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ART. I.—*On the Elocution of the Pulpit: an Introductory Lecture, delivered at the Theological School of Montauban:* By Professor Adolphe Monod.

THE author of the following discourse is the celebrated Adolphe Monod, who, though still a young man, has been for some years regarded as second to no pulpit-orator in France. He is at present a member of the Theological Faculty at Montauban, a Protestant seminary, in which evangelical Christians ought to take a special interest, as well for what it has been, and is, as for the dangers which impend over it from the hostility of the government. It is believed, that no one can read Professor Monod's lecture, without being awakened by its vivid originality, and convinced by its native truth.

ALTHOUGH the art of recitation depends more on practice than on theory, it nevertheless has certain rules, which must be presented to the mind before you can address yourselves with profit to the exercises which are demanded, and which form the object of this course. In commencing the lectures of the year, I think it my duty to lay these rules before you, or rather to recall them to your memory. In so doing, I limit myself to such general views as may be

comprised in a single discourse and at the same time are of universal application.

General Views of the Art of Recitation.—Its Importance.—Its Difficulty.—Its Nature.—Investigation of a Question.

It is scarcely necessary for me to call your attention to the importance of a good delivery. Among all human means, there is no one which contributes more to fix the attention of mankind, and to move their hearts. The discourse which, delivered with forced emphasis or with monotony, leaves the hearer cold, and seems to court inattention, would have attracted, convinced, and melted, if it had been pronounced with the accent of the soul and the intonations which nature communicates to sentiment and reason. It is vain to say, that this is an affair of mere form, about which the Christian orator should not much concern himself. Even if delivery were a secondary thing with the orator, which indeed it is not—inasmuch as the state of the mind has more to do with it than is commonly thought—it must always have a commanding interest for the hearer, from its powerful influence on his thoughts and inclinations. Hearken to two men, who ought to be at home in this matter—Demosthenes and Massillon. The greater the difference between the kinds of eloquence in which they respectively excelled, the more forcible is the testimony which they both bear to the power of delivery and oratorical action. Demosthenes was asked what was the first quality of the orator, "It is action," he replied. And the second? "Action." And the third? "Action." Massillon expressed the same judgment, when he replied, on a certain occasion, to one who asked him which he thought his best sermon, "That one which I know the best." Why so, unless that which he knew the best was that which he could best deliver? We may be allowed to believe that these two great masters of the art exaggerated their opinion in order to make it more striking: but its foundation is perfectly true. It is not merely a true opinion; it is an experimental fact, which cannot be contested.

There is nothing in what we have been saying which should startle a pious soul. True piety does not forbid the use of the natural faculties which God has allotted to us; but commands us to use these for his glory and for the good of our race. What Bossuet so well said of God's inspired

servants, applies with greater reason to all the others: "True wisdom avails itself of all, and it is not the will of God that those whom he inspires should neglect human means, which also in some sort proceed from him." The motto of the mystic morals is *Abstain;* that of evangelic morals is *Consecrate.* And surely the latter is above the former: for to abstain, it is enough to distrust; but to consecrate, we must believe. Exercise yourselves then, gentlemen, without scruple in the art of elocution and delivery; but let it be in a Christian spirit. Let the art of recitation be with you not an end, but a means. If in your application to this exercise you have no higher aim than recitation itself, and those praises which the world lavishes on such as speak well, you are no longer a preacher; you are no longer even an orator; you are an actor. But if you cultivate elocution as a means of glorifying God and doing good to men, you fulfil an obligation; and the greater the zeal and labour which you bring to the task, the more may you implore with confidence that grace without which the most eloquent is but 'a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.'

This labour is the more necessary, moreover, because the difficulty of the art which occupies our attention is equal to its importance. This is proved by experience: those who recite well are few. There is, however, a distinction to be observed between the recitation of the actor, and that of the orator. The former is much more difficult than the latter; and if good orators are not common, great actors, at least in tragedy, are phenomena of which scarcely one appears in an age. For the actor has two things to do, of which the orator has but one. To the latter, it suffices to express the sentiments which he actually experiences; but the former must express the sentiments of another. Now to express these, he must first make them his own; and this necessity which has no existence in the case of the orator, demands of the actor a study altogether peculiar, and apparently constitutes the most difficult portion of his art. To transform one's self into a person altogether foreign; to become invested with his manners, character, passions and language; and nevertheless to remain master of himself and with the mind free, since it would be a weakness in the actor to confound himself with his part so far as to forget himself and his acting; this demands a prodigious faculty, and one which seems to depend on certain natural

dispositions which are altogether peculiar.* It seems as if there were a separate organ for the dramatic art; and it has been remarked that illustrious actors have not always been men of commanding intellect. So that we may make the same distinction between the orator and the actor which Cicero makes between the orator and the poet: *Nascuntur poetae, fiunt oratores.* We may thank God that we depend less on organization, and that this power of imagination is not indispensable to us: our task is at the same time more noble and less complicated. To communicate our thoughts and feelings in a suitable, just and expressive manner, is all that we demand.

But how does it happen then that speakers whose delivery is good exist in no greater numbers? Leaving out of view forensic and parliamentary orators, how comes it that there are Christian preachers who sometimes pronounce their discourses without action, and even without just inflection, and this when neither the sincerity of their belief nor their interest in the subject can be called in question? There is the greater reason to be astonished at this, because the same men often manifest in animated conversation many of the very qualities which we miss in their pulpit exercises, so that they need nothing in order to make them excellent speakers, but to be themselves. It is a difficult question; but let us attempt its solution.

And it must, in the first place, be borne in mind, that there is a great distance between preaching and conversation, however grave, interesting, or animated. A discourse, in which it is attempted to develop one or more propositions, one person being sole speaker for an hour, before a numerous audience, has and ought to have something of continuity and elevation which does not belong to mere conversation. We are no longer in the sphere of simple nature. There must be some calculation of measures, management of voice, and strengthening of intonations; in a word, there must be *self-observation;* and where this begins, the speaker is no longer in that pure simplicity where nature

* Some curiosity will be felt, perhaps, to know in what great actors themselves have made their talent to consist. "What they call my talent," Talma somewhere says, "is perhaps nothing but an extreme facility in raising myself to sentiments which are not my own, but which I appropriate in imagination. During some hours, I am able to live the life of others, and if it is not granted to me to resuscitate the personages of history with their earthly dress, I at least force their passions to arise and murmur within me."

displays and acts itself forth unreservedly. Preaching likewise demands certain powers, both physical and moral, which are not possessed by every one, and which are not required in conversation. The two cases, therefore, are not parallel; and this may suffice to show how the same person may succeed in one and fail in the other.

This first difference, which is in the nature of things, produces another which pertains to the orator. In attempting to rise above the tone of conversation, most preachers depart from it too much. They inflate their delivery, and declaim instead of speaking; now when the pompous enters, the natural departs. We must not, indeed, expect too much: whether it be the influence of example, or traditionary bad taste, or the ease of a method in which capacity of lungs goes for labour of reflection and energy of sentiment, the fact is is that there is scarcely one among us, who does not betray some leaven of declamation, or who preaches with perfect simplicity.

We may read, recite, or speak extempore.* If we read, it is almost impossible to assume a tone entirely natural; either because the art of reading well is perhaps more difficult than that of speaking well, or because the preacher who reads, when he is supposed to be speaking, places himself thereby in a sort of false position, of which he must undergo the penalty. It will be better to rehearse after having committed to memory; the preacher speaks throughout after his manuscript, it is true, but he *speaks*, nevertheless. Where the speaker has prepared his thoughts and even his words, it is a matter which the auditor need not know, and which a good delivery can ordinarily conceal from those who are not themselves in the habit of speaking in public. The mind, the voice, the attitude, all are more free, and the delivery is far more natural. But can it be completely so? I know not. Art may go very far, but it is art still; and there is a certain tone of semi-declamation, from which there is scarcely any escape; a tax, as it were, which must be paid to method; to that method which we are however far from condemning, and which seems to have been practised by some of the servants of God, in whom he has been most glorified.† Finally, will it be pos-

* In rendering the French word *improviser* by *speak extempore*, it is proper to observe that while there is an objection to the latter, as not absolutely correct, there is the same objection to the former.—[Transl.]

† Whitefield, if we may credit some of his biographers, preached sometimes

sible to avoid the inconveniences just mentioned, and shall we certainly attain a simple delivery by abandoning ourselves to extempore-speaking? I believe, indeed, that this is the method in which one may hope for the best delivery, always provided, that the speaker has so great a facility, or so complete a preparation, or, what is better, both at once, as to be freed from the necessity of a painful search for thoughts and words; without this, it is the worst of all methods, for matter as well as for form. But even where one has received from nature or acquired by practice a genuine facility; and has further premeditated with care the concatenation and order of his ideas; and has even been aided by the pen, which is almost indispensable in order to speak well; there will, nevertheless, always remain something of that constraint which arises from the research of what is to be said; and while the solicitude about mere words absorbs much of the mind's forces, the orator will hardly preserve freedom enough to secure in all cases the tones of nature. In this way simplicity will be injured by causes different from those which affect one who recites from memory, but scarcely less in degree. It is a fact, that with men who abandon themselves to extempore speaking, false and exaggerated intonations are not rare, at those moments when they are not perfectly free, and completely masters of their diction.

I have mentioned freedom of mind. It is this, more than all the rest, which brings the preacher into the natural position, and consequently into the true intonation. If he could be perfectly at his ease, the greatest hinderance of a just and natural elocution would be removed. But it is this which is chiefly wanting, both in those who speak extemporaneously what has been meditated without extraordinary pains, and even in those who rehearse a discourse which they have learnt by rote. When they find themselves before an auditory, they become alarmed. They fear to displease; or, if they are under the influence of higher sentiments, they fear lest they shall not make an impression on their hearers; or, finally, they experience a vague embarrassment of which they take no distinct account themselves, and from which certain pious ministers are not altogether exempt. Sometimes it is the concourse which intimidates them; sometimes it is the small number

memoriter; he even repeated the same sermon a number of times. [In the sense in which Dr. Monod would be understood, he is certainly incorrect.—Tr.]

of hearers; nay, perhaps a single hearer, more enlightened, more fastidious, or more high in rank, than the rest: alas, poor human heart! From the moment that this miserable timidity enters the soul—all is lost. The mind's vision is troubled, the thoughts are confused, the feelings are blunted, the voice itself is less firm; the labouring breath fatigues the lungs and forebodes an approaching hoarseness. If the orator speak extempore, he will be in danger of stopping short; or, by a sort of calculation, which takes place almost without his own knowledge, he will seek to hide the poverty of the matter under the show of the manner, and will vent common-place, ill-developed ideas, more or less just, with a solemn voice, and a declamatory tone, which will leave his hearers as cold as himself, and which, once adopted, or rather submitted to, will hold him enchained till the end of his discourse.

We hear much of talent and facility for speaking. I am far from admitting the principle, which (whether justly or not) is attributed to Jacotot—that all capacities are equal. Yet it is an error which, like most others, is only the exaggeration of a truth. God has shown himself, in the distribution of his gifts, less frugal and less unequal, than it is common to think; and as there is scarcely any soil from which culture may not extract at least necessary food, so there is scarcely any mind, which, under proper direction, may not learn to speak in a correct, interesting, and impressive manner. The immense differences which we observe between speaker and speaker, proceed less than is imagined from a natural inequality, and much more than we think from this other inequality which depends on human will and human efforts. This seems just and desirable; and it is true; doubly true for pulpit eloquence, in which the moral element holds so considerable a place. But to return to the subject which gave occasion to this reflection; the power with which certain men speak, and the excellence of their delivery, arise in a great measure from their ability to put themselves perfectly at their ease in a position where others are embarrassed. If confusion paralyzes the faculties—self-possession multiplies them. Of two men who encounter any danger, it is not always the ablest who best extricates himself; it is commonly he who keeps himself cool; and the greatest genius is good for nothing when frozen by fear. Of what avail would the best faculties be to you, without self-possession? But he who is at his ease

says just what he intends, and just as he intends; reflects, checks himself a moment, if necessary, to seek a word or a thought, and from the very pause borrows some natural and expressive accent or gesture; takes advantage of what he sees and hears, and in a word brings into use all his resources; which is saying a great deal, for 'the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts.' You will perhaps tell me that this confidence to which I exhort you is rather a favour to be wished for, than a disposition to be enjoined; that it is the happy fruit of temperament, of success, of talent itself, and that it is not every one that chooses, who can be at his ease. I grant that it depends partly on temperament, and this is a reason for fortifying it, if it is naturally timid; of success, and this is a reason why the young man should use all pains to make a good beginning; of talent itself, and this is a reason for improving that which may be possessed. But there is another element which enters into this ease of manner, and I both wish it for you and enjoin it upon you, it is Faith. Take your position as the ambassador of Jesus Christ, sent by God to treat with sinful men; believe that he who sends you will not leave you to speak in vain; labour for the salvation of those whom you address, as if it were your own; so forget yourself as to see only the glory of God and the salvation of your hearers; you will then tremble more before God, but less before men. You will then speak with liberty, therefore with the same facility and propriety which you possess in the other circumstances of life. If our faith were perfect, we should scarcely be in more danger of falling into false or declamatory tones, than if we were crying out to a drowning man to seize the rope which is thrown out to save him.

I attribute, therefore, the inferiority of many preachers, in oratorical delivery, partly to the difficulty of public and continuous discourses, but partly also to the want of certain moral dispositions; whence it follows, that it is by assiduous labour, and by spiritual progress, that they must become able to carry into the pulpit the same powers of speech which they enjoy elsewhere. But this particular question has diverted us too far from our subject; it is time to return, and give some account of what constitutes the art of recitation.

The basis of every art is nature, but nature in a state of embellishment. The basis is nature; poetry and eloquence

do not rest on conventional rules; it is the heart and the mind of man, of man as he is, which must be depicted and which must also be interested. But the basis is further an embellished, an idealized nature; art imitates, it does not copy. When Barthélemy describes to us the massacres of September, in terms which cause us not so much to understand as to behold with our own eyes; when his disgusting and sanguinary muse has no ambition but that of inspiring the same horror which the hideous spectacle, to which he delights to drag us, would itself have produced; Barthélemy, with all his genius, has been false to his art; here is neither painting nor poetry, but butchery. I would not subject myself to the prepossession of a mere artistic view, in treating the recitation of the preacher. Yet it may be said in general, that this recitation should partake equally of imitation and of nature. Listen to those who speak well; observe them, at times when they are not observing themselves; retain their intonations, and transfer them to your delivery. But while you adopt, elevate them; imitate, but do not copy. Do not *talk* in the pulpit. Too great familiarity is almost as great a fault as declamation; more rare, indeed, but nevertheless occurring among certain preachers, and especially such as are uneducated. It is the tone of good conversation, but this tone ennobled and exalted, which seems to me to be the ideal of oratorical delivery.

From these general considerations, I pass to those exercises which are soon to occupy us; and the remainder of this discourse will be employed in giving some directions, first for the physical, and then for the moral part of elocution.

Directions for the physical part of Elocution.

We have just said, and we shall have occasion to repeat it, that this part of delivery is secondary, because it is instrumental. In public speaking, as in all the operations of the human understanding, the organs are the mere agents of the mind. But these agents are indispensable, and in proportion as they obey the understanding, other things being equal, will the delivery be effective. We must not, therefore, despise the physical part of delivery. We shall, nevertheless, be brief on this point, where every one will be able, with the aid of a few suggestions, to guide himself.

The *voice* should be exercised frequently and carefully.

Endeavour to render your voice at the same time distinct, strong, sonorous, and flexible; this can be attained only by long practice. Labour to acquire the mastery of your voice. He who possesses this faculty will find resources even in a refractory voice, and will produce great effects, with little fatigue. But most public speakers are the slaves of their voice; they do not govern it, so much as it governs them. In this case, even though it has the most precious qualities, it is but a rebellious instrument. No one need fear any injury to the chest from those daily exercises which are necessary in order thus to subdue and discipline the voice. If moderate, they will on the contrary strengthen it; and experienced physicians recommend recitation and singing to persons of delicate habit. The most favourable time for these exercises, is an hour or two after a meal; the stomach should be neither full nor empty.

After the care of the voice comes that of *pronunciation.* There is a natural pronunciation; by which I mean that utterance of the elements of speech which is common to all languages; and there is a conventional pronunciation, or that which each nation adopts for the words of its own tongue.

The student should begin by making himself perfectly master of the natural pronunciation, and learn to give to every vowel its appropriate sound, and to make the organic motions belonging to every consonant. The latter point is the more important. If the purity of the vowel sounds conduce much to the grace of discourse, it is especially the articulation of the consonants, which gives it distinctness, vigour, and expression. A man who articulates well can make himself heard at a distance without vociferation, even though he lay little stress upon the vowels; and this is the method to which actors have recourse, when they make dying persons speak with a subdued voice; they explode the consonant while they retain the vocal sound. But one who articulates badly will never make himself heard at a distance; and adding force to the vowels will but increase the confusion. It is, further, in the utterance of consonants that the most usual impediments and other faults occur; and there is scarcely any one, who may not, on strict observation, detect himself as faulty in some particulars. You will find one who *grasseye*, that is, pronounces the *r* with the uvula and in the throat, instead of uttering it with the tongue, against the palate. Another *lisps:* in pronouncing the *s* he protrudes the end of the tongue between the rows

of teeth, and makes the English *th* instead of a pure sibilation. Many fail in the *ch* (English *sh*;) substituting an *s* or a sort of *f*, or an awkward *ch* produced by an oblique portion of the tongue. There is no one of these faults which may not be corrected by perseverance.* You remember the example of Demosthenes, whose principal efforts were directed to the development of his voice, and the utterance of the letter *r*. It is to be wished, that it were more customary to exercise children, at an early age, in the proper formation of sounds and use of their organs; there might thus be obtained without trouble, results which at a more advanced age cost immense pains and valuable time.

Conventional pronunciation, or that which is peculiar to the language which we speak, can be learnt only from good example. First must be determined what mode shall be our model, for there is a difference between province and province. In France, it may in general be recommended, to take for a standard the pronunciation adopted by good society in Paris. There are few books which can be consulted on this subject; we name, however, the conscientious labour of Dubroca; and a small work, by a lady, which singularly unites completeness and brevity, viz., the 'Treatise on Pronunciation,' by Mademoiselle Sophie Dupuis.

There remains another point, which is almost entirely neglected by public speakers, and which has nevertheless great importance; it is the art of *taking breath at the right time*. A man who takes breath properly will fatigue himself less in speaking three or four hours, as certain political orators do, especially in England, than another in half an hour; and the orators who are able to speak so long are either men who have studied the management of their breath, or men who speak much but who speak well; for in this case respiration regulates itself, without separate thought, just as in conversation. But it is by no means the same when one recites a discourse from memory; especially if it is the discourse of another; for in writing we take care, without being aware of it, to adjust the length of the periods to the habitudes of our lungs. But the exercise in which it is most difficult to breathe aright, as being that

* The difficulty with regard to the *r* is one which is least easily removed. Yet it may be effected by pronouncing *d* instead of *r* for some time. Excellent teachers declare this expedient to be infallible.

which is furthest removed from the natural tone, is the exercise of reading; and it is remarked that one is wearied much sooner by reading than by speaking. There are very few persons who can bear half an hour of reading without a slight inconvenience of the organ; but there are many who can speak an hour without trouble. The point of the difficulty is this, to time the respiration so as always to take breath a moment before it is exhausted. For this purpose it is necessary to breathe quite often, and to take advantage of little rests in the delivery. It might be feared lest this necessity should injure the utterance and make it frigid; but, on the contrary, the rests which are thus employed, by one who is exercised so as to use them properly, are as expressive as the voice itself; the slowness which they communicate to the discourse is only that slowness which gives more weight and vigour to the thought; so this happy infirmity becomes an additional power.

It is, lastly, by breathing seasonably, that the speaker will avoid a fault which is very common and very great; that of letting the voice fall at the end of sentences; which renders the recitation at the same time indistinct and monotonous. This is the abuse of a rule which is pointed out by nature. It is natural to lower the voice slightly at the moment of finishing a sentence, at least in most cases; there are indeed certain thoughts which, on the contrary, demand an elevation of the voice at the close. But the fall is made too perceptible, and is taken from too great a height, so that there are often three or four words which the hearer catches with difficulty, or does not catch at all. This would be bad enough, even without the additional evil, that the expression is weakened at the same time with the voice. General rule: The voice should be kept up to the end of the sentence, excepting only that slight depression, and, as it were, reflexion, which denotes that the sense is terminated. But to do this, you must breathe in time; as it is because the lungs are exhausted, that you lower the voice; for where there is no breath, there is no sound.

Directions for the Moral Part of Delivery.

This title is of itself sufficient to show the point of view under which we consider the whole art of recitation, and in which we find the fundamental principle which supports all our rules. The principle is this: delivery has its residence, not in the mouth, but in the sentiment and the

thought. It depends less on the voice than on the soul. I should have been in danger of being misunderstood, if I had not begun by making some reservation in favour of the vocal part of delivery. This I am far from wishing to sacrifice. But now I assume an instrument fully exercised, an organ flexible and strong, a good pronunciation, distinct articulation, and easy respiration. When this previous training is accomplished, and when the moment has come for actual speaking, remember, Gentlemen, that the delivery is above all an affair of the soul; and make it as independent as possible of your organs. It is, at bottom, the soul of the speaker, which addresses the soul of the hearer. The organs of speech, on the one part, and the organs of hearing on the other, are but intermediates between the mind of him who speaks, and the mind of him who hears. The more free one makes this communication, the more one forgets the organ, so as to bring out nothing but the soul, the better will be the elocution. Let the soul, the entire soul, with its constant unity, as well as with its infinite movements, look through the utterance, like the bottom of a stream through perfectly limpid water; so limpid that it seems not to exist. The organs should be such docile and faithful interpreters of the thought, as to seem not to be present; they should obey to the degree of self-concealment. This is their glory and their mission; and the realizing of this ideal would infer the perfection, as well of the organ, as of the sentiment. From this, our fundamental principle, *It is the soul that should speak,* we proceed to derive certain general directions, which can be fully apprehended only by their application.*

I. The delivery should be *true* or just; it should give to each thought and each sentiment the tone which belongs to it. Why is such a tone proper to such an emotion of the soul? Why, for example, do we raise the voice at the beginning of a sentence, and let it fall at the end, when we ask a question to which an answer is expected? Why do we invert the method, in that species of questions which require no answer, and which are only another form of affirmation? Why does a certain intonation mark a simple assertion, another a doubt, another surprise, another anger, and the like? This is a question which we cannot an-

* In the lecture, each of these directions was accompanied with examples, which served to illustrate them to the pupil.

swer. We are assured it is so in nature: to observe and to reproduce it, is the business of elocution. But to explain the secret relation which exists between the movements of the mind and the inflections of the voice, is more than any one can do, if we except him who formed both the human soul and the organs which serve to communicate its impressions. That there are, in regard to this, fixed and well-determined laws, is sufficiently proved by the two following observations. In the first place, all men, without excepting those who never practice public speaking, recognise just inflection, when they hear it: the dramatic art is founded on this remark. In the second place, there are certain inflections which may be called primitive, and which remain invariable; when we pass from one nation and idiom to another, notwithstanding the infinite diversity of all that is conventional. But how are we to discover these accents of nature? The first means, which offers itself to the mind, is to observe them in others; it is excellent; but we cannot employ it in every case. We do not always find an occasion to hear precisely this or that word, or sentence, about which we are embarrassed, pronounced by good speakers. I suppose the case therefore where we are left to ourselves. How are we to discover the accents of nature? I answer, we must seek them in the soul. We must begin by discerning the inward impression; and this impression, well caught, will conduct us to the intonation. This is the first consequence of the general principle which we have laid down above, or rather it is only the principle itself put into practice.

It is not meant that random trials must be made of all sorts of intonations, or that bursts of voice must be uttered at hazard. We must sit down, reflect, comprehend, feel, and silently interrogate the mind and heart. It is not till after this inward labour, that the essays of the voice will be useful: they will succeed in clearing and animating the movement of mind which gave them birth. By these means, one may gradually arrive at the true tone, which once found, and especially found in this way, will abide in the soul's memory, and will return and present itself at the moment of necessity. A very useful method of aiding in this research, is to translate the thought into other terms, more familiar than those of the discourse; or, again, to inquire how one would utter an analogous sentiment in the ordinary course of life. This care in tracing the language

to the thought, and questioning the soul concerning the inflections of the voice, is the more necessary, from the fact, that the same sentence or the same word, is susceptible of a multitude of inflections, which the mind alone can distinguish, perceiving as it does the most delicate relations, while the diction and the pen have but a single expression for the whole. Take a word—the most insignificant you can find—a proper name, for instance—and this, if you please, a monosyllable, as *Paul.* For writing and for language, there is but this one word, *Paul;* but there are ten, twenty, an infinity, for the soul, and the organ it inspires. By the mere way in which an intelligent speaker, or better still, one who speaks without observing how, utters this name, and without waiting for him to add any thing, you will be able to discern whether he be about to praise or to blame; to tell good news, or bad; to encourage a design, or to dehort from it; to call one afar off, or at hand; to question, or to repel. We should never end, if we should try to enumerate all the thoughts which may be included in the utterance of this little name. Now, amidst this infinite variety; what rules shall guide us? What other than the mind, well exercised and correct, can find in delivery, the tone which suits the occasion and the moment of speaking? I cannot, then, repeat too often, Speak *ex animo.* Perhaps you think this is a matter of course, and that the advice is unimportant. But practice will convince you that it is not so. Let me be allowed to cite the authority of a man, who received from God a rare genius, which, unfortunately, he squandered on vanities; I mean Talma; listen to his own exposition, given in private to some of his friends; for he wrote nothing of importance on his art. It will be seen that his mode of preparation was that of which I have been speaking; and it may be believed, that one of the causes of that reform which he wrought in theatric delivery, was the care which he bestowed, in searching for inflections in his soul, and in employing his organs only as docile instruments, destined to reproduce the internal impressions.*

* "It has been imagined, even by enlightened minds, that in studying my parts, I place myself before a glass, as a model before a painter in his atelier. According to them, I gesticulate, I shake the ceiling of the room with my cries; in the evening, on the stage, I utter the intonations learnt in the morning, prepared inflections, and sobs of which I know the number; imitating Crecentini, who, in his Romeo, evinces a despair scored beforehand in a passage

The intonation being found, we must give it a degree of intensity greater than one would employ in conversation. From this comes the *energy* of public discourse. It is needless to say, this energy should bear a proportion to the nature of the subject. It will be at one time the energy of argument, at another the energy of passion, but it will always be the energy of propriety and of truth. This utterance, at once accurate and firm, these inflections, true and struck out with precision, have a peculiar charm for the hearer, and can make a discourse interesting from beginning to end, even in the least animated parts.

