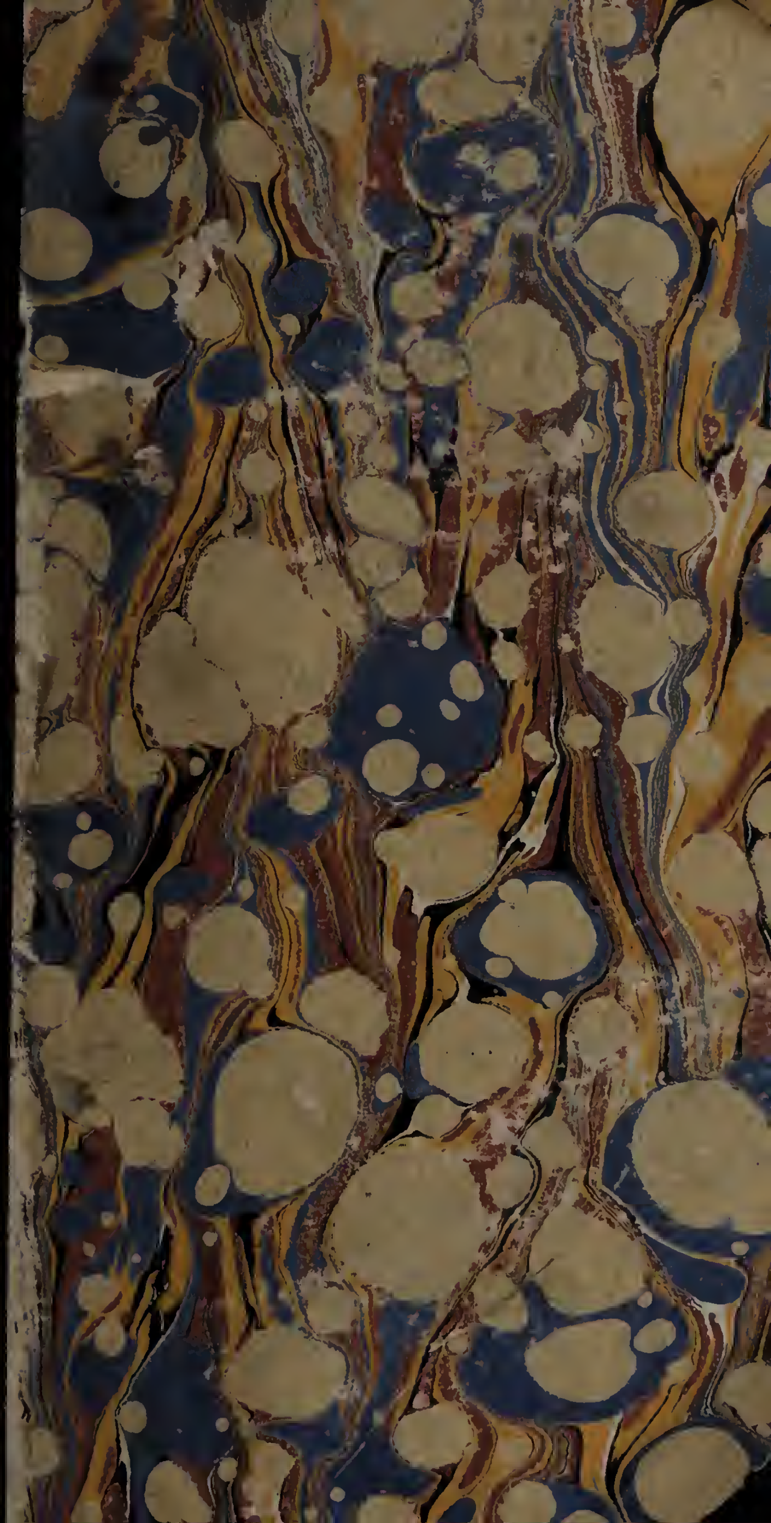

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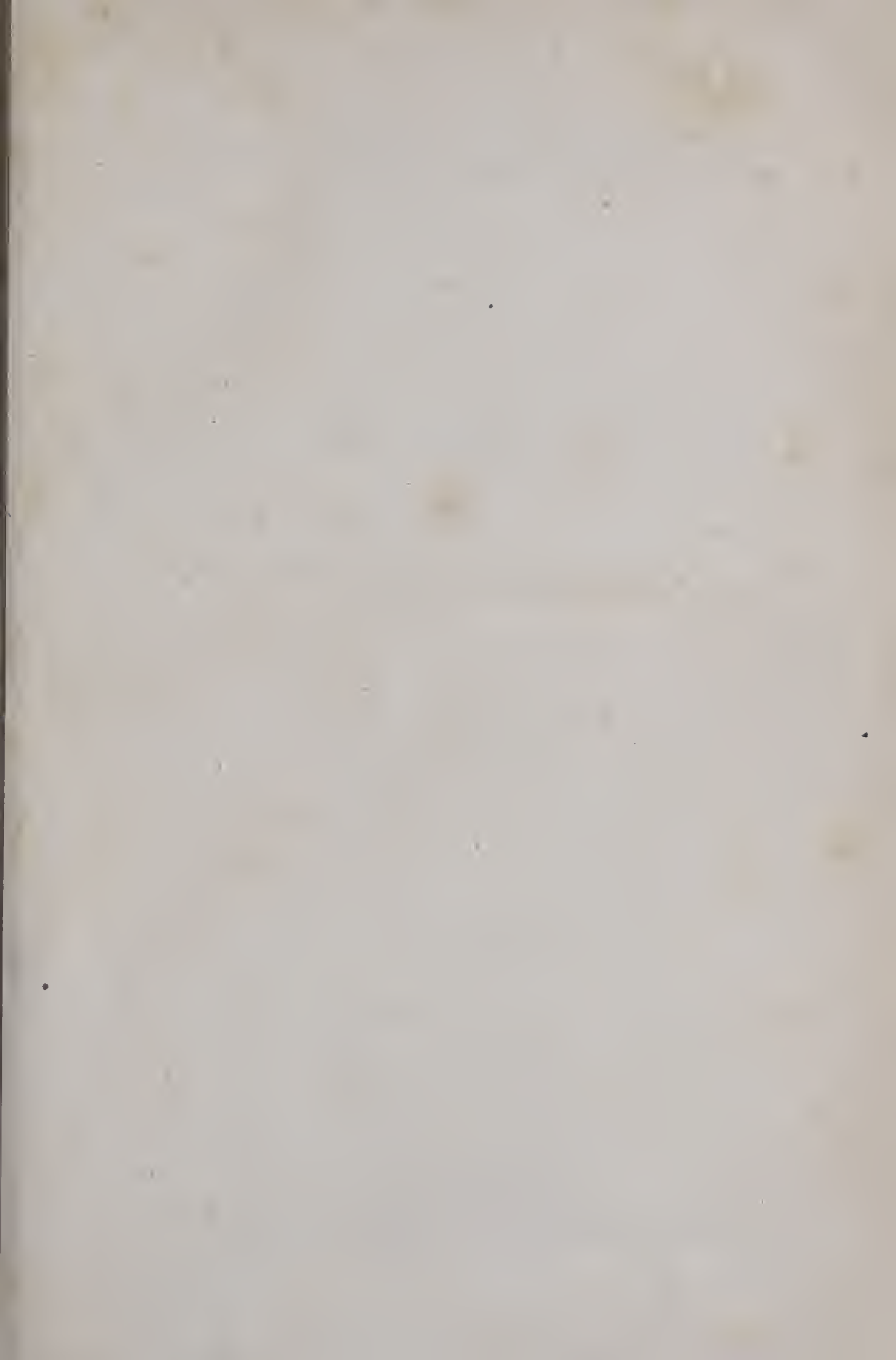

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1851.

VOL. XXIII.

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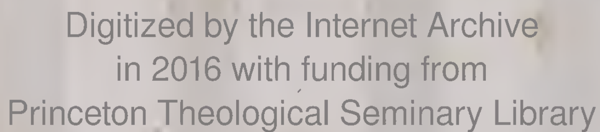
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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1851.

No. I.

Art. I.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Public Libraries, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, &c.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. July 23d, 1849. Folio. pp. 317.

2. *Evening Schools and District Libraries. An Appeal to Philadelphians in behalf of improved means of Education and Self-culture, for Apprentices and young Workmen.* pp. 27. Philadelphia: King & Baird. 1850.

3. *Free Reading Room of Spring Garden, for Young Men and Apprentices.* pp. 12. Philadelphia: Collins & Co. 1850.

On the fifteenth of March, 1849, the English House of Commons appointed a select committee of fifteen "on the best means of extending the establishment of libraries freely open to the public, especially in large towns in Great Britain and Ireland, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report observations and minutes of evidence to the House." So promptly and efficiently did they execute the important commission, that on the twenty-third of the follow-

ing July, their report was made and ordered to be printed, and we have it on our table—a formidable folio containing,

First, the report proper. (14 pages.)

Second, Minutes of the meetings of the committee and attendance of witnesses. (6 pages.)

Third, Minutes of evidence in answer to three thousand four hundred and twenty-three distinct interrogatories. (254 pages.)

Fourth, Appendix. (62 pages.)

An unusual interest has been recently awakened in the provision of popular libraries, and indeed in the general subject of book-publishing and book-reading. It is among the prominent designs of the movement to which the second of the pamphlets we have mentioned, refers—to establish libraries at convenient points in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, to be connected with reading rooms, lectures and perhaps some higher branches of popular instruction; and the generous sum of thirty thousand dollars has been voluntarily contributed for this laudable purpose. The "Appeal," which is understood to be from the pen of Bishop POTTER, sufficiently indicates the earnestness with which the enterprise has been commenced, and at the same time discloses facts which encourage the hope of entire success..

The introduction of libraries into manufacturing establishments, beneficial clubs, and various social organizations as well as into our Sunday and daily schools, gives to such an inquiry no little interest on our shores. The parliamentary report contains a vast store of facts showing the origin and growth of the most celebrated public libraries in the world—the methods of preserving and increasing them—the extent to which they are used, and the advantages which are supposed to result from them.

The committee advert first to the comparative deficiency of public libraries in their own country—there being in France one hundred and seven; in the United States more than one hundred; in Austria forty-eight; in the Prussian States forty-four; while there is only one in Great Britain to which the same unrestricted access is enjoyed as in all the other countries named. Eleven libraries are then reported which were formerly entitled, by law, to a copy of every new work

from the English press, and five of which have still that privilege, while the other six receive a grant from government which is supposed to be an equivalent, and which, in the aggregate, amounts to about thirteen thousand dollars. We are surprised to find that while all the University Libraries of Belgium and Italy are open to the public, the University Libraries of Cambridge, Oxford, and Glasgow exclude not only the public, but also the undergraduates of the colleges.

Allusion is then made to various local libraries, most of them founded by private munificence; to cathedral libraries, (thirty-four in England, and six in Ireland,) the basis of which is theological, and finally to parochial libraries, of which there are one hundred and sixty-three in England and Wales and six in Scotland—chiefly founded for the benefit of the clergy, and all very much neglected or abused.

This cursory survey of existing provisions for the reading public, is followed by sundry considerations showing their inadequacy or enforcing the necessity of their great enlargement. The evidence of a popular inclination to read is discovered in the collections of books (in addition to newspapers) with which the two thousand coffee-houses of London are now supplied—in the success which has attended most of the efforts to bring the poorest classes of the people into reading habits—in the increasing desire for village libraries in rural districts, and in the great popularity and utility of the libraries attached to the "Ragged Schools," one of which is described as being "frequented by about one hundred constantly varying readers, of a class approaching to mendicancy, who though violent and ill-conducted at first, soon acquire perfect habits of order and learn to take pleasure in reading."

The institution of "Farmers' Libraries," generally in connexion with some association or club, is particularly mentioned as an improvement. An agriculturist who has taken a deep interest in their success says:

"Some six years ago I took a part in the formation of such a library and club in the county of Wigtown, which has been productive of much good in that county. Previously agriculture was in a backward state, especially in what is called the Rhins of Galloway; but now I can speak in very decided

terms of the improvement of husbandry there, chiefly resulting to the farmers through the library and club referred to. Some of these improvements will be found explained in a recent pamphlet published by Blackwood and Sons, of which one of the practical farmers of that county is the author." Parl. Rep. p. 253.

Ireland, though hastening to a much higher grade of popular intelligence than she has heretofore attained, is represented as very scantily supplied with books. There are seventy-three towns within her bounds containing an average population of twenty-three hundred in each, in which such a convenience as a bookseller's shop is unknown! In the important seaport town of Drogheda, on the thoroughfare from Dublin to Belfast, containing a population of twenty thousand souls—about equal to Portland or Rochester—the only popular or public library is connected with a Mechanics' Institute and contains only two hundred volumes, and the whole town does not boast of a bookseller! Intelligent and discerning persons do not hesitate to say "that the late unhappy insurrections in Ireland embraced a large class of persons whose disposition to disorder might have been entirely curbed by free access to popular and improving books."

In reply to the question, by what method such libraries as are needful can be established and maintained, the committee say that "the general want is not so much of objects to be deposited as a depository for the reception of them. It is probable," they add, "that if the buildings, devoted to the purposes of a library or a museum existed, and if the institutions for whose use they are erected, were firmly and inalienably secured in some fixed and lasting society or corporation, and exempted from the burden of local or general taxation, the materials to fill those buildings would be easily, and in many cases voluntarily, supplied."

The obvious distinction is taken by the report between a library of deposit and research, and a library for popular use. The former should reject no printed matter of which it has not already a copy. "The most insignificant tract—the most trifling essay or sermon—a newspaper or a song—may afford an illustration of manners or opinions, elucidatory of the past

and throw a faithful though a feeble light on the pathway of the future historian." The value of such a store-room of the literary products of the current age should prompt all who have the means and opportunity, to contribute to its wealth. There are many rare and precious volumes lying unused and unvalued, exposed to waste and ruin on the shelves of private individuals, which would be gladly received and carefully preserved in a public library; and some of them, though now of little account, may, in the lapse of years, become of priceless value to the historian or antiquary.

As to the second class of libraries, viz: such as are designed for popular reading or general circulation, a very different principle governs the admission of books. Instead of rejecting nothing, great care and discrimination are needful in determining what to receive. A general order to purchase every thing which is published—taking the bookseller's circular for a guide—would result in giving currency to mischievous errors of every grade and hue, while a restriction to such works as shall conform to individual tastes or opinions would exclude some of the most appropriate and valuable books for such a purpose.

A much more rigid caution will be needful in selecting a village or family library. It is no difficult matter in our day to make up a sufficiently extensive assortment of books for popular use in any part of Great Britain or of our own country, without admitting a single objectionable volume.

In considering the methods of increasing the usefulness of existing libraries, much stress is laid upon opening them in the evening. "To close them," says the report, "during the very hours when the suspense of bodily labour or of business leaves leisure for the cultivation of the mind, seems to be defeating the very object of their institution."

The establishment of village libraries is urged with much earnestness as a means of sound, moral and religious improvement among all classes; and favourable reference is made to the "Itinerating Libraries" in use in extensive districts of Scotland, by means of which each neighbourhood, embracing an area of three miles, is supplied, once in two years, with a neat collection of fifty volumes of entertaining books, to be

loaned to all persons over twelve years of age who may comply with the rules. Instances have occurred, especially in winter, in which every book has been out at once; and the only care needed to give success to such a plan is that the collections are interchanged in proper time and order, and that the books are not abused. This scheme has been partially adopted in Germany and Switzerland.

One of the witnesses before the Parliamentary committee was a gentleman from Leeds, who conducted a newspaper in that place for many years and was extensively connected "with the working and middle classes throughout the West Riding of Yorkshire." He expresses his conviction that the itinerating library system, efficiently worked, would do more, in connexion with elementary instruction, to elevate the character and improve the taste than almost any other system of operations that he knows of. . . . . I need scarcely say," he adds, "that I regard it as separate and distinct from the establishment of public lending libraries in the large towns and cities, where the books would require to be kept stationary for consultation, reference, &c. But I submit whether by some means or other, the itinerating system of libraries might not form part of any intended scheme for admitting the working people of England, in town and country alike, to participate in the pleasures and advantages which are derived from a free intercourse with the thoughts and experience of the wise and good of all ages, and which now lie comparatively hid from them in books."* p. 130.

* It is not out of place to observe that the "Village and Family Library," republished in this country by the "American Sunday School Union," in connexion with the "Religious Tract Society" of London, contains nearly or quite fifty choice volumes for popular reading, and would serve admirably as the nucleus of the plan here suggested. The titles which we subjoin so far as we know them, will denote with sufficient fullness the general character of the books.

The Solar System, part 1, by Thomas Dick, LL.D.
The Starry Heavens, part 2. " " "
Ancient Jerusalem, by Dr. Kitto. Modern Jerusalem, by same.
The Life of Mohammed. The Life of Cyrus.
Dawn of Modern Civilization. Sketches of the Waldenses.
Man in his Physical, Intellectual, Social and Moral Relations.
The French Revolution. The Caves of the Earth.
The Life of Lady Russel. Eminent Medical Men.
Comparison of Structure in Animals—the Hand and the Arm.

No valuable library should be deposited in a building that is liable to be consumed. It is a loss that no insurance can cover. The shelves and their supports, as well as the floors, partitions and furniture should be of iron. If this is not practicable, the fittings and furniture might be of fire-proof material. The damage from water to any collection of unopened bound books would be much greater than they would be likely to sustain from fire.

On the subject of catalogues, some seasonable hints are thrown out. The obvious importance of keeping them posted up with the latest additions is insisted upon. The catalogue of the British Museum is now (or was very lately,) three years in arrears, and the inconvenience of the deficiency can scarcely be exaggerated. Every permanent library for reference or research, should contain a perfect collection of the catalogues of other libraries in all parts of the world. Any complete library of this class should make it a primary object to contain within itself a "library of catalogues." In the opinion of the most enlightened men, a good catalogue of a large library is the most useful work it can possibly contain, and yet the most difficult to prepare and the most rare to find. Nothing, in this way, requires more skill than to arrange in the most useful manner a large collection of books. Without speaking of the very minute bibliographical researches which are necessary to describe correctly old and rare books, with proper references to date, edition, imprint, &c., for the guidance of inquirers, there are questions unexpectedly occurring as to the identity of authors

History of Protestantism in France to the reign of Charles IX.
Protestantism in France, part 2. Geography of Plants.
Magic. Pretended Miracles and Remarkable Natural Phenomena.
The Life of Cranmer. Life of Martin Boos.
Schools of Ancient Philosophy. Our English Bible.
The Origin and Progress of Languages. The Life of Luther.
Cowper's Task and other Poems. The Northern Whale Fishery.
Arctic Regions: their Situation, Appearances, Climate and Zoology.
Life of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Tartar Tribes. Iona.
The Court of Persia, viewed in connection with Scriptural Usages.
Life of Lavater. Life's Last Hours. The People of Persia.
Characters of the Reformation, part 1.
Characters of the Reformation, part 2.
The Senses and the Mind. Plants and Trees of Scripture.
Good Health. The Crusades. Life of Alfred the Great.

and editions and the genuineness of works ascribed to them, as well as in respect to the department of literature or science in which it may most appropriately be entered. Even the leading or indicative word of the title is often a most difficult point to decide and may be regarded as a test-task for any aspirant for fame in the art of catalogue-making. A catalogue, classified as to subjects, with an alphabetical list of authors, is regarded by the committee as the best form. We are surprised to learn that there is no printed catalogue of the University library of Cambridge (Eng.) and that of forty cathedral libraries two only have printed catalogues! A library without a catalogue is not unlike a complicated lock without a key.

