibits.

The Book of the prophet Isaiah, translated from the original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical: to which is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation on the Life and Times of the Prophet; the character of his style; the Authenticity and Integrity of the Book; and the Principles of Prophetical Interpretation. By the Rev. E. Henderson, D. Ph. Author of "Lectures on Divine Inspiration," "Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia," "Iceland," &c. 1 vol. 8vo. Hamilton, Adams & Co. London.

We need three sorts of exegetical works upon the Scriptures. We need thorough, ample, learned expositions, giving not only the true meaning of the text, but the proofs of its correctness, and to some extent the history of the interpretation, with a clear succinct view of the doctrines taught. We also need books of a more popular description, giving the results of critical investigation, without any show of learning or controversial discussion of opinions. And between these two extremes, we need elaborate and learned but compendious books of reference, to aid the student in his critical inquiries. To this last class belongs the work of Dr. Henderson. So far as we have examined it, we think it well suited to promote the critical study of Isaiah among educated clergymen and students of theology. We hope to give a more particular account of it in our next number.