II. The delivery should be simple or natural. In speaking from the soul, one will speak simply; for the soul is simple. It is only the presence of man which can make us affected; when alone, we are always simple, for the single reason, that then we are ourselves. The accents of the soul are those of nature. It is these which we are to reproduce; and we must take care not to substitute for these the accents of conventional artifice, or of arbitrary choice. It is necessary that the hearer should recognise himself, and that the instinct of his nature should be satisfied with each of our inflections. In other words, we must speak, and not declaim. I have already said, Elevate, ennoble the tone of conversation and of common life, but while you elevate, do not forsake it. An able painter does not slavishly copy the traits of his model; he idealizes them, and transfers them to the canvass only after he has subjected them to a sort of transfiguration in his brain; but even while idealizing them, he so imitates them that they may be recognised at once. Thus it is, that a portrait may be a perfect likeness, and yet more beautiful than the original. The same thing occurs in good speaking. The tones of common parlance are embellished, and yet they are perfectly recognisable, because their essence is carefully preserved. But to declaim, to take a new tone because one is in the pulpit, in fine to speak as no one ever speaks, is a grievous

sung a hundred times over at home, with a piano accompaniment. It is an error: reflection is one of the greatest parts of my labour; following the example of the poet, I walk, I muse, or even seat myself on the margin of my little river; like the poet, I rub my forehead, it is the only gesture I allow myself, and then you know it is by no means one of the grandest. Oh! how true is that saying which has become historic! If any one should inquire, how I have found the greater part of my greatest successes, I should reply, 'By constantly thinking of them.'" (Musée des familles. 6 vol. p. 124.)

fault, while, strange to say, it is a fault very common, very hard to avoid, and which perhaps no one of us escapes altogether. For it is far easier to assume a sustained and unaltering tone, than, step by step, to follow thought and sentiment in their infinite sinuosities ; and then, there are never wanting hearers of bad taste, for whom the pomp of language is imposing. Nevertheless, Gentlemen, consulting only the human effect of your preaching, if this consideration were not unworthy of you, the man who *speaks* in the pulpit will rise above him who *declaims*. Even those who at first suffer themselves to be dazzled by the cadence of periods, and the outbreaks of voice, at length grow weary, and are less pleased with the artificial preacher, than with him whose very tones make them feel that he thinks all that he says. And what shall I say of the real and useful effect produced by these two preachers? How much more directly, nay, exclusively, will the latter find his way to the heart and conscience! How will his vehement parts be relieved by the calm and simple tone of his habitual manner! How much more truly will he be what he ought, in the sight both of God and of man, by continuing to be himself, and not stepping aside from truth in announcing truth! Yes, Gentlemen, if you would have a pulpit delivery which shall be dignified and Christian, and which shall make great impression, speak always with simplicity. Say things as you feel them. Put no more warmth into your manner than you have in your heart. This honesty in speaking—allow me the expression—will constrain you to introduce a more sincere, and a profounder warmth, which you would never have attained in any other way. It will, besides, have a salutary reaction on your writing, and even on your soul. For, displaying things as they are, it will bring your faults to light, and admonish you to correct them. I have spoken of the pulpit. If it had been proper here to speak of the stage, many similar observations might be made. Great actors no longer declaim ; they speak. Talma, whom I have so often named, began by declaiming, as do others. An interesting circumstance made him feel the necessity of adopting a new manner, more conformed to nature : and from that day he became another man, in regard to his art, and produced extraordinary effects. Those who have heard him will tell you that the extreme simplicity of his playing astonished them at first, and that they were tempted to take him for a very ordinary man, whose only advantage

over others consisted in a magnificent voice: but they were soon subdued by the power of nature, and the vivid impressions by which they were seized made them understand that the very simplicity of his acting constituted its force, as well as its originality.*

III. The delivery should be *varied.* We know how monotonous it is in general; and though every one feels the grossness of the fault, few succeed in avoiding it. The best means of doing so, is to observe our principle of recitation from the soul. The soul is all full of variety. If there are no two leaves on a tree exactly alike, still less are there two sentiments in a human soul which are perfectly identical. Listen to a man engaged in animated conversation: you will be confounded at the marvellous flexibility of the human mind and the infinity of shades to which it can adapt itself by turns. All this the vocal organ will deliver, if it confine itself to follow the movements of the soul. It must therefore be conceded, that there is no reason why any one should be monotonous in recitation. Take account of the sense of each sentence, of each member of a sentence, you will discover a perpetual mobility in the thought, and will need only to infuse abundance of truth into your de-

* "We were," it is Talma who speaks, "rhetoricians and not dramatic personages. How many academic discourses on the stage! How few words of simplicity! But, one evening, chance threw me into a parlour with the leaders of the Gironde party; their sombre and disquieted appearance attracted my attention. There were written there, in visible characters, great and mighty interests. As they were too much men of heart to allow these interests to be tainted with selfishness, I saw in them manifest proofs of the dangers of the country. All were assembled for pleasure, yet no one thought of it. Discussion ensued, they touched the most thrilling questions of the crisis. It was beautiful. I imagined myself present at a secret deliberation of the Roman Senate. 'It is thus,' thought I, 'that men should speak. The country, whether it be named France or Rome, employs the same accents, the same language: if then they do not declaim here, neither did they declaim in the olden time; it is evident.' These reflections made me more attentive. My impressions, though produced by a conversation devoid of all violent manner, (*emphase,*) became profound. 'An apparent calmness in these men,' thought I, 'agitates the soul; eloquence, then, can have force, without throwing the body into disorderly movements?' I even perceived that discourse, uttered without effort or outcry, renders the gesture more energetic and gives more expression to the countenance. 'All these deputies, thus assembled before me, appeared far more eloquent than at the tribune, where, finding themselves a spectacle, they thought it necessary to utter their harangues in the manner of actors, of such actors as we then were, that is to say, of declaimers, fraught with turgidity. From that moment I caught new light, and saw my art regenerated." (Musée des familles, ibid, p. 280.)

livery, to ensure for it abundance of variety. There is in particular a kind of variety which will be found in this way, and which will spread itself over all the rest; I mean variety in regard to *time of delivery*. It is natural to speak sometimes slow, and sometimes fast; sometimes even very slow, and sometimes very fast. Here is a word on which one must dwell a moment; here, on the other hand, is a sentence which must be exploded, rather than recited, and which must be pronounced with all the rapidity of which the organs are capable in consistency with precise articulation. An elocution which levels these inequalities, and in which every sentence takes its turn with a measure always equal, and almost with the same rhythm, contradicts nature and loses half its resources. This monotony must be broken, at all hazards. Better even would it be to employ excessive action and abrupt transitions, though this extreme must also be avoided, because it gives the delivery a theatrical air, or rather because by exaggerating nature it falsifies it. In general, we speak too fast, much too fast. When any one speaks, the thoughts and sentiments do not come to him all at once: they rise in his mind by little and little. Now this labour, and this delay should appear in the delivery, or it will always fail of being natural. Take your time to reflect, to feel, to let ideas come; and do not make your elocution precipitate, except when determined so to do by some peculiar consideration. This necessary rapidity will give greater movement and vivacity to the delivery: but that other rapidity, which arises only from embarrassment and want of intelligence or reflection, confounds all the inequalities of thought, and engenders a manner which is effeminate, dull, lifeless, and uninteresting.

IV. Together with variety, the delivery should present another condition, without which this variety will itself be without connexion and support: it is that of unity. The delivery should be one. In other words, we must use an effort to have a *recitation d'ensemble:* which results again from the principle which we laid down in the outset. For if the words are manifold, the thought is one and indivisible in the mind. If we were pure spirits we could communicate it to other spirits of the same nature, without decomposition. But being constrained to clothe it in words, we are constrained to dismember it, and, from being simple in our soul, it becomes multiplied in language. To seize and transmit to the hearer this sole thought, to rise from lan-

guage to the soul, and from the multiplicity of words to the simplicity of intellect, is the great work of a good delivery. Collecting then into one general sentiment, the various sentiments of which I have said so much, it will deserve the definition which has been given of the Beautiful, 'Unity in variety, or variety in unity.' This is not to be accomplished, however, always in the same manner. In general, we shall, in a well-constructed sentence, avoid giving prominence to this or that word, we shall rather cause the whole to stand forth together, and look for support in the close. For it is the genius of our language to accent, constantly but lightly, the end of every word, and consequently also the end of every sentence. There are, nevertheless, certain cases, where one is obliged to give a saliency to some words, or even to a single word, because this word comprises the capital idea. Even then, however, such words should predominate over the sentence, but not absorb it. It is the thought, which should always appear, and always in its unity. A delivery which is broken, jerking, rising and falling by turns, is good for nothing. And here we must do justice to our language. Foreigners sometimes charge it with the want of this movement, because it wants accents; and indeed this accent which returns regularly at the end of each word, is really the absence of all accentuation. But this appears to me to constitute a real advantage of the French tongue, in regard to elocution. The speaker, unconstrained by any *accent of pronunciation*, is free to place where he chooses the *accent of recitation*, which offers him a great facility; and there is probably no language which, in this regard, contributes more than ours to oratorical delivery.

I might add other counsels; but these are they which, as experience has taught me, are most useful; and by means of the illustrations which we have commenced, you will yourselves be able to make other applications of one general principle; to which we must continually return, and in which are embodied all the directions we have given.

I have said nothing about gestures. It is a subject by itself, and one which I have not time to treat at present. Let me merely say, that the preacher should make few gestures, and these of a very simple kind, and further, that they should be dictated by the emotions of the soul, as well as by the inflections of the voice.

In recapitulation, Gentlemen, if you wish to attain to a

good delivery, begin by preparing your mind and your heart. Then, by reflection with the aid of observation, search for the inflections of the soul; and oblige your organs to conform to these, humbly and exactly. For the rest, be persuaded you will speak all the better, the more you sink yourselves; that the best delivery is that which turns attention from the orator to fix on what he says; and, finally, that the highest point of the art, especially in the case of the preacher, is to cause himself to be forgotten.

ART. II.—*Message from the President of the United States, to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Third Session of the Twenty-Seventh Congress.* pp. 767. Washington, 1842.

ON or about the first Tuesday of every December, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, being assembled in their respective halls, and having formally made known to the President, that they are in readiness to receive any communication from him before proceeding to business, a messenger in due time is announced to each house, who makes his appearance laden with a bulk of manuscripts that an editor might be allowed to compare to a year's outfit of a quarterly review. Taking one of the smallest of these articles, the clerk proceeds to read the *President's Message*, which being accomplished in some seventy minutes, he spares the legislature the rest of the pile, which is, however, ordered to be printed in a mass —which order has probably been anticipated for some weeks. When the edition is ready, it is divided among the members, at their demand, each copy being neatly enveloped, and only waiting to be addressed, with the potential symbols, "Pub. Doc. Free," and the signature of a member affixed, to be carried without cost of postage to any office on the thirty five millions of miles traversed by the American mail. Therefore the newspaper editors, one and all, exclaim "we are indebted to the Hon. —— for important public documents;" and with the majority of the other honoured recipients peep into the uncut sheets and put them aside for reference. Some, like ourselves, sit down seriously to read the book; but we suppose our number to

be very few. It is, indeed, worthy of a deliberate perusal; for it is the annual report of our public affairs in detail; it is the balancing of the national leger, and the presentation of our servants' stewardship, for the examination and judgment of their employers, the people. For this reason alone Christian patriots should feel an interest in such a report. But there are many subjects which are included in the operations of our national Departments that lay special claim to the notice of such observers. A glance, therefore, at the Message and its appended documents, we may hope will furnish some matter, both new and interesting, to the most of our readers.

The prominent and emphatic manner in which the President directs our acknowledgment of the Divine Providence in the productiveness of the soil, the general health of the country and the preservation of national peace, whilst it is the smallest tribute we can render for such mercies, is gratifying to all who wish to see this recognition preserved in the public papers. It would be still more pleasing to see the acknowledgment of the "Great Being who made us, and who preserves us a nation," evinced in all the deportment of our rulers and legislators. It might be hoped that the common admission of human accountability and a knowledge of the Providential history of our country, would be so much aided by the daily devotions conducted by the chaplains of Congress, that the members would feel the influence of these associations in their debates and social habits.

The extraordinary mission of a venerable and pacific gentleman, like Lord Ashburton, so strongly bound on the one hand to his sovereign by his elevated station as privy counsellor, and on the other hand to the United States by domestic connexion, for the purpose of settling the chief matters in dispute between the two nations, is an honourable event to our age. We trust that it is not wholly to worldly policy that we must attribute the proposition and acceptance of compromise, in relation to questions of difference which might so easily have been fomented into open war. How much more rational and human is this quiet way of conference and concession between cool-headed men, than the bluster of orators and the verbosity of diplomatic letters! How Christian was the purpose of the mission, when contemplated, as expressed by his lordship, as "an amicable and at the same time equitable settlement of a controversy,

which, with the best intentions, the authorities of the two countries, for nearly half a century, have in vain endeavoured to effect." And we cannot help citing another sentence or two from the British plenipotentiary's correspondence, for the sake of his suggestions as to the true method of managing all international differences: surely we are old enough to lay aside the folly of the old way. "I trust, sir," says Lord Ashburton to Mr. Webster, "that you will have perceived in the course of my hitherto informal communications with you, that I approach my duties generally, without any of those devices and manoeuvres which are supposed, I believe ignorantly, to be useful tools of ordinary diplomacy. With a person of your penetration they would avail as little as they would with the intelligent public of the two great enlightened countries of whose interests we are treating. I know no other mode of acting than open, plain dealing, and I therefore disregard willingly all the disadvantage of complying with," &c.

One of the stipulations of the new treaty with Great Britain binds each of the parties to maintain, on the coast of Africa, a sufficient squadron to enforce their laws for the suppression of the slave-trade. Among the documents before us, is a report from two officers of the navy, of much experience in that service, from which we collect that the extent of country along which the slave trade is carried on is more than 3600 miles; reaching from Senegal to Cape Frio. Deducting from this length the portions of the coast watched in some degree by the thirty European and American settlements scattered along it, 3000 miles are left for the protection of a naval force. There are hundreds of "factories," or trading places along this space, most of which are interested in the traffic of slaves. There are established stations on the rivers or open shore, to which the slaves are brought by the negro chiefs, who collect and sell them to the agents. They are kept in wretched buildings, called barracoons, strongly built and in sufficient number, in some places, to hold several thousand at once. These stations are generally fortified with cannon and muskets, for defence against the neighbouring natives and to suppress insurrections. The vessels usually take in their cargo of slaves as soon as they arrive and can land the goods which they have brought from Brazil or the West Indies. These particulars relate to the western coast of the continent. "We have little knowledge," the officers state, "of the de-

tails repecting the slave-trade or the eastern coast of Africa. No instance has come to our knowledge of the use of the American flag there. From the best information we can obtain, it seems that a large trade is carried on by Portuguese colonies, the Arab chiefs and negro tribes. Their greatest markets are the Mahometan countries, bordering on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Portuguese East India colonies, Bombay, and perhaps other British possessions in the East Indies; this part of the trade is probably in the hands of the Arabian vessels. Many are also shipped to Brazil, and some perhaps find their way to Cuba and Porto Rico."

To most of us who live out of the hearing of drum and fife, excepting as the sound greets us on our national anniversary, in the innocent evolutions of our village "Blues," "Greens," "Guards" and so on, it will excite some surprise to find that we have an army that costs us from three to four millions of dollars annually. But even now when the war with the Indians in Florida is over, it is necessary to keep a force of 1600 men there for protection. A thousand more are required on the Texas frontier; 1800 in Missouri and Wisconsin; 900 in Arkansas; as many on the Canada line. These, with the various forts and stations in the interior, employ in the aggregate nearly ten thousand men. For all this number there are but twenty "chaplains and schoolmasters" provided. The number of recruits enlisted in the last year was 2391. We should like to see a return of the age and condition in life of these recruits, and the causes which induced their adoption of a life, unhappily, so degraded as that of a soldier in time of peace. The extent of the warlike preparations constantly going on, unobserved by the mass of our citizens, may be further exhibited by stating that in the year 1842 more than two millions of dollars were employed by the ordnance department. Of this sum $300,000 were expended in the armories of Harper's Ferry and Springfield, in manufacturing and repairing arms, and about $120,000 in purchasing ordnance and stores, such as $20,000 worth of saltpetre for gunpowder. This department has charge of the lead mines in the Upper Mississippi, owned by the government, of which Galena is the head-quarters. The mines are worked by smelters who pay their rent in a per centage of the mineral obtained. The openings of the mines are what are called in the slang vocabulary "dig-

gins" and are formally reported under that name in the tables of the report of the department. In five months sixty-six lessees dug 956,000 pounds of the mineral. Still another branch of the military establishment is that of the engineers, comprising the erection and maintenance of forts and other defensive works, barracks, national road, harbours, &c. A million and a quarter of dollars is named as the appropriation needed for this department for the next eighteen months.

We must admit the necessity of defensive preparations, but we cannot help wishing that the time had come to beat the sword and spear into ploughshares and pruning hooks, as we read the catalogue of articles required by the emergencies of war, and the estimates of millions to supply and employ them. The money invested in cannon, muskets, swords, pistols, powder and ball, and their appurtenances, would sustain all our missionaries, and supply them with means of influence over our fellow creatures which would make a strange contrast with the "grape shot," "shells," "sulphur," "ladles for hot shot," "tongs for hot shot," &c., &c., which make up the preparations for Christian war.

The report on the military academy represents the condition of that institution to be very flourishing. The last board of visiters recommend some extension of the literary part of the course, and intimate that it would be well for the young gentlemen who are destined to be the officers of our army, to know something more of geography and history, at least of their own country, than is at present provided for. The professor who conducts the moral instruction of the cadets is also the chaplain of the academy, and preaches regularly. The visiters, in their report, call him the "spiritual pastor" of the students, and express the highest confidence in the present incumbent. They signify, at the same time, that neither ethics nor preaching will secure the lads from moral evil, unless special care is given to several points of police and arrangement. Thus it is hinted that the persons having the more immediate charge of the cadets, in subordination to the higher officers, should be men of exemplary morals; and that cadets do not make the best assistants in the discipline of the school. The board make two other suggestions which demand the attention of those who wish to see the West Point Academy accomplishing more than the mere military training of young men. One is, that the occupation of a room twelve

feet square, by three cadets, for the purposes of studying and sleeping, is alike unfavourable to health and morals, and that "health, innocence and self-culture" demand the erection of an edifice with sufficient accommodations for the separate use of the students. The other suggestion of the visiters is that young cadets should not be sent too soon into the annual encampment. Their remarks on this subject are pregnant with admonitory instructions, though the board disavow that this expression of their opinions is founded on their knowledge of any actual mischief. "Here [in the encampment] they mix freely with those who, with more age and experience, have contracted, in some instances, greater immorality. The restraints of study and regular recitation are withdrawn; the unsophisticated youth, who has just come from the shelter of a father's roof, is exposed to the fascinations of those whom he regards as more accomplished than himself; and it ought not to excite surprise, if at the expiration of six or eight weeks he should sometimes enter the barracks and commence his studies deteriorated in morals, and predisposed to offences which will provoke the displeasure of his superiors, and perhaps soon send him back stained with disgrace, to afflicted and dishonoured parents."

The departments we have noticed are those in charge of the Secretary of War, and include the reports made to him by the Major General of the army, the Ordnance Bureau, the Quartermaster General, and the Chief Engineer. The military academy is under the supervision of the latter officer. Besides, the Secretary of War communicates the reports of the Chief Topographical Engineer, the Paymaster General, the Surgeon General, the Commissary General of Subsistence, the Commissioner of Pensions, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. From these documents (excepting the last) we glean the following facts, as comporting with our use of the volumes. The number of cases of sickness in the army during the last year was 34,172. As the mean strength of the army for that time is estimated at only 10,000, the proportion of cases to the number of men was as $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, or nearly 342 per cent. The deaths were 303. The number of persons receiving pensions from the army side of that provision is now 25,035. The number was reduced in the year by 1500. The navy pensioners (all of them are invalids) amount to 503.

To the official statements of the condition of the Indians

every benevolent and just American must turn with melancholy interest. It is in some respects a sad, but in others a happy announcement which the Secretary of War makes —"there is no more land east of the Mississippi, remaining unceded, to be desired by us." May the aboriginal tribes take this as an assurance that they shall be unmolested on the other side of the river? If the western lands, to which they have been driven, should be "desired by us," shall we colonize them in the Pacific Islands? The Secretary prudently goes no farther than to "hope" that when the tracts now pending shall be ratified, and the Indians removed according to contract, "the red man will then be suffered to rest in peace." When that time comes he also hopes "that our undivided efforts will be bestowed in discharging the fearful responsibilities we have incurred, to improve his intellectual and moral condition, as the only means of rendering him happy here or hereafter." The number of Indians removed beyond the Mississippi is 88,000; leaving less than 25,000, the greater part of whom have engaged to emigrate within a few years. Among the latest acquisitions of our government is that of ten millions of acres of land in the territory of Iowa, from the Sac and Fox tribes; and that of fifteen millions of acres in Michigan and Wisconsin of the Chippeways. The population of the Sacs and Foxes is 2348. The Wyandots have also ceded all their possessions in Ohio, consisting of 109,000 acres, and about 5,000 acres in Michigan.

The reports of the various superintendents and agents of the United States among the Indians, present little evidence that the great evils of their condition are becoming alleviated. We refer specially to the injury they suffer from the rapacity of the white traders, and the effect of the spirituous liquors with which they supply the savages. Some miscellaneous extracts, abridged from the documents of the Commissioner will present this subject in its clearest light. And first, as to the general character and influence of the men who hover about the settlements to extort whatever money comes into the hands of the Indians, from the payment of their annuities or otherwise. The extracts refer to different tribes. "A set of the most abandoned and unprincipled wretches are collected near the line upon Des Moines river, and at one or two other points along the boundary, from whose dens the intoxicating liquid flows in uninterrupted streams upon the Indians. In 1832 intoxication was rare

among them, and I doubt if an habitual drunkard belonged to their nation, while at this time, except when upon their hunting ground, the whole nation, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, exhibits a continual scene of the most revolting intoxication." "The greatest difficulties with which the agents, teachers, and missionaries have to contend arise from the presence of crowds, and daily increasing crowds of depraved white men, who have taken up their abodes in the Indian country. This worse than savage population is composed of deserters from the fur traders on the upper Miami, renegades from Santa Fè, discharged soldiers, and fugitives from justice. The Indians being destitute during the greater part of the year, are compelled to solicit credits from the traders, who, aware of the uncertainty of their being paid, demand and receive the most usurious prices for their goods. The money which is not paid away to satisfy the traders, soon finds its way into the hands of the whisky dealers, who swarm like birds of evil omen around every place where annuities are to be paid." "It is useless for me to try to keep them from whisky. There is a set of lawless wretches settled on the opposite side of the river who follow nothing for a living but selling whisky to the Indians, stealing horses, counterfeiting money, &c. The life of your agent has been threatened more than once for his efforts to put a stop to this traffic. On the 9th of this month I caught three men who were introducing whisky into the Indian country, tied them, and kept them for a few days, and took them to Holt county to be committed. Instead of committing them, I had to leave myself in haste to prevent a suit for the whisky I had destroyed." "These tribes are found to be rapidly wasting away, in an intimate intercourse with that portion of our white population, who follow and keep as near them as they can for the vile purpose of profiting by their inordinate fondness for intoxicating drink." "White men are making it a business all along the line, of purchasing guns, horses, provisions, and goods of these people, by giving whisky in exchange, and then, when they get their money, sell the articles back for cash at exorbitant prices." "Choctaws and Chickasaws are induced by the presence of these dens and sinks of iniquity [whisky shops and distilleries in Texas] upon their borders, to cross over, are generally made drunk, frequently robbed, and sometimes murdered." "We see whole tribes, now in the receipt of large annuities from the Government, and en-

joying advantages which an equal number of whites hardly anywhere possess, gradually declining in numbers, and daily becoming more licentious, though not less barbarous and miserable, under the same destructive influence."

No laws have been able to cut off the supply of spirituous liquor, and the thorough devastation which drunkenness is making among most of the tribes may be conceived of by some further extracts, taken, like the preceding, from the reports of various agencies. "Unless something more effectual than has yet been tried, can be adopted for the preservation of the Winnebagoes, it is evident that they must soon be numbered with the nations that have been. Scenes of wretchedness, bloodshed and murder are occurring so frequently in their drunken frolics, that they have ceased to be objects of wonder and astonishment. Thirty-nine are known by myself to have perished in this way, within the last year; sometimes two or three have been stabbed to death during the same night. Give the Indians goods or provisions instead of money, incur the expense of hauling and delivering them in the interior of their country, give what you please and where you please, to the whisky shops it will go in the end. They have just received their goods and part of their provision for this year, and are now selling blankets which cost the government $3,50, beside transportation, for one bottle of whisky. Five Indians have lost their lives since their supplies were distributed, and others severely wounded." "The Sioux, remote as some of them are from the settlements, find the means of indulging the proneness of the savages to adopt the vices of civilized man in preference to his virtues; those near the agency and on the Mississippi, obtain whisky from the settlers on the east side of the river, and use it to great excess; the more remote and wild bands of them obtain it from the British half-breeds from Lord Selkirk's along the Red river of the north, who meet them on their hunting grounds and conciliate them by presents of ardent spirits and other articles, while they destroy their game in vast quantities." "It has been ascertained from sources entitled to the utmost credence, that upwards of five hundred men belonging to these prairie tribes, have been killed during the last two years in drunken broils, while the survivors, men, women and children are reduced to the lowest depths of poverty and degradation." "These Indians are in a most deplorable situation. The evil spirit found its way into their lodges, and

generated among them discontent, jealousy, and strife, which eventually terminated in butchery and bloodshed. This state of theirs produced in their minds a settled prejudice against the place they then occupied, and in a moment of drunkenness and riot they set fire to their village, which was soon reduced to ashes. Their farms suffered a similar fate; the greater part of the fences being torn down and burnt, and the whole now lying waste and uncultivated."

Among some of the tribes, where the influence of the missionaries is exerted, temperance societies have been formed, and the pledges given by its members, in general, faithfully observed. In other places, the temporary restraint of the society has been followed by a sad re-action. In the small tribe of Quapaws, in the Choctaw agency, a great improvement is reported. When the present subagent went among them, "these people were in a wretched condition, spending most of their time in drinking; sometimes the whole tribe passing days, and even weeks, together, in a state of intoxication. Literally every dollar they could raise went for whisky. Many of them lived on roots, and were often on the verge of starvation." But during the year they have become more temperate and industrious, and not a single instance of intoxication had been heard of among them for the three months previous to the date of the report, though liquor might have been obtained. There are neither missionaries nor schools among this tribe.

The returns of the schools sustained among the Indians, either directly by the government agencies or by the missionaries of different denominations, are of an encouraging character. The whole number of the schools is fifty-two: and omitting seven which have not reported, the number of scholars, of both sexes, is 2,132 Of these schools, the A. B. C. F. M. have charge of 10; the Roman Catholics of 9; the Baptists of 6; the Methodists of 5; the Presbyterians of 2; the Episcopalians of 1; the Moravians of 1; the Quakers of 1. Another school has probably been since opened by the missionaries of our church, as the last report of the Foreign Board mentions that the Creeks were favourable to the opening of a boarding school among them.

The Choctaws are foremost in their disposition to unite with the government in sustaining a school among themselves. The erection of an academy, near Fort Towson, with work-shops and farm-buildings, is now in progress. This is intended to supersede the "Choctaw Academy" in Georgetown, Kentucky, so far as this tribe is concerned—sev-

eral others having an interest in that institution. Many strong reasons are given for preferring to educate their children at home to sending them into the United States. One of these is, that the lads with whom the experiment has been made, have sometimes returned with a disrelish for their former homes, and have introduced vices which they have learned of the whites. Another reason stated is, that some have remained five or six years at the Kentucky school, and returned "without acquiring a common education, or any knowledge of agriculture or the mechanic arts, or even upright habits, such as would render them respectable members of society in their own nation." Two of the young men who returned last from the Georgetown Academy committed suicide. The cause given for one was the poverty of his relations; and for the other the estranged affections of his father. The same complaint of the inefficiency of the Kentucky school is made by the Creek agency. It is stated on this authority, that the Creeks "complain that not one of their young men educated at that institution, has ever done any good after returning to the nation; but on the contrary, generally became idle, dissolute, and intemperate." The Indians naturally attribute these results to education, and their prejudices are thereby strengthened in favour of barbarism. The agent, after alluding to the effects that may be expected to follow the return of a young man, after several years absence, to the comparative debasement of his native tribe—without congenial companions, books or occupation—recommends the withdrawal of the Creeks' education fund from the Choctaw Academy, and the institution of agricultural and manual labour schools on their own territory. The judiciousness of the suggestion must be self-evident.

The Chickasaws have neither schools nor missionaries. Their agent affirms that both would be welcome. "While speaking to them at their recent council on the subject of education, many of them shed tears, and expressed themselves determined to do every thing in their power to improve the condition of their race, and said that the time would come when their children and their children's children would not be dependent on the white man for any thing."

The experiment of schools among the Osages was unfavourable; and has seemed to excite the prejudices of that people against missionaries. The ground of this prejudice

seems to be, that their children having been boarded at the houses of the missionaries, "learned to dress as the white man, to be fond of living on sugar and coffee, to sleep on a good bed, to speak something like the English language, and to read and write a little."

Such incidental mention as is made of the various Christian missionaries among the different tribes is of a favourable kind. Thus the Michigan superintendency reports of two bands, numbering about one hundred souls, that they "have attached themselves to the Methodist mission, and most of them have become industrious, temperate, and apparently truly religious. Two other bands are, as a body, making a most gratifying progress in the arts of civilization. Much credit is due to the missionaries and school teachers for their untiring zeal, and efforts to promote both their temporal and spiritual welfare. The bands on Grand river are also prosperous, especially those under the instruction of the Baptist and Episcopal missions. Such of the bands at or near Sault St. Marie as have put themselves under the auspices of the [Methodist] Missionaries seem to be comfortable and happy. The Methodist Mission at Ance, on Lake Superior, has been remarkably successful: many have made a profession of religion, and have become sober, docile, and industrious." The sub-agent among the Iowas, says, "I most respectfully beg leave to speak of the missionary establishment at this place. I can truly aver that it is under the superintendence of as devoutly pious individuals as I have ever known, having nothing to prompt them to action but a sincere desire to do good to the red man of the forest. This establishment is under the control of the Presbyterian Board of Missions. Many of the people have insisted on having a manual-labour school. I have no doubt of their sincerity, and that in six months from the commencement of such an institution they would send fifty scholars." The veteran Kingsbury of the American Board is highly spoken of. He has a missionary circuit of two hundred miles, "and is daily extending a happy influence by his example in the cause of religion and temperance."