Appended to the report and in connexion with the minutes of evidence before the committee are sundry maps showing the locality of the public libraries in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Copenhagen, Rome, Florence, London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, for the purpose of enabling the reader to judge of the convenience of popular access to them. There is also a large map exhibiting to the eye at one view the relative provision of books in libraries open to the public in the principal States of Europe compared with the population of the same States respectively. From this it appears that in the smaller German States there are four hundred aud fifty volumes at the service of every hundred of the people;—in Denmark the proportion is four hundred and twelve books to one hundred people;—in Switzerland three hundred and fifty to one hundred;—in Bavaria three hundred and thirty-nine;—in Sweden and Norway three hundred and nine;—in Prussia two hundred;—in Austria and Hungary one hundred and sixty-seven;—in the Italian states one hundred and fifty;—in France one hundred and twenty-nine;—in Belgium, Spain and Sardinia about one hundred;—in Russia and Portugal eighty to every seventy-six inhabitants, and in Holland and the British Isles sixty-three books to fifty-three people.

We are not to regard this statement as conclusive evidence that the countries which stand highest on the list most highly appreciate or most wisely use their privileges, So far from it, it would not surprise us to learn that the intelligence of

the common people was far more general and practical at the other end. Such a result would not make at all against the importance of abundant provision of food for the intellect. It would only show that communities, like individuals, prize most highly what is sought by many, and obtained with difficulty by few. The itinerating libraries of Scotland, to which we just now referred, were so faithfully distributed as to give an annual average of seven issues to each volume. It is quite possible that the intelligence diffused by a small but choice collection of books among these who share in its use, is quite equal to what would be found in the most favoured countries on the map.

Connected with the testimony of Mr. *Edwards*, one of the officers of the British Museum, is an interesting table, showing the number of volumes published within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland during each of the years from 1839 to 1848 with their aggregate value at the publication price. From this it appears that thirty-one thousand three hundred and ninety-five different works were published, including new edition and reprints, but exclusive of pamphlets and periodicals. The estimated value of one copy of each of these, at the publication price, would be about sixty-five thousand dollars. This is an average of three thousand one hundred thirty-nine and a half volumes for each year, the smallest issue being in 1841, two thousand and eleven volumes, and the largest in 1848, three thousand nine hundred and three volumes.

In Germany in 1847 eleven thousand and four hundred separate works were published including pamphlets, and in France during the same year five thousand five hundred and thirty works were published including pamphlets. As an evidence of the fluctuations in the book-trade it may be remarked that in Germany there were eleven hundred more separate volumes and pamphlets published in 1846 than in 1848. In France about a thousand more were published in 1842 than in 1847; while in England the number of separate volumes (excluding pamphlets) was two thousand one hundred and ninety-three in 1842, and three thousand nine hundred and three, or nearly double, in 1848. The average publication

price of the English issues was 8s. 9½d. or about $2,12½ per volume.

Among the witnesses examined by the committee was *George Dawson*, Esq., an intelligent gentleman whose pursuits as a popular lecturer have made him quite familiar with the wants, habits, tastes and humours of what are there called the "working classes," especially in manufacturing towns within England and Scotland. His attention had been specially called to the state of the various "mechanics' institutes" and their supply of books, which he describes as "made up of very heterogeneous materials, contributed by various parties,—five or six hundred of every three thousand volumes being entirely useless, mostly annual reports and religious magazines which are never taken from the shelf."

Some items in *Mr. Dawson's* testimony are well worth transcribing and cannot be improved or condensed by throwing them into any other form than the original.

Q. 1216. Do you think there is any willingness on the part of the working classes to avail themselves of libraries, if they had free access to them?

Ans. Yes, in Nottingham they have an operative and artisans' library. The artisans' library is held in a room in one of the public buildings, and the subscription is small; but they refuse to admit theological or political works, and many working-men have withdrawn from it, and formed a new library, and the books are kept in public houses, and there they go, and pay a small subscription, and perhaps take a glass of ale, and read.

1217. Can you give the committee an idea of the character of those books?

They are mostly novels, or at least a large portion of them are novels; still there are a great many political works.

1218. Is there a willingness on the part of the working classes to study works that are of rather of a deeper character than those, if they had the power of doing so?

Yes, we find that in regard to novels, which form the majority of books taken out, the proportion is diminishing, and the proportion of historical and philosophical works is increasing. The novels, in some libraries, are in the minority.

1222. Do you suppose that the working classes prefer political and theological works?

The working classes prefer historical and political works; they do not trouble theological works much.

1223. Are historical works much read by that class of the people?

Not unless they are political.

1224. With regard to works on the arts and sciences, do you suppose the operatives would prefer reading them?

There is not so great a demand for those books as for historical books.

1228. Do they not admit newspapers in the institution at Manchester?

Yes, and so they do almost in every institution; but this is done by admitting them to the news room, as it is called, and that is regarded as a separate department.

1229. Do they not admit works of party politics?

In Manchester they do; they admit everything to the mechanics institutions, but in Nottingham the operative library was founded because of this exclusion. I have a note of what a working man said about that: he said that he and nine other subscribers to the artisans' library seceded from it because they could not get such books on political and religious subjects as they wish to read. They "clubbed" together and bought Howitt's history of Priestcraft, and that was the beginning of operative libraries in Nottingham.

1230. Can you state whether in Manchester the same preference exists for theological and political works, as distinguished from scientific or mechanical works?

Not in an equal degree; but still the greater demand is for historical and political works. There is one curious point I might notice, which is as to the proportion of issues to the number of volumes. It was found in the Midland Counties generally that there were over six isues to one volume.

1231. As to the libraries in Birmingham, what are they?

They are all subscription libraries; there are Instruction Society Libraries, which are small, and the Polytechnic Institution Library is small, and the issues are about in the same proportion, six times the number of volumes; then if

you subtract the number of volumes which never leave the shelves, you will find from that, each volume goes out nine or ten times in the course of the year. At the Leicester Library there are 3,000 volumes and 13,000 issues; then if you subtract from that the books that never go out, some 2,500 books have 13,000 or 14,000 times to go out.

1232. In speaking of the absence of historical and political books from those libraries, you would hardly apply that to standard histories of the country, but to more recent works?

Yes.

1233. Are you aware whether the older historical writings are becoming more known, that is, the standard historical works as distinguished from more recent works, bearing more upon present politics; do you know whether those are circulated much?

Very much; for instance, "Froissart's Chronicles" is a work in great demand and very popular,—and latterly the republication of the old Saxon Chronicles.

1234. Have such books as Coxe's Revolutions of Europe an extensive circulation?

Yes, and the translations from the French political histories have been much read.

1235. Do you think it would be desirable to have libraries containing books of every kind, so that people could take their choice?

Yes; there should be no restriction except a moral one, that is, excluding books of an immoral character.

1236. So that you would neither have political history, excluded, nor have libraries restricted as to the subject of politics, but you would have a general library, where the reader might choose what suited his literary appetite?

Yes; in the best libraries there is no restriction.

1237. Do you feel convinced that if there were such libraries on an extensive scale they would be properly availed of by the people?

Yes, I am sure of that, because wherever they can get the means of having a library they take advantage of it; for instance, the Odd Fellows have founded libraries in many towns, and some of the benefit-societies have a library at

Birmingham where the present cheap subscription room is so full at night that it is quite inconvenient, and they will have to increase their accommodation. That is the case only where the subscription is reduced to the minimum; in Liverpool there is a mechanics' institution where they pay a penny a week to the newspaper room, and a penny a week to the library and lectures. They never take any subscription above a penny; they take none in advance, and they have a great number of working men.

1242. Are you able to state how the lower classes in London are supplied with literature?

By accident altogether. It is a scramble in London: whoever can get a penny buys a book. There is no provision in London in that respect for any poor person. The libraries in London, and throughout the country indeed, are closed at the only hours the working men can use them. The British Museum Library shuts at four; the Chatham Library shuts at four: they are closed at that hour because there shall not be fire or light in them. They are utterly useless to the working classes who cannot take the books home. For them, in fact, libraries are not extant.

1246. And you think that, so opened, these libraries would be of great utility?

They would be very much used.

1253. Have you known instances of self-denial on the part of pupils to get books?

Yes, I have known men to rise at five and work till eight for book-money, and then go to their day's work.

1254. In what towns have you known that?

In Birmingham.

1255. Have you ever been on the continent? Yes.

1256. Has your attention been called to the question of whether greater facilities are possessed in this country or on the continent for procuring books?

In Paris, and some of the great German towns, I have found that books are very much better supplied, and that as a whole the libraries have much more attention given to them as regards each department, and that the access to the libraries is much more ready.

1257. Is not the aeeess in faet quite unrestricted? Yes.

1258. You would say that foreigners never meet with the least difficulty in getting any book? No.

1259. Though unintroduced?

No; the passport is a sufficient guarantee; you have merely to produee it.

1260. Would a foreigner in England find an equal faeility in getting books?

No; there is no library in England to which he could get aceess.

1261. Exeept the Chetham Library?

There he would have more facility, but he could not take a book away; and then that library consists very much of old, dry books that nobody reads now, not even a professional man. They have agreed to buy modern books of late, and they spend a few pounds a year, but I fear much of their money is wasted.

1262. You know that many of the libraries on the continent are lending libraries, so that a person ean take a book out of the library when required?

Yes, but I believe there is no ease of that kind in England, exeept in the ease of the subseription libraries.

1263. Do you think, looking at certain sets of books which could be easily purchased, it would be very desirable for the sake of literary men, and also of the working elasses in England, to have libraries on the lending principle?

Yes; the only thing is that you would run the risk of losing books.

1264. But do you think the risk would be worth running for the sake of the good it would do?

Yes; a great deal of reading is not done, but might be done, because the men eannot get the books away; it is often ineonvenient to sit in a public room to read.

1265. What is the result of your observation with regard to any improvement generally in the eharacter of the working-classes, in a moral and also in a literary point of view?

I think the improvement in that respeet has been very great of late years.

1267. Will you be so good as to state to the committee

your views upon the subject, so far as you feel you have scope for?

I find that the increase of reading is very marked indeed; there is a decrease, I think, of that turbulent spirit which I consider to be owing to ignorance. I have always found that when people read most they are the least open to be played upon by mere appeals to feeling. Of late years the increase in newspaper reading has been very great indeed, and I think that has had a very good effect.

1267. Is there, do you think, an increasing taste for more useful and cheaply published works?

Certainly, those works that are now published at one shilling a volume would not have had a sale at all some years ago. We now find good historical books published at about three shillings and nine pence, and three shillings and six pence a volume, which have been of great general advantage, for we find that the worst kind of reading keeps sinking to a lower stage. There is a great deal of trash published in the shape of cheap tales of horror, which is read mostly by the younger and lower class of readers; but after they have learned to read and write well, they rise gradually in the character of the works they read, and the trash sinks down to the lowest readers generally. Some of the most intelligent and best-read men in Birmingham are working men. I could produce five or six working men whom I should be happy to have examined against any of the middle classes in the place. They are men who have wrestled it out.

1268. Is that on general subjects? Yes.

1269. Comprising to a great extent scientific matters? Yes.

1270. And history?

Yes, history and politics.

1271. And literature generally?

Yes, and some of them have taught themselves German and French.

1273. Would you say that the habits of the people had improved within the last ten or twenty years, particularly with respect to temperance? Yes.

1274. Does that naturally lead to more refined pursuits? Yes.

1275. And more extensive habits of reading than formerly?

Yes, and the character of the amusements is changed. Bull-baiting and dog-fighting in Birmingham and the neighbourhood were the public favourite sports; now the bull-baiting is gone altogether, and although dog-fighting does exist, it is only amongst the most ignorant of the people.

1276. And you think that the improved taste of the people themselves has had as much to do with the discontinuance of these sports as any interference by the authorities?

Yes, they have died out; they have not been put down; all those things have died out; there has been a change in the source and current of the thoughts of the people.

1230. You have spoken of small libraries, to which a penny subscription is paid; do those libraries take in works of design?

Very rarely; but the publication of pictures, and wood-cutting, and cheap magazines has done very much. Any one knowing the Birmingham manufactures will see the great improvement that has taken place in the drawing of the artizans since the cheap periodicals have come out; such as the People's Journal. The cuts are sometimes rude, but still they are from the great masters.

1281. Do you know any thing of the School of Design at Birmingham? Yes.

1282. Have they a collection of books?

They are making one, but it is small at present; it is not an old institution.

1283. Two or three years old?

Five or six years old.

1294. Is it much frequented by working men?

Yes, young men becoming students for the glass, papier maché, and other trades; those manufacturers having one or two drawing-rooms, and there will be twenty or thirty young men painting sometimes in them; and these manufacturers keep a supply of students at school.

1285. Is it possible to trace any advance in regard to that principally since the school was established?

Yes; you have only to go into the show-rooms and look at

the back shelves, and see the patterns which were in vogue a few years ago to convince yourself of that.

1286. Then you think the establishment of a public library would be of benefit in that respect generally? Yes.

1308. Do you not think that the establishment of libraries would be a very desirable supplement to any system of local or national education given to the working classes?

I think that one must be a corollary from the other. The fact is, we give the people in this country an appetite to read, and supply them with nothing. For the last many years in England every body has been educating the people, but they have forgotten to find them any books. In plain language, you have made them hungry, but you have given them nothing to eat; it is almost a misfortune to a man to have a great taste for reading, and not to have the power of satisfying it.

1309. Is not the most valuable part of an artisan's education, the education he gives himself?

Yes, the education a free society gives him. Still you tell him it is a great advantage to read, and you supply him with nothing.

1310. And what is put within his reach now is often as likely to be bad as good?

Yes; the penny stamp upon newspapers makes the cost of a good thing dear, and adds facility to the cheap people to circulate trash to an extent which is almost incredible; the rubbish issued every Saturday is very great indeed.

1312. Have you ever attended to the formation of parochial or village libraries in the rural districts?

In the Midland districts occasionally. They are forming them now in almost every large village in Derbyshire and that neighbourhood.

1315. The clergymen of the Established Church have taken great interest, have they not, in the formation of those libraries?

Yes, but the libraries they form are not popular with some of the people, because they are very often exclusive. When I say "exclusive," I mean that they are worked under the patronage of this or that society, and the fact is they are often too theological for the people.

1316. Do you think it desirable for any library, whether for rural or manufacturing districts, that the basis of the library should be the best of books?

The very best of books.

1317. I mean the highest quality of literature the country possesses.

Yes, the very best. I think the religious bodies are quite able to take care of the supply of that kind of books. The mistake is that they put so many of them into village libraries, because each church or chapel has plenty of means of supplying those people with religious books without filling up the general library of the village with them. I think in village libraries that has been the fault, that too many of those books have been put in which have belonged to the church or the chapel; they are not wanted, or if they are, the church or the chapel have the means of supplying them.

1341. In what proportion in towns is the reading proportion as compared with the other part?

The only way to find that out is by the issue of the books.

1342. Cannot you give a rough estimate; for instance, take Birmingham?

It is very difficult to tell, because the number of little libraries is so immense. There are libraries connected with the church and other institutions in the different parishes, and almost every chapel has some kind of library connected with it; it would not be easy to get at the numbers without a minute statement. There are some families now beginning to put libraries in their kitchens; that is a new sign of these later times; it is what few men think about, but it is what they ought to do. I have noticed of late that in several houses they have put up a shelf or two in the kitchen; it is to be feared that the mechanics and others who live under the roof of their employers are too much forgotten and neglected. Of course the quantity of people who cannot read and write in this country is a very great hindrance to the demand for books. We have eight millions who cannot write yet.

1357. I gather from you that your opinion is, that the diffusion of knowledge and the establishment of libraries for the benefit of the working classes would have the effect of render-

ing the people less liable to be led aside and made tools of by political agitators?

Yes, towns in which I think that sort of agitation does least, are those in which there is most reading. There are certain towns in England in which the agitation could do more than in others, and those are the most ignorant.

1367. Do you think the prevailing tendency of the mind of the working classes is to study political subjects rather than other general literary topics?

I think their greatest interest is in political subjects.

1368. May not that lead them to study others? It is not to the neglect of others?

I think it is so with Englishmen generally, that political questions are most interesting to them, and next those historical subjects, and then perhaps travels and poetry, which is a great deal read, very much indeed, and of course the result is, very much poetry is written by the working people. Any body connected with a newspaper knows what an enormous flood of poetry the working classes send in, in the course of the year; in fact it would, in a few years, fill a small room full; all of which shows that there is a great deal of thinking and reading going on; because, though it is a compliment to call some of it poetry, still when a man can write eight or nine verses of rhyme at all tolerable, he must have made some way in reading and writing and acquiring the English language. In the newspapers there is a great deal of correspondence from working people; it is so in Birmingham, about all sorts of things.

1369. The practice of giving prizes for essays on certain subjects, to be written by working people, is very prevalent?

Yes.

1370. Have you seen many of the essays that have been written on those subjects?

There have been some essays written lately about Sabbath observance. Three prizes were gained by three working men of Birmingham, whom I know well. I have seen them, and they were really well written; their fault is the fault which generally those people have at first, that is more words than

thoughts; they want shaking a little to let the words drop out.

1371. Then upon the whole, you consider them good specimens? Yes.

1372. Is the higher class of poetry read by the working people? Yes, very much.

1373 In many instances, do you know of their being acquainted with our best poets?

Yes, Shakspeare is known by heart, almost. I could produce men who could be cross-examined upon any play.

1374. Is Milton much read?

Yes, but less than Shakspeare.

1375. Is that spirit increasing?

Yes, increasing.

Another witness (a clergyman of the Church of England) being examined on some of the same points, though not in reference to the same districts, gave a somewhat different view of the case.

1378. Have you turned your attention to the institution of libraries in villages for the instruction of the rural population?

Yes, I have.

1379. Are those libraries extending, to your knowledge, in different parts of the country?

Yes, very much.

1380. Do you think there is an inclination to make use of them on the part of the agricultural people of the country?

Very much indeed; increasingly so.

1381. Can you give the committee an idea of the books which compose any of the rural libraries within your district?

I might observe that people are very little acquainted with the extraordinary ignorance of the people in the rural districts, such as Buckinghamshire, and many of the books which we select for those libraries, I find lie upon the shelves unread, and the consequence is, we require duplicates over and over again of such works as Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, Cook's Voyages, and works of that description; but what we are aiming at is to raise the standard, so as to get

them to read books of practical science and books of a higher description altogether.

1382. Do you make any attempts to connect education with their pursuits, so as to instruct them, for instance, in matters connected with agriculture?

Yes; but there is a difficulty in creating an interest upon the subject. I have found that if we established a lending library which was entirely free, very few people will come for the books, and if they receive the books they do not read them; and they care very little about them; therefore we have adopted a different plan, namely, that of making them pay a small sum for the use of the books; we make them pay one shilling a month, and by that means we get a little sum for the payment of the libraries, and the books are valued and more read. I have noticed a very different demand since we have adopted this plan, to the state of things previously.

1383. Could you give the committee an idea of the books themselves as forming a part of such libraries as you have there?

I might say, in a few words, we have selected the books which we think most convenient, from the Religious Tract Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We have confined ourselves almost exclusively to them.

1393. In the winter the agricultural labourer has a great deal of time for reading, has he not, in the evening?

They go to bed very early; we open our library on the Monday evening, where they have good fire and good light, and many of the poor men, and even the bigger boys, come in and spend a couple of hours and enjoy it very much.

1394. Is it one day a week? Yes.

1395. You have a good room have you? Yes.

1396. If your funds would admit of it, should you think it desirable to open it on other days; say three days in a week?

Yes; I might add that since the establishment of these lending libraries, I have been enabled to do what I could not before, engraft a young man's society upon it; a sort of young man's improvement society; those young men I find

are very anxious for books, and they are reading a higher class of books. We give them lectures once a fortnight upon scientific subjects, tending to illustrate the truth of religion, and it is creating a great interest and causing discussion among them. Those young men are inquiring for the higher class of books and which in time we shall be glad to supply them with.

1412. Do you think that in a purely rural population any body of persons could be found capable of managing such an institution as a village library, I mean a population of an improved character?

Yes; I think you might find our first-class boys who have gone through our schools, and who have been kept there till they are 14 or 15 years of age, would be competent to take charge of a library in a rural district.

The social and moral benefits flowing from a good public library in popular neighborhoods is almost universally acknowledged. It has been doubted however by some whether such institutions could be of much service in small towns, or whether it is even practicable to establish them in such places. The following summary of facts which we derive from the Report before us, will tend to show the signal importance of them to any community where readers are found or can be made. The experiment to which we are about to refer was tried in Peebles, a small town on the banks of the Tweed, twenty miles south from Edinburgh, containing two thousand or twenty-five hundred inhabitants. It has no manufactures of importance and consequently there is no large body of workmen, belonging to any one trade. The artisans are of that mixed kind, usually found in a small town dependent on the surrounding country district. To these may be added the young men in shops and lawyers' offices, and thus the occupations of the employed will be at once manifest. It is not saying too much that among these were usually to be found the supporters, to some extent, of the public houses within the burgh. Several years ago the lawyers' clerks, and young trades-lads, were notorious for their disorderly and immoral conduct. Many of them had on that account to leave the place; some enlisted, and others went abroad, and some were

brought to a premature grave. Of the youths of that day hardly one has remained, in Peebles, as the master of a profession or trade, and the places in society they might have occupied, are filled with strangers. It cannot be said that these youth were more vicious or evil-inclined than the youths of the present day. A great part of the cause of their unhappy career, must be discovered in the fact that *they had no proper occupation for their idle time.* If any institution had existed, which could have afforded them the means of instruction, and recreation, and of employing their spare hours to advantage, many of their perils would have been avoided and an inducement held out to them to follow a better course.

To supply this want, several individuals in 1832 started an institution for the delivery of popular lectures on various scientific subjects. These were attended by between seventy and one hundred and twenty members. From 1832 to 1843 seven different courses of lectures were delivered; but latterly, from the heavy expense attending the engagement of a properly qualified lecturer, and from a want of novelty in the subject-matter of the lectures, a difficulty was experienced, even by those anxious for the welfare of the institution, in keeping it alive.

In 1847 the committee took the state of the institution into serious consideration. They felt that is was absurd to rail at public houses, or the idle habits of the young men, without making some effort to supply a counterpoise, which might operate beneficially against the allurement to evil. This was the more necessary as an agreement had become general to close the shops and places of business at 8 o'clock. It was accordingly resolved to re-model the institution, and make the library its prominent feature. In this way the library would not be dependent on the casual delivery of lectures, but be the staple branch of the institution, and kept in active operation; whether a supply of lectures could be obtained or not. Regulations were accordingly proposed, and submitted to a general meeting, and approved of. A body of permanent trustees, under the name of extraordinary directors, were selected from the citizens who took an interest in the institution, and in these the property was vested for the com-

mon behoof. The active management was committed to a body of ordinary directors elected annually. The members were divided into two classes viz: Those who subscribed 7s. 6d. a year and subscribers of 3s. a year. The benefit of the library was thus secured to the humblest apprentice.

Several gentlemen, (among whom may be mentioned as pre-eminent the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh) having come liberally forward with donations of books, the library received a fair start, and the public interest in it is gradually increasing.

The number of volumes has risen from 150 to 730; the number of readers is also progressively increasing. During the summer months, the number of readers is smaller than during the winter, but at present there are 55 who have out books. The number of readers during the winter will, it is thought, be at least 70.

It is impossible to estimate the benefit which accrues to the whole population from the library. There are several young men of humble parents, who are educating themselves as students of divinity and as teachers, to whom such a repository of historical works and general literature, must be of great service in prosecuting their studies privately. The establishment of a public library in a country district affords the means of self-instruction to such as are desirous to rise from the condition in which they may be originally placed. It affords the means also of encouraging a taste for reading and thereby weaning the young men from many of the destructive pursuits, in which, if left unoccupied in their leisure moments, they are too apt to be engaged. Their morals are improved and they again re-act upon their families, and the society of the place generally, with a salutary effect. The youth who have acquired the habit of reading feel the desire strengthened by exercise, and are never found within the tavern or engaged in any of its debasing concomitants, which lead to vicious courses and often to heinous crimes.

This is well instanced in the present case. The young men are in general exemplary in their conduct. The clerks in offices present a striking contrast to their predecessors. The most of them are ardent readers, and a knot of them meet

weekly for mutual instruction in the principles of their profession. They have thereby every chance of becoming useful and intelligent members of society, instead of a curse to all connected with them. Another body of young men meet periodically, and discuss literary topics, and questions in Ethics. In short a wholesome spirit appears to pervade the youth, which must eventually be productive of good.

It has been said that legislation on this subject is unnecessary; that the elevation of the people ought to begin with themselves, to be effectual. It is true that any efforts for the amendment of the masses, will be to a great extent inoperative, if not supported by them; but it is equally true that the initiative must be taken by those above them. The hand must be held out to them before they will attempt, or be able to rise. It may rather be urged as the duty of a paternal Government, to depart occasionally from the negative system so often pursued, and render positive assistance to the people in giving them ample opportunity to enlarge their minds, improve their time and become better members of society, by gratifying, the inherent desire for information, which exists in every man more or less, and only requires, to be called into exercise to be increased and strengthened.

A most valuable branch of the plan pursued in Peebles, is the public reading-room. This is accessible to all, at every hour of the day, free of charge. The funds are raised by donations from well-wishers, frequenters who can afford it, and by the sale of old newspapers, after they have been read. On the table are to be found the "Times Daily," "The Edinburgh Advertiser," "The Scotsman," "The Caledonia Mercury," The "Manchester Guardian," (twice a week,) and a variety of other provincial and foreign newspapers, sent by the kindness of friends. The following magazines are also read, viz: "Blackwood," "The Dublin University," "Tait's Edinburgh," and "Chambers Edinburgh Journal." They are all eagerly perused and every evening, after working hours, all the papers and magazines are occupied. The majority of readers would never have had an opportunity of seeing these publications were it not for the reading room; and the taste for reading encouraged there finds abundance

of room for further development in the library. This has proved a decided antidote to the tap-room; it affords an agreeable lounge for the tradesman, where he can meet with his companions and experience a gratification .of mental excitement in the perusal of the day's intelligence, which the public houses cannot supply. The reading room has now been in operation, nearly three years, and this year the number of applicants, within the burgh, for ale house licenses has been diminished by six. From the result of the experiment here, a reading-room must be considered as an important and necessary adjunct to a public library; and the two combined under proper and efficient management, form, undoubtedly, an institution tending to the repression of vice and ignorance, the support of order and government and adding largely to the self-respect, comfort and happiness of those within its sphere.

These facts from such sources furnish numberless topics for reflection of which we have neither time nor space to treat.

Some of the most interesting passages of the volume before us relate to the habits and associations of those who are called "the working men" of England, though it would seem that even there, where artificial dintinctions in social position are so well understood and patiently acknowledged, there is no little vagueness and uncertainty in the terms which designate them. In the course of the testimony of the witness from *Leeds*, (whom we have already introduced to our readers as an editor, for eight years, of one of the newspapers of that city, and who claims to be well acquainted with the middle and working classes of its population,) he speaks of mechanics' libraries as being quite extensively connected with "mechanics' institutes," but he adds that "Mechanics' Institutes" in the large towns are not, generally speaking, institutes for mechanics, but rather "institutes of the middle and respectable classes; a small proportion (not so much as half in some cases,) being working men." It seems there is a general organization called "the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes"—embracing seventy-nine local associations and (say) sixteen thousand members, but half of whom are of the "superior order of the working classes," receiving from five to seven dollars per week for their labour. Each

of these associations has a library attached to it, containing on an average nine hundred volumes. Some of these have lectures, and a large number of them have recently formed classes for instruction in particular branches of science, which are found an exceedingly valuable feature of the institutes and necessary in many cases to keep them alive. "Some have mutual-improvement classes, and all, without exception, have libraries. They find the library a bond of union which is needful to keep the institute together."

In answer to the question what is the character of the books in these libraries, it was stated that they were of all kinds, history, political economy, statistics to a small extent, but *a large proportion works of fiction.* And in answer to the question what class are chiefly read, the answer is, "works of fiction, but a taste for a better description of literature is evidently increasing. The number of issues of works on mechanics, philosophy, chemistry and science generally, is on the increase; and historical works have been read a great deal, of late years."

Amongst those who resort to these libraries there is said to be an unquestionable improvement in habits of order and temperance and character generally, but it is represented to be a formidable obstacle to the success of popular libraries that so small a proportion of the people in large towns (and probably also in the agricultural districts) are able to read. There is a want of elementary instruction to begin with, and often where a partial knowledge of the art has been obtained in early life, it is wholly lost for want of opportunity to improve it by practice. In the parish church at Leeds it is stated that nearly half the married women were unable to sign their names, and the still more surprising statement is added, that "it is exceedingly probable that a large proportion of those women had learned to write when they were young, but have forgotten it for want of means and opportunities of practising it when they grew up."

The "Mechanics' Institutes," which have been mentioned, though exerting a salutary influence on such as avail themselves of their advantages, do not embrace in their benign sphere large classes of society that most need them. "There

is a very large proportion of the working classes," says one of the witnesses, "who are neither connected with any literary body nor any religious body—whom society does not look after in the slightest degree—who have no literary nor mental provision and for whom libraries or some literary food of some description is very desirable." We should have been glad if the inquiry had been pushed a little farther, and information obtained as to *what kind* of literary and mental food would be adapted to this class, and in what form it would be practicable to furnish it. If we do not misjudge, Infant and Sunday schools would have to do a large share of the work, so far as mind and heart are concerned, while Industrial and Training schools would supply bodily nutriment to their pupils, and at the same time form them to habits of frugality, foresight and enterprise, without which they will never rise much above their present moral and physical level.

There is a class of institutions recently introduced into some manufacturing towns, as Barnsley, Halifax, Leeds, &c., called "Mutual Improvement Societies." One of the first things they do is to get a library together, but they have considerable difficulty in obtaining books and are obliged to rely chiefly on donations. They pay something like two or four cents a week to the support of the classes. They have no paid teachers but teach each other under a system of mutual instruction. These societies have multiplied considerably, and are regarded as evidence of a strong desire for literary culture among the working classes.

In the course of his examination, a Leeds witness was asked if he thought the introduction of public libraries "would infuse habits of general reading into that large class who take no part in Mechanics' Institutes;" to which he replied—"I think by establishing public libraries, open at all times, especially in the evenings, a taste for reading would be greatly promoted. Give a man an interesting book to take home with him to his family, and it is probable he will stay at home and read his book in preference to going out and spending his time in dissipation and idleness; and therefore the formation of these libraries would be favourable to the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the working population."

It would seem that incipient steps have been taken to extend the benefits of literary associations to young women. Particular reference is made to an organization at Huddersfield (Yorkshire) where classes have been formed and conducted by young ladies. Those who have not before learned to write are taught this, in connexion with other useful branches. Instruction in plain sewing and cookery and domestic management is also given. There is a similar institution at Keighley, and efficient female classes are connected with the Mechanics' Institute at Woodhouse.

Although the Mechanics' Institutes of Yorkshire do not seem to have reached a class of the community who greatly need aid from such a source, the report furnishes abundant encouragement for efforts in their behalf.

The Rev. *Henry McKenzie*, vicar of St. Martin in the Fields, (London) gives an interesting account of a successful method pursued by him the autumn of 1848, in the most obscure sections of that parish. The population was "quite the humblest of working people"—mechanics and labourers, some of whom had nothing but casual employment and a few no employment at all. The effect was limited to one particular court and was under the direction of Mr. Brereton, one of the Parish curates. He had charge of a large class which met on Sunday for religious instruction. For the purpose of securing a more neighbourly feeling among the people and a more efficient social and religious influence over them, he volunteered to give them instruction on Monday and Thursday evenings. From having them around him, the idea was suggested of forming a library for the benefit of that court. He took a room in the court and by subscriptions and donations soon gathered together a collection of four hundred volumes, including children's books. They were quite miscellaneous in their character—religious, historical, biographical, and poetical. The library was open two days in the week and the terms of admission were a residence of one month in the court and the payment of one penny a week. One week's subscription amounted to nearly ten shillings ($2.50). The curate himself took the oversight of the admission of members and the delivery of books. In the course of three months the

subscriptions numbered one hundred and forty-three—all of the class which has been described, and all zealous to avail themselves of the privilege. They sometimes brought a list of five or six books, any one of which they were anxious to obtain.

From Mr. Brereton's own account of the matter, it seems that in addition to the direct social and literary advantages of his scheme he hoped "to gain access, *as a clergyman*, to that large class of artisans over whom religion has apparently so little control; who being extensively organized into clubs or trades-associations from which all the better influence of the upper classes is excluded, are not only a depraved but a very dangerous portion of society." And he expresses his full conviction that "so far as the experiment went, it abundantly proved that the working classes are ripe for much superior and more extensive information than that to which they have generally access, at present."

The small variety of books was a great hindrance to success as was also the size of the room; and Mr. Brereton adds, in this connexion, "that the working men in towns are very sensitive to any apparent disregard of their conveniènce," which he also believes "to be one great cause of their non-appearance at church." With all these drawbacks however, the books did good service. They were always returned in good order—few if any were lost—the subscribers steadily increased, and the closing of the library at the end of four months was a matter of general regret. Mr. Brereton's plan was to have a central library under the charge of one efficient person, and in connexion with it to have opened a reading-room in each court and street, through which the books would circulate from the central depot. He thinks such reading rooms when fairly established would be nearly or quite sustained by subscription. He would have lectures and improvement classes in connexion with the central depot which he thinks would draw multitudes away from city temptations. He is also of opinion that a small payment is quite indispensable to a proper appreciation of such a library." If the people are told "there is a library in such a place you may go and get books when you like," very few comparatively will avail themselves of it, but if it

were brought before them as a thing in which they were to take a part and they could feel as if they have a sort of vested right in it, they would be much more likely to appreciate its privileges. Even then, however, some systematic effort is needful to excite attention to it. Those who subscribed to the court library we have mentioned, were led to do so by a thorough "house-to-house" visitation. *They must be made to see that some personal or social advantage is certain to result from the effort, or they will not be excited to make it.* This is an important feature upon the face of the body-politic, to which sober-minded reformers, in all ages and countries, would do well to heed.

To return to "Mechanics' Institutes"—a witness from *Stockport*, who has been more or less closely connected with them for ten years, estimates the number of them in England and Wales only, at four hundred, all in active operation; and he is of opinion that the libraries connected with them constitute their vital element, though lectures and classes and discussion societies, bear an important part in sustaining them. He also states that of the libraries most used fiction forms a large proportion, and that a regulation to exclude novels, which has been adopted in two or three instances, has reduced the circulation in such cases, to a very small measure. He thinks however that the demand for this class of books is becoming less and less, and he states (what certainly conflicts with some received theories on the subject) that "upon tracing out the readers it is found that their names are usually first attached to narratives and tales, then to novels, then to biographies, then to histories and then to philosophical works."

In respect to lectures in connexion with such institutes they are regarded as giving quite an edge to the reading appetite. One lecturer had much to say of German philosophy, and forthwith young persons, engaged in trade and indeed those of all classes and ages, were clamorous for the works of *Kant*, *Fichte* and *Hegel*, so that it was quite impracticable to supply them. An interesting illustration of this statement is given by one of the witnesses:

"We had two lectures on electricity; they were remarkably well attended; and a young man, a respectable operative,

after the second lecture, applied to the lecturer for the loan of some work on the subject of electricity! The lecturer happened to have in his hand a popular tract which he gave to him, and I think in a fortnight afterwards the latter produced an electrifying machine which he had made himself from the diagrams and descriptions in the tract! That machine he subsequently brought to another meeting and convinced the audience of his success and at the same time amused them, by giving them shocks from it."

It is supposed that the number of popular lecturers in England has doubled within ten years. Less than five guineas ($25) is rarely paid for a single lecture, and those who have considerable ability are able to realize an annual income of of from $2,500 to $5,000.

There are some difficulties in the formation of "Mechanics' Libraries," which are presented in various connexions in the course of this testimony. Among them is the establishment of a satisfactory rule to govern the admission of books. In some instances additions are proposed by subscribers and a committee is charged with the duty of examining them with the power to admit or reject—but in the general regulations, in which the classes of books are sometimes described, it is difficult to find terms of designation which are not either too broad or too restrictive. To exclude works on politics and religion, for example, would be to exclude some of the best books for popular reading that can be found in the English language. Politics and theology enter more or less into almost all histories and biographies. In some instances we notice the question of admitting books is determined by a secret ballot—one black ball excluding any proposed volume. This however would prove a very uncertain protection against the introduction of mischievous reading, and we are disposed to think a judicious and intelligent committee would be a much safer barrier.

It is at this point that some of the gravest obstacles to popular libraries meet. The title of any new volume is no certain clue to its character. The name or standing of the publisher is no certain guaranty beyond a very limited circle. The notices of newspapers and reviews are often very vague

and not seldom conflicting, and the commendation of the seller is to be taken with some caution. Even the reputation of the author is not to be fully relied on. We might easily select instances of fresh occurrence—both from American and foreign catalogues—where authors whose works were once received with entire confidence have become the advocates and propagators of some hurtful or vain philosophy. Their previous popularity gives a currency to them which the character of their present works would never secure. Much discrimination and a large acquaintance with the productions of the press should be possessed by those who purchase books for popular libraries—and connected therewith should be a thorough knowledge of the tastes and attainments of those who are to frequent them. The reports of some of the Mechanics' Institute Libraries conduct us to large classes of books that would be both safe and acceptable. One witness states that the "Pictorial History of England" published by Knight, "is so much in demand that in the libraries of Manchester not a copy is fit to be used."