It has not been long since we furnished an abstract of the history of the removal of the eastern Indians, and a geographical description of the districts assigned to the several tribes.* It is gratifying to find some evidence,

* Princeton Review, October, 1838. Art. I.

amidst all the discouragements we have been noticing, of the advancement of portions of these ancient nations in the constituents of a civilized state. The farms of the Choctaws on the Red river, it is said, will compare with any in the United States. Part of their settlement is within the cotton latitude; and last year they shipped more than 700 bales of that staple. They are reported to be an agricultural people, many of them owning large stocks of cattle and horses, and some of them possessing *slaves*. Their principal trading place is Dicksville, near Fort Towson, which, the superintendent says, "is one of the most quiet and orderly towns to be found in the west. I have been at this village a week at a time, without seeing any thing like ardent spirits or a drunken Indian." The Choctaws have a constitution and laws; each of their four districts has a chief, elected for four years, and there is one general council of forty, which meets annually. The Cherokees maintain the precedence for intelligence as a tribe, though the divisions that were produced by the celebrated treaty of 1835 between them and our government have tended to retard their advancement. Like the Choctaws, they have their own laws, government and courts, and a fund for education. Their number is 18,000. There are about 2,000 professors of religion in the tribe—principally Baptists. The rest are Methodists and Presbyterians. The Creeks are the most numerous of the tribes; being estimated at 20,000. Their homes are not so good as those of the Choctaws and Cherokees, but they are industrious and improving farmers. Former bickerings with the United States have, probably, weakened their attachment to us, and make them somewhat formidable borderers; but these feelings, it is hoped, will subside as they become more fixed in their pursuits as cultivators of the soil. The later emigrants of this tribe are said, by the United States agent, to be good farmers and manufacturers. "In short," is his opinion, "I know of no people on this continent who are more happy or contented, or who enjoy a greater plenty than these people do, of all the necessaries of life." "There is at this time (June, 1842,) in active progress a considerable religious excitement among the Creek people, which pervades pretty much the whole of the nation. Their religious exercises and meetings are all conducted by native preachers, exclusively, and their meetings are conducted in a quiet, decent and orderly manner. They have recently sent for the

assistance of some white men (preachers) to aid in the organization of churches, discipline, &c. At the last grand council they passed some very arbitrary laws in regard to the sale of ardent spirits in the nation. For this offence, they inflict severe corporeal punishment." Seventeen different tribes were represented at a general council called by the Creeks in May last, to form a plan for the discovery and restoration of stolen property. The Seminoles are much scattered in their new country, in consequence of the several chiefs endeavouring to settle their respective bands as separately as possible from the others of his tribe. They have many negroes among them, who perform the greatest part of the agricultural labour. The Osages are too fond of the chase and too indolent to take advantage of their facilities of civilization. They have, however, forbidden the sale of ardent spirits.

But we must leave these details. What we have said may be taken as a specimen of the lights and shadows of the documents on Indian affairs transmitted with the President's Message, and we turn from their examination without being able to decide on which side the testimony preponderates as to the general improvement or deterioration of the whole Indian population. We have no means of learning the ratio of extinction of the Aborigines; but if we may take the estimate of one portion of their ancient territory as a standard, it will not be many ages before the department of Indian affairs will be an unnecessary branch of our government. According to a recent census, the whole number of souls in eighteen tribes occupying an immense region east of the Rocky Mountains is 61,700; of which 20,000 are men. In 1783 one of these tribes (the Mandans) was believed to contain 25,000 fighting men. Its *whole* population is now 300. The Assinibones were then set down as having 40,000 warriors; they have now but 7,000 souls in all.

Thus far the report of the Secretary of War. The details of the Navy Department have little to attract us. The Secretary admits that much attention is requisite to maintain a grade of character among the officers of the Navy, which will be honourable to the country, and promote the greatest efficiency of their own services. He traces these evils to the want of proper selection of lads for midshipmen and a provision for their adequate education. "It is a notorious fact," he observes, "that wayward and incorrigible

boys, whom even parental authority cannot control, are often sent to the Navy as a mere school of discipline, or to save them from the reproach to which their conduct exposes them on shore. It is not often that skilful officers or valuable men are made out of such materials." The estimated cost of maintaining the Navy, and effecting all the collateral objects of the department for the first six months of the present year, is put at $3,700,000. The Secretary furnishes an elaborate report by Prof. W. R. Johnson, of Philadelphia, on the character and tests of sheathing copper, which adds a scientific contribution to the miscellany of the President's annual. Mr. Johnson has invented an apparatus for the *thermotension* of chain cables, which will add seventeen per cent. to the strength of the iron. This improvement is pronounced to be of incalculable value "to the whole navigating interest of the world."

The last of the papers is the report of the Postmaster General. The people of the United States paid, last year, about four millions and a half of dollars for receiving their letters and papers by mail. The prerogative of franking, in its legal and illegal use, saved the people half a million, but kept that amount from the public treasury. The annual number of free letters is about three millions. But it should be considered that if this privilege should be denied to the houses of Congress, (whose correspondence contributes most to the amount,) there would be caused a blank in the occupation of its members which no other device could fill, and an accumulation of stationery in the clerks' hands, which would leave many thousand dollars unappropriated. It is true, the use and abuse of franks and the other extravagant provisions for loading the mails with free articles, prevent the reduction of postage, so generally demanded by the public, and admitted to be otherwise practicable by the Postmaster. But we should sooner expect to see the President's salary reduced to $24,000, than such an abridgment of the pleasing prerogative which now attaches to the station of a national legislator.

On the subject of some intended efforts of the Postmaster to diminish the transportation of the mail on the Sabbath, we see nothing but the following sentence in the report of one of the subordinates of the department. "In answer to your inquiry, I have the honour to state that $58,346 per annum is the amount of the curtailment effected by the discontinuance of the seventh weekly trip on numerous daily

routes in the United States, ordered in February, 1841, and shortly anterior to that date; and that the portion of said service restored to operation during the year ending June 30, 1842, amounted to $18,678 a year." From this we conclude that no very general correction of the evil is likely to be effected.

A report from General Duff Green to the Postmaster, verified by official statements, shows that the reduction of postage in England has caused such an increase of correspondence that by the end of 1844, the gross receipts, under what is called the penny system, will be as great as in 1839 under the old rates. The increase was nearly 250 per cent. between November 1839 and March 1841. General Green also presents a proposition from the French government for a regular exchange of correspondence and samples of goods between France and the United States, by steam and other packets. It is his opinion that when France has completed her railways, connecting her seaports with the principal depots of the continent, Brest will supersede Liverpool as the thoroughfare of trade and travel, and that we should lose no time in securing the benefit of the anticipated change.

The opportunity presented by the Message invites reflections on the state of the country. But we should be greatly at a loss to find any observations that would be original. The contrasts between the resources of our people and our poverty; between the essential importance of united and energetic counsels and the riot of political division; between the inducement to economy and the tendency to extravagance; between the good policy of honesty and the unceasing developments of fraud—these contrasts are glaring on the most superficial view of our condition. Puritanical as the idea may be, we venture to surmise, that the effectual remedy for all our difficulties lies in the diffusion of religious principle; in the adoption of the Bible as the ultimate appeal of our legislators, officially and personally; and the acknowledgment of the Lord of lords as the judge of nations and of the earth. Religion has been in more than one way pronounced unconstitutional; but it is time that we had learned to discriminate between our natural, inseparable responsibility to God in every possible relation and position, and the adoption of a form of religion as an element of the State.

Art. III.—1. *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in four books, written by John Locke, Gent. The seventh edition. London. 1775.

2. *The Works of Thomas Reid, D. D. F. R. S., with an account of his Life and Writings.* By Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. Charlestown. 1813.

In the July (1840) No. of this periodical, we exhibited a sketch of the Baconian Method of Investigation. We now propose to give an outline of the psychology or theory of mind assumed in that method; and which the influence of that method upon English philosophy has caused to be developed by Locke and Reid.

As the best mode of effecting our purpose, we will first show the points of contact between psychology and logic, and between psychology and the method of investigation; and then exhibit an outline of the two great systems of psychology, which have divided the opinions of philosophers, and develop the points of affiliation and doctrinal identity between these systems and their correlative methods of investigation; and finally, evolve the fundamental laws of belief, which are assumed as the primary elements of knowledge, and the foundation of absolute verity, in every act of the intelligence. This article then, in conjunction with one just referred to, is designed as a touchstone of philosophical criticism, to direct and enlighten the judgment in philosophy, just as rhetoric is a touchstone of literary criticism, to direct and refine the taste in literature.

The Creator of all things has established an order, an antecedence and sequence, in the phenomena of the universe of both matter and mind. The object of philosophy is to discover this order, by observing the phenomena, tracing their relations, and ascertaining the laws which govern them, for the purpose of building upon such discoveries, certain practical rules or arts for increasing the power of man. In the world of matter, we investigate the relations of material substances, and their actions either of a mechanical or chemical nature upon each other; and found upon these relations the mechanical and chemical arts, by which the physical powers of man are so much augmented in his knowing how to bring bodies into such circumstances as will give rise to their peculiar actions. So in the world of mind, we investigate the relations of its phenomena, their

antecedence and sequence in the order of time, their relations to the world of matter, and their antecedence and sequence in the logical order, an order peculiar to the world of mind, and which has no existence in the world of matter.

The phenomena of mind may, for the convenience of this investigation, be divided into two classes, namely, those which relate to the intelligence—to perception, consciousness, memory, induction and reasoning; and those which relate to the sensibility—to love, joy, hope, fear, anger, and all the other emotions; and upon the relations of the phenomena of both of these classes are founded certain practical rules or arts. On the first, are founded logic and the method of investigation; and on the latter, are founded, morality and all the fine arts. It is with the first class, those which relate to the intelligence, that we have to deal in the investigation which we are pursuing; as it is amidst them that the connexion between psychology and logic, and between psychology and the method of investigation is to be discovered. Psychology by analysing the phenomena of reasoning, exhibits the fundamental laws of thought, which govern the mental acts in every demonstration: and logic exhibits the illative rules by which the conclusion is evolved out of the premises. This then is the point of contact between psychology and logic, the boundary where the one ends, and the other begins. Psychology also exhibits, by analysing the phenomena of induction, the fundamental law of thought which governs the mental determination in every act of belief that the future will be like the past, or that like causes will produce like effects; and the method of investigation exhibits the inductive rules or regulative principles by which the general conclusion is inferred from the particular instances. And this is the point of contact between psychology and the method of investigation. It is at these points of contact, that psychology supplies the deficiencies of logic and the method of investigation—gives light where they give none; for logic and the method of investigation pre-suppose psychology, and depend upon it, for their whole strength.

But psychology penetrates still further into the mysteries of human thought, and as reasoning and induction assume the truth of the facts attested by perception, consciousness and memory, it also analyses their phenomena, and evolves the fundamental laws of belief which govern all our knowledge derived from these sources respectively, and thus as-

certains the very elements of human knowledge, which admit of no explanation, which borrow no light from any thing antecedent, but are self-luminous; and in this way supplies every thing which is assumed as true in logic and the method of investigation. With these preliminary remarks, indicating in a general way the connexion between psychology and logic, and between psychology and the method of investigation, we will now proceed to exhibit the two great opposite systems of psychology and the correlative methods of investigation.

The great problem which lies at the threshold of every inquiry into the phenomena of the human mind, and gives to every system of psychology its distinctive feature, in the point of view in which we are considering the subject (its connexion with logic and the method of investigation) is what is the origin of our ideas, "those simple notions into which our thoughts may be analysed, and which may be considered as the principles or elements of human knowledge?" There never have been, and never can be, more than two theories in regard to the solution of this problem. One is the theory of innate ideas, or primitive cognitions which are not the product of the mind's own activity, but are its original furniture; the other, the theory, that all our ideas are founded ultimately in experience, and are acquired through sensation and consciousness. These two opposite psychological theories are the correlatives of the two opposite methods of investigation, the a priori method, (which we have shown in the article before referred to, to be nothing more than an application of the Aristotelian logic out of its proper sphere,) which makes all absolute verity to depend upon certain innate principles, or elements of knowledge, from which the mind starts and reasons out all science as legitimate deductions from them, in which the series of logical deductions will correspond with the series of facts subsisting in nature; and the inductive or Baconian method, which bases all knowledge upon experience, and considers principles as mere generalized facts obtained by the observation of particular phenomena. We will first treat of the theory of innate ideas and then show that it is the psychological correlative of the a priori method of investigation.

The theory of innate ideas has appeared under different phases; and more distinctly in the writings of Plato amongst the ancients, and Des Cartes amongst the moderns,

than in the writings of any other philosophers: Plato representing one phasis of this theory, and Des Cartes, the other. Plato held that there are in the soul certain innate ideas which form the basis of our conceptions and constitute the principles of our knowledge; and that these innate ideas were in the soul in a prior state of existence, and are now suggested to the mind, by the individual objects presented to the senses. That the process of acquiring knowledge is mere suggested reminiscence; and that reminiscence is in proportion as the mind becomes acquainted with individual objects. For example: in the dialogue entitled "Phaedon," he asks, "Is it upon seeing equal trees, equal stones and several other things of that kind, that we form the idea of equality, which is neither the trees nor the stones, but something abstracted from all these objects?" And he answers the question thus: "Before we begin to see, feel, or use any of our senses, we must have had the knowledge of this intellectual equality; else we could not be capable of comparing it with the sensible objects, and perceive that they have all a tendency towards it, but fall short of its perfection.

"That is a necessary consequence from the premises.

"But is it not certain that immediately after our birth, we saw, we heard, and made use of other senses?

"Very true.

"Then it follows that before that time, we had the knowledge of that equality?

"Without doubt.

"And of course, we were possessed of it before we were born?

"I think so.

"If we possessed it before we were born, then we knew things before we were born, and immediately after birth; knew not only what is great what is small, what is equal, but all other things of that nature.

"For what we now advance of equality, is equally applicable to goodness, justice, sanctity, and in a word to all other things that have a real existence; so that we must of necessity have known all these things before we came into this world."

It is manifest from this extract, that Plato maintained, that all our abstract notions are in the mind when we come into this world, and are, of course, first in the order of acquisition; and that it is by the light of these notions, or

ideas as he called them, that we comprehend what we observe in this world—that it is by the abstract innate idea of equality, that we judge of the instances of equality exhibited in experience; by the abstract innate idea of goodness, that we judge of the instances of goodness, and so of every other innate idea. Thus maintaining that man has in his mind, an innate standard of truth, with which he can compare every thing, and test its verity.

We will now exhibit the other phasis of this theory, as taught by Des Cartes. He held that the idea of the infinite, and all other ideas which are particularizations of it, are not acquired ideas, but are innate in the mind, having been communicated to it, or interwoven into its very being by the Creator, to be the foundation of all its acquired knowledge, and the guide of its future reasonings. Though he did not maintain that these ideas were always present in the mind: "When I say that any idea is born in us, or that it is naturally imprinted on our souls, I do not mean that it is always present in thought, for this would be contrary to fact; but only that we have in ourselves the faculty of reproducing it."

It is evident that these doctrines of Plato and Des Cartes are substantially the same, and exhibit only different phases of the theory of innate ideas.

We will next show that the theory of innate ideas is the psychological correlative of the a priori method of investigation, and is the psychology assumed in that method; and that both Plato and Des Cartes actually adopted and used that method. Thus proving the proposition, both by philosophical analysis and historical fact.

The least reflection will discover that the a priori method of investigation is the psychological correlative of the theory of innate ideas. For if all the principles or elements of our knowledge are an original furniture of the mind, the only method by which the mind can extend the sphere of its knowledge and build this knowledge up into science, is to combine these principles and deduce from them conclusions corresponding to the real particulars subsisting in nature. And it is also clear, that the a priori method of investigation assumes the theory of innate ideas or principles; because if there are no innate principles, or if, in other words, a reason could be given for every truth, no process of deduction, (and the a priori method of investigation is a process of deduction,) could ever have a beginning; for to

make reasoning or deduction the process of discovering first principles, would be to go on to infinity; because, in every argument or process of reasoning, something must be assumed as true, from which our reasonings set out, and on which they ultimately depend. Where then, is the first starting point to be had, if it be not innate? According to the psychological theory, that all our knowledge is founded ultimately upon experience, the first principles of the reasoning process are furnished by induction, as we have shown in the article before referred to.

It is thus manifest from philosophical analysis of the theory of innate ideas, and of the a priori method of investigation, that they are psychological correlatives. We will next show, that they are correlatives in the history of philosophy also—that they are historically, as well as philosophically related—that Plato and Des Cartes adopted and used the a priori method of investigation, as well as maintained the doctrine of innate ideas.

In the Phaedon, the same treatise from which we extracted the remarks relative to innate ideas, and the one in which Plato gives, though in an incidental way, his peculiar psychology, we have also a delineation of Plato's method of investigation; though this is given in an incidental way too; for in investigating the subject of the treatise, the immortality of the soul, he had to use both his psychological theory and his method of investigation.

"Have seeing and hearing," says Plato, "any thing of truth in them, and is their testimony faithful? Or are the poets in the right in saying that we neither see nor hear things truly? For if these two senses of seeing and hearing are not trustworthy, the others, which are much weaker, will be far less such. Is it not by reasoning that the soul embraces truth? And does it not reason better than before, when it is not encumbered by seeing and hearing, pain or pleasure? When, shut up within itself, it bids adieu to the body, and entertains as little correspondence with it as possible; and pursues the knowledge of things without touching them. Now the simplest and purest way of examining things, is to pursue every particular thought alone, without offering to support our meditations by seeing or hearing, or backing our reason by any other corporeal sense; by employing the naked thought without any mixture, and so endeavouring to trace the pure and general essence of things without the ministry of the eyes or ears: the soul being, if I may

so speak, entirely disengaged from the whole mass of the body, which only encumbers the soul, and cramps it in the quest of wisdom and truth, as often as it is admitted to the least correspondence with it. If the essence of things be ever known, must it not be known in the manner above mentioned?" Plato exhibits his method of investigation still more clearly in the following remarks extracted from the same treatise:—"After I had wearied myself in examining all things, I thought it my duty to be cautious of avoiding what happens to those who contemplate an eclipse of the sun; for they lose the sight by it, unless they be careful to view its reflections in water or any other medium. A thought much like to that came into my head, and I feared I should lose the eyes of my mind, if I viewed objects with the eyes of my body, or employed any of my senses in endeavouring to know them. I thought I should have recourse to reason, and contemplate the truth of all things as reflected from it. It is possible the simile I use in explaining myself is not very just: for I cannot affirm that he who beholds things in the glass of reason, sees them more by reflection and similitude than he who beholds them in their operations. However, the way I followed, was this; from that time forward I grounded all upon the reason that seemed the best, and took all for truth, that I found conformable to it, whether in effects or causes; and what was not conformable I rejected, as being false."

In these extracts we see that Plato held that "it is by reasoning that the soul embraces truth," and that the mind has the light of all truth within itself, and all the material within itself, upon which to exert the reasoning process; and that it does not stand in need of the ministry of the senses to gain any information—in a word, that all philosophy is built up by reasoning from or upon innate ideas; for that all the phenomena in nature are but copies of these innate ideas, and are known to the mind, only by comparing them with these innate ideas and observing their resemblance to them as their types and models.

That the a priori method of investigation was that used by Des Cartes also, is clearly manifested in his writings. He founded all knowledge upon a logical basis—upon demonstration; and considered that the object of philosophy is to deduce by reasoning from first causes, rules for the conduct of life and for the various arts. "It is clear," says he, "that we shall follow the best method in philosophy if

from our knowledge of the deity himself, we endeavour to deduce an explication of all his works; that so we may acquire the most perfect kind of science, which is that of effects from their causes." In accordance with this view of the method of investigation to be used in physical science, is his theory of the mind; for he maintains that the idea of God, which he makes the starting point in natural philosophy, is innate in the mind. Thus basing natural philosophy in psychology, and making it necessary to establish the foundation of psychological truths before certainty can be attained in physical truth. In order then to establish the foundation of psychological truth, he makes doubt the foundation of certainty and the starting point in human knowledge. "It is not to day," says he, "for the first time that I have perceived in myself that, from my earliest years, I have received a great many false opinions as true, and that what I have built upon principles so badly ascertained, can be only very doubtful and uncertain. And accordingly, I have decidedly judged that I must sincerely undertake some time in my life to rid myself of all the opinions I had before taken upon trust, and begin altogether anew from the foundation, if I would establish any thing firm and constant in science." Rejecting then, the knowledge of every thing, and plunging into absolute skepticism, he sets about to prove his own existence, as the first problem in knowledge; and does it by this argument:—"I think, therefore I exist." Satisfied, that by this argument and the application of the principle contained, he had proved the reality of every thing revealed in consciousness—the reality of his own existence, his own thoughts, passions, &c., his next difficulty was to pass out of the sphere of consciousness, and prove the reality of things external to himself. In order to do this, he must find some fact revealed in consciousness (whose phenomena he had proved to be worthy of credit) as the starting point of the argument. This fact is the idea of a supremely perfect being, which he finds in his mind. He concluded, that as the mind of man is finite, it could not have produced by its own activity, this idea of the infinite; but that this idea must have some real object corresponding to it—which object is God—or in other words, that the idea of the absolute and infinite must have, from their very nature, a real object subsisting in time, corresponding to it. "If we carefully examine," says he, "whether existence belongs to a being supremely powerful, and what sort of existence, we shall

find ourselves able clearly and distinctly to know, first, at least, possible existence agrees with him, as well as with all other things of which we have in ourselves any distinct idea, even those which are composed of fictions of our own mind: and next, because, we cannot think existence is possible, without knowing at the same time—keeping in mind his infinite power—that he can exist by his own force, we conclude that he really exists, and that he has been from all eternity; for it is very evident from the light of nature, that that which exists by its own force, exists always; and thus we shall know that necessary existence is contained in the idea of a supremely powerful being, not by a fiction of the understanding, but because it belongs to the true and immutable nature of such a being to exist; and it will be easy for us to know that it is impossible for this supremely powerful being not to have in himself all other perfections that are contained in the idea of God, in such sort, that, of their own proper nature and without any fiction of the understanding, they are always joined together and exist in God." By this argument Des Cartes satisfied himself, that the existence of God is proved from the existence of the idea of such a being in the mind; and that thus the existence of an external reality is proved—that the boundary of consciousness is passed, and two orders of ideas are established: viz: himself, and the external reality; the proof of himself, resting upon his methodical doubt, "I think, therefore I exist," and the proof of the existence of the external reality resting upon an idea corresponding to it in his mind. Returning again into consciousness, he finds there, the idea of thought and the idea of extension, under one or the other of which, are embraced all other ideas; and as these ideas are radically distinct, he concluded that the substances of which they are respectively the attributes are distinct also. The world, then, is composed of two classes of beings, spirit and matter, they being the substances of which thought and extension are the essential attributes. But the question occurs, how does he know the reality of matter? Because he has a natural impulse to believe in the objects of his sensations, and God, whose existence he has proved, being perfect in his nature, has guaranteed the truth of their testimony. Here then, is the starting point in natural philosophy—God and matter. And as matter and motion are, to his apprehension, the only phenomena in the physical world, in accordance with his

doctrine just now proved, that the most perfect kind of science is that of effects deduced from their causes, he says, "give me matter and motion and I will explain the universe;" and he accordingly explains all material phenomena by the application of mechanics based upon geometry, making God the prime mover of the universe, and the cause of all material phenomena.

In this analysis of the Cartesian philosophy, in which we have endeavoured to present the fundamental conceptions of that philosophy in their true relations and logical order, without any reference to the order in which they stand in the writings of Des Cartes, it is evident that the method is a priori—that it begins with an argument at all its salient points—that psychology is made the foundation of every truth, and that the very first truth in this is established by an argument.

Having now established the point, both by philosophical analysis and historical fact, that the theory of innate ideas and the a priori method of investigation have a logical affinity and a doctrinal identity, and are consequently psychological correlatives, we will next treat of the psychological theory, that all our ideas are founded in experience and are acquired through sensation and consciousness, and show that it is the psychological correlative of the Baconian method of investigation.

The most profound and comprehensive remark ever uttered by man in the whole history of philosophy, is the first aphorism in the Novum Organon—"Man, as the servant and interpreter of nature, is limited in act and understanding by his observation of the order of nature; and neither his knowledge nor his power extends further." This proposition throws more light over the mysteries of nature, than all that had been written before. It proclaims the true system of both mental and natural philosophy, and defines the limits and the modes of both the knowledge and the power of man. All the rest of the Novum Organon does nothing more than develop the great truth contained in this proposition. In order to exhibit its full import, we will divide it into the two propositions asserting two kindred but distinct truths, of which it is composed. It speaks of man as the *interpreter* of nature, and also as the *servant* of nature. Let us keep these two truths separate; and consider the sentence, first leaving out what is said of man, as the *servant* of nature; and then leaving out what is said of

him, as the *interpreter* of nature. Man, as the *interpreter* of nature, is limited in understanding by his observation of the order of nature; neither does his knowledge extend further. Here, it is declared, that the philosopher is a mere interpreter of nature, and that his knowledge is acquired by the observation of the order of nature, and does not extend further. This then, while it proclaims that natural philosophy is confined to the observation of the order of nature, the antecedence and sequence of its phenomena, just as distinctly proclaims the theory of mind, *that all our knowledge is founded ultimately in experience*—does not extend beyond the order of nature. But this exposition does not exhaust the fulness of the sentence; for it speaks of man as the *servant* as well as the *interpreter* of nature, and thus points out the mode as well as the limit of his *power*, as well as the mode and limit of his *knowledge*. The mode of his power consists in acting as the *servant* and not as the *master* of nature, and the mode of his knowledge consists in his *interpreting* nature. And here is at once shown the connexion between science and art, and the nature of both of them. Science consists in finding out the laws of nature; and art, or the power of man, consists in obeying these laws—in serving nature. Here then is evolved, out of the first sentence of the Novum Organon, the psychology or theory of mind assumed in the Baconian method of investigation, and which the whole scope and drift of that method make manifest; *that all our knowledge is founded in experience.* And thus is at once exhibited the point of affiliation and doctrinal identity between the Baconian method of investigation and its correlative system of psychology.

But we are not left to infer the psychology of Bacon merely from what he has tacitly assumed; for though the chief object of his writings was to give directions in physical inquiries, and to divert the minds of men from metaphysical speculations about the essence, the eternal reasons and primary causes of things, and thus, to prevent them from admitting objections against plain experience, founded upon metaphysical notions—as Aristotle and the ancient philosophers had done, according to whose opinions physical science is the application of metaphysical notions to the explanation of the general phenomena of the universe—yet in his Advancement of Learning, he has given a clear view of his theory of mind, and shows that he had a distinct appre-

hension of the great outline of the psychology which has since been developed by Locke and Reid. "The knowledge of man," says he, "is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation. The light of nature consisteth in the notions of the mind, and the reports of the senses. So then, according to these two differing illuminations or originals, knowledge is first of all divided into divinity and philosophy." Bacon is here speaking of the origin of all human knowledge. He says one kind is derived from revelation, and the other from the light of nature; and that "the light of nature consists of the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses." By the notions of the mind, the whole scope of his writings, their very drift and aim, show that he means those notions or ideas which are developed in consciousness, and not innate ideas; and it is plain, that by the reports of the senses, he means the ideas acquired through sensation: though we do not assert that Bacon had apprehended with scientific accuracy those two different sources of knowledge, but merely that he had a general knowledge of them. It is manifest then, that though Bacon laid great stress upon the knowledge derived through the senses, he did not think that sensation is the only source of knowledge, as some of the philosophers of the continent of Europe have ignorantly alleged, but that like Locke and Reid he admitted consciousness to be a distinct and equally important source of knowledge.

We will now proceed to show that the system of psychology, maintained by Bacon, is identical with that of Locke and Reid, indicating as we proceed the points of affiliation and doctrinal identity between their system and the Baconian method of investigation, and thus demonstrate that their system is assumed in that method.

In developing the doctrines of Locke and Reid, we shall not so much follow in their tracks, as pursue the train of our own thoughts: neither shall we stop short at the limits to which they have developed their doctrines, but will give to them more scientific completeness than they possess as developed by themselves, by filling up, with logical concatenations, the chasms which lie between the doctrines and their correlative method of investigation, and by modifying any doctrine which they have expressed with too much latitude or expressed imperfectly, so as to make them harmonize in a system.