There is a library institution at Salford, near Manchester, which seems to be very nearly in the grade of those that are contemplated in the Philadelphia pamphlet, to which we have before referred. It contains one thousand six hundred and twenty-one works consisting of about three thousand one hundred and eighty volumes. The Reading Room is open every evening (except Sunday) from six to ten o'clock. The subscription is one shilling (25 cents) a quarter, admitting the subscriber to the lectures, evening classes and library. The number of subscribers for the quarter ending June 24th, 1849, was two hundred and seventy-four. The number of books loaned for reading during the preceding three months was three thousand five hundred and ninety-five, or an average of about fifty each night. The classification of the catalogue published January, 1849, is as follows: Arts and Sciences; Biography; Novels, Tales and Romances; Poetry and the Drama; Natural History and Philosophy; Theology, Morals and Metaphysics; Law, Politics, Commerce; Education, Rhetoric and Logic; Diatetics and Materia Medica; Foreign Works, Greek and Latin Classics; Encyclopedias and Lite-

rary Journals; Magazines; Miscellaneous. It is a subscription library vested in trustees.

We have already taken the reader to a narrow court in the city of London to see what a four months' experiment accomplished among the lowest of what are called the working classes. There is a much larger section of that city which we would have him visit and inspect for a moment or two. It is known as Spitalfields and is occupied, to a large extent, by weavers. As a general thing they are spoken of as "remarkably intelligent" and yet they are very scantily supplied with books. What they have they obtain from small shop-libraries and from the lower order of coffee-houses, where any person who takes coffee is furnished with a cheap novel or some light work of fiction for his amusement while drinking it. The general current of this coffee-house literature is of the inferior class of fictions of which the "Mysteries of Paris" would pass for a fair sample. Not only in Spitalfields but throughout England there has been a large circulation of French novels, especially among the reading portion of the working population. It is well known that as a class, they are unequivocally bad in their social tendency—they all contain very loose ideas respecting the relations of the human family to each other and to God; and most of them are licentious in morals. One of the witnesses describes them as "turning on love-adventures, painted in a very vivid kind of language, sufficient to excite evil passions without expressing any thing positively gross," and he adds, "the 'Mysteries of Paris' has been *immensely read* by the common people of England."

In connexion with this view of the reading habits of the eighty thousand people inhabiting the district of Spitalfields, we must have some idea of their social and domestic condition, otherwise we may condemn their taste too harshly.

Few comparatively attend any place of public worship. They are strangers to domestic comfort and they labour fourteen hours a day. "Frequently as many as seven or eight persons live and sleep in one room in which there are perhaps two looms at work; so that the noise and discomfort render it almost impossible for a working man, were he ever so well inclined, to sit down and read quietly." There can be no

doubt that the pressure of poverty and the constant and intense anxiety which the father of a large family must feel, while their sustenance depends upon the daily earnings of his hands, interfere sadly with means of intellectual and moral improvement. A simple trust in Providence is easily preached and is an obvious duty, but to exercise it in the extremity of a poor weaver's necessities is a rare though not unknown attainment. Perhaps the resort to fictions that will minister gratification to the base conceptions of the human mind is as natural as a resort to the intoxicating cup to stupify the senses. And may we not suppose that the "remarkable intelligence" which has been attributed to such a population, having been derived from such sources, is much of the same character with the muscular activity of an inebriate, after the intoxicating draught has begun to excite his nerves and before the stammering and staggering and idiotic stage of the process has been reached?

Why should we delay to put in motion the agencies which worked so benignly in White Hart Court, in sufficient number and force to re-mould all the courts in all our cities and extend the same to the larger and more populous districts of Spitalfields, the "Five Points," and the turbulent sections of Southwark and Moyamensing?

The coffee-houses of which we have just spoken as furnishing cheap fictions to their customers supply also much useful reading, and have been the means of extensively meliorating the habits and condition of those who frequent them. They afford no means of indulging any vicious appetite. Intoxicating drinks are excluded from them. Tea and coffee, with some simple article of warm food, are furnished at a low rate, and the sober part of the labouring population chiefly frequent them—especially such as have their business in town and their homes at a distance. The number of these houses has increased four fold since 1830, and is now supposed to exceed two thousand, of which five hundred at least have libraries connected with them, some containing from one to two thousand volumes; and all of them are furnished with the current periodicals of the day. One of them is particularly mentioned as expending twenty-five dollars a week for periodicals and books.

Before the four-penny newspaper stamp was repealed, these houses (the few that were opened) were comparatively unattractive, for want of some such excitement as a newspaper furnishes. The writer of this article has more than once taken a cup of coffee and a muffin in a coffee-house of this class, at those hours of the day when they are most frequented, for the purpose of observing the manners and customs which prevail there, and he was at once surprised and gratified to notice the decorum and appropriateness of all the proceedings. The newspaper is evidently highly appreciated, "The Times," "The Morning Chronicle," "The Daily News," &c., wet from the press, are spread out in season for the earliest call, and before night they would bear upon their surface unequivocal evidence that they had been in the hands of "working men." It is to the operation of these and kindred causes that the obvious improvement in the moral and intellectual habits of the working classes of London is attributed.

There is no portion of this voluminous testimony that has impressed us more than that of Mr. John Imray a civil engineer and superintendent of a "Ragged School" in the district of Mary-le-bone, London. In answer to the question by the Committee whether the poorest classes of the population avail themselves of the facilities of reading when offered to them, he says—that the small library (one hundred and fifty volumes only) and the reading-room connected with that school, is open from five to nine o'clock every evening in the week, but one—that more than one hundred different persons frequented the room, ranging in age from sixteen to thirty or thirty-five years—that the attendance was quite uniform and the books were read with the greatest quietness and attention. The school-master acts as librarian, and though the establishment is open to every body and would contain comfortably one hundred and fifty persons, those who attend are chiefly members of the school. Some begin to attend for the sake of a quiet and pleasant hour, but they soon get interested in the books and return to read them. Since the plan has been adopted of supplying the means of colonial emigration to boys of this class, the eagerness to read books which describe the countries to which they expect to go is very great.

Mr. Imray states the very interesting fact "that a great number of the same persons who frequent the Ragged School Library had been in the habit of reading before, but they had read only the cheap pernicious publications which are circulated by thousands among such classes." "I may say" he adds "that among these classes there is perhaps a greater amount of reading than among the betttcr classes, but it is reading of the worst description." The opinion is decidedly expressed by this gentleman that the institution of such libraries would withdraw the most dangerous part of the population, not only from worse reading but from worse pursuits. "Their habits as well as their intellect will be improved. Most of them have no homes to go to, and no rational pursuits of any kind, and therefore they take to immoral pursuits."

In the course of Mr. Imray's testimony he brings to view several interesting items of which we have room but for a sample. The frequenters of his library are all very poorly born and very poorly clad, and they are such as, under ordinary circumstances, would be most noisy and rude in their conduct. He has known men of from twenty to thirty years of age, who, when they first came, smoked their pipes in the schoolroom, overturned the forms and did all kinds of mischief, but are now perfectly quiet and orderly. Instead of rags they come with whole though very mean clothes and sit down with decorum to their books. He has seen there as many as fifty men of this character having wives and families at home! Some persons who have been familiar with half-penny and penny periodicals containing horrible stories, memoirs of notorious pirates and highwaymen, extracts from the Newgate Calender, hangman's ballads, &c., having a tendency quite as bad as--perhaps worse—than those which are grossly obscene, slowly acquire a taste for such works as the "Penny Magazine" "Chambers' Journal" and "Knight's Weekly Volume" &c., and Mr. Imray thinks *that few if any of them would ever again find pleasure in their former reading.* A library is also a powerful incentive to the ignorant to learn to read. They see how much interest their friends take in acquiring information from books and papers, from which they are debarred by their ignorance. They then very naturally apply

for admission to the school as a means of introduction to the library, and thus the good work proceeds in a circle of beautiful influences. The persons to whom these remarks apply are represented to be street-pedlars of vegetables, oranges &c., who live from hand to mouth, and are too poor to be able to contribute any thing towards the expense of their instruction. A compulsory subscription or admission fee would cause many of them to fall off.

It may interest some of our readers to examine an estimate of the expense of a popular library to accommodate a district of ten thousand inhabitants. Mr. Imray gives it as follows:

It may be assumed without material error, that a square foot of wall surface, can accommodate ten average volumes, allowing for shelving and fittings. A tier of shelves may extend six feet six inches in height without requiring a ladder to reach the upper shelves; one foot six inches may be left vacant below to avoid stooping; and in the case of successive tiers, one foot in height may be allewed for galleries and their fittings; so that each tier would occupy in all seven feet six inches in height, five feet of that being available for books. A room fifty feet square and thirty feet high, lighted entirely from above, so that all the wall surface may be available for shelving, might be fitted with three galleries entirely surrounding the interior, so as to provide four tiers of convenient shelving. The total surface for book accommodation would thus be four thousand square feet, which would contain forty thousand volumes without any projecting-presses or partitions. Access might be given to the galleries, by staircases at the angles of the room; further, a width of five feet, railed off around the room, would be a passage for the service of the library, and a central area of forty feet square would be left for a reading room, capable of accommodating one hundred readers with space for passages, tables and catalogues allowing sixteen square feet to each reader. "I have little doubt" he says, "that such a room with all its fittings, and with some additional accommodation for the servants of the library could be plainly constructed in the country for one thousand pounds, or one thousand and two hundred pounds. And I imagine that an arrangement like that which have I briefly indicated, would in point of appearance

be in no way objectionable; for while it is extremely simple and capable of being decorated, it would, I think, have a better effect than such a disposition of the shelves in separate chambers, or in presses projecting from the walls, as necessarily conceals more than half the books, from any single point of view. The warming, lighting and ventilation, and even the fire-proofing of such a room might be simply and economically effected."

We apprehend some of our ingenious students of economy and convenience could squeeze something rather better out of four or five thousand dollars than is here produced, and we may hope that when public attention is more generally directed to the subject, great improvement in both these respects will be revealed.

The experiment in progress in Philadelphia, (the preliminary details of which are given in one of the pamphlets before us) is a very interesting and important one. It is well known that from some cause (chiefly perhaps from the anomalous relations of several adjoining and independent governments) an extraordinary tendency to popular violence and outrage, and a frightful recklessness of life and limb have been manifested there. The clubs or combinations which have become so notorious under sundry barbarous names are known to be composed principally of young men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. How far their organization may extend beyond a more voluntary street-gathering, from day to day, we are not informed; but it is sufficient to produce a strong sympathy with one another, and violent animosities towards those who are not of their clan. That these combinations were for purposes utterly hostile to the public peace and destructive to the interests of those who formed them, no one could doubt; and it is certainly a token of advancing deterioration in the state of society that such hordes of base wretches can consort together from week to week in the midst of an ancient and peaceful city, like Philadelphia, and sally forth by night or day upon their marauding and murderous expeditions with so great a degree of impunity.

How far these ferocious and bloody youth may have derived their spirit from or infused it into the fire-companies of

the city and suburbs, we know not; but certain it is that some of these also give unequivocal tokens of a contempt of life, law and order, and of a readiness to sacrifice them all to the gratification of a savage passion. As an integral part of the police of a city we might suppose that all danger from this source could be obviated without delay or difficulty.

It was into the midst of communities where this heedless and riotous spirit seemed to have the ascendancy, that *night schools* were first introduced in the winter of 1849–50. It was urged as a sort of apology for their disorder and evidence that the young men were apprentices or journeymen who had no occupation and no place in which to spend their evenings and their leisure hours;—that they had no taste for reading, and if they had there were no means of cultivating it, and that the only hope of rescuing them from still deeper degradation and criminality was to supply them with means of instruction. To this end several night-schools were opened at once and with very unexpected success. Not one that was established failed for want of attendants. Most of them were crowded at once and some of them to the exclusion of large numbers who sought admission.

How many of the members of the barbarous clubs or of the active participators in their deeds of violence and outrage were induced to attend does not appear. Those who contributed most time, labour and counsel in carrying out the philanthropic experiment, were encouraged to believe that a large number of the pupils were of this class. That they left comrades enough behind to maintain the unenviable reputation they had acquired, the history of the intervening period sufficiently proves; but no one can tell how many dark shades are kept from the picture by the influence, direct or indirect, of the evening schools of 1849–50. At all events the success of the effort was so great as to excite high hopes; and to warrant a very spirited endeavour to enlarge and extend the scheme. A voluntary contribution from a very limited number of citizens, amounting to more than thirty thousand dollars, was made in a few days for the purpose of erecting six substantial and convenient buildings in as many different sections of the city and districts, to be arranged for the accommo-

dation of a library, reading room, lecture rooms, and one or more school or class rooms. It was presumed that land for such a purpose might be given, in which case enough of the contributed fund would remain to form the nucleus of a library. The fund was vested in trustees and proper measures adopted to bring it into early active use.

While we look with unqualified favour on such attempts to diffuse intelligence and to divert the vile and vicious from their chosen way by such allurements as we have been considering, we cannot persuade ourselves that any very perceptible change is to be wrought by these means, in the moral tastes or social habits of such ruffian youth as are represented in the clubs to which we have referred. We are apt to forget that their associations and dispositions are the result, not of casual influences or transient excitement, but of a *thorough and efficient education.* From the day they could first lisp those little words, they have been prompted by nature and circumstances to say *Yes* to every suggestion of evil, and *No* to every proposition to do right. The gentle restraints of a quiet and orderly home, which are to the tender spirit of children as imperceptible as the falling of the dew, were never laid upon them. All along the path of infancy and youth they were the sport of the capricious humours and passionate sallies of parents and care-takers—now coaxed and petted, and anon kicked and cuffed and surrounded by influences most debasing to the mind and corrupting to the moral-sense. The counteracting processes of schooling and employment were looked upon with aversion and contempt, and they have been taught by precept and example to regard law as the natural enemy of liberty, and the superiority which wealth, or talents, or office confer as necessarily deducting just so much from the comfort and respectability of those who occupy inferior stations. With such impressions deepened and darkened with every setting sun for the first twelve or fifteen years of life, what can we expect other than what we see—hordes of lawless ruffians, fatally bent upon mischief and restrained by the fear neither of God nor man, from the execution of their purposes? We can scarcely think it to be in accordance with the principles of human nature, or with the laws of God's moral govern-

ment, that such sturdy necks as these should be brought under the yoke of wholesome restraint by scientific lectures and free libraries. The novelty of such associations may supply a momentary attraction, and cases may now and then occur in which some stray sympathy of a better sort may be wrought upon for permanent good; but we fear they will be only exceptions. The chance of succeeding in our country with such influences upon such a class is far less than in the cities of the old world. There the strong arm of power is lifted so high as to be out of the reach of the baser sort. They must work their way up to it by some general revolution before they can seize it and bring it down to their level. But with us it is as near them as the ballot-box. It is so near as to make them feel that it is virtually their own! They know in what high esteem an office is held, though it be but that of a constable or watchman, and of course what a vote for the appointing power is valued at. What can we expect from the force of law where the gamblers take a hand at cards with the Mayor, and the tipplers share a glass with the judge, and the thief divides the spoil with the policeman? Who does not see and know and feel that the spirit of insubordination and disorder and contempt of authority, under such a government as ours, can only be restrained and corrected by the inculcation of early habits of obedience to household and school-room law. It is so soon as the muscles are strengthened and the blood flows briskly and the consciousness of power and the love of liberty are awakened, the ordinary methods of control are spurned. The youth is impatient of dependence even upon parental care, and would fain demand "the portion of goods that falleth to him." He soon learns the slang of the street, and "Does your mother know you're out," expresses his contempt for the tenderest watchfulness and anxiety. He finds congenial associates at all corners, and especially in the vicinage of Engine and Hose-houses. Obscene jests upon passers-by, senseless oaths, low and vile songs are there current. Little feuds are nourished. The fighting propensities develope themselves apace. Bowie-knives and revolvers naturally follow, and when a suitable crisis arrives the battle is set in array, and then peaceable inhabitants do well to retire to bullet-proof rooms,

and the little children to retreat from the door-steps of their homes, and give the streets up to the bloody combat. When it is all over, a contribution can be raised for the families of deceased rioters, or their victims. Citizens who have the misfortune to be shot down will be duly hospitalized or interred, and the good people who stayed at home during the melee will put their hands in their pockets and pay for the houses that are burned or destroyed, and the wages of the brave soldiers that turned out to quell the mob, after the mischief was all done and the gentlemen of the mob returned to their rendezvous.

No. The spirits that stir up such strifes and glory in them, are not to be subdued by books and lectures. Leviathan is not so tamed. Wholesome laws should be made to restrain them—but these, by a lax administration, may lose their virtue. Public sentiment is not a tribunal to inspire such men with dread—the ultimate recourse must be to a process of *extermination.* The diseased limb most be amputated—and the gangrene will extend and increase in virulence till this is done. The origin of the disease, however, is close by the hearth-stone, and there the radical preventive must be employed. The spirit of wanton mischief which prompts to the defilement of a newly-scrubbed flight of marble door-steps with tobacco saliva, or to the rude and filthy scribbling of a newly-painted wall or fence, or to the mutilation of shade-trees, or to the breaking of street lamps, is near akin to the spirit of malicious mischief that prompts the burning of stables and carpenters' shops—to riots, routs and tumultuous assemblages, and to other outrages upon personal rights and the public peace and security. If the twigs were straitened in the nursery there would be no such crooked trees in the forest; and nine-tenths of our prison-cells would be unoccupied to-day, if a tithe of the chastisement which has been inflicted on callous manhood had been applied, in a proper form, to the unblunted sensibilities of children.

But we must return to our main subject for the purpose of suggesting a few considerations touching *the elements of a popular library in our country.* A very considerable collection of books could be made up of unobjectionable authors in the departments of American history, geography, &c. The biographies of our eminent statesmen, magistrates,

philosophers and philanthropists—of the pioneers of civilization and enterprise in this new world—of the discoverers of new and grand principles in art or science, and of those who have faithfully served their day and generation in humbler spheres, would constitute another large class. Works respecting the natural resources, internal improvements and commercial interests and capabilities of different sections of the country would form another. We feel confident that if any books of this class would attract such persons as we have just had in our view, it would be such as relate to *our own country*. But is there good reason to believe that a judicious selection of such books would commend itself to the tastes of those whose improvement we seek? We fear not. They have been too long accustomed, as a body, to a very different sort of reading to justify any such expectation.

The question will then come up, what class of books shall be admitted with more attractions and yet without danger? We are happy to know that there is a large variety of very useful publications, often alluded to in the parliamentary document before us, which may well suit the exigency. They are such as "Information for the People," and "Useful Tracts," and the "Cyclopedia of English Literature" by the Messrs. Chambers—"The Saturday Evening Visiter," "The Penny Magazine," "Knight's Weekly Volume," "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," and a variety of popular volumes belonging to the same class, but of divers authorship and publication. There are also treatises on Political Economy, Mechanics and various departments of Natural Philosophy, involving intimate relations to the arts, conveniences and enjoyments of life in all its grades and circumstances, which we might suppose would interest any person of sufficient capacity to read. Then we have a very large variety of travels in our own and other countries, and a rapidly increasing assortment of reports and journals of scientific and exploring expeditions, often highly illustrated and opening to our view some of the most interesting facts in the history and condition of our globe and its inhabitants.

We should then fall, perhaps, on the better class of *fictions*, which for the very reason that they are of the better class

would be very likely to remain unopened on the shelves. To admit fictions at all would be regarded by many as a very questionable expedient. The liberal provisions of money, and the rigid safeguards of official oversight with which district school libraries were introduced into the State of New York, might have justified our confidence that a wise and safe selection would be secured. But it is well known that the most scandalous books were found in several of these libraries, and the children of the people were actually invited by public authority to partake of moral poison provided at public expense! At the National Convention of the Friends of Education held in Philadelphia on the 28th of August last, the Superintendent of public instruction of New York, is reported to have stated that "district school libraries had been established in eleven thousand school districts—but that there had been great difficulty in finding books suitable for the purpose. Publishers have published books, it is true, under the title of School Libraries, but they have been as it were cast-off clothes —old books which have been re-vamped and are entirely unsuitable for juvenile hands. Proper books for school libraries are yet to be written."

Among the books thus improvidently introduced into these juvenile libraries were several of the lowest class of fictions, as well as biographical or didactic works ministering to the most anti-social and atheistical tendencies of the age. It is well known that the advocates of semi-papist views in religion and of ultra-radicalism in politics, have made fiction the vehicle of their sentiments and some of the most attractive works of this class could hardly be excluded from a popular library, if what others would esteem the better class were admitted.

We are aware of the difficulty of prescribing any rules on this subject. We have fancied ourselves authorized to commence a library for a "Mechanics'" or "Apprentices' Institute" in one of our chief cities at an outlay of five hundred dollars as a beginning. Two or three hundred volumes, at an average price of three-fourths of a dollar, would be selected without much hesitation, more than half of which would be of American growth and manufacture. In advancing to a larger and more expensive class of books our rule of judgment (apart

from our own knowledge or the opinion of a judicious critic) must be the standing of the author or publisher, or the general reputation of the work. But the two last tests are quite inconclusive. Authors and publishers, like private individuals, often change their position, and what to-day they shrink from, to-morrow they may embrace and hold fast. Numerous instances of this kind might be cited from the annals of modern biography. As we have before intimated, a writer of deserved celebrity for his eminent attainments in some branch of philosophy falls into a specious but radical error, the hues of which spread over all his theories and conclusions. His reputation as a philosopher gives currency to his works that will be quite likely to overbear all objections to the unsoundness of his views on a particular subject, and so they will force their way into a popular library, and the more grave and pernicious the supposed error of their teaching the more eagerly they will be sought for and read. It is at such a point as this that embarrassment would be likely to begin, and it is here, we apprehend, that a schism would occur in most purchasing committees. Some would contend that error may be safely tolerated if reason is left free to combat it, while others would maintain that the odds are altogether against truth, in the present state of the community. Error has a thousand allies and friends where truth has one. Evil grows spontaneously and matures rapidly, while good thrives only by extraordinary and unremitted cultivation. There are theories respecting the origin and physiology of the human race—the order of the work of creation and the structure of our globe, which involve the most revolting forms of atheism and yet they are so insidiously broached and so enfolded in the beauties of rhetoric and the wonderful revelations of nature as scarcely to be noticed, until the subtle poison is thoroughly diffused over the system and its source probably forgotten. Who would not shrink from any agency in introducing such matter into such a library? And yet would it not be difficult to expend the balance of our five hundred dollars in really "popular books for the mass," without embracing some volumes of which we might stand in doubt—either of their freedom from error or their suitableness for such a purpose?

Suppose the library collected with all the caution and discrimination that are practicable, and opened on the most judicious plan that can be devised, with catalogues, &c., what is to guide the frequenters of it in their choice of books? In the evidence before the parliamentary committee, instances are mentioned in which a lecture on a particular subject occasioned an immediate rush for all the books in the library that related to it. So also the prospect of emigration to India or America brought into requisition any work treating of those countries. We can readily conceive that in the progress of a course of popular lectures such subjects might be introduced and such references made to treatises upon them as would keep a library in brisk circulation, provided the lectures themselves were sufficiently attractive to secure attention. But to accomplish so desirable an end the lecturer must have it distinctly in view in the preparation of his matter and must show no ordinary skill in arranging it, so as to make a resort to the library an incidental rather than a designed result. With every popular library then we must connect a competent corps of lecturers; and inasmuch as those whom we desire to benefit are generally destitute of any suitable place to read, we must also provide a competent apartment for this purpose, and these three several ends are embraced in the Philadelphia enterprise.

We should not regard such an arrangement complete however, without an elementary school for instruction in the arts of reading and writing, where the ignorant might be taught the rudiments of science without being subjected to a mortifying exposure of their ignorance, and where the partially instructed might be improved so as to avail themselves more profitably of the higher advantages of the library and the lecture room. There should also be under the same roof, suitable apartments for private and mutual-instruction classes—where the useful, practical sciences might be taught, especially those which are closely connected with mechanical, agricultural and manufacturing pursuits, such as the elements of drawing and designing, of chemistry and botany, of commerce and political economy. With all these agencies skilfully combined, it might be hoped that some permanent hold could be

retained upon young men who have any intellectual nature to work upon, or any virtuous inclination to be encouraged.

It will not be a very easy matter, we know, to secure the services of competent and trustworthy lecturers. The facility with which error may be propagated by means of a popular address is obvious. A look, or tone, or gesture may convey a meaning far more permanent and pernicious in its impression than an elaborate chapter in print. Oftentimes a form of expression is undesignedly used, in the fluency of speech, which conveys a very different meaning from that which the author intends; and not unfrequently his language or the connexion of it, is misapprehended, and mischief, wide-spread and lasting, ensues. We do not suggest this as a serious obstacle but as a matter of caution.

There are doubtless many persons engaged as operatives in the various departments of labour whose natural abilities and acquirements would render them very acceptable lecturers. What they might lack in the graces of oratory would be more than made up by the simplicity, directness and practical character of their discourses. With such evidence of powers of reflection and expression among working men and women, as is furnished by the *Sabbath Prize Essays*, we should not be in great danger of expecting too much treasure from this almost unworked mine.

The introduction of periodicals, magazines and newspapers in connexion with reading rooms, has already been the occasion of sharp controversy. There is a large class of monthly periodicals of very equivocal character. By dint of extraordinary effort they have a circulation which their intrinsic merit would never have secured. Generous prices are paid for contributions and very little discrimination is used in the choice of matter beyond what a prudent self-interest suggests. It can scarcely be otherwise than that much of the matter should be insipid and without any positive character at all, and still stranger would it be if such a door should be set open for the introduction of false and pernicious opinions, and none should find their way within.

The legion of periodicals that pass under the name of newspapers, religious and political, unquestionably constitute the

most popular channel of communication with the masses of society and yet there would be manifest objections to their introduction into such reading rooms as we have had in view. The bitter partisan spirit which reigns in most of them, and the impracticability of drawing a line where the shades of difference are so imperceptible between the best that are rejected and the worst that pass, will occur to all as among threshold difficulties. The controversy upon this point has been pursued with no little warmth by some of the trans-atlantic Institutes, and has on more than one occasion, we believe, issued in an open rupture. In some instances there, the newspaper reading room is entirely distinct from the book reading room and library, the subscription to each being independent of the other. This arrangement might obviate some of the objections; but others would remain in full force. One thing may be said, without the fear of contradiction—the reading of newspapers contributes very little toward improvement and still less to the strength or stores of intellect. With some honourable exceptions, they serve no better purposes than to aggravate sectarian or party strife, or minister to the gratification of very low tastes and corrupt passions. There can be no doubt that the minuteness with which the most startling details of crime have been spread before the eyes and ears of the public by means of the newspaper press, has had a most powerful influence in blunting the sensibilities of the community—divesting crime of some of its most revolting aspects, and propagating thoughts and plans of fraud and violence, which would otherwise have perished with their originators.

By the remarks we have made in this article we shall not be understood as discouraging, in the slightest degree, the praiseworthy efforts which have commenced for the benefit of the neglected, or of those whose privileges have been few and meagre. We agree fully in the sentiment uttered by one of the witnesses before the Parliament Committee, that "every pound spent on (well selected) libraries, open to the working classes, would, in the long run, save two that are at present spent in the prosecution and punishment of crime and the relief of paupers." That these recuperative means should

be employed efficiently and systematically none will deny. But we suggest dangers and difficulties which beset all efforts in this direction, that we may the more impressively show the disadvantages of so late an employment of them.

If there is any design clearly manifested in the arrangements of God's providence and in the establishment of His laws, it is that the character of successive generations shall be formed under home-influences; and that in the absence of these, society should take the fearful risk of a perverse, headstrong, reckless race. The infinite wisdom with which these influences are provided for in the organization of the family, the auxiliaries to their power which spring from a thousand collateral sources, natural and moral; and their admirable adaptation to the varying circumstances and relations of the parties to be affected by them, conclusively prove that the grand agency in the formation of human character was intended, from the beginning, to be parental teaching and example. The apostacy greatly weakened and corrupted this agency, but at the same time made it the more needful and appropriate, and the neglect of it proportionably disastrous.

To some extent, conscientious and qualified teachers may supply parental deficiencies. Though the infant is susceptible of impressions which cannot be so well made on the child, yet childhood is a far more hopeful period than youth. There is a moral instinct in most children that shrinks from acts of misconduct which will not occasion a wince six or eight years later in their lives. But it is hard to bring good influences to bear favourably upon one in whom this instinct has given place to impudence or even indifference, and yet they are not to be withheld, and we do unfeignedly rejoice in all judicious efforts for the rescue even of the most hopeless. It is better to use such means at the eleventh hour than not to use them at all.

Art. II.—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," &c. &c. Reprinted from the last London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. pp. 375. 8vo.

We look on this book as a very valuable addition to theological literature. The Professor of Divinity in King's College has done good service to the church, in presenting a remarkably clear summary of the teratological argument in general, and of our Lord's miracles in detail. The defender of the outworks of Christianity may feel himself safe behind such entrenchments as these. The author has enriched his pages, as he has those of his work on the Parables, with copious citations of the Fathers, with whom he appears to be familiar. One might almost be tempted to fear an undue partiality for patristic lore, were it not that we find occasional references to modern authors, as Arnold, Coleridge, and the German writers. His quotations are made with great point and discrimination, and may be read with interest and pleasure. His style is compact, and occasionally hard and dry; but he has one most admirable quality, a downright earnestness and perspicuity which never leave us in doubt of his meaning. We were pleased to find him speaking in such high terms of Thomas Aquinas, especially that portion of his Summa Theologiæ, in which he treats of Miracles. The argumentations of Aquinas on this subject and on the Being of God are models of logical power and succinctness.

The first and smaller portion of the volume is occupied with a dissertation on the nature and authority of miracles, and the assaults made on them by various schools of objectors; the Jewish; the Heathen; the Pantheistic, or that of Spinoza; the Sceptical, or that of Hume; the school of Schleiermacher, which viewed them as only relatively miraculous;* the Ra-

* It is to this class must be referred the semi-blasphemous hints of some of the advocates of Mesmerism and Clairvoyance, of which our author makes no mention. The Rev. Mr. Furness, of the Universalist body, has suggested, in one of his works, an explanation of our Lord's raising Lazarus by an unknown magnetic power. He says that we know not how far the force of sympathy may extend, even beyond the precincts of the grave!

tionalist, or that of Paulus; and the Historico-Critical, of which Woolston and Strauss are the exponents. The statement of each of these antagonistic theories is brief but very perspicuous. In a few words the author seizes the pith and marrow of the objection, disentangles it from the eloquence or the sophistry in which it was wrapped up, and demolishes it in the most neat and complete manner. He wields the spear of Ithuriel, and at his touch error drops every mask of plausibility it had worn, and stands exposed in all its undisguised ugliness, deformity, and weakness. The second part of the book consists of a thorough sifting of each of Christ's miracles by itself, from "the beginning of miracles" in Cana, to the second great draught of fishes. It displays learning, patience and judgment, and is executed in a masterly manner.

Miracles and Prophecy are the two pillars of brass, the Jachin and Boaz, which guard the entrance of the Temple, and constitute the stability and strength of its defences. Unless, indeed, with Huet and our author, we define the Prophecies to be only another species of Miracles, *miracula præscientiæ,* as distinguished from *miracula potentiæ.* But this is a refinement in terminology which is too delicate for ordinary purposes; and long established usage has acknowledged a sufficiently palpable difference between the two. This popular usage restricts the application of the word Miracle to those events designated in scripture as wonderful works, signs and wonders, or sometimes, elliptically, works, a favourite expression of the evangelist John. They are sometimes grouped together, as in 2 Corinthians xii. 12. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." Each of these terms has its peculiar significance. The term *works,* or *mighty works,* whether εϱγα or δυναμεις, denotes the operative energy of a superhuman power; the term *wonders,* τεϱατα, intimates the effect produced on the spectators; the term *signs,* σημεια, refers particularly to their authenticating a divine mission, or serving as seals of some divine truth. The word *miracles,* which in common usage covers the whole ground, corresponds with the second class of these terms, τεϱατα, wonders. But inasmuch as every thing unusual raises our wonder, the sacred penman

couples with it the word *signs;* thus unequivocally teaching us that every wonder is not to be counted a miracle, in the technical sense, unless it be a sign also. We are therefore authorized to withhold the term unless it is employed in a sacred or religious sense. Thus we get rid at once of all wonders or portents in which we may detect any thing false, immoral, ostentatious, or trivial. Tried by this test the pretended miracles of later times, the "wonders" of Antichrist, winking pictures and bloody stigmata, are to be discarded without hesitation. Our author properly considers the miracles of the Old Testament and of Christ and his apostles as normal, in the chief features at least, for all future time. Guided by such examples, we must pronounce spurious whatever would restore the bondage of the senses; whatever would be aimless or destitute of a moral object; whatever would be merely ludicrous or grotesque; or whatever the conscience enlightened by the Word of God condemns as untrue, in whole or in part. If these tests be applied, the pretended miracles of the middle ages, and those revived at the present day, must be abandoned as indefensible. It is obvious at a glance how difficult and delicate a task they who treat upon this subject undertake; for they must frame their definitions so exactly, as to give no advantage to the advocates of pseudo-miracles on the one hand, or on the other, to those who deny the truth of miracles altogether.

The objections to the miracles of the Old and New Testaments naturally fall into one or the other of two classes; those which assert the incredibility in the nature of things of miracles in general, or exceptions to the evidence which attests the scripture miracles in particular. The first class object an antecedent difficulty which must be disposed of, before we can proceed farther. And the steps necessary to take are, to show that miracles are possible, reasonable, and entitled to regard from the nature of the revelation with which they are found connected.

To pronounce miracles impossible is to limit the power of God, whether we consider the nature of a miracle or the attributes of the Supreme Being. Our knowledge of nature is limited. There are many secrets of nature which no tortures or

ingenious questionings of science have yet compelled her to give up. Among these are some on which the most practical and useful arts depend, the mystery of whose operations is as yet inexplicable. Physiology, Natural History, Navigation, these all have their depths which no plummet has ever sounded; the polarity of the needle, the enigma of animal instinct in migration, and the invisible and imponderable cause of electro-magnetism, which is able

> "To put a girdle round about the earth
> In forty minutes."

Since we meet so many mysteries that baffle our penetration, modesty becomes us. When the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, he enumerated a variety of perplexing inquiries, running through four chapters, which he demanded a solution of in vain; and to all which the patriarch completely humbled, could only reply, "I know that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee. Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not." But not only so. Many things in nature strike us with no sensation of wonder, simply because we have grown familiar with them, which, did we now view them for the first time, could not but appear to us miraculous.

> "What prodigies can power divine perform
> More grand than it produces year by year,
> And all in sight of inattentive man?
> Familiar with the effect we slight the cause,
> And in the constancy of nature's course,
> The regular return of genial months,
> And renovation of a faded world,
> See naught to wonder at. Should God again,
> As once in Gibeon, interrupt the race
> Of the undeviating and punctual sun,
> How would the world admire! but speaks it less
> An agency divine, to make him know
> His moment when to sink and when to rise,
> Age after age, than to arrest his course?
> All we behold is miracle; but seen
> So duly, all is miracle in vain."

Hume makes the essence of a miracle consist solely in the rarity of the phenomenon. "Nothing," says he, "is esteemed a miracle if it ever happen in the common course of nature. It is no miracle, that a man, seemingly in good health, should

die on a sudden; because such a kind of death, though more unusual than any other, has yet been frequently observed to happen. But it is a miracle, that a dead man should come to life; because that has never been observed, in any age or country." (Essays, vol. ii. p. 108.)

Since then we are not qualified dogmatically to pronounce what is the legitimate province of superior intervention, the grand object we are concerned to ascertain is simply this: Is there a power adequate to produce a given effect, and can the special case, whatever it may be, be referred without violence to that power? In other words, is there a superhuman agency which originated and regulates the motions of nature, and is there no contradiction in supposing that agency capable of arresting those motions at pleasure?

To evade the force of such a question, the advocates of scepticism throw in a cloud of metaphysical dust, and labour to prove that there is no necessary connexion between cause and effect. The result gained by advancing a proposition which shocks common sense and the established sentiment of mankind, will be to set aside all causes, and by consequence to get rid of that most obnoxious idea, the presence and agency of a great First Cause, adequate to produce changes and alterations in nature and to punish sin. It is therefore said that the only connection of cause and effect is that which exists in the mind, and which is of the nature of association or suggestion. Accustomed to see certain appearances follow others invariably, this antecedence and consequence furnish the only foundation for the inference of the mind that the one necessarily depends on the other. We might, as we think, prove that the mind is justifiable in drawing this inference; but we prefer to meet our antagonist on his own ground, and strike off the head of Goliath with his own sword. Grant then, for argument's sake, that the connection between cause and effect exists in the mind that conceives it, why should not a new connection be suggested? One being no more necessary than another, the new and hitherto unwitnessed appearance may prove only the beginning of a new order of sequences. It may turn out the herald of a valuable class of facts referrible to no precedents; and of course, until experience shows that

this is not the case, objections should be tardily raised. Besides, the necessary number of observations or experiences being indeterminate, it is unfair to assert that a dozen instances or fewer are not sufficient in regard to the new class of facts or new order of sequences, to establish the connection of invariable antecedence and consequence.

It appears therefore that there is nothing in the nature of a miracle to render it a priori incredible; since it leads at once to the idea of a superhuman power adequate to accomplish it. The only question that remains, is, whether God who established the present order of nature, can vary or disarrange that order if he pleases.

It is mere evasion to take refuge behind the laws of nature, and plead their uniformity. The phrase, laws of nature, is ambiguous. The only rational interpretation that can be given is, that they are laws which the God of Nature has imposed; a law being, according to its Saxon etymology, something laid down, thus implying a law-maker, whose prerogative it is to lay down the law. But He who imposed the law is the same who in the exercise of a sovereign authority accountable to none, can suspend the operation of the law for sufficient reasons. A dispensing power is always acknowledged to be inherent in the authority which originates. But sophistry has taken an underhanded advantage by calling miracles a violation or transgression of the laws of nature; thus affixing a sort of stigma on the act, and insinuating that God would be transgressing his own laws. This is preposterous; since the laws of nature were not laid down for his own government, but for the government of the creature. We therefore adhere to the more correct definition, that a miracle is only a suspension of the laws of nature.

It was this misrepresentation of miracles as violating the laws of nature which God had imposed, and which it would imply imperfection to alter, that formed the stronghold of Spinoza. But our author has admirably and eloquently met the objection. "The unresting activity of God," says he, "which at other times hides and conceals itself behind the veil of what we term natural laws, does in the miracle unveil tself; it steps out from its concealment, and the hand which

works is laid bare. Besides and beyond the ordinary operations of nature, higher powers, (higher, not as coming from a higher source, but as bearing upon higher ends,) intrude and make themselves felt even at the very springs and sources of her power." (p. 18.) And again; the miracle is "not a discord in nature, but the coming in of a higher harmony; not disorder, but instead of the order of earth, the order of heaven; not the violation of law, but that which continually, even in this natural world, is taking place, the comprehension of a lower by a higher; in this case the comprehension of a lower natural by a higher spiritual law; with only the modifications of the lower, necessarily consequent upon this." (p. 59.)