It was the signal glory of Locke to establish the true theory of the origin of our ideas; and thus to solve the problem which lies at the very threshold of psychology. The theory of innate ideas which we have already exhibited, had prevailed generally throughout the whole history of philosophy. This theory Locke overthrew, just as Bacon had done its correlative method of investigation, and showed how all our ideas originate.* In commencing his strictures upon the theory of innate ideas he says: "It is an established opinion amongst some men, that there are in the understanding certain innate principles, some primary notions, κοιναι ἐννοιαι, characters as it were, stamped upon the mind of man, which the soul receives in its very first being, and brings into the world with it." He then then selects the following propositions as "having the most allowed title to innate" principles, namely: "*whatever is, is; and it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be.*" He then argues that these principles are not so much as known to the greater part of mankind, and are therefore not innate. "For, first, it is evident, that all children and idiots have not the least apprehension or thought of them; and the want of that is enough to destroy that universal assent, which must needs be the necessary concomitant of all innate truths: it seeming to me near a contradiction to say that there are truths imprinted on the soul which it perceives not, understands not; imprinting, if it signify anything, being nothing else but the making certain truths to be perceived. For to imprint anything on the mind, with-

* We do not mean that Locke has shown correctly in every instance, how our notions have originated: but that he has shown, that they all are acquired through experience and are not an original furniture of the mind. Can any one doubt, for example, how the notions of colours and sounds are acquired, when they consider that persons who have not the senses of sight and hearing cannot by any means whatever acquire these notions? They must see at once, that these notions are acquired through the senses of sight and hearing. Locke has shown that all other notions of the external world are acquired in a similar way; though his explanation of some instances may be erroneous. Neither does it detract from the truth of Locke's indication of the sources of these notions, that he has not chosen the most appropriate terms to express them, viz: sensation and reflection. The last is the term which has been mostly considered erroneous. Consciousness has been, and we concur in the opinion, considered as indicating more exactly the source of one class of our ideas. But this precision, though important in scientific accuracy, does not detract from the truth of the solution which Locke has given of the problem of the origin of our ideas. It is a pitiful criticism upon a great philosophical discovery, to dwell upon a mere inaccuracy in definition; though certainly, the inaccuracy ought to be pointed out.

out the mind's perceiving it, seems to me hardly intelligible. If, therefore, children and idiots have souls, have minds with those impressions upon them, they must unavoidably perceive them, and necessarily know and assent to these truths; which, since they do not, it is evident that there are no such impressions. No proposition can be said to be in the mind, which it never yet knew, which it was never yet conscious of." To the argument which had been frequently used by the advocates of the doctrine of innate ideas, that men know these innate principles, as soon as they come to the use of reason, he replies: "But how can those men think the use of reason necessary, to discover principles that are supposed innate, when reason, (if we may believe them,) is nothing else but the faculty of deducing unknown truths from principles or propositions, that are already known! We may as well think the use of reason necessary to make our eyes discover visible objects, or that there should be need of reason, or the exercise thereof, to make the understanding see what is originally engraven on it, and cannot be in the understanding before it is perceived by it." After showing that the fact that these propositions are assented to, as soon as proposed and understood, does not prove them innate, and after deducing a variety of other arguments against the doctrine of innate ideas or principles, he says: "I say next that these two general propositions are not the truths that first possess the mind of children, nor are antecedent to all acquired and adventitious notions; which if they were innate, they must needs be. The child certainly knows that the nurse that feeds it, is neither the cat it plays with, nor the blackmore it is afraid of; that the wormseed or mustard it refuses, is not the apple or sugar it cries for; this it is certainly and undoubtedly assured of; but will any one say, it is by virtue of this principle, *that it is impossible for the same thing to be, and not to be,* that it so firmly assents to these and other parts of its knowledge? Or that the child has any notion or apprehension of that proposition, at any age, wherein yet it is plain, it knows a great many other truths?" By this train of reasoning, Locke has utterly overthrown the theory of innate ideas. This he does in the first book of the work at the head of this article. And in the second book, he shows the true theory of the origin of ideas or of human knowledge.

"Let us," says he, "then suppose the mind to be as we

say white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas, how comes it to be furnished? Where comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with almost endless variety? Where has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience; in that all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation employed either about external objects, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected upon by ourselves, is that which supplies our understanding with materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have or naturally can have, do spring." Such is Locke's theory of the origin of human knowledge—it is all founded on experience.

Here we have arrived at the point of affiliation and doctrinal identity, between the psychology of Locke, and the method of investigation of Bacon, namely, *that all our knowledge is founded in experience.* This is the theory of mind with all its correlative doctrines, that is assumed in the Baconian method of investigation. This theory of mind teaches that we begin with the knowledge of particulars and proceed to the knowledge of generals, as is taught throughout Locke's writings.

Though Locke had, as we have shown, solved the great fundamental problem of psychology, and thus laid the foundation of mental philosophy, yet he had assumed in that solution a most erroneous theory in regard to the manner in which the mind perceives both external objects and itself. He assumed the ideal theory, that ideas or images of things in the mind, and not things themselves are the only objects of thought which has prevailed universally from the earliest history of philosophy. Bishop Berkeley, after the time of Locke, showed that this doctrine led irresistibly to the denial of the existence of the material world; because, if we perceive nothing but ideas, there is no ground for inferring that any material world exists; as there is nothing in ideas to indicate such a fact. But Berkeley held, that the mind does perceive itself immediately, and therefore concluded that the spiritual world has a real existence. Hume, who was instigated by a passion to overthrow all belief, philosophical as well as religious, in order that he might engulph all knowledge in absolute skepticism, had the acumen to pierce through the inconsistency of Berkeley's doctrines in

regard to the spiritual world, and his doctrines in regard to the material world, and showed that Berkeley had no more right to hold that the mind perceived itself immediately, than he had to hold that it perceived the material world immediately; and as Hume held the ideal theory to be true, he turned the arguments which Berkeley had used against the existence of the material world, against the existence of the spiritual, and showed that a denial of its existence is also a legitimate deduction from the ideal theory. So that a Christian Bishop and an infidel philosopher had, by their joint labours, shown that a doctrine in which they both believed, and which had prevailed universally in the philosophical world for several thousand years, proved beyond a doubt that the universe of both matter and mind is all an illusion; and that nothing exists but certain ideas governed by laws of constant succession.

Thus had skepticism, by attacking English philosophy at a point where it had inadvertently based itself upon error, utterly overthrown it. But in the order of Providence, a champion for the truth appeared in Reid, who, imbued with the true spirit of English philosophy, had the sagacity to perceive that the conclusions of Berkeley and Hume, are a reductio ad absurdum of the ideal theory, and at once set about to examine it; for up to this time, he had believed in its truth. He showed that when applied to the sense of sight, there is something plausible in the theory, that the mind perceives the images of things and not things themselves, but that when applied to the other senses it is perfectly absurd. "As to objects of sight," says he, "I understand what is meant by an image of the figure in the brain: but how shall we conceive an image of their colour, where there is absolute darkness? And as to all other objects of sense, except figure and colour, I am unable to conceive what is meant by an image of them. Let any man say what he means by an image of heat and cold, an image of hardness or softness, and an image of sound or smell, or taste. The word *image*, when applied to these objects of sense, has absolutely no meaning." By this and many others modes of reasoning, Reid showed beyond a doubt that this theory is a mere hypothesis feigned in a vain endeavour to fathom the mystery of the union between body and soul, between mind and matter. Yet he did not attempt to substitute for it any theory of his own, of the manner in which the mind perceives external things; as he

considered this beyond the sphere of philosophy. "How a sensation," says he, "should instantly make us conceive and believe the existence of an external thing altogether unlike to it, I do not pretend to know; and when I say that the one suggests the other, I mean not to explain the manner of their connexion, but to express a fact, which every one may be conscious of; namely, that by a law of our nature, such a conception and belief constantly and immediately follow the sensation." Though Reid did not attempt to show the manner in which the mind perceives external objects, for this is impossible; yet he has solved the second great problem in psychology as Locke has solved the first. This second problem is, upon what does our knowledge of the existence of the material and spiritual worlds rest? How do I know that these are not illusions, as Hume and Berkeley have taught? We have shown how Des Cartes has answered these questions—that he based their solutions upon argument—upon demonstration: which is the basis upon which the theory of innate ideas must forever found it; as that theory knows no belief independent of or anterior to demonstration. And though Hume (for we will now take leave of Berkeley) adopted the theory of Locke, that all our knowledge is founded ultimately upon experience, yet he agreed with Des Cartes, that all belief is founded upon demonstration, and thus formed an inconsistent mongrel creed, which is the hallucination of the skeptic, who seeing in his own mind contradictory opinions, concludes that this is the character of truth. Reid, therefore, taking as the foundation of his inquiry, the truth of Locke's doctrine* (though it must be admitted that Reid does not

* In consequence of the skeptical conclusions which Hume deduced from the ideal theory, Reid was led to overlook in a great measure the importance of the service rendered by Locke to mental philosophy, because Locke had assumed that theory in his explication of mental phenomena. He overlooked the fact, that the great aim of Locke was to solve the problem of the origin of human knowledge, and that in the solution of this problem, he had, more by inadvertence, than by deliberate consideration, assumed the ideal theory, and that his solution is correct whether the ideal theory be true or not. In fact all that Reid has himself done, proves that Locke's theory of the origin of human knowledge is true. For, while Reid is refuting the ideal theory, he incidentally establishes the fact that there are no innate ideas or notions, but that they are acquired by experience—suggested by sensation and consciousness. It is true that he says frequently in his writings that there are other ideas than those of sensation and reflection: but then, we must observe what he means by this. He does not lay it down as an abstract proposition, but confines its meaning to the ideal theory, and thus limits the meaning of the proposition. He is refu-

always appear to comprehend fully his relation to Locke in the development of English psychology,) that all our knowledge is founded ultimately in experience, by a most profound and accurate analysis of mental phenomena, proved that there is in the mind an element of belief independent of demonstration, and evolved the great fundamental laws of human belief; and thus laid open to the eye of philosophy, what it had so long sighed after, and toiled for through so many thousand years—the solid foundations of absolute verity, and raised up English philosophy from the abyss into which Hume had so coldly and stealthily piloted her. As Locke had shown that the elements of knowledge are not innate, and that neither are they acquired by reasoning, but through sensation and consciousness, Reid, true to these principles of him whom God in his providence had made his forerunner and master, though as we have already said, he did not seem to comprehend the fact, strove, and successfully, to discover the psychological laws which

ting the ideal theory, and uses this proposition as a touchstone to refute that theory. For example, he says, "The conception of a mind, is neither an idea of sensation nor of reflection; for it is neither like any of our sensations, nor like anything we are conscious of." Now, in this sentence, when it is taken in connexion with Reid's argument, properly, the first proposition—"The conception of a mind is neither an idea of sensation nor of reflection," is the conclusion, and the last proposition—"For it is neither like any of our sensations nor like anything we are conscious of" is the proof or premises from which the first is deduced. His object is to refute the theory that our ideas are mere images of something in sensation or consciousness; and in order to do this, he shows that the idea of mind is not an image of any thing either in sensation or consciousness: but that it is a notion which is suggested to us by our sensations, just as the idea of hardness is not like that quality in matter, yet it is suggested to us by feeling a body which possesses that quality. But still it is evident, that Reid supposed that he himself had solved the great problem in psychology—that he supposed the problem, whether the mind perceives things or the images of things, is a greater problem than that of the origin of our ideas, and he has accordingly subordinated this last, to the other, and classed Locke and Des Cartes, as belonging to the same school of mental philosophy. And even Dugald Stewart, with all his systematic and critical cast of mind, did not discern the precise relation which Reid held to Locke in the development of mental philosophy: but thought that Reid had originated a new mental philosophy. And this view of the subject, has led Stewart to express in his writings, opinions of Locke somewhat contradictory; thus showing that his mind was rather confused on the subject. All these errors of Stewart resulted from his not viewing psychology from logic, as we have done. By looking at it from logic, it is at once discovered, that *what is the origin of human knowledge*, is the fundamental problem, and that the solution of this problem is the first step in psychology, and that all philosophers must be classed under one or the other of the two solutions which have been given of it, and not under the solutions of a minor problem, such as *whether the mind perceives images or things themselves*.

govern human belief in regard to the knowledge acquired through these original sources. The law of belief which governs the knowledge acquired through sensation, he showed to be, *that such is the constitution of human nature, that man cannot but believe in the reality of whatever is clearly attested by the senses.* And he showed that the law of belief relative to the phenomena of consciousness, is, *that such is the constitution of human nature, that man cannot but believe in the reality of whatever is clearly attested by consciousness.* He showed these to be ultimate facts in psychology, incapable of resolution into simpler elements. That human intelligence cannot penetrate deeper into the mysteries of faith. That here man finds laws of imperative command to believe, and that man cannot but believe. These laws are constituent elements of the mind. The mind must be annihilated before these laws can cease to operate; for the sane mind obeys by necessity. Disobedience is impossible except in insanity, and even then, disobedience is only partial. Another fundamental law of belief Reid showed to be, *that man is so constituted that he cannot but believe in whatever he distinctly remembers.* This law is auxiliary to the others; for without this law, the other two would be nearly useless. But the great fundamental law of belief, upon whose broad foundations, all science immediately rests, the law of inductive belief, which is the only guide to our knowledge in the darkness of the future, the law by which the mind infers the future from the past—that like causes will produce like effects—still remained undiscovered; and the dauntless skepticism of Hume stood in the very vestibule of the temple of philosophy, boldly declaring that man cannot know any thing but what he has actually seen or been conscious of; and that even this knowledge must be verified by reasoning, as all certainty rests upon demonstration. Reid therefore showed by a most rigid analysis of mental phenomena, *that man is so constituted that he cannot but believe that like causes will produce like effects; and that the future will be like the past:* and thus discovered the great fundamental law of belief which governs the mental determination in the inductive process; and thereby evolved another point of affiliation and doctrinal identity between the English psychology and the Baconian method of investigation. Reid has therefore solved the second great problem in psychology; and showed that the Baconian

method of investigation which maintains that induction, and not reasoning, is the paramount process in the acquisition of knowledge; and that perception, and consciousness, and induction, and not reasoning, are the ultimate foundations of verity, has assumed a correct theory of the human mind.

According to English psychology then, the mind of man is developed from without inwards—sensation being exerted before consciousness, and consciousness before induction, reasoning and reflection. As Reid showed that in the various exertions of thought there is not in the mind, any object distinct from the mind itself, but that what philosophers had called ideas or images of things in the mind, are nothing but the thoughts or acts of the mind, the doctrine of English psychology that all our knowledge is founded ultimately upon experience, means merely that the powers of the mind are dormant until awakened into consciousness by some impression made upon the senses, and that as soon as this is done, the knowledge of two facts is acquired at once, that of the existence of the object of sensation, and of the person's own existence as a sentient being; and thus two orders of ideas or notions are established, the mind and that which is not the mind; and that the original elements of all our knowledge are suggested to the mind by some such occasions—that certain impressions on our organs of sense are necessary to suggest to the mind a knowledge of external things, and to awaken it to a consciousness of its own existence, and to give rise to the exercise of its various faculties; and that after consciousness is thus awakened, it becomes a source of ideas or notions distinct from those of sensation—that the ideas of colours, sounds, hardness, extension, and all the qualities and modes of matter are received through the senses; and that the ideas of memory, volition, imagination, anger, love and all the acts and affections of mind are suggested in consciousness; and that it is from the materials thus furnished in the way of experience, that the mind by combining, abstracting, generalising, and so forth, builds up all knowledge.

This mere historical order of the development of the mind shows that particulars are known before generals; and that consequently, perception is exercised before induction, and induction, before reasoning; because perception informs us of particulars, induction of generals, and reasoning sets out from generals, and is therefore dependent on induction for the truth of its premises.

English psychology, then, has discovered the origin of human knowledge, and the fundamental laws of belief, which govern the two original sources of this knowledge, sensation and consciousness, and also the fundamental law of belief which governs the inductive inference of a general conclusion from particular instances exhibited in sensation and consciousness, and shown that these fundamental laws of belief are elements of the mind itself; and consequently ultimate facts in psychology; and thus, by strict analysis of phenomena, laid bare the foundations of all knowledge, and established the basis of absolute verity.

Lord Bacon, as we have already shown, teaches that the knowledge of man is derived from two sources, the light of nature, and divine revelation: "The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation." As we have examined psychology in the light of nature, we will now inquire whether any further light is thrown upon it by divine revelation.

It is distinctly taught in the book of Genesis, that man originally received the truth by immediate revelation from God; and that he conversed with superior intelligences, messengers from heaven; and thus, by a supernatural tuition, was instructed in knowledge which he could not have acquired by his unaided intellect. Now, if such communications of knowledge were necessary to the education of man, in the earliest period of his history, when he had just drawn his intellectual life from its first source, and possessed all the mental energy, which it may be conjectured he received when his intellectual endowments were first bestowed upon him by the hands of the Creator, is it not manifest, that the knowledge of man is not innate in its elements in the mind, and is not a mere development of human reason? For, at the creation of man, his physical necessities, as well as his mental enjoyments, required more than at any time since, that knowledge should be innate in his mind. But we find that man was treated as an ignorant being, as in his infancy, and was instructed by superior intelligences. And this same supernatural instruction in some form was continued by prophets and inspired men, until it was completed in the gospel of Jesus.

Has not God, then, treated man on the assumption that knowledge is not a mere development of human rea-

son exercised upon elements or primordial ideas innate in the mind? It may, perhaps, be argued that it requires time to develop knowledge from these primordial notions, and that therefore man was necessarily instructed in the earliest period of his history. But we judge that this has no force. Because the faculties of the first man were created mature, and his mental eye, undimmed by sin, we may conjecture, possessed an extraordinary degree of intuition, seeing with the greatest clearness whatever can be the object of intellectual perception; and therefore he could have developed his innate ideas into sufficient knowledge, if this had been the mode of acquiring knowledge, which the Creator had established for him. But even if the first man had received his knowledge by an instantaneous endowment, it would not have impugned our theory; because his intellectual faculties and his physical nature were created mature, and not left to the slow process of natural growth, and therefore, such an endowment would have been merely in keeping with the extraordinary dealings of the Creator, above the course of nature. But it is certain that the first man and all his posterity were treated as incapable of acquiring sufficient knowledge without supernatural instruction; and the fact that their faculties were mature and yet their knowledge deficient, forcibly corroborates our position.

But the gospel makes our conclusion still more clear. The apostle Paul says: "I had not known sin, but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said thou shalt not covet." What is this but asserting, that there is nothing in the reason of man which could have taught him sin? The law was a schoolmaster, to bring man to the gospel; and the gospel has revealed still more clearly the truth to man.

So far from the most essential knowledge being innate in man, it has been necessary in all periods of the world down to the present time, that man should be instructed by others of superior knowledge: and thus, in modern times, a general providence is performing for man what God did in the earlier periods of the world by direct instrumentality. No nation has ever risen from barbarism in the scale of civilization by its unaided efforts. All have borrowed learning from those which have preceded them. Every development of humanity has given its light to those which have succeeded it. The Greeks did all which philosophy, or the unaided reason of man, can do towards the solution of the

mysteries of humanity. But after all their intellectual achievements, it has been declared by divine revelation, "that man by wisdom knew not God;" and that their philosophy was wisdom falsely so called. But who can tell how much of Greek philosophy was a traditionary reflection of divine revelations. To deny, that much of it was, would be to run counter to the whole current of history, and to falsify the best established inductions of philosophy. All the philosophy of every period of the world has been enlightened by divine revelations; and by a strange reflex action, the light thrown back from philosophy upon revelation, often enables man to see the truths of revelation the more clearly. Philosophy becomes a mirror, in which we can see the image of revelation, reflected by its own light, in brighter lustre often, than when we look at it immediately: but still it is the light of revelation all the while revealing the truth to us. In order to apply to individual man, what is here said of nations, it is merely necessary to reflect, that what is developed in nations, is also developed in the individual man: as a nation is but an aggregate of individuals.

We think, that our theory is further confirmed by the fact that the same sort of errors are manifest in the theology of nations which adopt the theory of innate ideas, as in their philosophy. Those nations which adopt this theory, and that all philosophy is nothing more than a development of human reason, have fallen into error by making revelation subordinate to philosophy—have modified the doctrines of revelation by the teachings of reason. Whereas, those nations which have adopted the opposite doctrine, that all knowledge is acquired by experience, either from the light of nature, or the light of revelation, have submitted to the teachings of both these lights—have become the mere interpreters of both nature and revelation—have admitted that the mind has no innate intellectual conceptions, or innate moral principles, by which to try the truth of the doctrines of revelation: but have admitted as the truth whatever a fair interpretation shows to be the doctrines revealed. The English, who adopt the doctrine, that all knowledge is founded in experience, have the largest mass of orthodox theology—theology conforming to a strict interpretation of the scriptures—of any nation in Christendom, while the Germans and French, who maintain, to a great extent, under some modification or other, the theory of innate ideas, and

exalt the ability of human reason, have reasoned away the obvious and philological meaning of the scriptures, in explaining their doctrines by certain abstract intellectual conceptions; and thus substituted a philosophical theology in the place of divine revelation, thereby declaring themselves wise above what is written.

We have now, in this article and the one on the Baconian philosophy, exhibited an outline of the method of investigation, the processes, the starting points and the foundations, of the English philosophy, and contrasted them with those of the other systems of philosophy, in order, that our readers might see, in comparison with all others, the solid foundations of that philosophy which has formed the opinions and the mental habits of the Anglo-Saxon race; and also, that they might have a touchstone of philosophical criticism, by which to test the validity of the reigning speculations of the day. For such is the increasing taste, both in this country and England, for the transcendental speculations of the German and French philosophy, that unless something is done, to check its progress, our old English philosophy will be cut loose from its strong anchor of common sense, and be driven off from its ancient safe moorings, to be dashed and tossed, by every wind of speculation, upon the boundless ocean of skepticism.

ART. IV.—*History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution in* 1789, *to the Restoration of the Bourbons in* 1815. By Archibald Alison F. R. S. E. Vols. 10. W. Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London.

"AMONG the countless multitude whom the extraordinary events of the period had drawn together from every part of Europe, to the French capital, and the brilliancy of this spectacle, (the entrance of the allied armies into Paris, in 1814) had concentrated in one spot, was one young man, who had watched with intense interest the progress of the war from his earliest years, and who, having hurried from his paternal roof in Edinburgh, on the first cessation of hostilities, then conceived the first idea of narrating its events, and amidst its wonders inhaled that ardent spirit, that deep

enthusiasm, which, sustaining him through fourteen subsequent years of travelling, and of study, and fourteen more of composition, has at length realized itself in the present history."—pp. 528–29.

Such is the account which the author himself gives of the circumstances under which the first idea of the work before us was conceived. In penning this paragraph, it is not impossible that Mr. Alison had his eye upon the well known sentence with which Gibbon concludes his history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire. However this may be, the passage just quoted, is for several reasons deserving of notice. From this account of the origin of the work, it is manifest that it is not—like Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon—a hasty production. Though it embraces a period of only twenty-six years, the author has devoted nearly as long a time to the preparation of his history, as Gibbon devoted to the production of the Decline and Fall. Every page of Mr. Alison bears evidence of extensive historical research, and that almost every spot in France, Germany and Italy, which was the scene of any important conflict has been personally, and very minutely examined. In a recent memorial to the British government, on the subject, if we mistake not, of the copyright law, the author states, that to the preparation of this work, he had given a very large portion of the best years of his life; that in order to collect the requisite materials he had travelled six times over the greater part of Continental Europe, and at an expense of more than £4,000. Whether the author will ever obtain any thing like a fair pecuniary remuneration for all this travel and literary toil, may perhaps be doubted; but there can be no question, that he has taken the true way to produce a history worthy of being read by his contemporaries, and one which "posterity will not willingly let die." It should not be forgotten, especially on this side of the Atlantic, that the author of these ten large volumes, has not been a mere historical student; on the contrary he has been all the while, actively engaged in the business of a laborious profession.

The passage already quoted, furnishes, to say the least, presumptive evidence, that the author, with all his patient and laborious research, is not, and could not be an unprejudiced historian, for, though not himself an actor in the scenes he describes, he was, according to his own confession. a deeply interested spectator of them. Mr. Alison is a

British Tory; he was educated in the principles and prejudices of that party; the hatred of the Tory party to the French Revolution was probably more intense than that of any other class of men in Europe; from the very first dawnings of it, before there had been the least outbreak of violence, while the Whigs were hailing it as the precursor of a political millennium, the Tories looked upon it with more than a jealous eye. The reins of government were in the hands of this party, during the whole period of the Revolution, with the exception of a very brief interval, and so far were their prejudices carried, that they never recognised the authority of Napoleon as emperor of France, though it had been recognised by the most absolute and aristocratic governments of Europe. (Alison, p. 492.) Now we do not believe it possible for a man educated in such prejudices, and himself an actual partaker of the strong passions by which Britain was agitated during the progress of the Revolution, and the long subsequent contest, to write an impartial history of such a period. Mr. Alison obviously aims at being a candid historian, and while his work contains many manifestations both of his political and religious prejudices, justice at the same time requires us to say that there are instances of candour, for which, from our knowledge of his political sympathies, we had not looked.

The materials for the history of this remarkable period are very ample, as any one may see, who will be at the pains to examine the list of works quoted: these are every year on the increase by the publication of memoirs and letters; it has been made the theme of historical disquisition by some of the first writers of the age, by men of various nations, and of every shade of political sentiment. But ample as are the materials, it may still be doubted whether these writers do not live too near the period whose wondrous events they describe, to do them and it perfect justice. Besides, we do not believe that we have even yet seen all that the French Revolution was intended to accomplish, though Mr. Alison, in narrating the events of 1814 and '15, repeatedly speaks of it as at an end—"these words," says he, "*signed the death warrant of the Revolution.*" He seems to consider it as just a wild popular outbreak, which the legitimate governments of Europe soon crushed, when once they were heartily united for its destruction. But this view of the case is very wide of the truth. The overthrow

of Napoleon by no means brought the Revolution to an end; the temporary restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, was a very different thing from restoring the French monarchy to its state in 1788. What other period in the whole history of Europe is to be compared with that from 1789 to 1815? In whatever aspect it is viewed, whether we regard the events by which the period is marked, or the characters of the individual actors who appear upon the stage, it is without a parallel; what an infinite variety of talent of the highest order was developed; what vast armies were mustered on the great battle field of Europe; Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, Borodino, Leipsic, Waterloo, cast all other fields of human conflict into the shade; what vast conquests, how soon effected, how soon lost; what an overturning, and setting up of dynasties; what extraordinary elevations from the dunghill to the throne! "In that brief period," says Mr. Alison, "were successively presented the struggles of an ancient monarchy, and the growth of a fierce democracy; the energy of republican valour, and the triumphs of imperial discipline; the pride of barbarian conquest, and the glories of patriotic resistance. In the rapid pages of its history, will be found parallels to the long annals of ancient greatness, the genius of Hannibal, and the passions of Gracchus, the ambition of Cesar, and the splendour of Augustus, the triumphs of Trajan and the disasters of Julian." Now can any one believe that Europe could be the same at the close of such a period, as she was at its commencement? Does it accord with the analogy of past ages, to suppose, that the seed sown during such years as these, could have wholly grown up and produced fruit within a space so short as that which has elapsed since even the first outbreak of the Revolution?

In a single article, it would be out of the question to attempt an analysis of such a work as the one before us. No mere outline of its contents could do any thing like justice to it, nor is it necessary, as the work bids fair to obtain in this country a wide circulation; not wider, however, than it richly merits, notwithstanding the political heresies with which it abounds, and its other, and in our judgment, more serious defects. Long as it is, we believe that no one who begins its perusal, will rest content until the whole has been gone through. The style of Mr. Alison has been rather severely criticised by the Edinburgh Review, and numerous instances are given in which he has violated

some of the plainest rules of good writing. With all its rhetorical defects, and its numerous Scotticisms, the style of the work is eminently attractive; the blemishes which are readily seen by the eye of the critic, will hardly be observed by the ordinary reader, through the absorbing interest of the narrative. Mr. Alison especially excels in his narration of military events; his descriptions of the great battles, by which this period is distinguished, are minute, animated, and most graphic; the reader is at once transported to the field of conflict, and becomes a spectator of the fight; he is enabled to perceive every new phase of the contest, to appreciate every new movement of the contending hosts. In these portions of his work, Mr. Alison far excels any other writer with whom we are acquainted, with the single exception of Napier, whom he frequently quotes, with high and just admiration, and whose descriptions of the battle-field have never yet been equalled, as they never can be surpassed.*

The limits within which we must confine ourselves, forbid our spending longer time upon the mere style of the historian. In a work, such as the one before us, in which the author, besides giving a narrative of events, indulges freely in speculations of his own respecting them, there cannot fail to be much to engage the attention of critics of every class, of military men, political economists, politicians, moralists, and even of theologians. We shall confine our remarks to a few points, which come fairly within our province, as Christian reviewers; points, in regard to which, we think it very manifest that Mr. Alison has been blinded, partly by the prejudices to which reference was had in the outset of this article, and partly, perhaps we should say chiefly, by those which he has imbibed in that self-styled Reformed Catholic Church, of which he is a member, and of which his father was a distinguished minister—the Scottish Episcopal Church.

In the introductory chapter, a comparison—and on the whole a just one—is drawn between the first English revolution, and that which forms the subject of these volumes. These have been sometimes pronounced quite parallel in all their leading and most important features, But, as Mr.

* It is perhaps but proper to mention that these parts of the work have been severely censured, by a writer in a late number of the London Quarterly Review.—Art. Life of Blucher.