We are gravely told that we can know nothing more of God than we see of him; and that it is not right to argue from what falls under the purview of our senses to what lies beyond it. It is only necessary to reply briefly, that we are undoubtedly within the limits of rational probability, when we infer that the Being who can create worlds on worlds, stocked with animate and inanimate wonders, must be not less than Almighty.

What are the proudest works of man to those of his Creator? It was but a breath of his mouth, but a wave of his hand, and a whole world of mountains and sunny plains was built on no foundation but the empty void; his finger traced the channel, and mighty rivers rolled along, or expanded into capacious lakes; his hand hollowed out the great abyss of ocean,

> "Strongest of Creation's sons,
> Unconquerable, unreposed, untired;
> That rolled the wild, profound eternal bass
> In nature's anthem, and made music, such
> As pleased the ear of God;"

the tameless, trackless sea, emblem of eternity, perpetual mirror of all that is bright or beautiful, terrible or dark in the wide firmament above; to which He set impassable boundaries, and said, "Hitherto shall thou come, and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed:" and when those ocean waves lashed into fury, swell, and dash, and roar with tumultuous wrath, he has but to say, "peace be still!" and

all is hushed to sleep, like gentle infancy upon its mother's lap. "Behold! these are parts of his ways; but how little is known of him! But the thunder of his power who can understand?"

And shall man prescribe limits to the energies of that great Being to whom the universal reason of mankind, expressed in every tongue and language, hath accorded the title of Almighty! Shall a puny mortal presume to say that He may not regulate what he hath made, or arrest what he hath set in motion, or suspend the laws which in the plenitude of his sovereign and irresponsible will he hath enacted! What we see of Him but raises our ideas of what we see not; and as from the foot we infer the height of the colossus, so the manifest traces of the Deity, discernible in the works of nature, compel the inference of his absolute omnipotence.

Miracles are possible; are they also reasonable? Men are naturally disposed to inquire of any individual who presents himself as the promulgator of a new revelation, whence he derived his authority, and what are the proofs of his mission. He comes as an embassador from the courts of Heaven, and it is proper to require the exhibition of his credentials. "What sign showest thou?" asked the Jews of our Lord. "Show a miracle for you," demanded Pharaoh of Moses and Aaron. There is no more connection between a visible miracle and a religious truth, than between an ambassador's credentials and the topics of his embassy. The only value either possesses is the value of attestation. The being favored with a revelation, and the being endowed with a power to work miracles, are both deviations from the usual course of things, and not to be hastily believed, both being attended with antecedent difficulties. If a man satisfies us that he has been endowed with the power of working miracles, it being as extraordinary as the revelation, we must for consistency's sake, allow the latter also. Miracles serve as credentials, which incline us to listen favorably to the communications made. They are indeed nothing more. And this leads us a step farther.

A miracle borrows no inconsiderable title to regard from the nature of the revelation with which it appears in connection. This is, and deservedly, a strong point with our author,

and he has presented it in a bold and clear manner. Indeed we are hardly prepared to endorse his statements in full. He believes that the marvels of the Egyptian magicians, and those predicted of Antichrist, are of a class brought about by satanic agency. On this subject divines have been greatly divided. It is so obscure that such men as Saurin and Hengstenberg hesitate to express an opinion. Our author has no doubts. Therefore he affirms roundly, "a miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. That which alone it claims for him at the first is a right to be listened to; it puts him in the alternative of being from heaven or from hell. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being good, and then only can the miracle seal it as divine. But the first appeal is from the doctrine to the conscience, to the moral nature in man. For all revelation presupposes in man a power of recognizing the truth when it is shown him." (p. 27.) "The miracles have been spoken of as though they borrowed nothing from the truths which they confirmed, but those truths every thing from them; when indeed the true relation is one of mutual interdependence, the miracles proving the doctrines, and the doctrines approving the miracles, and both held together for us in a blessed unity, in the person of him who spake the words and did the works, and through the impress of highest holiness and of absolute truth and goodness, which that person leaves stamped on our souls;—so that it may be more truly said that we believe the miracles for Christ's sake, than Christ for the miracles' sake. Neither when we thus affirm that the miracles prove the doctrine, and the doctrine the miracles, are we arguing in a circle: rather we are receiving the sum total of the impression which this divine relation is intended to make on us, instead of taking an impression only partial and one-sided." (p. 81.)

A revelation every way worthy of God, and in nothing derogatory to his pure and exalted character, lends a great authority to the signs by which it is accompanied. Paul recognized this principle, when he told the Galatians, "though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed!" The

apparition of an angel would have been in direct contravention of what was already proved by like attestations. And when a contradiction distracts, belief cannot follow. The fact, therefore, that the revelation is sublime in its character, beneficial in its tendency, and worthy of the perfections of God, is a powerful presumption for the truth and genuineness of both the miracle and the revelation. To this purport writes Bonnet, "this moral certainty will increase, if I can discern what were the views of the legislator in thus modifying the laws of nature." (Inquiries Phil. and Crit. concerning Christianity, p. 54.)

This is a favourite point with Professor Trench. He lays out his strength upon it. It is in fact the key note of his whole treatise. To view the miracles isolated he considers the great omission of former apologists; a tearing of the seals from the documents to which they give validity and without which they are in turn worthless; nay, a paving of the way for Antichrist, who is to have miracles of his own. On the contrary, all true miracles are always, more or less, "redemptive acts; in other words, works not merely of power but of grace, each one an index and a prophecy of the inner work of man's deliverance, which it accompanies and helps forward. But, as we should justly expect, it was pre-eminently thus with the miracles of Christ. Each of these is in small, and upon one side or another, a partial and transient realization of the great work for which he came that in the end he might accomplish perfectly and forever. They are all pledges, in that they are themselves first fruits, of his power; in each of them the word of salvation is incorporated in an act of salvation. Only when regarded in this light do they appear not merely as illustrious examples of his might, but also as glorious manifestations of his love. (p. 31.)

The effect of such a presentation of the subject is widely different from that produced by a dry proposition in logic or mathematics. The analysis no longer ends in a *caput mortuum.* The skeleton is clothed with flesh. The truth is instinct with life, it is warm and glowing. The feelings of the soul, as well as the convictions of the intellect, come within the range of our appeal. The commanding themes of sin and salvation

enlist attention, and throw their own interest about everything that bears upon them. Indifference is rebuked. The hearer listens as one who desires to be convinced of what is for his own good. The aversion of the unbeliever is seen to be directed not so much against the miracles as the truth they attest. The sting is extracted from infidelity, and the insect is left to buzz harmlessly. "The standing miracle of a Christendom commensurate and almost synonymous with the civilized world," is an argument which may now be wielded with tremendous effect, without denial or gainsaying. "Little as it wears of the glory which it ought to have, yet it wears enough to proclaim that its origin was more than mundane; surely from a Christendom, even such as it shows itself now, it is fair to argue back to a Christ such as the church receives as the only adequate cause. It is an oak which from no other acorn could have unfolded itself into so goodly a tree." p. 78.

In order to give this thought increased weight, it must be remembered, that in spite of all insinuations thrown out against miracles as resorted to by all religions, and so mutually neutralizing or destroying each other, Judaism and Christianity are the only two religions that claimed to be received on the score of miracles attesting them. Their introduction was ushered in by stupendous signs. Herein they differ from all other religions. They differ also in this, that the pretended wonders were wrought for false religions in agreement with the already existing prejudices of the people, and in favour of an established system; while the miracles of Christianity were wrought in opposition to established systems, and did violence to the oldest and strongest prejudices of the men who witnessed them.

The "ethical aim" of the miracles, as Professor Trench felicitously calls it, should ever be kept steadily in view. It gives the Christian reasoner immense advantage over his antagonist. Our author is undoubtedly correct when he laments the throwing away of this advantage by writers on the evidences of our religion, while they laboured to convince the judgment alone, and extort an unwilling verdict. It was a *lumen siccum*. Dr. Chalmers has expatiated largely on this

distinction between the ethics and the objects of theology, and shown conclusively that an indifference or aversion to the prima facie evidence which constitutes a claim on the attention, imports a delinquency of spirit. The beneficial consequences of the truth of Christianity being established are so many and great, so much in harmony with all that is good and virtuous and lovely and happy, that there should be a proclivity of the mind to those arguments which tend to evince its probability or even its possibility. In short, the human heart ought to desire to find it true, and if in a candid and truth-loving state, will do so. For this we have our Saviour's authority. "He that doeth truth cometh to the light." "If any man will, θέλει, is willing, to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." "Next in importance," says Dr. Chalmers, "to the question, 'What are those conclusive proofs on the side of religion which make it our duty to believe?' is the question, 'What are those initial presumptions which make it our duty to inquire?'" (Nat. Theol. vol. i. p. 94.)

All antecedent difficulties being disposed of, and the credibility of miracles being ascertained, another class of objections meets us in regard to the particular miracles which claim our belief. Descending from the abstract and speculative, we are brought into the region of the practical.

It would be to little purpose to have discomfited the general objection, if we can prove no specialties. Have miracles been actually performed? is now the question that must enchain attention. This takes in the subject of Testimony, on which our author has said little. The assertion that no testimony can be admitted as sufficient is unreasonable, if the possibility of miracles is once established. All that remains is to fix and ascertain beyond a doubt, the date of their occurrence.

And as we have had to dispute every inch of our way hitherto, so we must gird up our loins again. We will not be permitted merely to walk over the ground. We are told that faith in testimony is the result of experience solely; and that as the belief of the uniformity of nature is the result of experience also, we have two contradictory experiences, the last of which counterbalances the other; and hence no human testimony can prove a miracle. We deny that faith

is the result of experience. We hold that it is the effect of a principle connate with our existence. These are the words of Mr. Starkie, a writer whose opinions have deserved authority among jurists. "In short, where knowledge cannot be acquired by means of personal observation, there are but two modes by which the existence of a by-gone fact can be obtained: 1. By information derived either immediately or mediately from those who had actual knowledge of the fact, or 2. By means of inference. . . . . . In the first case the inference is founded on a principle of faith in human veracity sanctioned by experience." (Treatise on the Law of Evid. vol. i. p. 10.) The truth undoubtedly is, that faith in testimony is prior to experience, for there is no reason why it should be otherwise. There is inherent in the human breast a disposition to confide in another's word, till forced to retract that confidence in consequence of having been deceived.

> "Candid, and generous, and just,
> Boys care but little whom they trust,
> An error soon corrected:
> For who but learns, in riper years,
> That man, when smoothest he appears,
> Is most to be suspected."

It is again objected to testimony that it is weaker than the evidence of the senses. But the evidence of the senses is far from infallible, and we are often liable to be deceived by them. The very writer who insists most loudly on this evidence, has elsewhere arrayed all the objections that can be urged against it, and has affirmed that neither the senses, experience, instinct, nor reason can compel conviction of the existence of an external world. So hard is it for error to be consistent with itself. But if Proteus can escape, he cares little whether he turns into fire or water.

This is not hearsay testimony; we have the recorded assertions of eye witnesses. They inform us explicitly "what their eyes have seen, and their hands have handled." The records are admitted to be authentic, so that the contents stand on the same footing with the letter we received yesterday. The lapse of time makes no difference; unless indeed as it has afforded more opportunity to apply every conceivable test of genuineness. It is, therefore, as if John, or Peter, or

Paul were present before us to tell their story in their own words. There is nothing intermediate. It is all the direct force of a deposition or affidavit read before the court from a man unable to attend in person.

Test these witnesses by the rules laid down by the leader of the sceptical school, and they come off triumphant. We shall not rehearse these rules. They are found in any treatise on the evidences. Suffice it to say that we have three classes of independent testimony. One is of eye-witnesses; not traditionary, but preserved in authentic records in their own words. Another is of a host of converts convinced in spite of prejudices national, popular, and religious. A third is the admissions of enemies and unbelievers who retained their prejudices, and wrote against Christianity, and explained away its miracles, but never ventured to call the reality of those miracles in question. And if we were to add to these "the standing miracle of Christendom," as Coleridge called it, or of each individual Christian, regenerated and improved, as Mr. Griffin proposes in a recent work, we might swell the evidence to its highest culmination.

Weigh against these combined proofs the assertion that "no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle," and next the concession of the same writer, that immediately follows, "unless the testimony be of such a kind, that its falsehood would be more miraculous [i. e. improbable,] than the fact which it endeavours to establish." On which side the greatest improbability lies it will not take long to determine. It would be the most astounding of all improbabilities that this host of witnesses should have been all either dupes or impostors, in matters so public, so notorious, and so easily sifted, and in opposition to which were arrayed the most virulent prejudices of the times. To all this, add the remarkable coincidence of the miracles with the predictions and the general tenor of the Old Testament scriptures, thus forming a stupendous, unique, harmonious plan. We see a number of separate writings by unconnected individuals, covering a space of some thousand years, all mysteriously linked and dovetailed with each other, and pervaded by one single towering idea, to which all others are subordinate or ancillary, the idea of a Saviour from sin

and its tremendous consequences. It shocks every supposition of probability that this complicated apparatus, this vast chain of circumstantial evidence, could owe its birth either to imposture or to accident.

Four of the most eminent assailants of the miracles, Spinoza, Woolston, Hume, and Strauss, our author has summarily disposed of in turn; singling out, as by instinct, the salient point of error in each case, and exposing its weakness. In his anxiety to be laconic, he has omitted some things which might be dwelt on to advantage. A dozen or twenty more pages added to the volume, would have enabled him to give a more complete *resumé*, and would have materially increased its bulk or its price. Thus we should have been pleased to find a larger space devoted to Spinozaism, which seems likely to have a resurrection in our times, and which is an exceedingly subtle system. It appears to be very generally conceded that Dr. Clarke's elaborate demonstration, intended as a refutation of Spinoza has proved a failure. We are not of the number who hold this opinion, nor have we lost our confidence in the legitimacy or validity of the argument *a priori.* Different minds are affected differently according to their constitutional turn or mode of education. Dr. Duff, the eminent Scotch missionary in India, found the use of this argument satisfactory and triumphant among the acute and metaphysical young Hindoos, while the argument *a posteriori*, so popular in England, fell powerless on their minds.

The celebrated argument of Hume about experience has also been but briefly handled in the prolegomena, nor has the name of Dr. Campbell been once mentioned in the text or the notes. The Essay on Miracles is disposed of in less than three pages. This is the argument which has gained most currency in Great Britain and in this country, doubtless owing to the author's reputation as a historian. Notwithstanding its celebrity, and the confidence of Mr. Hume that he had discovered an unanswerable argument and "everlasting check," we feel bound to record our impression of its being a flimsy, sophistical, and flippant performance, savouring less of logic than of rhetoric, and recommended chiefly by its easy style, and a sort of complacent, well-fed, post-prandial philosophy. We

remember distinctly what were our feelings after twice carefully perusing it several years ago. We could not avoid asking ourselves again and again, is this the strongest argument which such a champion could adduce? Especially, after following the close logic and clear conclusions of Dr. Campbell in his masterly Reply, we could hardly avoid feeling that so much pains and elaborate reasoning were hardly necessary to refute it. And indeed, they would not have been necessary, had not the inclinations of the depraved heart been so propense an ally of error.

Hume versus Hume, or the self-contradictions of this distinguished sceptic, might be shown up without much trouble. After repeatedly affirming that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, he admits that a total darkness of eight days might be so attested as to command belief; and yet rejects the less wonder of a darkness of three hours at the Passion. He insists on the absolute uniformity of experience against every miraculous event, and that there is no contrary testimony; when it is the very object of his essay to invalidate such contrary testimony. He boasts of his freedom from bigotry; yet whenever a religious miracle is in question, he forestals inquiry by forming a general resolution never to lend it any attention, however specious. He maintains that polytheism was the primitive religion, and pure theism the result of philosophy and high civilization; yet he ridicules the Pentateuch, which sets forth a pure theism, as the work of a barbarous age. And to add no more—what are we to think of that man's morals, who after attempting to stab Christianity to the heart, hypocritically talks of "our most holy religion!" It reminds us of a midnight scene of old, when a certain individual said, "Hail, Master!" and kissed him, and in the same breath betrayed his victim to his enemies.

Woolston is another of these worthies, whose Six Letters on the Miracles had once a great run. Swift speaks of them as having reached the twelfth edition. Above sixty answers were elicited. The book is now only to be found on the shelves of some dusty library. Our author has noticed his ridicule of the miracle of the paralytic let down through the tiling; but not under the appropriate head (as it seems to us,) of the

miracle itself. On opening the volume, our first impulse was to look there for it, and we had a sensation of disappointment at not finding it in the second part.

Strauss is classed in the same school, though he has added the speculative refinements of Spinoza. Strauss is dismissed in two pages, which we regret; as his life of Jesus is translated and diffused in this country, and our divines should be better acquainted with it. Neander thought it of so much consequence that he wrote another Life of Christ as an antidote, but of this reply our author has taken no notice. We regret that his anxiety for brevity should have led to the omission.

Art. III—*The Prophet Habakkuk expounded by Francis Delitzsch.* Leipzig 1843. pp. xxx. & 208.*

If we estimate the value of a commentary by the size of the volume, or the extent of scriptual surface over which it travels, the merit of this exposition of Habakkuk by Dr. Francis Delitzsch will undoubtedly not be very great; but if we allow the ability, the learning, the evangelical views, and the deep-toned piety, which it displays, to enter into the computation we must assign to the work before us a distinguished place. Its author belongs to that school of German Theologians so happily on the increase, who with profound scholarship unite staunch orthodoxy, and who are turning the tide of popular unbelief by their unanswerable demonstrations, that learning and faith in scripture go hand in hand. In the matters of inspiration and of the supernatural facts of the Bible Dr. Delitzsch admits of no compromise; and he plainly evinces in abundant instances throughout the book, the truth of what he thus states in his introduction, that there must be—for we have in Habakkuk an instance of it—"a prophecy, which as it cannot be explained from human foresight, must have a supernatural divine illumination for its cause." This deserves to be rated pre-eminently among the qualifications of an expositor. How essential it is for a biblical interpreter to hav

* Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt von Franz Delitzsch.

this conviction well grounded in his mind at the outset, can be best appreciated by those, who have seen something of the monstrosities of exegesis and of criticism, to which an error here has given rise. If some one were to attempt to expound the Paradise Lost on the presumption that it was an infantile production, and should go determinedly to work to reduce every thing to the level of what might be expected from a child's capacities, lopping off and paring down without scruple wherever this was necessary to his end; such a procedure with Milton may very well be put on a paralled with that treatment of the books of scripture, which sets out with the principle that nothing supernatural can be admitted. Lexicography, grammar, history have all been, as occasion required, broken on the wheel. Many German works, which pass under the name of commentaries or introductions, are by this unsound principle at the bottom rendered perfectly worthless, except as museums of exegetical curiosities; while others, that are really valuable, are in many points sadly disfigured. In the hands of unbelieving interpreters the method and result of their exegesis have grown up into a system, which spreads its influence over the whole field of sacred literature, even to points where we would least suspect its existence. It constantly reappears in places the most remote from those obnoxious passages for the sake of which it was invented. With an appearance of candour and laborious induction, well calculated to deceive the unwary, it deduces significations, assigns etymologies, lays down grammatical rules, which nevertheless have no other reason but that they may be applied in some particular case where the maxims of neology find them necessary. So that even an interpreter of sound views if he suffers himself to depend upon writers of this school for materials, without subjecting them to an independent and thorough investigation for himself, will be constantly liable (as has often actually happened) to adopt, without designing or observing it, what has sprung from no better origin than principles which he repudiates. On the other hand, if he rejects indiscriminately all that such works contain, he deprives himself of the benefit of whatever is valuable in the patient and laborious researches of many able scholars.

Without undertaking to pronounce accurately upon the comparative merits or demerits of the work before us, we wish to note a few things in addition to the soundness of its author's theological sentiments, which contribute much to its value as a critical commentary. In Hebrew philology Dr. Delitzsch is evidently at home. His previous labours in this field, particularly his Jesurun published in 1838 under the double title of Prolegomena to Fürst's Hebrew Concordance, and Introduction to the Grammar and Lexicography of the Hebrew, language in opposition to Gesenius and Ewald are spoken of by Dr. Fürst in the preface to his great work, in the most exalted terms, saving only the author's 'piam nervosamque orthodoxiam', to which of course he was no friend. The regard shown for the genuine Hebrew construction and the strict Hebrew sense as determined by usage, and his preference for a Hebrew etymolgy wherever one is possible, not refusing however on proper occasions the aid of the cognate tongues, are undoubtedly just principles of interpretation. With much that is original and striking there is little strained or extravagant; he never seems to be seeking for the novel, but only for the true. And whether he has in all cases found it or not, his views certainly commend themselves often by their acuteness and plausibility, and the remarks upon points of grammar and lexicography, with which the book before us, is interspersed, betray the hand of a master and are valuable, to say the least, as suggesting to the scholar topics for examination.

We would next refer to the extensive use made of parallel passages, or in the German phrase Grundstellen. This reaches further than the discovery of casual perhaps superficial similarity in expression, to the assumption of a dependence of one writer upon another whether in thought or language. The inspired books forming at once the literature of his nation and the symbols of his faith, rooted themselves deeply in the memory and the heart of the religiously instructed Hebrew, and were most intimately associated with his whole inward life. He derived from them to a large extent his thoughts and modes of conception; and their familiar language naturally and often involuntarily presented

itself to him as the aptest vehicle of his ideas. Add to this, that the prophetic writings must be expected in a very particular manner to betray this influence of a preceding revelation, since the organ and bearer of divine communications must surrender himself entirely to the agency of God upon his mind, partly mediate through the scriptures already existing, partly immediate but still connecting itself with the existing word. Each new revelation adopted within itself the old, or attached itself upon it, in conformity with the process of gradual developement, which God was conducting. This unison seals that revelation, which has come through the medium of many different individuals, as nevertheless the work of one and the same divine spirit. It is not strange then if we find that later writers borrow expressions from those that preceded them, take up their thoughts and enlarge upon or vary them according to their immediate purpose, and often where they make no express citation yet allude to particular passages in such a manner as to show that they had them in their thoughts. Hengstenberg has done an eminent service in showing from the example of the Pentateuch how this dependence on former books of scripture pervades all that succeed them, and what extensive and valuable use may be made of the fact for purposes of exposition. Delitzsch has laboured very ardently and successfully in this line. He perhaps presses a resemblance sometimes which is not very obvious, or assumes a dependence where none existed; but we would rather have the results of an exploration which discovered too much than of one which discovered too little. We cannot but express our conviction, that this is an important and comparatively untrodden field for Biblical investigation, and one which promises rich results. There has indeed been no lack of so-called collations of parallel passages, and the margins of some of our Bibles have been literally crammed with them; and yet all is to very small purpose, for it has been done with little judgment and with no fixed principles. There is a great work here, which remains to be done, both in the Old Testament and in the New, not only for the elucidation of particular passages, but by a slow and laborious induction to trace the organic connexion of scripture and the

relation which each of the inspired writers sustains to every other and to the grand scheme of revelation, and indirectly to shed light upon the nature of inspiration itself.

In his exposition Delitzsch pursues the system of rigid translation, which since the publication of Winer's Grammar of the New Testament has been constantly winning favour with the learned. The true plan of eliciting an author's meaning is to render word for word with the utmost possible exactness. We must assume that when he uses the future he intends that and not the past; when he uses the definite article he does not intend the indefinite; when he says 'for,' he does not mean 'but;' when he says 'or,' he does not mean 'and.' We must interpret what he says, not what we think he ought to have said. Unless this strict system be adopted, an opening is left to foist in or explain away any thing whatever, and no limit can be set to the abuses which will ensue. As Trench, the recent commentator upon the parables, has somewhere said in sentiment if not in words, give the language of the inspired writers with all strictness, and their theology will take care of itself. In his exposition, too, our author adheres strictly throughout to the text in its present form, and steadfastly opposes all those arbitrary tinkerings and alterations, which are so ready a resort to some commentators in every difficulty. What a confidence he reposes even in the points, may be seen from the following passage, p. 202. "How is the enigma to be resolved that the punctuator shows (as always elsewhere) the deepest insight into the relation of these words to the preceding, as well as into their meaning, whilst the Targums, Talmud, and Midrash have wholly lost the key and vent the silliest stuff? The tradition which the Targumist had at his command reaches back certainly beyond the Christian era, and yet we are to believe the punctuation of the text to be a work of the school at Tiberias! One, who is acquainted with the expositions of scripture in the Targum and Talmud, will scarcely think possible such a fixing of its sense by written signs at a time when scriptural interpretation had long been converted by the Midrash into the plaything of a capricious fancy."

Few data remain to us for settling the date of Habakkuk's

prophecy; of his life we have none but apocryphal accounts. From ch. i. 5, it appears that the same generation which heard the prediction of the Chaldee invasion should witness its fulfilment. The corruption complained of, ch. i. 2–4, is described in too general terms to furnish a criterion of the period referred to; indeed there is nothing further from which a hint can be gathered unless it be that the subscription to chapter iii, in the last clause of verse 19, implies that it was not during a suspension of the temple service. Delitzsch principally relies in the determination of this question upon a combination of Hab. ii. 20 with Zeph. i. 17, entering into an extremely ingenious and well conducted argument to show that the former is the original passage and the latter built upon it; whence he concludes that Habakkuk must have preceded Zephaniah and could not have written later than the reign of Josiah (Zeph. i. 1;) that he could not have written before his reign, is settled by Hab. i. 5; and from various circumstances it is probable that this prophecy was delivered shortly after the reformation in Josiah's twelfth year. The premises for this last argument are altogether too narrow, however, for any but a German mind to build on them with great confidence. And we are disposed to adopt his conclusion less because we are carried along by the stringency of the proof, than because we see no sufficient reason for departing from the presumption, furnished by the position of the book in the collection of the minor prophets, that Habakkuk preceded Zephaniah (Zeph. i. 1) and followed Micah and Nahum (Mic. i. 1). We do not look upon this as a point of very great moment, however, or one on which any thing of consequence depends, in whatever way it is settled. And we should not feel much difficulty in conceding to Hitzig and Maurer the date for which they contend, in the sixth year of Jehoakim, if they had but a better reason for their belief. But we can never sanction such a ground as that which they urge, viz: that the prediction of the advance of the Chaldees could not have been made before they had commenced their march and the result was already plain to ordinary foresight, any more than we can follow Hirzel in the assumption of a vaticinium post eventum and date it after all had taken place. These writers should, for consistency's

sake, have fixed its composition after the destruction of Babylon, if not after the yet future conversion of the world, (ch. ii. 14)

The form of this whole prophecy is striking from its dramatic character, in which the speakers are alternately the Prophet and God, and future events are not so much predicted as portrayed. There is first an address to God by the prophet, i. 2–4, then the Lord's reply, verses 5–11; the prophet again speaks to God, verses 12–17, to himself ii. 1; the Lord again replies, ii. 2–20. This last reply, which sums up in five emphatic woes the fate of Babylon, is the real centre, the marrow of the whole prophecy, the burden from which it takes its name i. 1, to which what preceded was introductory, as presenting its justification; and it is followed by chap. iii. an impassioned psalm, more nearly approaching in its character to the compositions of the days of David than any thing else to be found in the writings of the prophets, in which we hear the echo from the depths of the prophet's heart or from the heart of the church to the revelation now received.

The book opens somewhat abruptly with the prophet's earnest complaint to God respecting the violence, injustice and oppression, which was prevailing around him, and from which he (either the prophet personally, or the pious portion of the people in whose name he speaks) had long suffered without the prospect of deliverance. This violence is not that of the Chaldean invasion already begun, but is in conformity with the usual course of prophecy in which a statement of the sin precedes the enunciation of the judgment. That the disorders consequent on the invasion of the Chaldees are subsequently described in similar terms (verses 9, 13), proves only that in the punishment of Israel, there was observed that law of divine recompense, which assimilates the penalty to the transgression, a law which should take effect subsequently on the Chaldeans likewise (ch. ii.) It is the corruption prevailing in Judah and described by other prophets of this period in similar terms, which is here intended. In answer to the prophet's complaint, the Lord makes known to him, and not only to him but to the people, the astonishing and incredible judgment, which he had decreed and which should be executed in their

days. Already (in prophetic vision) it was appearing in sight, and they are called to look out upon the heathen world and behold breaking forth thence upon them the impetuous and resistless Chaldeans, in the speed and the ease of their advancement to universal conquest. Transported now to the scene just depicted, it, the ideal present, affects the prophet as deeply as in verses 2–4, he had been affected by the actual present. And beholding these fierce invaders in the wide havoc they were making, their treachery, their massacres, their proud impiety, with a holy indignation and a wrestling faith he pleads with Israel's everlasting covenant-keeping and holy God, whether he will not put a speedy stop to these iniquities and devastations which threaten to engulph his people. His prayer uttered, the prophet stands with silent attention upon his watch-tower to learn what answer God will give; not that we have here any locality to which he outwardly repairs, but as men ascend to some high point that they may see far off in the distance, so he in spirit to gather the first indication of the divine will or catch the earliest glimpse of the coming future. He received a vision, which he is commanded to write and to make it plain upon the tables, viz. those which he would naturally use for the purpose; not tablets standing in some conspicuous position of the city, whereon matters of great consequence might be recorded for public information (Ewald); for of the existence of vacant tablets for the purpose we have no evidence; nor tables of stone, which is a needless supposition, and which the length of the vision to be recorded (not verse 4 simply, which would not require *tables*, but verses 4–20) renders improbable. The command to write it was not a merely symbolical one, to be performed only in vision and designed to set forth the great importance of the things communicated (Hengstenberg,) but intended to be literally obeyed. It should be written so plainly, that they who read it might run rapidly over it, impeded by no obscurity. The reason why it should be committed to writing, was that the period for its accomplishment, though certain, was remote, that it might meanwhile confirm the faithful in a confident expectation of the event. And thus we come to the main prediction of the book; that in i. 4–11 was one of judgment upon Israel, and

was introductory to this, which is one of destruction to their foes, of mercy to them. Its opening verse (v. 4) condenses in its two clauses this its double aspect, and has in both a backward as well as a forward reference; it introduces the answer to the question in i. 17, and contains already an intimation of what the full answer will be. The Chaldean is not indeed expressly named in the first clause; but the person spoken of in the answer cannot well be any other than the one respecting whom the question was propounded. It is, as it were, the divine assent to the promises, verses 15, 16, on which the prophet grounded his inquiry, that his easy and resistless victories had led to arrogant self-exaltation. "Behold, lifted up, not upright (or not straight, level) is his soul in him." This is indeed so, as the prophet had assumed, and this assertion judicially from the mouth of God is of itself enough to indicate the doom he must expect, a conclusion which is riveted by what immediately follows. The second clause, although in form the annunciation of a general truth, derives a speciality of meaning from its connexion with what precedes. The 'just' is the same that, i. 4, suffered from the wicked of his own people, and, i. 13, on the breaking in of the well merited chastisement upon the people generally was again made the prey of the unrighteous Chaldees; and the declaration that we shall live by faith,* is the divine sanction to the confiding trust expressed, i. 12, 'we shall not die;' this finds its confirmation too, in the succeeding verses inasmuch as the fall of the ungodly contains an implicit assurance of the life of the just, and the future establishment and glory of the kingdom of God is positively declared, v. 14. The next verse v. 15, continues the description of the Chaldee punishment. His impious self-exaltation we have already had, v. 4; here his drunkenness, his pride, his insatiable lust of conquest; and then the song put into the mouth of the nations from v. 6, onward, with its five stanzas containing each a separate woe, takes these up in the reverse order, vs. 6–8, insatiable conquest; vs. 9–11, and vs. 12–14, pride displayed in his build-

* Our author's earnest and able defence of this passage, in the sense in which it is several times cited by the Apostle Paul, cannot be here transcribed, but deserves at least this passing notice.

ings; vs. 15–17, vs. 18–20 impiety and idolatry (comp. i. 11). This regularity is not perhaps from preconceived plan, nor with any design of making thus a division of the subject logically exact; but in the natural flow of thought it connects itself with that last said, and returns by successive steps back to the point, whence it set out.

This song is addressed to the Chaldee, the king of Babylon and in him his people, not to some individual king in particular as Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach or Belshazzar; much less partly to one of these, partly to the king of Judah, Jehoiakim or some one else; but to the king of Babylon absolutely. It differs from the passage (Isa. xvi. 4, etc.,) to which in many respects it bears a marked similarity, inasmuch as that is a song of triumph exulting over the divine judgment as already accomplished, while this denounces it as impending. That was to be spoken by Israel when freed from his hard bondage; this is put into the mouth of all the nations still under the yoke of his grasping domination; and that not as unbelievers, but evidently according to the intention of the prophet (vs. 13, 14, 20) as believers, unless we suppose an incongruity in the song with the persons uttering it; they are the true Israel consisting of the faithful in Israel, according to the flesh and among the Gentiles. And these are in fact the only ones, who can properly be opposed to this universal monarchy; all else is amalgamated in it. It is the kingdom of this world oppressing the kingdom of God; and the destruction of the former and the establishment of the latter are certain. This grand idea lies at the basis of the song; and yet it is throughout prophetic not of general truths merely, but of the particular fate of the Chaldees, delineating as it does even to minute details and in a manner which is surprisingly confirmed by history, the sins by which they should work their downfall. While behind the fall of the Chaldees lies in conformity with the usual structure of Old Testament prophecy, the glory of the Messianic times. For every great monarchy, by which the people of God were subdued and oppressed, was to the prophets the world's empire absolutely, that great colossal kingdom, whose overthrow should make way for the coming in of the latter-day glory. It awakens in their minds the dis-

tinction of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world. Each is identified with its representative in the present: and no distinction is made, no detail is given of the various forms in which this ungodly power really identical in character should successively appear. Daniel is the first to whom it was given to see distinguished the four great empires of the world in their chronological succession. In the prediction before us, the prophet's eye looking upon Babylon identifies it as a part with the whole of what is in spirit and in destiny most intimately connected with it; and in its fall he sees the fall of all that opposes the kingdom of God. This great ungodly power must be removed out of the way, in order to the introduction and complete establishment of the kingdom of God. Its fall was one of the many successive crises, which should occur in the progress of that grand event; one great step toward its accomplishment. He hurries at once away from the destruction of Babylon to the latter-day glory, which looms up beyond it as the brightness of the sun breaking in over the dark mountains that gird the horizon. As in perspective, he sees them lying together before him without having revealed to him the interval by which they are actually separated, or being enabled to take any thing like a bird's eye view of the events that intervene. The prophet has not omniscience; he can only declare the future so far as God has been pleased to make it known to him. And he has chosen to make it known, not in that way in which it might most completely gratify those who with a vain curiosity would pry into the future, but in that in which it might best accomplish its design as a divine message of comfort, instruction, or warning to those to whom it was sent. We are not to expect in prophecy a daguerreotype likeness, so to speak, of the future, complete in every detail, with all the proportions and adjustments of events, precisely as history shall record them. It is rather an outline sketch. If now we place this and the fulfilment side by side, we shall find that with all the incompleteness there is no inaccuracy in the draught, but for every line drawn in the prediction, there is what precisely corresponds to it in the event; we shall find individual events here and there hinted at in the prediction or unambiguously expressed, which whether they

were more or less distinctly defined in the consciousness of the prophet, yet inasmuch as they precisely reappear in the history are certainly within the scope of the spirit of the prophecy, included under its comprehensive expressions, or to be classed as particulars under its general ideas. The exposition of a prophecy ought to be distinguished from the illustration of the same prophecy by history. The former developes altogether without respect to the fulfilment what is properly contained in the words themselves according to the grammatical and logical compass of their ideas, without specifying within the range thus marked out what are the precise details or the exact particulars in which the accomplishment is to be looked for. The latter makes use of history as a commentary upon the prophecy, throwing back upon it the fresh light which history sheds, thus illuminating what before was dark, specifying the general, making definite what was indefinite, resolving what was enigmatical, without in all this foisting in any foreign element into the prophecy. History is the evolution of prophecy; prophecy the embryo of history. The contents of both are in substance the same; only in one we have the bud, in the other its flowers and fruit.

The first stanza (vs. 6–8) of this parabolical, poetical, and enigmatical passage, as the three epithets applied to verse 6 describe it, contains the wo against Chaldee for his insatiable ambition. "Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his:" or (for the words are suggestive of this meaning also,) "that which shall not be for his own good.' 'How long,—not as an exclamation, but as a question; and that not in the sense, how long shall he possess them? or, how long until he will be satisfied? but how long shall he be allowed to do so undisturbed? The woe implies that a bound shall be put to the grasping spirit of the Chaldee. How long? asks, with horror at his conduct, when that bound shall be. And the negative question of v. 7, equivalent to a strong affirmation gives the reply made by the speaker to himself, 'suddenly.' 'And to him that ladeth himself with a mass of pledges!' The plunder of the nations and their rich booty, with which he loads himself, appear as pledges exacted by some unmerciful usurer (Deut. xxiv. 10) and which

he shall one day be forced to surrender to their rightful owners. He is heaping up a load to crush himself. Besides this strict etymological sense of the passage, the words are so framed as to suggest another; and that this was intentional, our author feels himself warranted to assume from the song being styled enigmatical at the outset, which naturally leads to the suspicion of a double sense, one obvious, one concealed; are its plain legitimate meaning, the other easily offering itself as lying beneath it; a characteristic again exemplified, vs. 7, 16. The sound of the word whose proper meaning is pledges, would to a Hebrew ear spontaneously divide itself into two words 'cloud of mire' (Eng. ver. thick clay.) These goods unrighteously obtained bring him no substantial profit. They resemble in their worthlessness the vile mire of the steets, which he figures as raised up in one vast cloud of foulness to discharge its burden upon him and bury him beneath it.