Alison well observes, while there certainly are some very striking points of resemblance between them, a close inspection will show that no two events can be more unlike. In both cases indeed a war was waged between the crown and the people which terminated fatally for the former; in both cases, the reigning monarch was dethroned, and brought to the scaffold; in both cases a great military leader, rising from the ranks of the people, attained, by the force of surpassing military genius, the supreme power in the state; in both cases the legislative was overturned by the military power; and in both cases, the exiled royal family was temporarily restored to power; though ultimately and permanently excluded by the nation from the throne. These, it must be owned, are very remarkable points of resemblance between two revolutions occurring in different kingdoms, and at different periods; but, after all, those of which we speak, were totally unlike each other, in the causes which produced them, the objects for which they were begun, the character of the agents by whom they were accomplished, and the results which they ultimately produced.

Of the English revolution, religion was the moving cause. It was the offspring of those religious disputes between the Puritans and the established hierarchy, which, commencing in the reign of Elizabeth, were continued and aggravated during the reigns of her successors of the Stuart family, until the nation was involved in a civil war. In the long and ardent discussions respecting religious liberty, the great principles of civil freedom were in a measure brought to light, or, at all events, were better understood than they had ever been before; but the political and civil contests were regarded by the actors of all parties as quite subordinate to their religious differences. But in the French Revolution, irreligion was one of its most marked features. Not only did the Jacobins, for long (to use a favorite phrase of our author) the most powerful section of the revolutionists, ridicule every species of devotion; the Girondists, though much less bloodthirsty than the former, were quite as hostile to the Christian faith; even the royalists were as irreligious as either. It is a singular fact that no party ever attempted to raise the cry—'the Church is in danger.' All parties, in fact, for a while, seemed to be labouring to efface every vestige of evidence that France was once numbered among Christian nations.

In the English revolution, fierce and bloody as was the

strife, we at no time, from its commencement to its close, discover any of the odious features of a servile war. There were no proscriptions of the vanquished; there was no wanton destruction of property; there were no massacres by an infuriated populace. Even Clarendon, with all his bitter prejudices against the Puritans, acknowledges in emphatic terms the moderation with which they used their victory. Mr. Alison states the fact, but he states it in such a manner, as really to withhold from the Puritans the justice which is peculiarly their due. He would have his reader believe that the Royalists exercised a similar moderation; and that the cause of it in both parties is to be looked for among the peculiar elements of English character. Now to what was it really owing? Certainly not to any thing in the natural temperament of the English people, as Mr. Alison intimates; for the wars of the Roses were quite as cruel, and marked by crimes as atrocious as any recorded in the history of France. The victors in that strife were any thing but moderate in their use of victory. It was the Puritanism of England that taught the masters of England mildness and moderation in the day of triumph. In France, just the reverse of this took place; the storming of the Bastile was the signal for a general invasion of private property in all the provinces, with the exception of La Vendée, and a few other districts; every where almost, the peasantry rose as one man against their landlords, burnt their mansions, plundered their property, and subjected themselves and their families to the most revolting cruelties. The universal cry was not so much *liberty* as *equality;* the contest was not between those of the rich and the poor who favoured monarchy, and those of the rich and the poor who opposed it; it was a war of classes: a strife between the rich and the poor. The simple fact of superiority, whether in the accomplishments of education, the advantages of fortune, or the dignity of birth, was almost certain to render the person who possessed it, the object of popular vengeance, in the districts most infected with the revolutionary mania.

The ultimate, though not the immediate result of the English revolution was the establishment of many of the rights for which the popular party had so long contended. That revolution was consummated in 1688, by the just expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne they had so long disgraced; and the security of the British subject has, ever since that

event, stood upon a very different basis, from what it had been on before. Even during the times of the Commonwealth, the great features of the old constitution of England were preserved; the judiciary was untouched; the laws relative to property were improved, but changed in no other respect; the two great seats of learning were never before in a more healthy condition. The result of the French revolution was a total and radical change affecting every part and parcel of the body politic; though every man not blinded by party prejudice will admit, that the condition of the mass of the nation has been immensely improved.

In pointing out the difference between these two events, Mr. Macaulay very justly observes, that "all the great English revolutions have been conducted by practical statesmen. The French revolution was conducted by mere speculatists. Our constitution has never been so far behind the age as to become the object of aversion to the people. The English revolutions have therefore been undertaken for the purpose of defending, correcting and restoring, never for the mere purpose of destroying. Our countrymen have always, even in times of the greatest excitement, spoken reverently of the form of government under which they lived, and attacked only what they regarded as its corruptions. In the very act of innovating they have constantly appealed to ancient prescription; they have seldom looked abroad for models; they have seldom troubled themselves with Utopian theories; they have not been anxious to prove that liberty is a natural right of man; they have been content to regard it as the lawful birthright of Englishmen. Their social contract is no fiction. It is still extant on the original parchment, sealed with wax which was affixed at Runnymede, and attested by the lordly names of the Marischals and Fitzherberts. Very different was the Constituent Assembly. They had none of our practical skill in the management of affairs. They did not understand how to regulate the order of their own debates, and they thought themselves able to legislate for the whole world. All the past was loathsome to them. All their agreeable associations were connected with the future."*

This spirit which the English nation have always displayed in a greater or less degree, and particularly since the era of the Reformation, was also strikingly manifested in

* Miscellanies, p. 182.

our own American Revolution. This was a civil but not a social revolution; the rights of persons, and the laws of property were to a great extent unchanged; the old constitutions of the colonies were modified, but not fundamentally changed, and in some cases have remained unaltered down to our own times; even the property of known royalists was not confiscated, unless they became active partisans. Who can doubt that it is to the influence of the principles of the Reformation, or in other words, of true religion with which the Puritans were so thoroughly imbued, we are to ascribe the vast difference between our own revolution, and that of France, on the one hand, and that of the South American States on the other?

Into the examination of the causes of the French Revolution, Mr. Alison enters with considerable minuteness, and gives a very clear and satisfactory statement of what may be called its proximate causes. Among these the chief were: 1. The social constitution of France. The distinction between the noble and the base born was carried to a length of which it is almost impossible for us, in this free country, to form a just conception. All offices of any dignity and value in the Church and in every department of the state were confined to the former. There was a barrier in the way of the common man, no matter what his talents, attainments, or moral worth, which was perfectly impassable. It was this abominable distinction that caused the mass of the nation to demand in such terrific tones—"equality." 2. The local burdens imposed upon the peasantry, and the legal services due to their feudal superiors. These were to the last degree oppressive and odious. The most important operations of agriculture were either fettered or wholly prevented by the absurd game laws, which, however were rigidly enforced. The Corvées, or obligations to repair the roads, were also rigidly enforced, to the ruin of vast numbers, every year. "It is vain to attempt a description of the feudal services," says Mr. Alison, "which pressed with so much severity upon industry in every part of France. Their names cannot find parallel words in the English language." 3. The taxation of France was another enormous grievance. From all the heavier imposts the clergy and nobility were exempt, though they possessed two thirds of the landed property; thus leaving the heaviest burdens of the state to be borne by the remaining third. 4. The administration of justice; this was

often partial, venal and infamous. 5. The corruption of the Court, the Church, and the Nobility. 6. The Royal prerogative, which had grown to a height wholly inconsistent with the freedom of the subject. 7. The derangement of the national finances. To these we should no doubt add the influence of our own revolution on the one hand; and the extraordinary spread of infidelity on the other. These, we have already said, may be called the proximate causes of the French Revolution; they immediately preceded it; and there are not a few who imagine that there is no necessity for looking beyond them, for they rendered a revolution inevitable. But the question arises, what brought these causes into existence? What brought France, of all the other kingdoms of Europe, into a condition, whose inevitable result was a social convulsion unequalled in modern, or even ancient times? Mr. Alison has obviously felt the necessity of considering this question; in searching for a solution of this problem, he carries us back to the earliest days of the monarchy, and he thinks he finds it in the original feudal constitution of France. "In this original separation of the different ranks of society, consequent upon the invasion of the Franks into Gaul, is to be found the remote cause of the evils which induced the French Revolution." That the evil influence of feudalism may have reached thus far, we are not at all disposed to deny; we have no doubt that it should be taken into account, in considering all the influences, remote and near, primary and lesser, which combined to produce this extraordinary event. At the same time we are quite as strongly convinced, that no institutions, or laws, or customs merely of a political nature, are to be regarded as the remote originating causes of the French Revolution. We believe that we can point to a moral cause fully adequate to its production. There is no need of going quite so far back as the early days of feudalism: indeed, it seems to us absurd to talk of the feudal system as indirectly giving character and colouring to the French Revolution, for this system prevailed in other parts of Europe, besides France, but no where has it as yet produced similar results; in no other land has it issued in a Reign of Terror. We believe that *the* cause of the French Revolution is to be sought for, as it will be found, in the *ecclesiastical* history of that kingdom. Every intelligent believer in the doctrine of a Divine moral government, we think, will see in the acts of Charles IX. and of

Louis XIV. amply sufficient reasons for just such a revolution as France was made to endure under the reign of Louis XVI. They cannot fail to perceive a moral connexion between the policy of those two monarchs towards the Protestants, or we should rather say, the Christian Church in France, and those proximate causes which gave to the revolution its terribly bloody character. We refer to the St. Bartholomew massacre, and to the revocation of the edict of Nantes; or if, after the example of our author, we should go back to a still earlier period, we might point to the crusades against the Albigenses, by which the dawning light of gospel truth, of pure religion and of civilization, was extinguished by torrents of blood, and a perfect tide of desolation was poured over the most cultivated, and loveliest provinces of France. Here are crimes perpetrated by the monarch and sanctioned by the nation; national crimes unmatched, certainly unsurpassed, by any recorded even in the dark annals of European guilt.

Yet, strange to say, Mr. Alison no where intimates the least connexion between these unexampled national crimes, and the equally unexampled punishment of the revolution. He, indeed, can see clearly enough the connexion between the crimes and the sufferings of the revolution itself; he is very quick to discern the connexion between the terrible crimes of the Reign of Terror, and the horrors of the conscription and the disasters of the Russian and the Peninsular campaigns. Whenever he indulges in moral reflections, as he usually does at the commencement and close of each chapter, he rarely fails to remind his readers of the connexion. We might quote a multitude of passages in which he enlarges upon the proofs afforded of the moral government of God, of the connexion between sin and suffering—national guilt and national punishment,—of the great moral law of retribution by which the world is governed. In the chapter which is specially devoted to the consideration of the causes of the revolution, all that is said on this branch of the subject is contained in the following brief passage. "The Reformation, so important in its consequences in other states, failed of producing any material effects in France from the scanty numbers of the class who were fitted to receive its doctrines. The contest between the contending parties was disgraced by the most inhuman atrocities; the massacre of St. Bartholomew was unparalleled in horror till the revolution arose, and forty thousand persons were

murdered in the different parts of France, in pursuance of the perfidious orders of the court. Nor were the proceedings of the Huguenots more distinguished by moderation or forbearance." We shall have occasion to comment on this statement in reference to the influence of the Reformation in France and the character of the Huguenots, but we quote it here in proof of our position that Mr. Alison has failed to point out, what we cannot but regard as the cause of the revolution. Justice to our author, indeed, requires us to say that in his concluding remarks to his whole work, in which he incidentally refers to the remote causes of the revolution, he observes, "The revocation of the edict of Nantes was the chief remote cause of the French Revolution; and the terrible evils brought upon the nobility and the government, the natural consequence and just retribution of that abominable act of religious oppression. Whence was it that these giants of thought (Voltaire and Rousseau) so vehemently directed their efforts against a religion which in England had so long been supported by the greatest and most profound intellects? Simply because the revocation of the edict of Nantes, while it sent eight hundred thousand innocent citizens into exile, had removed all restraint upon the established church in France; because spiritual tyranny had in consequence become insupportable, and spiritual intolerance universal; because religion, confident in the support of government, had disdained the aid of intellect." p. 1003. Here then is a virtual admission of the correctness of the views we have already expressed, respecting the causes of the French Revolution. But if the revocation of the edict of Nantes was, according to the confession of Mr. Alison himself, "the chief remote cause" of it, why was it passed over without the most distant allusion to it, in a chapter specially devoted to the consideration of the causes of the revolution?

Now though this is not the only fault we have to find with the historian, it is one of the chief. He has failed to point out what, we think, can be clearly shown to have been the moral reason of that extraordinary event, whose history, in other respects, he has so fully given; and while he often refers to the great doctrine of the moral government of the King of kings, he has at the same time neglected to adduce the most remarkable and awful proof of it to be found, we had almost said, in the annals of the world.

Here it seems to us very plain that Mr. Alison has been

blinded by his fondness for Romish Catholicism, just as it is evident from his political reflections on the events of this period, that he had been blinded by his political prejudices. In various parts of his work, there are remarks to be met with, which, though not very consistent with each other, prove that he has no very warm sympathy with the principles of the Reformation. On the other hand, while he admits that the Popish Church of France had fallen into a very corrupt state, as he does in the passage we have already quoted, it is manifest that he regards that corruption as a mere accident, and of course not growing out of the Romish system itself. He everywhere identifies that system with Christianity, and of course represents the bitter enmity manifested against it by the more violent revolutionists, as an exhibition of hostility to Christianity itself. Having some knowledge of what Scottish Episcopalianism is and has been for more than a century, we are not surprised that Mr. Alison should have expressed himself as he has done in reference to the Popish Church of France. Certain it is that his work contains many passages which never could have come from the pen of a sound-hearted Protestant.

Mr. Alison describes the massacre of St. Bartholomew as unparalleled until the revolution—while he represents the latter period as one marked by the perpetration of unexampled crimes, and the endurance of unexampled sufferings. Did our limits permit, we should like to institute a minute comparison between the days of Charles IX. and Louis XIV. and the days of the Jacobins; between the Reign of Persecution under these two monarchs, and the Reign of Terror under Robespierre and his associates: in these two aspects—as periods of crime, and periods of suffering. We believe that such a comparison will demonstrate to every candid mind, that in both these aspects the period of the revolution is not so unexampled as is commonly supposed, and as Mr. Alison uniformly asserts. We shall however, at present, only go into the comparison so far as is sufficient to establish the position before laid down, that the Reign of Persecution was *the* cause of the Reign of Terror.

In comparing these events, we should not forget that we know far more about the nearer of the two, on account of this very proximity to our own times. The supposition is no way improbable that there were many thousands of individual murders during the Bartholomew massacre in 1573,

of which the historians of that day were entirely ignorant, or which were not deemed by them worthy of special record. But taking such accounts as have come down to us, we believe that the averment in reference to the comparative atrocity of the massacres during the reign of Charles IX. and those during the revolution can be fully made out. The whole number of victims murdered at the instigation of this royal butcher, is variously estimated from 30,000 to 100,000. Mr. Alison says 40,000. A contemporary Romish writer and an Archbishop of Paris puts the number down at 100,000. But however the truth may be on this point, it is a recorded fact that in many of the provincial towns not a single Huguenot was left alive. "The heretics," says Capilupi, a writer of that day, "were taken calmly and quietly, one by one, like so many cattle, and fearful and wonderful was the spectacle to see the greater part of them lying with their throats cut, in the Piazza, naked as the beasts." Lest the populace should be excited, the same writer testifies, "another division was thrown into the river, so that in less than two days not a soul remained." A provincial governor writes to the king, "I most deeply regret to hear that any one individual has been saved, not a single one has been so by my means." Another Romish writer declares, that in Paris, every Huguenot that could be found was slain; they were hunted out of all their lurking places, and it was a source of general regret that so many were enabled to make their escape. Allowing, then, the number of revolutionary murders to have been tenfold greater than the number during the Bartholomew massacres,* we still hold that the spirit of the Reign of Persecution (if we may be allowed the phrase) was more ferocious and blood-thirsty than that which prevailed during the worst periods of the revolution. The extracts, just made, clearly prove that the butchery of Charles IX. would have been increased an hundred fold in amount, if the victims could have been found. The design was deliberately formed, and carried out as far as circumstances would allow, of destroying at one blow the whole body of Huguenots in the kingdom; of murdering in cold blood one entire class of subjects, a class then amounting nearly, if not quite to two millions. When was

* Mr. Alison states the whole number of victims to the Revolution, from 1789 to 1815, of course including those who fell during the wars of the Republic and the Empire, at 1,200,000.

any similar design either conceived or attempted during the times of the Revolution? Look again at the unequalled treachery of the act; every thing is done to allay the suspicions of the Protestants; the most distinguished leaders and ornaments of the party are allured, on various yet friendly pretexts, to the capital. As if to remove every ground of suspicion the royal guards are placed in palaces of the most eminent Huguenot nobles, ostensibly for their protection, really for their more certain destruction; the whole confirmed by the royal promise. What scene of the revolution can be adduced to surpass or even equal this instance of treachery and baseness? Mr. Alison particularly dwells upon the horrible circumstances attending the murder of the princess Lamballe, and he would leave his readers to infer that never were the remains of a human being subjected to such indignities. But look at those to which the dead body of the noble Coligny was exposed; his head severed from his body and sent as a trophy to Rome, his body left for three days in the streets, kicked and trampled on by princes of the blood, and then ignominiously hung. And by whom were these atrocities respectively perpetrated? That massacre by which one entire class of subjects was meant to be exterminated, by which France was truly made "drunk with the blood of the saints," was contrived and carried out by priests and princes, by the monarch of France himself; the massacres of the revolution were the work of an ignorant and degraded populace—a populace maddened by ages of oppression, and just then intoxicated by the first draught from the cup of liberty.

Our position is, that the French Revolution, considered as a whole, (and the Reign of Terror in particular,) was the moral consequence of the Reign of Persecution; we believe too, that the crimes committed and the misery created under the latter, are, all things considered, far greater and more atrocious, than those by which the former was marked.

We have noticed one period of the Reign of Persecution. There is another quite as remarkable; more dreadful, in fact, than the preceding one, just as instant death is less dreadful than death by lingering and exquisite torture.* We refer to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—which Mr. Alison himself pronounces to have been "the chief remote cause of the revolution." Without entering into any mi-

* See Laval viii.

nute historical details, we would only say, that the conduct of the Bourbon family towards the Reformed Church of France presents a combination of guilt to which no equal can be found even in the long annals of royal iniquities.

To persecute any class of men on account of their religious opinions, is to adopt a principle as absurd as it is abominable; and whether the persecutor be a Papist or a Protestant, his conduct deserves eternal reprobation. The guilt of the Bourbon family arises not merely from the fact that they persecuted subjects confessedly among the best in the kingdom; that they persecuted even unto exile and death, an immense body of citizens whose morals were pre-eminently pure, whose loyalty was unquestioned and unquestionable; a body of citizens, peaceable, honest, intelligent, enterprising, whose active pursuit of commerce, the arts, literature and science was advancing the best interests of France, and rapidly repairing the dreadful desolations of civil war; a body of citizens claiming as their members not a few of the most distinguished in any rank and profession among the nobles, in the army, the courts of law, the pulpit, and the schools of learning; who could point to not a few merely, but to a long roll of names which have shed an imperishable lustre on the pulpit, the literature, and the arms of France. The attempt to dragoon such a body as the Reformed Church of France into the Romish communion, to banish her pastors; to hunt them like wild beasts, through their native land; to rob them of their people, their families, their posterity; to fine and imprison their parishioners; to send them by thousands to the galleys; to murder thousands more by methods of the most refined cruelty; to forbid, under pain of death, their going to countries where they might enjoy liberty of conscience; to do all this under the pretext of religion, was to descend indeed into an awful depth of guilt. But there was a "lower deep" still, into which the Bourbons descended. It was to this very party of Protestants that the Bourbons were, in no small degree, indebted for their seat upon the throne. Amid the fierce conflicts and ambitious schemes of contending factions—while the fanatical Parisians were ever ready to lend a hand to treasonable ambition, provided their bigotry had the promise of gratification, the Protestants remained unshaken in their attachment to the fundamental law of the kingdom, respecting the succession to the crown. But for the steady loyalty of the Protestants, Louis XIV.

would probably never have had the power to send so many thousands of them into exile.* Here then was the basest and blackest ingratitude. Nor was this all. The most solemn promises were broken; fundamental laws of the kingdom, which had been declared inviolable, were violated; solemn edicts, on the faith of which the Protestants had denuded themselves of all power of resistance, were set aside; they were recalled, not in consequence of some great crisis, on account of some anticipated convulsion, but in a moment of profound peace, when France was internally more united, than she had ever been since the days of Charlemagne. Here, then, were two great national crimes; and if, as Mr. Alison says, (p. 1019) "provision is made for the righteous retribution of nations—signal wickedness cannot fail to work out its own appropriate punishment even in this world"—these two great crimes could not fail to bring down upon their guilty perpetrators a manifestation of divine vengeance as signal as the crimes themselves were unexampled. Though ample space was given for the purpose, there never was the slightest symptom of national repentance for the St. Bartholomew massacre; never was the least effort made to repair the enormous injury inflicted upon the Reformed Church. On the contrary, her members were proscribed and persecuted up to the very moment when the flames of the revolution burst forth; so late as 1752, a Protestant minister was burnt to death for no other offence than that of preaching the gospel! Not one of the laws which sanctioned the atrocities of the reign of Louis XIV. was repealed, until the Bourbon throne was overturned. If ever a house "wore ont the saints of the Most High," it was the house of Bourbon. If ever a kingdom was made "drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus," it was that of France. Space was given her to repent, but she repented not, and the day of vengeance came.

The crimes and the sufferings of the Revolution were, therefore, just the natural result of causes which kings and priests, nobles and parliaments had themselves set in operation; they sowed with their own hands the terrible seed; is it at all wonderful that they were made themselves to reap the terrible harvest? Who can fail to see in the banishment of the Bourbon family, and of the Romish priest-

* Laval viii.

hood, not only a most just, but also a most appropriate punishment for their own perfidious banishment of thousands of the noblest sons of France? Looking at Louis XVI. only as an individual, our sympathies are deeply excited on his behalf, but looking upon him as one of a bloody race, we see, in the terrific tempests amidst which the sun of his house sunk forever, only righteous retribution; a proof that signal wickedness cannot fail to work out its own appropriate punishment, even in this world; a fulfilment of the word of Him who hath said, "I am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate me." The sentence of eternal banishment from the throne of France had gone forth against that house, by which thousands guiltless of a crime had been sent into most cruel exile. Never was a throne more justly forfeited, and though the whole continent, almost, united for their restoration, even the mighty hosts of allied Europe have thus far been, and forever will be, unequal to the work.

We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because we view it as one in regard to which, the work before us is exceedingly defective. Mr. Alison not only fails to point out, or at least to give due prominence, to what we believe to have been the moral cause of the Revolution; but in the remarks which he does make respecting the ecclesiastical history of France, he does great injustice to her once glorious Reformed Church. In a passage already quoted, he declares that the Reformation produced no impression upon the French population, because the nobles were too wicked, and the populace too degraded, to feel the influence of gospel truth. Supposing the fact to be as he states it, we should refer it to a very different cause from that which he names. How could the Reformed Church of France be expected to prosper when she had to contend with such bloody perfidy as that which produced the St. Bartholomew massacre, with such treacherous bigotry as that which revoked the edict of Nantes? But the observation to which we refer, is just of a piece with the flippant remarks which often occur on the pages of historians who profess to be philosophical, especially when they speak of the church and of religion. The statement of Mr. Alison is true neither in theory nor in fact. How absurd to represent France of the sixteenth century, as so wicked and degraded as to be beyond the reach of the influences of that gos-

pel which is the "wisdom of God and the power of God" unto the regeneration of the world? that gospel, which has, within the space of a single generation, raised up the degraded cannibals of the southern seas, to the dignity of a Christian nation! Nor is the statement true in fact; for within sixty years after the commencement of the Reformation there were no less than two thousand reformed churches in France; at least two millions, and in some parts of the kingdom (e. g. Bearn) the entire population of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, had become Protestants. Indeed, for a while it was a question if France would not become wholly lost to the Romish See. If the moral soil of France had been so ill adapted to receive the seeds of the Reformation; if it had been impossible for the Reformed Church to exert any material influence on the mass of the French population, and the number of her members had been so insignificant, why was the massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve deemed necessary; why the peculiar exultation of the Roman Pontiff, on receiving the news of that atrocity; why the measures of extermination adopted by Louis XIV. in 1685, and renewed by Louis XV. in 1724; if the mere overflowings of the stream were sufficient to enrich nearly all the Protestant kingdoms of Europe, what must the stream itself have been? The Reformed Church encountered in Spain and Austria, a bigotry as intense as that by which the Bourbons were enslaved; but no where did she meet with perfidy like that of which they were guilty.

We are no apologists for the bloody actors of the French Revolution; we detest both the actors and their crimes; but we do not believe them to have been the *unexampled* monsters they are often described to be. Even Mr. Alison admits as much in drawing their individual portraits. We can find their parallels in the annals of France. Charles IX. and Louis XIV. committed quite as many murders as Robespierre, Danton, and their associates. Charles IX. and Louis XIV., were the authors of more misery to France, than all the revolutionists put together. The Reign of Terror was an awful, yet a brief period; but through how many long, long years did the crusades, and dragonades of Louis extend. The worst crimes of the former were committed by a populace which kings and priests had themselves degraded and debased; by a populace maddened for a moment, but soon and permanently

sobered; the crimes during the Reign of Persecution, were perpetrated by the highest orders, the constituted authorities of the kingdom, and were persisted in for generations.

"The great sin of the French Revolution," says Mr. Alison, (x. 1007) "was the confiscation of the estates of the church." The limits within which we must confine ourselves, will not allow of our entering so fully into the consideration of this statement as we could wish, and also of the more serious charge of the same nature which he brings against the Reformation. We shall only say, in reference to the confiscation of the estates of the French popish church, that any one who looks without prejudice at the vastness of those estates, must conclude that they were dishonestly obtained; and that even if honestly got, the purity of the church herself imperatively demanded that these estates should be used for some better purpose than the maintenance of idle abbés and prelates, in a style of princely splendour. "The church!" says Carlyle, "what a word was there; richer than Golconda, and the treasures of the world." The revenues of the French church, says Mr. Alison, (i. 128) derived from tithes alone, amounted to 130,000,000 of francs annually; and this was exclusive of her landed possessions, which embraced nearly one half of the kingdom. Is it possible that this vast wealth could have been obtained by justifiable means? It should also be remembered that the confiscation of the property of the church was concurred in by the court party, and was in fact their work. And how was it at the Reformation? Mr. Alison says that "the great sin of the Reformation was the confiscation of so large a portion of the property of the church for the aggrandizement of temporal ambition and the enriching of the nobility, who had taken part in the struggle." He does not hesitate to say, that "almost all the social evils under which Great Britain is at present labouring may be ascribed to this fatal and most iniquitous spoiliation under the mask of religion, and of the patrimony of the poor, on the occasion of the Reformation." (x. 1009.) He must have read the history of the Church and of the English Poor Laws to very little purpose, else he never could have made such a statement. How is the Reformation to be charged with this sin, when the Reformers, both in Germany and Scotland, (where the greatest spoiliation took place) bitterly denounced it? Knox laboured all his days to get not only a suitable provision for the church,

but also a school in every parish, a college in every town, a university in every city, besides hospitals for the sick and indigent. Did the Reformation convert superstitious nobles into avaricious ones? Has the English Church had reason to complain of poverty, even since the Reformation? Was the "patrimony of the poor," as Mr. Alison calls it, *ever* used for the relief of the poor? Did not the history of the church for ages prior to the Reformation prove beyond all reasonable doubt that she was a very unfit trustee of so vast a patrimony?

We have already adverted to the strong antipathy which Mr. Alison manifests to the principles of democracy. He constantly asserts that the wars of the Republic and also of the Empire were not owing to the ambition of Napoleon, but were just the natural result of that democratic spirit by which the French people were infected. He fortifies himself in this opinion by the declaration of Napoleon to the same purpose. That Napoleon should say so is not surprising; it was a convenient cover for his own insatiable ambition. This history itself furnishes the most decisive proof of the falseness of this opinion. How can it be true, when the French people, as the historian himself relates, though ardently attached to Napoleon, and the army which adored him, were heartily sick of his incessant warfare? Never had man a finer opportunity of building up a magnificent empire, and of founding a glorious dynasty, than Napoleon Buonaparte on the field of Jena, or on the raft of Tilsit. The rock on which he split was selfish disregard of the rights of the nations he overran, and an insane infatuation as to his own invincible powers.

Though there is much in these volumes in which we cannot concur, we think the extensive circulation of the work on many accounts exceedingly desirable. We, therefore, are glad to see that the enterprising firm of the Harpers have already commenced its republication in this country, at a price which is almost incredibly small.

ART. V.—*Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.* Presented May, 1842. Philadelphia.

THE report before us, upon being presented to the General Assembly, drew from that body a vote of approbation, in regard to the wisdom and energy manifested by the Board, and a resolution, that the churches in our connexiou which have not made collections, be enjoined to do so in order to perfect its endowment. It is in our humble measure to further the objects intended by these acts, that we call the attention of our readers to this institution and its labours.

To furnish our own congregations with religious books which shall contain the whole system of faith, without omission or modification; to defend to the utmost by every scriptural weapon the tenets for which our fathers suffered exile and death; to proclaim to the world at large, by works of ability, the grand peculiarities of the Calvinistic scheme; to preserve the invaluable monuments of Reformed Theology; and to send abroad a sacred literature for our sons and daughters; these are objects so great as scarcely to need a word of vindication. And to the matter of the project, we are not aware that distinct opposition has been made. Yet such is the supineness of our church, in respect to its own real interests, and such the inadvertency of the public, and even of many pastors, to the work which is in progress, that there are whole districts, and those the most needy, into which these cheap, numerous and excellent publications have scarcely gained an entrance. If ministers of the gospel and ruling elders, if sabbath-school teachers and parents, could only be made to set a proper estimate on this auxiliary to their stated efforts in communicating divine truth, the sales of the Board as well as its collections, would be quadrupled without delay.

During the year ending in May, 1842, the amount of publication was thirty-three volumes, or, in the more exact but less tangible mode of rating it, 15,277,000 pages, 4,400,500 pages of new editions from stereotype works, besides 1,027,000 pages of Catechisms and Tracts, exceeding the amount of the previous year by more than a million and a half of pages.

From the Report of the Treasurer, it appears that he received in payment of subscriptions, $7,268 60; in donations and from the sale of books, $15,335 91; making in all $22,594 51; and that he expended $24,543 16.

We are persuaded that one chief cause of the indifference manifested by some of our brethren to the work of this Board exists in sheer inattention to the publications which they have set forth, and that nothing would be necessary towards awakening an interest, but a fair examination of these valuable fruits. For surely we do not overrate the intelligence and piety of our people, when we say that they know too well how to rate standard religious books, to see these fairly spread before their eyes, without satisfaction and approval. We have therefore determined to give at length a catalogue of the publications, even at the risk of offering what has the semblance of an advertising-sheet. In the notices which we shall add upon many of them, remarks will occur, which we trust may have an interest altogether independent of the present subject. Of many works we shall think it needless to say a word of commendation; in a few instances we shall merely name books which we have not had opportunity to examine; and in every case, where we give a favourable judgment, it will be without consultation with the author or editor. If our observations bear the appearance of lavish praise, we beg it to be observed, that the books have been selected for their merit, and not indiscriminately gathered from a publisher's catalogue; that most of them are standard works, which have long since received the stamp of public favour; that in point of orthodoxy every one of them has been selected with the strictest reference to our ecclesiastical formularies. The reader will understand our meaning, when he finds so large a proportion of them honoured with the names of such men as Calvin and the British Reformers, Daillé, Owen, Baxter, Charnock, Flavel, Goodwin, Janeway, Traill, Brooks, Vincent, Fleming, Boston, Halyburton, Guthrie, Willison, Dickinson, Cecil, Scott, Burder, McCrie, Thornton and Stevenson. After these preliminaries, we proceed to a catalogue of the works published up to this time, and ask for it the serious attention of every reader.

1. The way of Salvation, familiarly explained, in a conversation between a Father and his Children. 32mo.

—The infinite importance of the subject makes this perspicuous but instructive treatise a suitable introduction to the series.

2. The Mute Christian under the Smarting Rod; with sovereign antidotes for every case. By the Rev. Thomas Brooks. 18mo.—Brooks was a Puritan minister, ejected from St. Mary, Fish-street. He died in 1680. His numerous works are in that homely, quaint, sparkling style, full of every-day comparisons and choice scriptures, which delighted our ancestors, and amidst every literary revolution still delight the common mind. These are the writers, after all, who fulfil the proverbial rule, to 'think with the wise, and speak with the vulgar.'

3. The Great Concern of Salvation. By the Rev. Thomas Halyburton. Abridged for the Board. 18mo.—Whatever comes from the pen of Halyburton is remarkable for scrupulously sound theology, and profound acquaintance with experimental piety.

4. Christian Consistency, or the connexion between experimental and practical Religion. Designed for young persons. By the Rev. E. Mannering. 18mo.

5. Self-Employment in Secret, containing an Inquiry into the state of the Soul; thoughts upon Painful Afflictions; Memorials for Practice. By the Rev. John Corbet. 18mo. —A well-known book, which has been long found a useful aid in self-examination and closet-religion.

6. A Treatise on the Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin. With explanatory notes. By the Rev. H. A. Boardman. 18mo.—This is one of the original works of the Board, which has given universal satisfaction, being a sound, comprehensive and yet popular view of this contested point.

7. The Pleasures of Religion. By the Rev. Henry Forster Burder. D. D. Price 45 cents.

8. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and its consequences to the Protestant Churches of France and Italy; containing Memoirs of some of the sufferers in the Persecution attending that event. 18mo.—Every thing which relates to our Calvinistic predecessors in suffering France ought to be interesting to Presbyterians. This little volume, though slightly put together, certainly has much to awaken such an interest.

9. The Utility and Importance of Creeds and Confessions: addressed particularly to candidates for the ministry. By

Samuel Miller, D. D. 18mo.—A treatise which may be quite as useful to private Christians, who love their church, and would understand the ground of their common profession.

10. Life of John Knox, the Scottish Reformer. Abridged for the Board, from McCrie's Life of Knox. 18mo. Price 45 cents.—A remark occurs to us here which may be applied as justly to all the short biographies of this series. They are not intended to supersede the more extensive works which circulate in the hands of clergymen and persons of wealth and leisure; but are books for the young, for the busy, and for the poor. They are proper for Sunday schools, as they carry more interest to the youthful mind than most of the story books of the age. Instead of repeating this observation under every item, let us say once for all, we can do few things better for our church, than to acquaint our children with the doctrines, the piety and the sufferings of the great and good whose faith we follow. Such were Knox, Zwingle, Melville, the Covenanters, Burn, Blackader, Trosse, Owen, Henry, Buchanan, Hervey, Scott, and Rodgers. It is a department in which we trust our Board will do much more, with a particular reference to the wants of our children.

11. Life of Captain James Wilson. Containing an account of his residence in India, his conversion to Christianity; his missionary voyage to the South seas, and his peaceful death. Abridged. 18mo.—In the midst of very striking incidents, this book contains an easy and satisfactory defence of some Calvinistic tenets, which are commonly impugned.

12. Letters to an Anxious Inquirer, designed to relieve the difficulties of a friend under serious impressions. By T. Charlton Henry, D. D., with a Biographical Sketch and Portrait of the Author. 18mo.—These letters have been widely circulated, and it is believed have been blessed to the end contemplated by their pious and lamented author.

13. A Threefold Cord; or a Precept, Promise, and Prayer, from the Holy Scriptures for every day in the year. 32mo.

14. The Duties and Responsibilities of the Pastoral Office. Being an Abridgment of the Reformed Pastor, by the Rev. Richard Baxter. 18mo.—We cannot believe that any man, who has ever been inwardly called to the ministry, can read the Reformed Pastor, without trembling and awakened

resolution. Its eloquence is piercing, and many a pastor may say, as Sir Philip Sydney of Chevy-chace, 'I never read it, that I found not my heart more moved than with a trumpet.' To show the superiority of native, Anglo-Saxon idiom, in reaching the inmost soul, we would always point to Richard Baxter. One of his straight-forward sentences, which a plowman cannot misunderstand, shall carry away captive the heart, while whole discourses of wordy, balanced, latinized rhetoric are playing fruitlessly about the ear.

15. The Offices of Christ, abridged from the original work of the Rev. George Stevenson, by William S. Plumer, D. D. 18mo.—A valuable work, from an able and orthodox living writer; it is both didactic and practical.

16. The Divine Purpose, displayed in the works of Providence and Grace. In a series of Twenty Letters, addressed to an inquiring Friend. By John Matthews, D. D. 18mo.—The doctrine of Divine Decrees is here proposed in a perspicuous manner, and defended against the vulgar objections, by a train of argument which is at once original and engaging.

17. Presbyterianism the truly primitive and apostolical Constitution of the Church of Christ; and Infant Baptism scriptural and reasonable, and Baptism by Sprinkling or Affusion the most suitable and edifying mode. By Samuel Miller, D. D. 12mo.—Portable antidotes to the erroneous suggestions which anti-Presbyterians are perpetually throwing into the minds of our brethren in seasons of religious inquiry.

18. The Spirit of Prayer. By the Rev. Nathaniel Vincent. 32mo. Vincent was a master of arts of Magdalene College, Oxford. He was ejected from Lanley Marsh, Bucks. He was a popular minister, who sometimes preached when muskets were presented at him, and was sometimes pulled out of the pulpit by his hair. The account of his trials, imprisonment and other sufferings would fill many pages. He died in 1697, aged 53. His works were numerous: the one before us is instructive and moving.

19. The Spruce Street Lectures, delivered by several clergymen, during the years 1831—'32. 12mo.

20. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, &c.

21. A Guide to Christian Communicants, in the Exercise of Self-Examination. By the Rev. William Traill. 32mo. —The works of Traill were greatly prized among our forefathers, for their plainness, faithfulness and spirituality.

22. A Friendly Visit to the House of Mourning; by the Rev. Richard Cecil. 32mo.—Among uninspired productions we know of none which we would more readily select to carry to the house of bereavement.

23. Discourses on Regeneration, abridged. By the Rev. Stephen Charnock. 12mo.—Can it be necessary to recommend anything from Charnock? His works stand on the same shelf with those of Owen, Manton, Jacomb, Bates, Howe, and Flavel. His copious citation of scripture, exuberant metaphor, brisk antithesis, and safe theology, made him a great favourite in old Presbyterian families.

24. Love to Christ, chiefly extracted from the True Christian's Love of the unseen Christ, By Thomas Vincent. 32mo.

25. 26. 27. The Life of Major General Andrew Burn, of the Royal Marines. 18mo.—Life of Lieut. Colonel Blackader. 18mo. Life of the Rev. George Trosse, of Exeter, England. 18mo.—These pieces of biography may be safely recommended.

28. Scripture Portions for the Afflicted, especially the Sick; with reflections from various authors. 18mo.

29. The Destruction of Jerusalem, an irresistible proof of the Divine origin of Christianity. 18mo.

30. The Christian's Great Interest; or the trial of a saving interest in Christ, and the way to attain it. By the Rev. William Guthrie, minister at New Kilmarnock, Scotland, 1605. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers. 18mo.—In the minds of many readers the very name of this little work is associated with their first gracious exercises; for it is one of the number which used to circulate from cottage to cottage among Scottish Presbyterians. It has the imprimatur of successive generations.

34. A Blow at the Root of Antinomianism, by the Rev. John Flavel. 32 mo.

35. The Fulfilling of the Scriptures, for confirming believers and convincing unbelievers, by the Rev. Robert Fleming. Abridged from the third edition. 18mo.—The title of this famous old Scotch work would not inform the reader that it is fraught with narratives of the wonderful works of grace in Scotland, during and after the Reformation period. It is one of the rare instances of an abridgment better than the original.

36. Lime Street Lectures; a Defence of some of the

important doctrines of the Gospel, in twenty-six sermons, by several eminent Divines. 8vo. The doctrines here defended are those which distinguish our belief, and the work has been so conducted as to make this already a standard work in our churches.

37. The Novelty of Popery, and the Antiquity of the Religion of Protestants, proved by Scripture and History. 12mo.—This is a reprint from the Cripplegate Lectures, a voluminous work beyond the reach of most readers.

38. 39. 40. 41. A Series of Tracts, on the Doctrines, Order and Polity of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, embracing several on practical subjects, in two volumes. 12mo.—The Form of Government, the Discipline and Directory for Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. 18mo.—The Larger Catechism. 18mo.—The Psalms and Hymns, adapted to public worship, and approved by the General Assembly. 32mo. 24mo. and 12mo.

42. The Saints' Encouragement to Diligence in Christ's Service, by the Rev. James Janeway. 18mo.—There were five Janeways, brothers, sons of an excellent minister of Herefordshire. The author of this good little book was greatly persecuted by the church party. He died in 1674. If his 'Token for Children,' somewhat modified, should also be published, it would be a welcome gift in many a Christian family.

43. The Return of Prayers. By Thomas Goodwin, D. D. 32mo.—Dr. Goodwin was one of the most learned and laborious of the Non-conformists. He was an Oxonian, and sometime president of Magdalene College, from which he was ejected. He died in London, 1679, aged 80, in full assurance of hope and signal triumph. His style is heavy. His theology is rated as supralapsarian. The work here republished is on Ps. lxxxv. 8, and treats of answers to prayer.

44. The Mystery of Godliness; wherein the Deity of Christ is proved, upon no other evidence than the Word of God, and with no other view than for the salvation of men. By the Rev. Thomas Bradbury. 12mo. Two volumes—.A work of which the reputation is fully established.

45. Sketches of Church History; comprising a regular series of the most important and interesting events in the History of the Church, from the birth of Christ to the Nine-

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> Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie
> The headless martyrs of the Covenant,
> Slain by compatriot Protestants, that draw
> From councils, senseless as intolerant,
> Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword-law;
> But who would force the Soul, tilts with a straw
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the news of the day, but with thousands of jests and stories, that this one species of reading affords the sole study of multitudes. Even religious and educated men spend a considerable portion of every day over these incoherent and unedifying productions. Add to these the novels and romances of every degree, the voyages and travels which must now assume the gay and trifling manner, and the mere curiosities of literature, and we need not wonder that a taste for graver topics should be declining. Religion itself is repulsive to the carnal mind, and the more acknowledged interests of politics and trade are attractive and exciting.

In this condition of things, there are those who would so far yield to the demand of public taste, as to clothe even saving truth in the garb of its competitors, cut down the great treatises of our forefathers to diminutive sketches, and present their arguments enervated and modernized in the embellishments of extemporaneous illustration, if not of fiction. Such is not our view of what the age demands. The public taste is corrupt, and must not be parleyed with, but reformed. The history of religious reading among our ancestors proves that there may be widely diffused even among the busy and the youthful a taste for solid discussion. This is evident from the productions of the English press during the seventeenth century. When the numerous folios and quartos of Owen, Howe and Manton came fresh from the publisher, they were sought with avidity, and became the chief reading in all Christian families. The current literature was not merely religious, but theological; young men and maidens left their work to pore over dissertations on the profoundest topics in divinity. It was not a matter of constraint, but of pleasure. They had been bred to feel their intimate concern with the things of the eternal world. Their family discourse, the catechizings, and the repetition of sermons which was a constant practice, fostered this disposition. When they went abroad, they resorted for excitement, not to the theatre, the opera, or the public lecture, but to the preaching of the word, and this preaching was of such a kind as to accustom their minds to rigid argument, and the continuous exposition of scripture. Our desire would be in some degree to restore this mode of education. For the mind, even of the young, may be reached by other approaches than those of humour and fiction. There is such a thing as intellectual interest, in the

awakened quest of truth and the conduct of logical discourse, and there is such a thing as spiritual interest in the unparalleled glories of grace and eternity. He who has ever spent years in familiarity with great theological works needs no prompting on this subject, and can testify how much deeper as well as purer is the interest thus excited than that produced by the periodical floods of vapidity which excite curiosity only to disappoint and cloy. All this is true, even on the supposition that religious truth is presented without any appeal to imagination or taste. But in the age of which we have been speaking, as in our own, there were invention, and fancy, and genius, and these, turned into a religious channel, gave the charm of literature to the sanctities of religion. It was this which produced the Paradise Lost, the Pilgrim's Progress, and the Saint's Rest. Making allowance for accidental peculiarities of the age and the party, the works of the Non-conformists present innumerable examples of composition bearing the highest stamp of merit. "Their style," says Erskine, "reminds us of the light which streams through the stained and storied windows of an ancient cathedral. It is not light merely, but light modified by the rich hues, and the quaint forms, and the various incidents of the pictured medium through which it passes; so these venerable worthies do not merely give us truth, but truth in its historical application to the various struggles and difficulties, and dejections, of their strangely chequered lives."

To render religious literature attractive, it must fall into the hands of great writers, and we should pray that God would impress the greatest minds into this service, in which they may find infinite scope. While we would repudiate all meretricious embellishments, we claim for the cause the mightiest exertions of intellect and learning. It is for this reason that we feel a jealousy when we see ministers of commanding powers turning aside to spend their strength on works of mere human science or popular literature, as if they could find no room for their genius within the sacred courts. To each of these we are ever disposed to cry, in behalf of the church, *Utinam noster esses!* What may be accomplished, on the minds of common readers, by a few such spirits in a single age, may be seen in the cases of Hall, Foster, Chalmers, Douglas of Cavers, Isaac Taylor and Merle d'Aubigné.

Art. VI.—*The Doctrines of Divine Revelation, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, exhibited, illustrated, and vindicated. Designed for the use of Christians generally, and for young men preparing for the Gospel ministry, in particular.* By Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, D. D. Philadelphia: James Kay, Jun. & Brother. Pittsburg: C. H. Kay, & Co. 8vo. pp. 394.

We learn from the preface that this work contains the doctrines "which are generally believed and taught in the German Reformed Church" in this country; the doctrines embraced in the Heidelberg catechism, the symbolical book of that church. All the topics usually embraced in a system of theology are here presented, in a remarkably simple and perspicuous manner; and, as far as our examination has extended, in all essential points, in strict accordance with the excellent catechetical symbol above mentioned. We sincerely rejoice in the evidence afforded by this volume of the prevalence of sound doctrine among our brethren of the German church, and that so clear a compend of the faith has been prepared for the use of the candidates for the ministry in that interesting communion.

A Grammar of the German Language. By George Henry Noehden, LL. D. From the eighth London edition, By Rev. C. H. F. Bialloblotsky, with alterations and large additions, chiefly from the Grammars of Dr. Beeker. By Rev. Barmas Sears, D. D., President of the Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. New York: Dayton and Newman. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, and others. Philadelphia: Perkins and Purves. 1842. pp. 452.

Dr. Sears has in so many places changed the grammar of Noehden, and has introduced so much new matter from the more recent German grammarians, as to render it doubtful whether the name of the original author ought to be retained. The work, however, is so much increased in value, that we are little concerned by what name it may be called. It is probably the best grammar of the German Language accessible to the American student.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Perfection stated and defended: with a critical and historical examination of the controversy, both ancient and modern. Also, practical illustrations and advices. In a Series of Lec-

tures. By Rev. George Peck, D. D. New York: Lane and Sandford, for the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1842. pp. 474.

The research, ability, and Christian temper manifested in this book are highly creditable to the author, and in connexion with the importance of the subject discussed, entitle the work to a very respectful consideration. We are sorry that our engagements prevent any proper review of the doctrine here advocated or of the arguments by which it is sustained. We regret this the more because the author has noticed at some length the articles on Perfectionism which have appeared in this Journal. We hope on a future occasion to have the opportunity to state more at length our impressions of this work.

The Vanity and Glory of Man. A Sermon, preached in the Chapel of the South Carolina College. On the 9th of October, 1842. *On occason of the death of Benjamin R. Maybin, a Member of the Freshman Class.* By James H. Thornwell, Professor of Sacred Literature and Evidences of Christianity. Columbia: 1842.

Of all publications, sermons seem to be the least in demand, and the least read, in our day. Even those discourses which have been heard, when delivered from the pulpit, with an admiration bordering on rapture, when the excitement of the occasion is gone by, and they are perused in print, often appear vapid, or at least, uninteresting. There exists a certain medium of sympathy between a public speaker and his audience, which causes every thing which he utters, when he strikes on the string which vibrates in unison between him and them, to be received, not only with approbation, but with delight. Orators, whose aim is applause, ought never, therefore, to permit their admired discourses to appear in print. The observations now made, we would observe, have no respect to the elaborate discourse, the title of which is prefixed to this notice. Though called a "sermon," it rather deserves the name of a "treatise," in which there is an able discussion of the first principles of morals; of the dignity and immortality of the soul; of the more prominent features of the Christian system, and of the final destiny of man. The only wonder is, that any one should ever have thought of including so much profound thought and learned discussion in a funeral sermon, addressed to under-graduates. Thus the thing struck us at first view;

but on reflection, we were led more justly to appreciate the motives of Professor Thornwell, in pursuing the course which he did. He, if we are rightly informed, has a kind of pastoral superintendence over the youth who frequent the South Carolina college; and finding their minds unusually serious and susceptible, under the bereaving dispensation of Providence by which one of their number had been snatched away in the morning of life, he judged it more important to inculcate on their tender minds important truth, than merely to increase their sympathetic feelings, by an eloquent and pathetic discourse. We would still say, however, that if all that is here printed was delivered, on the occasion mentioned, at one hearing, the discourse was unreasonably long for any common audience; but, possibly, if we were informed of the manner in which it was heard, we should find that the attention of the audience was kept up through the whole, without any appearance of weariness. The sermon under consideration fills sixty-four closely printed octavo pages, and is accompanied with notes.

We rose from the perusal of Professor Thornwell's sermon with an increased estimation of his talents as a writer. His style, without being ambitious, is vigorous, and often elegant; and though we do not agree with him in all the opinions which he expresses yet in the main, he appears to us to be correct in his principles; and seems to have fallen into a channel of thought, which, if pursued, will guide him to just views of the most important truths in morals and religion. The course of his reading, also, is judicious, if those books from which he has made citations, may be considered as a specimen of his favourite authors. We hope that Professor Thornwell is preparing himself to be useful to the public, in his future writings.

The press is now, and will hereafter be the great vehicle through which knowledge must be communicated to the multitude. Books of all kinds are multiplied, and periodicals of every description are poured forth upon the public. The sentiments of most who read are formed from the sheets which they peruse; and whilst there is so much put into circulation calculated to poison or misdirect the public mind, it is exceedingly desirable that many qualified persons should devote their time principally to preparing matter for the press, adapted to our community, and the age in which we live. It is to be lamented that many who are capable

of writing well, place their light under a bushel, and, actuated by a false modesty, decline publishing any thing. It is true, that it requires a combination of qualifications to rise to much eminence as an author; but many who cannot aspire to this, might prepare tracts, or write paragraphs for the weekly papers, which would have, though a transient, yet a salutary impression on the minds of the people. and might serve to counteract, in some degree, the floods of deleterious, or trifling matter, which are constantly issuing from the press.

Valedictory Discourse. By the Rev. J. Johns, D. D. Delivered in Christ Church, Baltimore, October 3, 1842. Published by the request of the Vestry. Baltimore: N. Hickman. pp. 24.

The circumstances under which this sermon was delivered give it peculiar interest. Dr. Johns had for fourteen years been the faithful and successful pastor of Christ church, Baltimore, when he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese of Virginia. While it was natural for him to call his people to witness that he had not shunned to declare unto them the whole counsel of God, it was important that the church should have a distinct avowal of the doctrines which he meant to preach, and the principles on which he intended to act, in the more enlarged sphere on which he was about to enter. Under ordinary circumstances the doctrines and ecclesiastical principles of a minister of the gospel, may be inferred from his ecclesiastical connexions; but it is notorious that, at the present time, there are two parties in the episcopal church, widely differing from each other, on these points; and all the friends of religion are deeply interested in knowing to which of these parties every man distinguished by talents or office avows his adherence. As Dr. Johns holds a high rank both for talents and station, there are hundreds and thousands who will read this sermon with avidity, to learn on which side he means to throw his influence. And there is none who reads, that will be disappointed. It is no uncertain, or ambiguous response which is here rendered to the inquirer; but an open, manly, and full avowal of evangelical doctrine and catholic principles,

He reminds his people that in entering on his duties as Rector of that congregation he had selected, as the standing motto of his ministry, the declaration of Paul, "we preach

Christ and him crucified," and he calls them to witness that he had been faithful to the pledge then given; that in his endeavours to convince his hearers of sin, to direct the anxious inquirer, to console the believer, to excite to the performance of good works, to sustain the dying child of God, he had "preached Jesus Christ—the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the centre and circumference of the gospel." May the blessing of God rest on him and on every other man, by whatever name he may be called, who can witness such a confession!

With regard to the church, he avows, what every man would expect him to avow, that he regards the episcopal organization as being "in conformity with the apostolic model; that this organization is essential to the completeness of a Christian church, and best adapted to the ends of the gospel; and for these reasons ought to be maintained. But that this organization is essential to the being of a church, so that under no circumstances of exigency can one exist without it, and that therefore all societies, not in connexion with a Bishop episcopally consecrated, are to be regarded as no part of the universal church,—their ecclesiastical officers intruders, their ordinances invalid, and the members of such societies as having no hope of salvation, but in what are called the uncovenanted mercies of God, we do not hold, and have never taught. Where the great fundamental truths of Christianity are maintained, Christ Jesus loved in sincerity, and the fruits of the Spirit are seen in a holy walk and conversation, though we may lament any defectiveness which exists in other particulars, and wish it were corrected, yet we neither dare nor desire to say of such that they are not of the blessed company of faithful people—'members of the mystical body of Christ.'" Again we say, may the blessing of God rest on every man, who, although he prefers his own ecclesiastical organization, still holds to "the communion of saints" in the scriptural sense of that expression. We follow Dr. Johns to his new field of labour, not only with the warm affection of an early and long cherished friendship, but with the confidence and respect due to a faithful servant of our common Lord, and with ardent prayers for his success in gathering many wanderers to the shepherd and bishop of our souls.

The Banner Unfurled: a Sermon Preached at the dedication of the Presbyterian Church on Penn Square,

Philadelphia, December 31, 1842. By the Rev. Willis Lord, Pastor of the Church. Philadelphia: William B. Martien. 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.

The erection of an edifice for the worship of God, is always matter of rejoicing and congratulation. We, therefore, cordially sympathize with the Reverend author of this discourse in the pleasure with which he met the people of his charge on the occasion on which it was delivered. There is much, too, to commend in the discourse itself. Its literary taste, and its Christian spirit are both such that we do not wonder that a copy of it was solicited for the press.

We are less pleased with the *prayer* with which the sermon closes, than with any other part of the publication. Not that we object to devotional composition, when happily exerted, and wisely employed. On the contrary we would wish that it were more frequent than it is. But some of the language of this prayer, we confess, has not impressed us pleasantly. There is no doctrine of the Bible that we more fully believe, or more highly appreciate, than the doctrine of the Trinity; yet we should have been better satisfied if our respected and beloved brother had employed simple scriptural language in expressing that glorious and incomprehensible mystery. Further; once in the body of the sermon, and twice in the closing prayer, he has spoken of "consecrating" the pulpit, the "audience room," &c. This might pass very well, as a figure of speech, were it not connected with a discourse in which the "Presbyterian banner" is professedly, and in general, very happily "unfurled." Presbyterians speak of "dedicating" a house of worship to God, just as a man may dedicate a sum of money, or any other property, individually or jointly possessed, to a sacred use; without supposing that the money is made intrinsically holy. We have no doubt that the word "consecration" is often used, as it evidently is by our author, to express a similar and unexceptionable meaning. But our Puritan fathers, adverting to the superstitious notions attached by the Papists, and by some Protestants who too much resemble Papists, to the consecration of churches, church yards, sacramental vessels, &c., have thought it best to avoid a language so peculiarly liable to abuse.

The New Englander. Vol. I. No. 1. *January*, 1843. Wilder & Co., Boston. David Schenck, New York. A H. Maltby, New Haven. John Paine, Hartford. 8vo. pp. 152.

Such is the title of a new quarterly publication, issued from New Haven, under the same auspices, we may surmise, as the late Christian Spectator. The prefatory article, in a survey of contemporary works, gives the following salutation to our labours.

"The Biblical Repertory, and Princeton Review, though chiefly occupied with ecclesiastical and theological subjects, is widely different in aim and conduct from the work* which we have just been commending. It is the organ of the Princeton party in the Old School section of the Presbyterian Church. By no means deficient in learning, though sometimes blundering in logic; especially at home, as it ought to be, in the various erudition of theology; fluent in style, and rarely tasking the reader by any argument requiring profound thought or close attention; frequently brilliant in its wit, and frequently abusive: contemptuous in its manners, as might be expected of those who have learned to tremble at the objurgations of ecclesiastical dictators; it is a work likely to be read by those into whose hands it may fall. When it heaps ridicule upon the unfortunate Bishop Doane, and his brother champions of Puseyism, its readers, greatly multiplied for the occasion, laugh till laughter produces tears, and till amusement at the folly of prelate, priest and deacon, ends in something like compassion for their sufferings. Accustomed to receive its theology by tradition from the elders, and not daring to presume that there can be any improvement on the triangles of Gomar and Turretin, it is incapable of sympathy with the devout and earnest endeavors of American theology, from the days of the elder Edwards through the bright line of his successors, to 'justify the ways of God to men,' and to place the doctrines and claims of the evangelical system, as the scriptures place them, in that clear light, in which the soul, conscious of its own nature and of its guilt, is compelled to recognize their reality and their reasonableness. It gives no place, no, not for an hour, to such an idea as that the New England divines have done something, in their way, for theology. Its feelings are rather with those who hold New England to be a Scythian, Cimmerian region, far to the north, whence barbarians sometimes come to disturb the quiet of the Presbyterian realm. It honors Edwards indeed, but not as a New Englander,

* The American Biblical Repository.

for his sun went down at Princeton, and his sepulcher is with them to this day. Bellamy, Hopkins and Smalley, are names for which it has no reverence. In all its fluctuations of opinion respecting elective affinity synods, and act-and-testimony movements, and the policy of the Presbyterian Church, it has remained unchanged in its prejudices against New England. In its theory of geography, New England, with all its seats of education, and all its illustrious names, is provincial, and Princeton is somewhere near the center. Emmons's Sermons and Webster's Dictionary are alike the objects of its profound displeasure. It has learned indeed, from New England, to spell *honor* without the *u*, and *logic* without the *k*; but it still repels with horror such neological ideas as that sin consists in sinning, that the precepts and sanctions of God have respect only to the acts or exercises of the responsible soul, and that guilt is the demerit of a personal agent, incurred by his personal sinfulness. Surely the fact that there is such a work as the Biblical Repertory already in the field, is no sufficient reason why New England men may not utter their opinions through an organ of their own."

This is cleverly and wittily done; for we trust we can recognise a skilful weapon, even when raised against ourselves. And while we should be sorry to deserve the charge of being frequently "contemptuous and abusive," we find little else in the paragraph whereat to take offence. Considering whence it proceeds, its view of the esteem in which we hold the new theology is admirably exact. It is painful to disturb the characteristic self-complacency of innovation, but when it is alleged of the Princeton Review, that "it has learned from New England to spell *honor* without the *u*, and *logic* without the *k*," we are constrained to say that the former emendation of the Queen's English we are yet to learn, and that for the latter we are indebted to the 'custom of England,' as apparent in the great literary Reviews; an authority which we still prefer to Dr. Webster.* The tenour of our work for eighteen years sufficiently attests our readiness to contend for the truths of reformed theology against the speculations of New England; in so far therefore as the above imports a throwing down of the gauntlet, we cheerfully take it up. If our

* "*K* may be left out after *c*, in words borrowed from the Latin, as *publick*, public; *musick*, music; *logick*, logic; *pedantick*, pedantic."—Watts's works, Vol. iv. p, 711. 4to. London: 1810.—This was written in 1720.

forces have been withdrawn, it has been because there was no one in the field. Open controversy, with frank avowal of opinions, and the absence of all subterfuge, logomachy, and studious reserve, shall never be complained of by us. Our own flag floats, high and open, known and read of all men, in the formularies of our church, and the accredited works of Reformed Theologians. The appearance of this work is therefore welcome, so far as it augurs a fair and ingenuous confession of faith on all the points in debate.

An Address delivered in the Duane Street Presbyterian Church, N. Y., on the evening of October 3, 1842. *The Day of Humiliation appointed by the General Assembly.* By the Rev. George Potts, D. D.

Although it is our intention, in pursuance of our plan for directing attention to the several boards of our church, to dwell at greater length on the topics discussed in this discourse, we would nevertheless give it a passing notice at the present time. Besides being clothed in language of uncommon strength and elegance, it is an earnest, we might say an importunate cry to our church for renewed zeal in the work of missions. As we know it to have been impressive as originally delivered, we deem it well worthy of being perused in its printed form. No one can read it without feeling that it is the product of more than ordinary interest in its great subject, or without sympathizing with the author in his humbling disquietude in regard to the apathy of our body on this the prime work of a Christian church. We have said enough to awaken the attention of our readers to a work, which,though brief, is full of suggestions which concern the vitality of our ecclesiastical operations.

The Spirit of Protestant Colonization: An Address delivered before the Franklin and the Washington Literary Societies of La Fayette College. September 21, 1842. By George Junkin, D. D., President of Miami University. Philadelphia: 1842.

As sincere well-wishers to the institution which President Junkin has left in hands so able, and in circumstances so encouraging, and to that of which he has assumed the direction, we are glad to welcome anything which shall direct public attention to them. The discourse is a historical illustration of the proposition, that North America is the

asylum and the home of Protestantism: it presents a great number of highly important facts, some of which have too much escaped public notice. In answer to the question, who first planted a colony in North America, Dr. Junkin claims for the Calvinists of France, under the auspices of the great Coligni. The expedition of Ribault arrived in Port Royal, South Carolina, in May, 1562. Though this colony was abandoned, the enterprise was renewed in 1564. The settlement was in Florida. Those colonists were massacred by the Spaniards. The next enterprise mentioned, is that of Raleigh, whose first colony was founded in 1585. The first French colony, under De Monts, was that of Port-Royal or Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1605. The Papists succeeded however in frustrating this endeavour. Champlain, a follower of De Monts, founded Quebec in 1608. After these statements, the author enters upon the consideration of the Puritan colonies, the settlement of the New Netherlands, and of Baltimore. But we cannot pretend to go into the details, all of which possess remarkable historic interest. The conclusion, ably drawn by the author, is that America is Protestant ground, and that it should be maintained as such, by the preservation of the Protestant faith, and by fidelity at the ballot-box.

1. *Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum, Primitus inceptum ab illustrissimo et reverendissimo* P. J. Pigneaux, Episcopo Adranensi, vicario Apostolico Cocincinae, &c., dein absolutum et editum a J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano, vicario Apostolico Cocincinae, Cambodiae et Ciampae, Asiaticae Societatis, Parisiensis, nec non Bengalensis socio honorario. Fredericnagori vulgo Serampore, ex typis J. C. Marshman. 1838. pp. 862, large 4to.
2. *Dictionarium Latino-Anamaticum.* Auctore J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano, Vicario Apostolico Cocincinae, Cambodiae et Ciampae, Asiaticae Societatis Parisiensis nec non Bengalensis socio honorario. Fredericnagori vulgo Serampore. Ex typis J. C. Marshman. 1838. pp. 845, large 4to.

Those of our readers who will be likely to take an interest in these books, are already, we presume, apprised of their existence. Like ourselves, however, if they have not had the opportunity to examine them carefully, they may have very little conception, what a treasure they are. It

may not be useless, therefore, for us to give, in the first place, a simple description of their contents.

The preface to the first volume states, that the work was commenced by M. Pigneaux, apostolic vicar of Cochin-China; but the manuscript was unfortunately in a great degree destroyed in 1778, by a fire in the Anamitic College in the province of Cà-mau. M. Taberd, who succeeded M. Pigneaux, procured some fragments of his predecessor's work, completed it, and added a number of valuable treatises upon divers subjects, and published the whole in 1838. His first treatise is on the origin of the Anamitic or Cochin-Chinese language, and its relations to the Chinese. Both languages, though derived from the same source, have undergone so great a change, that neither in writing nor speaking can the people of the two countries understand one another to any extent. The Chinese, however, is a sort of court language in Cochin-China, and is therefore studied by the youth of the higher classes, and all destined for offices and honours in the government. This circumstance has given rise to the impression, which has heretofore been very general, that both nations could read the same books, though each spoke a different language. And this supposed fact was held to demonstrate that the Chinese characters must be ideographic.

There are, therefore, in Cochin-China two languages, the one of the learned, or in other words, the Chinese, and the other Anamitic, or the ordinary language of the people of the country. This last is likewise written in Chinese characters; but it often happens that they preserve neither the pronunciation nor the meaning which they have in Chinese. In some instances they have the same meaning but differ totally in sound. For instance, the same character signifies a man, in both languages; but the Chinese pronounce it jin or jen, and the Cochin-Chinese nho'n. In other cases the character retains the same pronunciation in both languages, but differs totally in meaning. For instance, the character pronounced *cha*, signifies 'to be angry' in Chinese, while its meaning in Anamitic, is 'father.' Some characters which have a single fixed meaning in Chinese, stand for several words in the Anamitic, which differ from each other very widely both in sound and sense. And then the combinations of characters, which form a distinctive feature of the monosyllabic languages of Eastern Asia, appear to differ exceedingly in the two languages. We could

easily give instances of these and several other striking discrepancies, if it were necessary.

Our author next gives an exposition of the method of writing the language in Roman characters, and expressing its peculiar sounds, and especially its tones, by diacritical marks.

We have then two tables of initial consonants with final vowels, and of initial vowels with final consonants, showing the formation of 475 monosyllabic words. These are increased by the use of tones, which are only six in number, while the Chinese, at least in the Hok-kèèn dialect, reckon eight. It is obvious that this furnishes a very scanty supply of words, for so vast a number of characters as these languages employ, and hence one of the difficulties of determining the meaning of a word, which often depends solely on the connexion, to distinguish it from half a dozen others of precisely the same sound. There is another fact which we may not have a better opportunity to mention, and which holds true also of the Chinese, and we believe of all the languages of Eastern Asia. They are uncommonly rich in words to express the common ideas of every-day life, so as to secure precision and definiteness, without circumlocution. For example, to express the idea of *carrying*, they have a separate word for almost every mode in which the act may be performed: if on the head, they use the word *doi;* if in the hand, *bu'ng;* if on the shoulders, *vác;* &c. For the act of eating, they use different words, according to the rank of the person spoken of: for instance, speaking of a common person they say *ăn*, of a superior, *thì*, of a mandarin, or person of high rank, *xoi*.

Our author gives us a brief compendium of the grammar of the language, which, as usual with European scholars, he has pressed into the mould of the grammatical forms of western polysyllabic languages. The principles and facts contained in these grammars of Chinese, and its cognate or derived dialects, we regard as valuable; because they show the peculiar and wonderful differences, which separate those tongues from every other upon the face of the earth. But for the mere purposes of grammar, as we commonly understand the word, we look upon them as of little worth. A language which uses the very same word, for a noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, (in all its moods, tenses, numbers and persons,) participle or adverb, without any possible change in its form, seems to us to set all our prin-

ciples of grammar at defiance, except in the single department of Syntax. Of course we do not mean to say, that there is no mode of expressing in such a language all the ideas which are contained in these grammatical forms, but they are expressed in a manner so entirely different from that of our western languages, by mere collocation, or by the substitution or addition of other words, that we have never been able to derive much advantage from any grammar, constructed on the procrustean form of those which we inherit from the Greek and Latin; except, as we have said, to show how utterly unlike the tongues of Eastern Asia are to those of Europe.

M. Taberd seems to have felt as we do, and therefore comprises his compend in a little more than three pages, and then throws aside the shackles with which he felt it encumbering him, and gives us a long and most interesting view of the peculiarities of the language in the use of words, under the title,—TRACTATUS DE VARIIS PARTICULIS ET PRONOMINIBUS AD ELEGANTEM LINGUAE ANAMITICAE ELOCUTIONEM UTILLISSIMUS. For the purposes of comparison with the kindred dialects af Eastern Asia, this dissertation is of peculiar value. It furnishes to hand materials for one department of the comparative anatomy of languages, from which the skilful philologist may deduce the most important conclusions in the natural history of his science.

The last treatise of this preface is COMPENDIUM VERSIFICATIONIS ANAMICITAE.

The body of the Dictionary appears to be very elaborate and complete. We have first the character, then its pronunciation, according to the orthography first introduced by the Portuguese, and we think wisely retained by subsequent French and Italian writers, then the definition in Latin. The author next gives us the character, in connexion with all the others which vary its meaning, or which form with it a set phrase,—defining each one; and lastly, but rarely, he gives a short sentence rendered into Latin. The words are arranged alphabetically, according to the orthography adopted. What facilities the author may have had from native dictionaries, we have no means of knowing; but the task of compiling the words, aside from the immense work of defining them so fully, must have been truly herculean.

After the dictionary, we have the following valuable appendixes, viz.

1. Hortus Floridus Cocincinae.

This is a catalogue and description of the indigenous plants of Cochin-China, and such others as are used by them for medicinal or other purposes. The author modestly enough tells us it is taken chiefly from the Flora Cocincinensis of R. I. De Loureiro, corrected and modernized by the aid of Dr. D. I. Voigt: but it is manifest that he is himself master of the science, and has here furnished a full and valuable tract on the botany of the country.

2. Tabula Clavium Characterum Anamiticorum, in decursu Dictionarii Anamitico-Latini usurpatorum, et apto ordine distributorum, cum variis ipsorum significationibus.

Those who are acquainted with the mode of forming the Chinese characters, will understand that this is a list of the words defined in the dictionary, arranged under what are called the *keys*, or *radicals*, which form the basis of all the characters in the language. These radicals—two hundred and fourteen in number—are arranged in the order of the number of their strokes, from one up to seventeen; and the characters formed from them are placed under them in the same order. These radicals are the basis of the arrangement of words in the native dictionaries.

Annexed to these tables is a list of characters, the radical of which it would be difficult for one not well versed in the language to discover: and also an index to the 'keys.'

3. Appendix ad Dictionarium Anamatico-Latinum Sistens voces Sinenses.

It appears that the Cochin-Chinese, in the higher walks of composition, (in dicendi genere magnifico et limato vel in poesi,) use pure Chinese words quite freely, inasmuch as the better educated classes all study that language. These our author has thrown into a separate dictionary, arranged like the other in every respect, and followed by an index of the characters arranged in the order of the radicals. These with a moderate quantum of "addenda et corrigenda et errata," complete the first volume of the work before us.

The second volume—*Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum*—opens with a brief address containing a very succinct but valuable account of Cochin-China, historical and geographical. The author then goes on to explain his plan, and state his reasons for omitting the Chinese characters in his Latin and Anamitic Dictionary; and closes by stating some of the most prominent and curious principles of the syntax of the language.

He then gives us, at considerable length, a grammar of the Latin language, first in the Anamitic and then in the Latin tongue. This is intended to answer the two-fold purpose, of introducing Cochin-Chinese students to a knowledge of Latin, and of enabling philologists to compare the genius and structure of the two languages. These, again, are extremely valuable portions of the work, to one who wishes to dip into the philosophy of language. The body of the volume fulfils the promise of the title-page. It is a complete dictionary of the Latin tongue, rendered into Cochin-Chinese. More than this, our present limits forbid us to say. By way of appendix to this volume, we have a vocabulary which, for some purposes, is the most valuable portion of the whole work. It is arranged in parallel columns—the first English, the second French, the third Latin and the fourth Cochin-Chinese. It treats of more than fifty different subjects, and appears to be quite full upon each. It then breaks off into a dialogue, (fictitious of course,) between the captain of a ship and a Cochin-Chinese, concerning all manner of things. Having filled some fifteen quarto pages with conversation, the captain embraces the opportunity of obtaining some information from his friend, "necessary for his own dealings, and to instruct him in the ways of the country." The obliging interpreter then gives, in the space of some twenty pages, more information than we have been able to glean from any other sources, upon the following topics, viz.: Decimal calculation: Weights: Measures: Land Measures: Money, with plates of the coins in use: Bat Quai, or eight magical lines for calculating fortunes: Divisions of time: Months: Years: Ephemerides Cocincinenses et Sinenses: Cycle of 60 years: Letters of the cycle of ten, and of the cycle of twelve: Abacus Sinensis, or Ban toan. Perhaps we ought to say that there is a thick sprinkling of Popery through the work, and it closes with a story—poetical we take it to be—of the martyrdom of Agnes, done into the four languages we have named.

The last thing we have to describe, is a well executed, and we are disposed to think remarkably accurate, map of the country, about three feet long.

Such is a poor account of this great work, which we have somewhere got the impression cost its author thirty years of labour to prepare. No one can examine it, without a most profound impression of the talents and learning,

and we will add of the laborious and untiring devotion to his work, of this accomplished Jesuit missionary. Would that we could cherish the hope, that our Protestant churches and institutions would send forth many, who could rival him in these important respects.

A work so complete, and so full of learning, on any new language whatever, would be an object of great interest in a philological point of view: but there are few languages, perhaps, so little known as the Cochin-Chinese, of more importance in philology. Its relation to the monosyllabic tongues of further India, and especially to the Chinese—now become so interesting by the opening of that great country to foreign and Christian intercourse,—is so peculiar, that many questions heretofore perplexed and misunderstood, will in all probability be settled by this very work. It is known that it was a very meager and imperfect vocabulary of the Cochin-Chinese language, presented by Father Joseph Morrone, an Italian missionary, to Lieutenant White of the United States Navy, which called forth the work of our learned countryman, Mr. Du Ponceau, on Chinese writing:* a work which we have ever regarded as one of the most remarkable produced in the present age, on the subject of philology. In opposition to the opinion of all the early Catholic missionaries, received and re-asserted by such men as Morrison, and Marshman, and the learned Sinologists of Europe, with Remusat at their head, Mr. Du Ponceau has demolished the hypothesis, that the Chinese written language (so called) is ideographic, and demonstrated that it has, and must have, the very same relation to the spoken language, as any other written character: in other words that it is phonographic, or as he prefers to call it *lexigraphic*. His conclusions were arrived at by a process of logical reasoning upon the philosophical principles of language, without any practical knowledge of Chinese whatever.

The objection to his views, urged with the greatest force, was the long asserted fact, that the Cochin-Chinese, speaking a different language, could yet read Chinese books and vice versa. The work before us furnishes the most conclusive proof, that this is a 'false fact.' It settles the whole question beyond dispute. Our object, however, was not to

* "A Dissertation on the nature and character of the Chinese System of Writing, &c., by Peter S. Du Ponceau, L.L.D., &c. Published by order of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. 1838."

argue any of the questions that are involved in the true theory of the Cochin-Chinese language, but simply to give some account of the Dictionary of M. Taberd itself, and to put any of our readers who may chance to take an interest in the subject, in the way of procuring a copy for themselves. We should be glad, however, if it were thought of sufficient importance, to return to the subject, when we have more time and space, and submit some views of our own, which have been for a long time growing more distinct and settled; and which we cannot but hope would be found of some importance, at least to those who may contemplate missionary labours in any of those countries where the Chinese character is in use.

Some of the points on which the materials now at command throw important light are the following, viz.

1. The curious and instructive fact, that it is next to impossible to trace any resemblance between the words of the Anamitic and Chinese languages, as they are respectively spoken. Even in the class of words where some similarity is apt to be found, in tongues which have sprung from a common origin, we have endeavored in vain to detect it in the case in hand. For instance, in the numerals, no two bear the slightest resemblance to each other; and the same thing holds true of the names of the most prominent objects, both material and spiritual.

2. But while there is this total difference between the words, yet the whole genius and structure of the two languages are so strikingly alike, that it is manifest they must have been cognate in their origin. Both are monosyllabic, both use the tones on the same principles, the structure of sentences in both is precisely alike, and the general train of thinking and writing, so far as we can judge, is remarkably similar in each. From these circumstances it happens, that the characters invented by the Chinese have been borrowed, and applied by their neighbours without much difficulty in writing their own language. The principles and process by which this was done, seem to us to admit of a very simple and clear explanation, without supposing those characters to be ideographic: an explanation which will account for the most material of the anomalies in the use of the characters by the Cochin-Chinese.

3. These differences in the use of the characters by the two nations, which are both numerous and striking, would, we are persuaded, if carefully studied, throw great light

upon the nature and structure of the characters themselves, as used by the Chinese. This we regard as the most interesting and important point of all, in view of the probable demand for missionaries to the Chinese. At present, however, we can only say, that while we believe it will be found a task of great difficulty, whatever aids may be furnished, to acquire a knowledge of the vast multitude of characters in use, so as to be able to write them freely, yet still, there is a principle of association running through the language, and governing the formation of its compound characters, which will very greatly facilitate the labour of the student, when once he is fairly put in possession of it. The native teachers of the language will never do this:—indeed we have great doubts whether many of them are distinctly aware of its existence, in consequence of the miserable mode of instruction common in the country. And if the student is left to discover it himself, he may spend months, if not years, in a fruitless attempt to stamp upon his memory so vast a multiplicity of characters; and perhaps, as we happen to know has often occurred, at last give up the effort in utter despair. We do not greatly wonder, therefore, that while some have decried the Chinese language as so extremely difficult, that it is next to impossible for a foreigner to acquire it, others again have contended that it is as easy of acquisition as any other foreign tongue. The whole matter turns chiefly upon a correct knowledge of the nature and structure of the Chinese characters. We would therefore strongly advise any one who proposes to study the language to procure Mr. Du Ponceau's book, to which we have alluded.* And it is hardly necessary to say, that any one who has studied the language, could easily throw much additional light upon the principles which he has developed with so much ability.

4. In the last place, we are persuaded that a careful comparison, by a competent person, of the Anamitic and Chinese languages, would shed important light upon the early history of those nations, and certainly upon their comparative progress in civilization and intellectual culture. We are not sure that there are not indications in the languages themselves, which, taken in connexion with the fragments

* It may be a favour to any one interested in the subject, to know that a few copies of this work are for sale by the librarian of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. It was published for the benefit of the Society, and has never been put into the book stores for general circulation.

of their traditional history, would indicate the proximate dates, when they began to separate from each other so widely, and when the characters of the one were introduced into use by the other. This last event, it is easy to show, must have been *comparatively* modern.

Before closing this article we wish to say that some fifty copies of the Cochin-Chinese Dictionary were sent to this country, by the proprietor, about two years ago. The enormous duties upon the work, prevented the consignee from taking them out of the custom house. They remained, therefore, in store during the time prescribed by law, and were then sold by the government for the duties. An intelligent merchant, in the Calcutta trade, who knew the book, bought the lot at a low rate, and now offers them for sale at twenty dollars a copy. This, if our memory serves us, is just *half the price* at which they are held by the proprietor himself in India. Should any of our readers wish to procure a copy, it will give us pleasure to refer them to the owner, if they will take the trouble to apply at the office of the Repertory, No. 29 Sansom St., Philadelphia.

Lucilla ; or the Reading of the Bible. By Adolphe Monod. Translated from the French. New York: Robert Carter. 1843. 12mo. pp. 240.

Madame Lassalle, (Lucilla,) a protestant by birth, but "Catholic by position," becomes desirous of satisfaction as to the truth of the Christian religion. Her husband, an avowed skeptic, could give her no assistance, and she applies for instruction to a devout and excellent priest, the Abbé Favien. In the course of several admirably conducted conversations, the good Abbé fully convinces her and her husband of the divine origin of Christianity, and of the inspiration of the scriptures. Lucilla then applies for permission to read the sacred volume, and to her surprise, the permission is denied. This gives rise to a long correspondence, in which the Abbé presents, in all their force, the usual arguments of Romanists on the infallibility of the church as an interpreter of scripture, and against private judgment and the danger of the unrestricted perusal of the word of God. Lucilla is shaken, but not convinced. A friend of her husband, M. Mercier once a Catholic, but now a Protestant, in consequence of reading the Bible, is applied to for instruction in this emergency. He replies at length to the arguments of the Abbé, and the re-

sult is that Lucilla reads, and is made wise unto salvation. Such is the plan of this book. The name of its author answers for all the rest. The same graceful talent, the same discriminating judgment, the same mild and lovely spirit, the same tone of elevated piety which distinguish all the works of this writer, with which we are acquainted, characterise this little book; and render it a delightful as well as an instructive volume.

The Captives, a Comedy of Plautus. With English Notes. For the use of Students. By John Proudfit, D. D., Professor of Greek and Latin Literature in Rutgers College: New York. Harper and Brothers. 1843. 18mo. pp. 106.

The learned author has conferred a favour on the scholars of our country by this seasonable publication. The *vis comica* of Plautus is celebrated, even to a proverb, and the Capteivi is justly considered one of the best, as it is certainly the purest, of his productions. There are obvious advantages in bringing to the acquaintance of students, at some stage of their classical course, the diction of the older Latin writers: without this there are anomalies both of inflection and of syntax, which must remain inexplicable. For this reason, we are pleased to see the archaisms of the ancient orthography unimpaired. In the preparation of the text, the greatest modern critics have evidently been consulted. The typography is exact, to a degree very rare in American impressions. The notes, though scarcely as numerous as we could wish, are judicious, satisfactory, and in the right place. And the editor has our cordial thanks for the liberty he has taken, in purging the work of the few passages, by which the youthful conscience might be offended.

Thoughts for the Thoughtful, by Old Humphrey. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal-St., 1843.

We are disposed to give the preference to this over all the little books with which Old Humphrey has yet favored us. As we have already had the opportunity of introducing this quaint and striking writer to our readers, they will know what to expect from the title of the present work. It is a series of very brief, pointed and instructive addresses, upon a vast variety of topics, each one of which is enlivened by the introduction of some well told incident,

which serves to point its moral. They are serious, yet attractive, breathing an eminently benevolent spirit, and adapted in our judgment to do good.

Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa; by Robert Moffat, twenty-three years an agent of the London Missionary Society in that Continent. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal-St. 1843.

Mr. Moffat has long been known to the Christian public, as one of the most laborious, devoted and useful missionaries of the present age. The work before us is the recital of labours and adventures, many of them of the most remarkable and romantic kind. It furnishes facts of great interest to the Christian philosopher, in illustration of the character of depraved human nature, and of the forms and results of that depravity, when left to work itself out without restraint. It supplies some of the most signal instances which we have ever read of the triumphs of divine grace, in supplanting the ferocious passions of human nature by the lovely graces of the Spirit, and raising to the elevation of Christian character, savages sunk to the lowest depths of brutality. Our readers doubtless remember something of the thrilling history of Africaner: the present work, in addition to a full account of that wonderful chief, abounds in incidents of the same absorbing kind. It is as entertaining as it is instructive. And sure we are, that no one can follow the pious, self-denying, and laborious missionary, through this record of his labours, without an intelligent appreciation of the cause of missions, and a hearty desire that the blessing of God may continue to crown his efforts for the salvation of "the perishing and helpless and all but friendless millions, for whom he has hitherto laboured, whom he ardently loves, and with whom, all black, barbarous and benighted as they are, he hopes to live, labour and die!"

Rights of Ruling Elders. By Calvin. The Presbyterian. Nos. 614—618.

Rights of Ruling Elders. By Presbyter. The Presbyterian. Nos. 621—626.

The subject discussed in the series of papers above mentioned, has assumed an importance which forces the consideration of it on all the friends of our church. The question at issue is: Have ruling elders the right to join

in the imposition of hands in the ordination of ministers of the gospel? Those who answer in the affirmative say that there are but two orders in the ministry, elders and deacons; of the first order; there are two classes invested with different offices, though belonging to the same order; to the one class belongs the function of ruling, to the other those of ruling, teaching and administration of the sacraments. "We hold," says Presbyter, "to an identity of order, but diversity of office." Presbyterial ordination admits the recipient to the order of elders or presbyters; election by the people, or installation by the presbytery invests him with the office of ruling or teaching elder, as the case may be, "and thus it follows upon general principles that a two-fold ordination is superfluous and unnecessary, and might be consistently dispensed with, were it not for the express provision of the *lex positiva*, the constitution of the church."* In other words, the theory and the constitution are in direct conflict. It is strange that the shock of this collision did not waken the Presbyter from the pleasing dream that he is labouring to bring the practice of the church into harmony with its laws. His theory would lead to a practice, which he admits the constitution condemns. He must, therefore, acknowledge either that the constitution is in conflict with itself, enjoining a practice inconsistent with its principles, or that his theory and that of the constitution are two very different things. His theory requires, nay admits of but one ordination; the constitution requires two; one to the office of ruling elder, and a second when a ruling elder is made a minister. It is impossible, therefore, that Presbyter and the constitution can hold the same doctrine.

It is easy to see the source of the mistake into which he has fallen. He says ministers and elders are of the same order, but have different offices; ordination confers order, and election by the people, or installation confers office. Now if it should turn out that ordination confers office, there is of course an end of the whole argument. The word *order* is one of vague import. It is often used in the sense in which it is employed by Presbyter to designate a class of persons distinguished by some common peculiarity from the rest of the community. In this sense the military are an order; so are the clergy, and so, in many countries,

* Presbyter, No. II.

are the nobility. Now the only way in which a man can be admitted into any order, is by appointing him to some definite office or rank, included in that order. The only way in which a man is introduced into the military order, is by a commission conferring on him a certain rank or office in the army; and to introduce a man into the order of nobles, something more is necessary than a vague patent of nobility; he must be created a baron, earl, marquis or something else included in the order. And in like manner no man is introduced into the order of the clergy in any other way than by conferring upon him some clerical office. Ordination, therefore, confers order only because it confers office. Need the question even be asked whether the doctrine of Presbyter, that ordination confers order, and election or installation, office, is consistent with our constitution? "Ordination," says the Westminster Directory, "is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office." Our constitution is no less explicit. It prescribes the mode in which "ecclesiastical rulers should be ordained to their respective offices." With regard to the ruling elder it is said, after the preliminary steps have been taken, "The minister shall proceed to set apart the candidate, by prayer, to the office of ruling elder." In like manner it speaks of the preaching elder, being "solemnly ordained to the work of the gospel ministry." Ordination to office, therefore, is the only ordination of which our constitution has any knowledge.

If then it is the plain undeniable meaning of our constitution, that ordination confers office, that it constitutes a man a minister or ruling elder, and not merely introduces him into the order of presbyters, it seems to us that the whole foundation of the argument under consideration is swept away. The argument rests on a false assumption as to the nature and design of ordination. Now it is a principle, which is universally admitted by all denominations of Christians, except the Independents, that the right to ordain to any office in the church belongs to those who hold that office, or one superior to it, and which includes it. A minister ordains ruling elders because he is himself a ruling elder as well as a minister. The only ground, therefore on which the right of ruling elders to take part in the actual ordination of ministers of the gospel can be maintained, is that they hold the same office. But this cannot be asserted with any show of regard to the constitution.

Every page relating to the subject, plainly teaches that they have different offices. It tells us that the ordinary and perpetual officers in the church are pastors, elders and deacons; that the pastoral office is the first in dignity and usefulness, the duties of which are mentioned in detail; that the ruling elder holds a different office, the rights and duties of which are also particularly mentioned. All this is so clear that it is admitted as an indisputable fact. Presbyter complains that Calvin entirely misapprehends the ground taken by himself and his friends in supposing that they hold the identity of the offices of teaching and ruling elders. No one, he says, "has ever stated or contended for such a principle, or any thing like it." "We hold to identity of order but diversity of office."

We may remark, in passing, that in the light of this admission, his rebuke of Calvin for saying that the minister "has a right to take an official place above" the elders, seems somewhat unaccountable. This, he says, if it means any thing means that "the teaching elder or presbyter is, as a matter of right, officially above the ruling presbyter; the one is preferred (praelatus) above the other, holds a higher rank, forms another and distinct order, thus making two orders, which with the deacons makes three orders in the ministry. If this is not prelacy what is it? . . This is not diocesan episcopacy or prelacy it is true, but what is just as bad in principle, viz., parochial episcopacy or prelacy, and only differs from the former in this, that in that case one bishop or presbyter is preferred (praelatus) above the presbyters of a diocese."* How often does it happen that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light! Here are we making ourselves the laughing stock of other denominations, by our disputes about the first principles of our organization. Presbyterians have time out of mind been contending for parochial in opposition to diocesan episcopacy, when it turns out at last that the one is as bad in principle as the other; that both are equally inconsistent with presbyterianism! It is but the other day we saw, in the Presbyterian, if we mistake not, an argument in favour of our system, derived from the fact that there were three hundred bishops in one council in the north of Africa; sixty bishops in a province not larger than New Jersey; fifty in another; forty in ano-

* Presbyter, No. I.

ther. This was appealed to in proof that parochial and not diocesan episcopacy then prevailed, and parochial episcopacy was held to be presbyterianism. . But it seems it is no such thing; that if we "once admit the official inferiority in order or rank of the ruling elder to the preaching elder, then is presbyterian parity destroyed, and prelacy virtually established."* Now what says our book on this subject. Presbyter admits that the office of the minister differs from that of the elder. If they differ, the one may be higher than the other. The book, in speaking of bishops or pastors, says their office is "the first in the church for dignity and usefulness." There are then three permanent officers in the church—bishops, elders, and deacons, and of these the bishop is pronounced the first in dignity and usefulness. Is this not official superiority? If a general is the first officer in an army, is he not officially superior to a colonel? If our constitution supposes a parity of office among ministers and elders, why is it said that the minister "shall always be the moderator of the session"? Why in the case of his absence are the session directed to get a neighbouring minister to act as moderator, and only when that is impracticable, are they allowed to proceed without one? On the other hand, the constitution directs that "the moderator of the presbytery shall be chosen from year to year." There is no such superiority of one minister over another, as to authorize his acting as the perpetual moderator of the presbytery. When an elder is to be tried, he is arraigned before the session; but process against a gospel minister, must always be entered before the presbytery. Why is this, but that a man has a right to be tried by his peers? If so, then the elders are not the peers of the ministers; they are not officially his equals, though personally they may be greatly his superiors. Now as our book calls the pastor of a congregation a bishop, and never gives that title to elders, as it declares his office to be the first in dignity in the church, as it constitutes him the perpetual moderator of the session,

* The words "order or rank" in the above sentence adds nothing to its meaning. It is "official superiority" of the minister to the elder that Presbyter pronounces to be prelacy. This is evident, because Calvin said nothing about order in the sentence which is the ground of Presbyter's charge of prelacy; he said simply that the minister "had an official place above" his elders. This Presbyter says is "out and out" the prelatical principle. If the "teaching elder is as a matter of right officially above the ruling presbyter," then, he says, parity is destroyed, and prelacy established."

confers on him the right to ordain ruling elders, and declares that he is amenable, not to the session but to the presbytery, it establishes parochial episcopacy, just as much as the canons of the Church of England establish prelacy or diocesan episcopacy. This is presbyterianism; the presbyterianism of Geneva, France, Germany, Holland, Scotland, and of our fathers in America; and if we are now to have a different kind, we must get a new book.

If then it is admitted that ministers and ruling elders hold different offices, and if as has been clearly shown from the constitution, ordination confers office, the inference seems unavoidable, that those only who hold the office of a minister of the gospel can confer that office upon others. Presbyterians deny the right of ordination to the civil magistrate; they deny it, under ordinary circumstances, to the people; they deny it to any, who have not themselves been invested with the office conferred. Thus much concerning Presbyter's argument that ordination confers order, and election office, and therefore that all who belong to the order of presbyters may join in the ordination of ministers of the gospel.

We wish to say a few words respecting the argument from scripture. The reasoning of our brethren from this source, seems to be founded on the high, jus divinum, principle, that there is a definite and complete form of government, laid down in the word of God, from which the church has no right to deviate; either by introducing new officers, or judicatories, or by modifying the duties of those therein mentioned. That Presbyter adopts this principle is plain. In his fifth number he says, there are but two grounds on which the office of ruling elder can be maintained, "either of human expediency or of divine warrant. If upon the former, then it is a human device, though a very wise and useful one, and worthy to be retained as a matter of sound public policy. . . . . If the ruling elder is not a scriptural presbyter, and his office a divine institution, then of course we claim for him no part of the powers of ordination, or any other presbyterial power; it would be manifestly inconsistent to accord him any, and in this view our constitution has done what it had no right to do, viz., added to the appointments of God, as to the government of the church. If the ruling elder be a scriptural presbyter, and his office a divine institution, then we are bound to take it as we find it instituted according to the fundamental law of

the church, the word of God, without adding to, or taking therefrom, and to accord to it such powers as are there granted, and to withhold none which are not there denied." In remarking on Acts xiv. 23, where it is said that the apostles ordained "elders in every church," he says, if these were all preaching elders, it "is fatal to presbyterianism." Again, "If the ruling elder be not a scriptural presbyter, but a mere layman, an officer of human appointment, why say so, and let him be shorn of all his assumed presbyterial powers as well as a part." We call this the high-toned jus divinum principle, not because it asserts the fact that the office of ruling elder existed in the apostolic church, and was expressly instituted by Christ, but because it asserts the absolute necessity of such express appointment; declares that the want of it is fatal to presbyterianism; and that we are bound to have the office precisely as the apostolic churches had it; and that we violate the command of God if we either add to its powers, or detract from them.

The whole argument of Presbyter, on this subject, is founded on the assumption that there is a complete system of government laid down in the scriptures, to which all churches are by divine authority required to conform. We shall show that this is not the ground assumed in our standards, and that it is untenable. There are certain principles in which all presbyterians are agreed, and for which they think they have a clear scriptural warrant. For example, that the apostles had a general superintendence and control over the churches; that they appointed no successors to themselves in that general supervisory office; that they committed the government of the church to presbyters, whom they directed to ordain others to the same office; that of these elders, some ruled while others laboured in word and doctrine; and that in many churches, if not in all, deacons were appointed for the care of the sick and poor; and that the church should act as one, as far as her circumstances will permit. We maintain, therefore, in opposition to prelatists, that there is no scriptural authority for any officer having, as a successor to the apostles, power over many churches; and that every thing we find in scripture is opposed to the establishment of such an office. On the other hand, we contend against Independents and Congregationalists, that the government of the church, the right of discipline and ordination, as well as the authority to preach and administer the sacraments, was committed to

the rulers and not to the members of the church. We maintain that Christ has, in his infinite wisdom, left his church free to modify her government, in accordance with these general principles, as may best suit her circumstances in different ages and nations. Having constituted the church a distinct society, he thereby gave it the right to govern itself, according to the general principles revealed in his word. If it be objected that this leaves many things in our system to rest on no better ground than expediency, that it makes them what Presbyter calls "human devices," the answer is, that if Christ has given his church the power of self-government, what the church does in the exercise of that power, if consistent with his revealed will, has as much his sanction as it well could have under any theory of church government. If Paul says the civil powers are ordained of God, so that they who resist, resist the ordinance of God, although God has not revealed even a general system of civil polity, we see not why the same is not much more true with respect to the church.

That this is the true doctrine on this subject, is evident, in the first place, from the absence of any express command, binding the church in all ages to conform her mode of government in every respect to the example of the apostolic churches. If Christ and his apostles had intended to make such conformity a matter of perpetual obligation, it is fair to presume they would have said so. As they have no where given or intimated such a command, no man has now the right to bind the conscience of God's people in this matter. Again, that the apostles never meant to make their example in all points of this kind, a perpetual law for the church, is plain from the fact that they did not themselves pursue, in all particulars, the same plan in all places. There are some general principles to which they seem to have adhered, but it is far from being certain, or even probable, that all the apostolic churches were organized exactly after the same model. This indeed was hardly possible in that day of inspiration and miraculous gifts, which the Spirit distributed to every man, according to his own will; so that some were apostles, some prophets, some teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. According to another enumeration some were apostles; some prophets; some evangelists; some pastors and teachers; according to still another, some had the gift of prophecy, some that of the ministry;

some that of teaching; others that of exhortation; others that of ruling; and others, that of showing mercy. It is a perfectly gratuitous assumption that these gifts were confined to the presbyters and deacons of the church; and if not so confined, they must have produced a state of things, and a mode of administering the word and ordinances and government of the church, very different from any which is now actual or possible. Again, we know that the apostles were accustomed to go into the Jewish synagogues and preach the gospel; if the majority of the people, with their rulers believed, from all that appears, they left them without any change in their organization. But if "divers were hardened, and believed not," they "departed and separated the disciples." We know that presbyters were ordained in all the churches; and it is probable deacons were also generally introduced, as we know they were at Jerusalem and Phillippi. In addition to deacons, we know that deaconesses were in some instances appointed, but we have no evidence that this was the universal practice. It is a very common opinion that in some churches the teachers were a distinct class from that of preachers and rulers. Again, it is plain that in those places were the number of converts was small, there was but one church under its own bench of elders; but in others, were the disciples were so numerous as to form several congregations, as in Jerusalem and probably in Ephesus, we know not how they were organized. We know they were under the government of presbyters, but whether each congregation had its own bench of elders, as with us, or whether all were under one common body, as in some of the consistorial churches of France, is more than any man can tell. Again, in those places where an apostle permanently resided, as at Jerusalem, it is impossible that the government of the church should not, for the time being, be somewhat modified by that circumstance. An apostle had a right to ordain whom he pleased; he had authority over presbyters; and could exercise discipline in his own name. Considering all these circumstances, we think the conclusion irresistible, that while the apostles adhered to the great principles above referred to, they varied the details of church organization to suit the circumstances of particular places and occasions. If this is true, then of course we are not bound to conform in all points to their example, for their example was not uniform.

That this is the doctrine of our church on this subject, is plain from the express letter of her constitution, and from her practice. We, in common with all other churches, have acted, and must act on this principle. Our constitution declares that synods and councils are an ordinance of God for the government of the church, but for the particular constitution and mutual relation of such councils, she asserts no express command or uniform apostolic usage. It is declared to be "expedient and agreeable to scripture and the practice of the primitive Christians, that the church should be governed by congregational, presbyterial and synodical assemblies. In full consistency with this belief, we embrace in the spirit of charity, those Christians who differ from us, in opinion or practice, on these subjects." Though we have a divine warrant for the government of the church by presbyters, where is our scriptural warrant for our mode of organizing church sessions? Where do we find it said that one presbyter shall be the perpetual moderator of that body? or where is the express warrant for saying that such presbyter must be a minister? Our book says that ruling elders are the representatives of the people, and so, according to our system, they undoubtedly are; but where do the scriptures assign them this distinctive character? It is said the apostles ordained elders in every church, but can we prove that they made one class of those elders any more the representatives of the people, than the other? Again, we have a divine warrant for synods in the general, and for parochial presbyteries in particular, but where is our express warrant for the peculiar organization of our presbyteries? These are not only permanent bodies, but in a great measure self-perpetuating, and are invested with judicial authority over all the parochial presbyteries within their bounds. Admitting that this is not only expedient and agreeable to scripture, which is all our book asserts, but sustained by an express divine warrant, where have we any such warrant for the mode of constituting these bodies? If, as Presbyter maintains, all presbyters have "common presbyterial powers," and if we are forbidden either to add to or detract from those powers, will he please to produce his warrant for saying that *all* the preaching elders within a certain district shall have a seat in presbytery, and only one in three or one in ten of the ruling elders? If all have, by divine right the same powers, will he give us the scriptural authority for making

this distinction? The same questions may be asked with regard to the constitution of our synods, as permanent bodies, excluding two-thirds of our presbyters from any immediate voice in their deliberations, and exercising jurisdiction over all the presbyteries within their bounds.

It appears then the principle on which Presbyter's whole argument is founded is unsound. That principle is that the church is bound to adhere exactly to the model of church government laid down in scripture; and that she is required to produce an express divine warrant for every part of her system; that she is not only barred from creating any new office, but from modifying the rights and duties of those at first established. We maintain, on the other hand, that while there are certain general principles laid down on this subject in the word of God, Christ has left his church at liberty, and given her the authority to carry out those principles. This we have endeavoured to prove from the absence of a command binding the church to exact conformity to the example of the apostles; from the fact that the apostles themselves did not adopt any one unvarying plan of church organization; and from the undeniable fact that every church upon earth, our own among the rest, has acted upon this principle and introduced many things into her system of government for which no express scriptural warrant can be produced. If this is so, then even if it were conceded that all presbyters originally received one ordination, and of course held the same office, of which some discharged one duty and some another, according to their gifts, it would not follow that the church is now bound to concede the same powers and rights to all presbyters, any more than she is to grant them all a seat in presbytery and synod. In other words, the principle now contended for is not only unreasonable, and contrary to the practice of the people of God in all ages, but it cannot be carried through without essentially modifying our whole organization.

There is another view which must be taken of this scriptural argument. It has already been shown not only that the principle on which this argument is founded is untenable, but also that the argument itself is unsound. The argument is—ordination confers order; all therefore who belong to the same order have an equal right to ordain; preaching and ruling elders belong to same order; therefore they have a common right to ordain. We have shown,

that according to our constitution, ordination confers office; that only those who have the same office have the right of ordaining to that office, and therefore as, under our constitution, the ruling elder does not hold the same office with the preaching elder, nor one that includes it, he has not the right to join in the actual ordination of ministers of the gospel. Both parties to this discussion see and admit, that the only thing that gives it any importance, is the principle involved in it. The real question at issue is, Are ministers and elders to be considered as holding the same office? It is now our object to show that the principles assumed on the other side lead, by a logical necessity, to an affirmative answer to that question, and of course to the abolition of the office of ruling elder, and to the subversion of our constitution.

The principle now assumed is part of a simple, plausible consistent theory of church government, but one very different from ours. That theory is, that the apostles ordained a bench of elders in every church, to whom the whole oversight of its instruction and government was committed; that these elders received the same ordination and held the same office and possessed the same rights and powers; but as some had one gift or talent and some another, it occurred in practice, that only some preached, while others ruled. This difference, however, resulted from no diversity of office, but simply from difference of gifts. All had an equal right to preach and to administer the sacraments as well as to rule. The arguments in support of this theory are derived partly from the usage of the Jewish synagogue, and partly from what is said in the New Testament. Bishops and presbyters are never mentioned together, as though they were different officers, the latter term being used to include all the officers of the church except deacons; Paul addressed the elders of Ephesus as one body, having common responsibilities and duties; in writing to Timothy he gives among the qualifications of elders aptness to teach; he makes no distinction between the two classes, but having said what elders should be, he immediately proceeds to speak of deacons. From these and other circumstances, many have inferred that all presbyters in the apostolic churches had the same office, and the same rights and duties. This was Vitringa's theory; and Presbyter quotes and adopts Vitringa's statements. But Vitringa was a decided opposer of ruling elders as a scriptural office. So in all consistency

must Presbyter be. He is in fact labouring for the abolition of the office.

At the time of the formation of our present constitution, there was one or two prominent men in our church who held the same doctrine, but they were opposed to our whole system, and complained bitterly that the synod insisted on "cramming Scotland down their throats." The late Dr. Jas. P. Wilson was another advocate of this theory; but he was the most zealous opposer of ruling elders our church ever produced. In his work on the "Primitive government of Christian churches," he says one of his principal objects was to show "the illiteracy of making mute elders a characteristic of the primitive church." "Had," he says, "there existed mute elders in the apostolic churches, deacons would have been unnecessary. Elders must 'feed the church,' and be 'apt to teach.'" He everywhere maintains that presbyters had the same office, though they differed in their gifts, graces and talents; some being best qualified for governing, others for exhorting and comforting, and others for teaching. He therefore says that 1 Tim. v. 17, "expresses a diversity in the exercise of the presbyterial office, but not in the office itself."*

We say that Presbyter's principles lead to the abolition of the office of ruling elder, not because others who have adopted those principles have discarded the office, but because such is their logical consequence. He says first, we are bound to have the office precisely as it was at first instituted; and secondly, that all presbyters had a common ordination and common presbyterial powers. If so, we say they had a common office; for how can identity of office be proved if it is not established by common designations and titles, by common duties, by common characteristics and qualifications, and by a common ordination. This is precisely the argument we use against prelatists to prove that bishop and elder have the same office. "Those," says Dr. Owen, "whose names are the same, equally com-

* pp. 282. 283, et passim. Dr. Wilson carried his theory through, so far that he never had any elders in his church. He says, "we ordained deacons and called them elders, for that was the custom." He considered the constitution, ch. xiii. § 2. as giving him this liberty. It is there said, "Every congregation shall elect persons to the office of ruling elder, and to that of deacon, or *to either of them.*" We do not vouch for the fact, but we have often heard it asserted that he never associated his nominal elders with himself in the government of his church, kept no sessional records, or at least never produced them before presbytery.

mon and applicable unto them all, whose function is the same, whose qualifications and characters are the same; whose duties, account and reward are the same, concerning whom, there is, in no place of scripture, the least mention of inequality, disparity or preference in office among them, they are essentially and every way the same." If this argument is good in one case, it is good in another. If it proves that bishops and presbyters had the same office, it certainly proves that all presbyters had also, especially if all had the same ordination. In opposition to all this, the mere fact that some elders preached and some ruled, no more proves diversity of office, than the fact that some bishops taught and others exhorted, that some were pastors and others missionaries, establishes the existence of as many different offices. The legitimate conclusion from these principles is not only that there is no such scriptural office, as that of ruling elder; but that it ought to be abolished.

Another conclusion to which these principles necessarily lead is, that the church session must be invested with the power of ordaining ministers of the gospel. If all presbyters have by divine right equal authority to ordain, and if the session is in fact a presbytery, who has a right to say they shall not exercise a power given them by Christ? It is clear that this is a right that cannot be denied to the session. This is a conclusion from which Presbyter and his friends, we presume, have no disposition to shrink. We see it asserted that no scholar has yet found a single case in the writings of the fathers of the first three centuries, in which the word *presbytery* is used to mean any thing else than the pastors and elders of a particular church;* and hence if the ordinations of that period were presbyterial they were performed by a church session. We are told also that the parochial presbytery or church session of Antioch, deputed Paul and Barnabas on a great mission, "laid their hands upon them," and that these apostles gave account of themselves when they returned.† Now when we remember that Paul received his apostleship neither from men, nor by man; neither by human authority nor by human intervention, but by Jesus Christ; that he constantly denies he received either instruction or authority from the other apostles, and felt it to be so necessary to assert his full equality with those inspired messengers of Christ, that he refused to

* Spirit of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. i. p. 459. † Do., p. 460

make any report to them, except privately, (Gal. ii. 2) lest he should appear as their deputy; when we consider all this, then we must admit, that if Paul was the missionary of the session of the church of Antioch, there is no presbyterial act to which a session is not competent.

It deserves, however, to be remarked that there does not appear to have been any ruling elders in the church session of Antioch. We read: "There were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers, Barnabas" and four others, of whom one was the apostle Paul. "As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." If this was a church session, it was composed of "prophets and teachers."

Another consequence which has heretofore been drawn from the principles under consideration, and one which it will be found difficult to avoid, is that the parochial presbytery is the only one for which we have any scriptural warrant. This conclusion must be greatly confirmed if the fathers of the first three centuries knew nothing of any other presbytery than the pastor and elders of a particular church. Of course our synods, which are but larger presbyteries, are in the same predicament. But even if the existence of these bodies can, by any ingenuity of logic, be sustained, their composition must be entirely altered. For if all presbyters have by express scriptural warrant the same rights, then, on Presbyter's principles, it cannot be allowed that all of one class and only a small portion of the other, should be allowed a seat in those bodies.

We believe, therefore, that it is undeniable that the principles on which Presbyter proceeds are subversive of our constitution. The measure now urged is the first step of a revolution; the beginning of the end. The abolition of the office of ruling elder; ordinations by church sessions; the abrogation of our presbyteries and synods, or, at least, their organization on an entirely different plan from that now adopted, we believe to be the logical consequences of this theory. It is only the first step that can be successfully resisted, for if that is granted the whole principle is conceded.

We wish to have it remembered that it is neither the one nor the other of the two leading principles of Presbyter,

taken separately, that we regard as of such serious consequence. It is the union of the two; the assertion that we are bound by allegiance to our Lord, to adhere exactly to the usage of the apostolic churches; and in connexion with this the assertion that all presbyters have the same ordination and the same presbyterial powers. The unavoidable conclusion from this latter position, is that all presbyters had in the apostolic churches the same office. The question whether in the beginning the difference between the two classes of presbyters was official or simply de facto; whether the preaching elder was ordained to one office, and the ruling elder to another; or whether both received the same ordination and performed different duties of the same office, according to their several gifts or talents, is a question we have not discussed. It is one, moreover, which our constitution has intentionally left undecided, and is in our view, of very subordinate importance. But if taken in connexion with the principle that we are bound to adhere exactly to the apostolic model, it becomes a vital question, and if decided as it must be on the ground assumed by Presbyter, it must subvert our whole system. For if he first binds us to exact conformity, and then leads us to the conclusion that all the early presbyters had the same office, it follows of course that all our presbyters must have the same office, the same qualifications, the same right to preach and administer the sacraments. If these rights inhere in their office they cannot be taken away. Nor does the authority to exercise them depend upon the election of the people. A man ordained to the office of the gospel ministry, may go where he will, (so he violates no right of others) and act as such. We can on these principles have no ruling elders such as we now have; and all our courts, from the session to the General Assembly, must be composed of ministers; if presbyters hold the same office and are equally entitled to preach as well as rule.

But according to the principle recognised from beginning to the end of our constitution, it matters little how this question about the primitive elders be decided. Christ has not made his grace to depend on the details of external organization; nor has he bound his church to any one exact model of ecclesiastical discipline. If in the early churches it was expedient and easy to have several presbyters in the same church, all clothed with the same office; and if we find it better, in our circumstances, to have one minister, assisted by a bench of elders, we have a divine right so to

order it. If after the manner of the synagogue, there was in every church a presiding officer or bishop, surrounded by other presbyters, authorized either to teach or rule as they had ability, we are obedient to this model, in having a bishop and elders in every congregation, even although the difference between our bishop and elders be now official and not merely a difference of gifts. If it is now difficult to find one preaching presbyter of suitable qualifications for each congregation, while it is easy to get many men of the requisite leisure, wisdom and piety, to join in ruling the house of God, where is the command of Christ that forbids our making a division of labour, and ordaining men to different offices for the discharge of these different duties? This liberty of carrying out and applying the general principles of the scriptures, our church and every other church, has exercised and must exercise. It is a liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and which no man may take away.

Into the historical part of this question, our limits already so inconveniently transcended, forbid us to enter. We believe that it is admitted that the present practice of all the Reformed churches is against the new theory, and of course the measure we are now urged to adopt will raise another barrier between us and all other presbyterian denominations. For some time after the Reformation in Scotland, ruling elders were annually elected; which of itself creates a presumption that they were not considered as having received a common ordination with the ministers of the gospel. The only evidence that they joined in the ordination of ministers that we have seen, amounts to this: Ministers were then ordained with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, elders were members of the presbytery, therefore elders joined in the imposition of hands. Presbyter uses a similar argument in a different case: Timothy was ordained with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, elders were members of the primitive presbyteries, therefore elders laid hands on Timothy. It is easy to reply: Presbyter was ordained with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery; ruling elders are members of our presbyteries; therefore ruling elders laid their hands on Presbyter. This argument is just as conclusive in this last case, as in either of the former. Facts cannot be proved by syllogisms.

The great argument for the right of elders to join in the ordination of ministers, derived from the constitution, is

that ordination is a presbyterial act, to be performed with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, and as elders are members of presbytery they have a right to join in that service. It will be admitted that the constitution is binding in the sense in which it was framed and adopted; and that it is unjust to enforce it in a different sense, even though the words themselves admit of the new construction. If a man in deeding an estate should define its limits inaccurately; if his intention could be clearly ascertained, it would be dishonest in any man, claiming under the deed, to take advantage of the phraseology, and say: There are the words you must abide by them. The real question then is, Did those who framed and those who adopted our constitution, intend by the words referred to, to confer on ruling elders the right to join in the actual ordination of ministers? If they did not, then no righteous claim can be advanced under the clause in question.

That the words of the constitution do not demand this construction, is clear to demonstration. In the Westminster Directory, it is said, "The presbytery, or the ministers sent by them for ordination,* shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry by laying their hands on him," &c. Yet the Directory repeatedly asserts that the imposition of hands in ordination belongs to "the preaching presbyters orderly associated." This Directory was the rule of discipline in our church at least from 1729 to 1788, when the new constitution was adopted; and from this source the usus loquendi of our formularies has been principally derived. Who then can believe that a form of expression, which in that book has confessedly one meaning, must of necessity in ours have a different? According to all ordinary rules of inference, we should conclude that the same phrase was to be taken in the same sense, in two works so nearly related.

Again, it is not more certain that ordination is an act of the presbytery, than that admission to the privileges of the church is an act of the session. Yet ruling elders though members of the session cannot actually introduce a man into the church by baptism. In like manner though members of the presbytery they cannot actually ordain. In both cases their concurrence is necessary in deciding on the

* As the Directory permitted ordination to be performed by a committee, it says, The presbytery, or the ministers sent for ordination, &c.

fitness of the candidate; but the executive act, belongs to the ministry. These considerations at least, prove that the language of the constitution does not demand the construction now put upon it. That it was not intended to be so construed, is proved from two sources, the language of the book in the immediate context and in other places; and from the uniform practice of the church. The constitution speaking of the ordination of ministers says: "The presiding minister shall, by prayer, and with the laying on the hands of the presbytery, according to the apostolic example, solemnly ordain him to the office of the gospel ministry." All the members of the presbytery, it is then directed, shall take him by the right hand saying, in words to this purpose, "we give you the right hand of fellowship to take part of this ministry with us." Of the words here used, the terms minister and ministry have a fixed and uniform meaning in our standards; they always mean minister of the gospel and his office. They must therefore have that meaning here. The term *member*, may be used either for any person having a right to sit in the body, or for one of its permanent constituent members. The expression "all the members" may mean either all without distinction, or all of a particular class. What the sense is, the context must determine. When it is said that the synod shall be opened with a sermon "by the moderator, or in case of his absence, by some other member;" "some member" can only mean "some member" competent to the duty, some preaching member. In like manner when it said "all the members" shall take the newly ordained minister by the hand, it can only mean all the members who are authorized to say, Take part of this ministry with us; which no man but a minister can say.

What, however, we should think, ought to put all controversy on this subject out of the question, is the uniform practice of the church. For when the question concerns the intention of the framers of a document, their uniform practice is decisive; because it is absolutely incredible that the framers of our constitution should deliberately intend to express one thing, and yet uniformly act as though they meant a different. We do not see how any man can believe that the authors of our book and the presbyteries in adopting it, should purpose to make an important change in the usage of the church, yet in no case act upon that intention; that no historical evidence should exist of such a purpose; and that those who were active in drawing up

the constitution should all say they had no such thought, and never heard of any body else having it. We do think such a thing never happened since the world began. Men can hardly intend a thing without knowing it. This mode of interpreting a constitution in opposition to the manifest intention of those who framed it, and of those whose adoption of it gave it force, must destroy it. The same argument on which so much stress is now laid, would prove that a ruling elder might be the moderator of any our judicatures, and consequently open the session with a sermon. The book says, a member shall preach, elders are members, therefore elders may preach.

We conclude by repeating, that the mere imposition of hands by elders, in the case of the ordination of a minister, is a matter of no importance. If understood as a solemn manner of expressing their assent to his ordination, it would be not only harmless, but decorous. It is the principle on which the change is urged that gives the question weight. That principle is felt on both sides to be important; and it is important, because it must work a change in our whole system. If this change is to be made, it ought to be effected in the way prescribed for altering the constitution, and not by the introduction of a single measure, which unsettles every thing and settles nothing.

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