The executioners of the divine vengeance which have long been quietly preparing shall suddenly awake, as it were, from sleep to assail him. The characterizing of the enemies of Babylon as those 'that shall bite thee,' as though they were maddened vipers, may awaken some surpr se. The occasion was given by the figure of the previous verse. The usual name of usury is 'that which bites,' a derivative from this very word, i. e., bites off from the property of him who must pay it. The word here used has not grammatically the sense of lenders, nor creditors, nor debtors, all of which have been attributed to it, nor indeed any other, but simply that of biting. And yet to a Hebrew it naturally suggests the idea of its derivations; and awakens the reflection that as the Chaldees have like hard-hearted creditors, by taking illegal increase (interest) and exacting unjust pledges, stripped the nations of their goods, a time will come for demanding back this unrighteous plunder from them with usury. Abarbenel remarks on this verse, the Medes and Persians are here meant; for they, after having been formerly subjected to the Babylonish empire, and reigned over by Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants, rose up and awoke in the days of Belshazzar, like the waking of sleepers or the rising of the dead.

The spoiler of many nations shall by God's just retaliation be made in turn their spoil. The blood that he has shed and the violence he has done to land and city—not Palestine and Jerusalem alone, which are nowhere specially mentioned, nor is anything peculiarly Israelitish mentioned in the whole prophecy, but in all the earth,—shall thus be visited upon himself.

The second and third stanzas (vs. 9–11, 12–14,) denounce woe upon the pride that displayed itself in the splendid buildings and magnificent structures, those showy fruits of extortion and bloodshed, for which Babylon became famous. If living witnesses were wanting to his guilt, the very wood and stones of his superb edifices became his accusers, either as having been plundered themselves, or as being compelled to serve a plunderer and to behold his deeds of rapine and injustice. Vs. 12–14 is not the language of the stone and the beam, but a new woe co-ordinate with the preceding, only the palace erecting, (v. 9,) is here exchanged for towns and cities; (the beautifying of Babylon may be and doubtless is principally intended, but the expressions themselves are not limited to that) and instead of the Chaldee as before being the builder himself, captive nations are represented as toiling in his service. They are labouring not 'in the fire,' (Eng. ver.) but 'for the fire,' i. e. rearing that which the fire shall consume, and 'for very vanity,' i. e. erecting what shall come to nought. And that all this must perish is assumed by the truth long ago revealed (Numbers xiv. 21) that the glory of the Lord shall fill the earth; if so, the glory of the Chaldees must first vanish; this opposing power, which is regarded by the prophet as having absorbed every other, and is viewed in the full stature of that kingdom of evil of which during its period it was the chief earthly representative, must be put down.

The fourth stanza (vs. 15–17) connects itself with the charge of Drunkenness in the first clause of v. 5, which is not figurative but literal, and both the crime and its punishment were signally united in the fact attested by profane as well as by sacred history, of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, while the whole city was in a drunken debauch. Here first the idea

receives its figurative turn; and we have painted the double picture of the Chaldee handing the wine to the nations that he may feast his eyes on their shame as they lie in the weakness of their intoxication—a lively image of the disgrace and weakness of conquered states—and then the Chaldee compelled to drink himself as his turn comes round of the cup, which the Lord's avenging right hand shall extend to him. Comp. Jer. xxv. 15 and elsewhere. The literal sense, which some assume of their bringing captive princes forth from the dungeons to their banquets, and making them drunken and the objects of derisive treatment, besides being in itself greatly inferior to the former, does not agree so well with what follows, where the same punishment is announced under another figure and then the same sin charged upon them in literal terms. The Lebanon and its beasts (v. 17) are not figures for Palestine and its inhabitants. But his violence done the very trees and beasts (Isa. xiv. 8, Jer. xxvii. 6) provokes a retribution; the same violence returns upon himself. The fall of Lebanon's lofty trees sets forth his fall; the terror of its beasts frightened from their coverts is an emblem of the terror, which shall pursue the frightened fugitives of Babylon. A judgment such as this shall come upon him, because of the blood he has shed, and the violence, with which he has filled the earth.

The first four woes have been repeating under different forms of speech with ever growing vehemence the one thought of the tyranny and the oppression of the Chaldees; and the fourth by taking up at its close a sentence of the first marks off this portion as in a manner complete in itself. Then the fifth stands singly as an equipoise to all the rest, descriptive of his idolatry as his crime of crimes, and one which directed immediately against God, demands not as those a retribution executed by the hands of man, but that Jehovah, before whose majesty not Chaldea only but the whole earth is challenged to be still as at the coming of her Lord, should from his holy temple in the skies be himself the executioner of judgment. The dumb idols on which the Chaldee vainly relies, so far from delivering those, who invoke them, from judgments

merited by their other sins, bring a new and heavier woe upon them.

With the second chapter closes the first part of the book. In answer to the first complaint of the prophet the Chaldee invasion was revealed to him, and the new complaint which this occasioned has now been answered by a revelation of the overthrow of that ungodly empire,—the overthrow of the kingdoms of this world and the establishment of the kingdom of God. No cause of complaint remains; every difficulty is explained, every doubt quieted; the troubles of the present are more than balanced by the consolations of the future. The third chapter is provided with a separate title and subscription of its own, and is thus shown to be in a manner complete in itself; while at the same time both its place in the book, and the intimate connexion of its contents with what precedes, declare it to be an integral portion of the prophecy. Though it would have been strange if at the time when the dissecting knife was all the rage with German critics, and every groundless suspicion was sufficient to prove any book of the Bible to be a jumble of fragments, there had not been some to discover that all antiquity, and Jewish tradition, and every thing else had been at fault in annexing this chapter to Habakkuk's prophecy, and that its position there was the work of some negligent scribe, or blundering bookbinder.

This closing chapter contains a lyric recapitulation as it were of all that precedes. It presents the total of the impressions made upon the prophet's soul, it is the utterance of the feelings produced by both the divine communications which he had received. 'I heard thy speech and was afraid;' a fear originated in the past but continuing in the present. This is not the awe felt at the magnificent display of God's presence about to be described, but fear excited by the prospect of predicted evil,—not that in chap. 2, which describes the overthrow of the enemies of God's people and can awaken no emotions other than those of thankfulness and joy, but that in i. 5–11, the near troubles of Judah in the irruption of the Chaldees. In his fear of these approaching calamities in which he seems to himself to be already in anticipation involved, he feels that he is in an extremity, which calls for divine interposition.

And as the recollection of God's ancient deeds on behalf of suffering Israel comes over him, he ejaculates the prayer, 'Lord revive thy work,'—not exactly perform, or call into being some new effect, but reproduce, call back again to life thy work, repeat in this new hour of need thy ancient doings on Israel's behalf. 'In the midst of the years, not midway between the creation and the end of the world as Bengel and his school understood it, who referred this passage to the advent of Christ and laid it at the basis of their chronological system—nor within a few years (Gesenius), nor, in the midst of these years of trouble, which would involve a logical inaccuracy as that which happens *in the midst* of years of trouble, must have years of trouble on each side of it. But the future stretches out before him a boundless succession of years. In these occurs the chastisement of Judah by the Chaldees, and he prays that within these too God would repeat his mighty deliverances. In the midst of the years make known, not here in the sense of giving information, but make the operations of thy power and grace, which thy people once knew, matter of a present experience. In the wrath that chastises remember the mercy which has so often saved.

A question here arises about the majestic descent of the Lord, which follows, (vs. 3–15), is it history or prophecy? does it belong to the past or the future? The comparison of Deut. xxxiii. 2, Judg. v. 4, 5, Ps. lvii. 15–20,—the mention of Teman, Paran, Midian, places lying in the wilderness or on the coast of the Red Sea, and the evident allusion to historical events in some of the verses might at first sight incline us to refer this whole description to the past as an animated recital of the wonders God had wrought in former times. We shall soon be convinced, however, that it is quite impossible to understand it as a summary narration of distinct and separate events in Israelitish history. Those interpreters, who have attempted this, have involved themselves in inextricable perplexity and in perpetual contradiction with each other. The most forced interpretations are resorted to to find historical allusions where none are apparent, or to bring into some order events thrown together in wonderful confusion; and after all there are some verses in which the idea of any reference to

particular events has to be given up. Thus the Targum refers, vs. 3–5, to the descent upon Sinai, v. 6 to the flood and the dispersion which took place at the tower of Babel, v. 7 to the deliverance from Chushan-rishathaim by Othniel and from the Midianites by Gideon, v. 9 to the bringing of water from the rock, v. 10 again to the revelation on Sinai, v. 11 with great apparent reason and yet, when the context is considered, most unreasonably to the standing still of the sun and moon in the time of Joshua, vs. 14,15 to the passage of Israel through the Red Sea ; vs. 8, 12, 13 are understood generally without reference to any particular events. Rosenmüller refers the whole to the Exodus from Egypt, except vs. 7, 11, in which he follows the Targum. Hesselberg finds in v. 8 the drowning of the Egyptians, vs. 9, 10, Noah's flood, v. 11 the stoppage of the sun by Joshua. Burk finds in vs. 3–7 a cycle of events from the time of Moses to the Judges, in vs. 8–15, another cycle from Moses to the kings; v. 14 he refers to the slaying of Goliath. Roos finds one regular chronological succession from first to last; in v. 10 he explains the mountains to be kingdoms, and the overflowing of the water to be Israel's entrance into Canaan. We may say of the interpreters, who hold this view generally, what Delitzsch says in one place of Cocceius, they shake their kaleidoscope and then see whatever they choose. The view finds its best refutation in the miserable success of its advocates in every attempt to carry it consistently out.

Pressed by the difficulties which beset this scheme, Ewald has undertaken to refer the whole to one single event,—the revelation of God at the Red Sea. He disposes the whole thus: vs. 3–5 God commences his advance; vs. 6–8 moves north-westwardly to the Red Sea; v. 9–12 the phenomena before the deliverance ; vs. 13–15 the destruction of Pharaoh and his host. But the advance from Sinai presupposes the giving of the law; many things in the description have to be explained as extravagant hyperbole unworthy of the prophet; and the chief fact, which ought to be made most prominent, the passage of Israel and the drowning of Pharaoh, is scarcely more than hinted at.

If this passage then is to be understood historically, it can

only be in one way, and that is by assuming it to be a condensation into one single picture of whatever God has done for Israel in the past. Traits are borrowed from the more prominent individual events here and there, and then combined in one complex representation; all interval of time and chronological succession is lost sight of and the whole of the wonders are embraced in a single spectacle as one great wonder. Just as in Ps. xviii., David throws together all the particular dangers and deliverances of his past life under the idea of one grand peril and one miraculous rescue. The prophet will then be considered as standing and looking back upon the past. All the mighty deeds, which God had wrought, present themselves before him in one united prospect. He sees nothing for itself, but as it stands connected with the entire series of which it forms a part. He describes nothing individually, but gives us the combined effect of the whole seen at once. His language now and then takes its form or its colouring from this or that particular event, which is prominently before his eye, but it is with no intention of describing any individual event precisely; his thoughts are not occupied about any one.* This would be in fact just such a view of the past as the prophets are accustomed to take of the distant future, and finds in that perhaps its best exemplification. If this passage were to be understood as descriptive of the past, this mode of viewing it would be recommended both by its own structure and by the analogy of other similar passages.

There are reasons, however, which constrain us to decide against the historical and in favour of the prophetic sense. And first and mainly, the tense of the opening verb. This cannot be rendered 'God came,' Eng. ver., but 'shall come' or in the sense of an action beginning in the present and continued in the future 'is coming.' This is the usual prophetic phrase for a future divine intervention. That this is followed in the description by preterites used interchangeably with futures will not surprise any one, who is acquainted with the

* 'Poetae nihil est diuturnum. Canplecti amant et tanquam semel factum unum sub adspectum ponere poetae multorum annorum res gestas, praesertim dudum praeteritas'. Maurer.

idiomatic use of the Hebrew tenses. This constant interchange is usual in graphic description of what is taking place before the eyes, or of what whether past or future is conceived of with the vividness of an event now in progress, and it makes advancing stages of the action with a peculiar liveliness of manner, which is incapable of being adequately transferred to any occidental language. It is in such cases, however, the first verb that governs the whole, and characterizes the entire description as belonging to the region whether of the past or of the future. The prophetic view also agrees better with the structure of the entire chapter. These verses historically understood can only be recollections on which the prophet dwells to assure himself of an answer to his prayer, v. 2. But then it is disproportionately long compared with both the other portions of the chapter; and the subordinate is not only in contrariety to the laws of taste but to the natural utterance of feeling erected into the most prominent. On the other hand, if it be prophetic, it is itself the answer to the prayer which precedes and the ground of the triumphant joy which follows. There are expressions, too, in the course of it, which a closer inspection would show to be more easily intelligible on the prophetic view, if they would in the other case be intelligible at all. To these grounds may be added, that the prophet, even where he had plainly in his eye events in the past, and actually adopts from earlier sacred writers, their language describing them invariably and with evident design, avoids every expression which would be individual in its character and applicable only to the event in the past.

He finds in the past the type of the future; and borrows from the ancient works of God and from the descriptions of them contained in the earlier scriptures the strokes and the colouring for his picture of a corresponding future. He presents us with the picture of a grand descent to judgment, which should combine in itself all that was fearfully majestic and all that was gracious in every previous revelation of God for judgment and for mercy, a deliverance the antitype of that from Egypt which should yet so far outshine as positively to eclipse it (Jer. xxi. 14). It is in consequence of this reproduction of the past in the future that we find in the Revela-

tion those who have gotten the victory over the great enemy standing beside the sea of glass with harps in their hands, and singing the song of Moses the servant of God; it is Ex. xv. over again on a grander scale. It is for this same reason that in the chapter before us the Lord is represented as coming from the scene of his ancient wonders. He commences his majestic march from Teman and from Paran, and in his progress fills the nations that line the shore of the Red Sea with dismay. Possibly too, our author adds, there is a deeper reason for it than this, that in prophetic view the region between Palestine and Egypt shall actually be the scene of a grand final overthrow of nations, which here in conformity with the customary mode of prophetic representation appears as coincident with the overthrow of the Chaldeans.

God will have mercy upon Israel and that by coming in judgment on their foes. This judgment shall first touch the Chaldeans, and there can be no doubt that in the prophet's own mind they are the immediate object of this judicial theophany; nor that by the wicked, v. 13, the king of Babylon is primarily meant, and by the invading troops, v. 16, his armies. But this special judgment expands itself before the eye of the prophet into a universal judgment. The march of God is not, as we should expect if to punish the Chaldees was its exclusive object, in the direction of Babylon; but it is located in the district between Egypt and Idumea, whence it spreads its effects over the whole earth with its inhabitants. The Chaldee Empire, as that from which immediate danger was apprehended, certainly stands in the foreground; yet not as the Chaldee Empire but as the World's Empire absolutely, which must be cast down that Israel may be redeemed. And it is for this reason that the picture lacks all traits, which would have *individual or exclusive reference to the Chaldeans.* The kingdom of this world in its ever enduring hostility to the kingdom of God has since the fall of the Babylonish Empire changed its name and the form of its manifestation, but not its essence nor its spirit. Its fall has been gradually preparing in a number of catastrophes, which stand in the relation of *prodrani* to the *acme*, and at the final consummation it will be fully accomplished. This ultimate overthrow the prophet

here depicts by giving to the special judgment upon the Chaldees the intensity of a universal judgment upon all nations and combining into the focus of one grand world-embracing catastrophe, the rays of past and future preliminary judgments. His view is on the one hand limited, in that he has the Babylonish Empire before him without being able to distinguish those that lie behind it in their succession. On the other it is so extended that by the aid of inspiration he can see in the fall of Babylon the fall of the Empire of Evil, and from the proximate can look to the remotest future. This gives the prophecy an import for all times.

In consequence of this intermingling of what is in actual fact sundered by long intervals of time, that which in an exclusive description of the judgment on Chaldees would be purely emblematic obtains in the light of subsequent prophets and of the book of Revelation a deep actuality of meaning. The judgment on the Chaldee, the fall of his royal house has taken place but not amid the convulsions of nature which are here described. These are by a kind of prolepsis woven into the representation of special judgment, inasmuch as it is preliminary, it is as it were the prelude to a final catastrophe, which shall ensue amidst such commotions of heaven and earth. All that in special judgments can be understood only at least chiefly as emblematical of events, partly political, partly such as take place in the invisible and spiritual world, shall in the final consummation be outwardly and literally realized to the full extent of its meaning. The entire history of the world is prognostic of its end; all individual judgments are links in that chain of development which reaches to the final judgment; they all prefigure what shall in the final catastrophe display itself when the outward shall be in perfect correspondence with the inward and the material with the spiritual both in intensity and extent. And herein lies the justification of the prophet, when combining as he does the impending special judgment in one with the final judgment, or it may be in his own mind actually identifying them, he describes the former in such terms, as if we undertake to sunder what the prophet has blended, are applicable to the special judgment only in an

emblematic sense, but belong to the final judgment in its strictest and most literal signification.*

The same characteristic we find in all the prophets. Isaiah chap. xiii. the judgment upon Babylon; but this expends itself in v. 9, etc., to a day of judgment, which shall embrace the earth and all the sinners that are upon it. The figures there as here are not barely allegorical emblems, still less (which would be unworthy of the prophet) hyperbole or fancy; but they in the most literal manner mean, what according to the strict import of the words they denote; for in the vision he sees close behind the judgment upon Babylon, and coalescing with it the final judgment upon the world itself. This incorporating of features from the universal into particular judgments sometimes finds place even in cases where except in such sudden glimpses the latter are *exclusively* described. See for a remarkable instance of this kind, Joel ii. 10, 11, where in a description of a devastation by locusts, language is used, which recurs iv. 15, 16, in the judgment of all nations.

The judgment announced in chap. i. as about to burst upon Judah had led the prophet to pray (iii. 2) that God would repeat on their behalf some such marvellous deliverance as he had wrought of old. And now (v. 3) in answer to his prayer, God comes to free his people and to punish their foes. The figure of the rising sun lies at the bottom of the majestic description, which follows. The divine glory breaks in over Teman and Paran, the region of ancient wonders, not as though the divine advance began at the first of these points and proceeded thence to the other, but the entire horizon which they bound is illuminated at the same instant and God comes from both at once. and now, as Selah intimates, the singers pause, while the instrumental accompaniment takes up the grand thought now announced,—'God is coming,'—and dwells upon it in a round of jubilate and elevated strains. In an instant his glory has

* The two leading peculiarities of prophetic representation are thus admirably stated by Crusius in his Hypomnemeta—Res quae prophetae praedicunt, plerumque sistuntur *complexe*, ita ut in universo suo ambitu summatim, spectentur, vel κατὰ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα h. e. secundum id quod res erit ubi ad fastigium suum pertigerit, non item adduntur partes singulae, nec successive graduum consecutio, aut periodorum temporis distinctio, etiam ubi de remotis vel per tempore longe dissita divisis dicitur.

already covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his praise,—not the acclamations of its inhabitants rendering praise; the effects of the theophany appear first (v. 6) and these are terror not praise,—but that which is deserving of praise, a synonym of glory. 'And there is brightness like the light,' i. e. of the sun. First there was a glory spread over the horizon; next it flashes up over the the sky and fills the earth with its radiance; now the concentrated brilliance, from which all this light had proceeded rises into view. Beams of light, by a frequent oriental figure here called horns, stream from him on either hand. And there—in the midst of his brightness—is the hiding of his power; this transcendently glorious appearance is not God himself, but the veil which he has thrown around his omnipotence. Pestilence and burning diseases (Eng. ver. marg.) the frequent instruments of his wrath, are here personified as attendants preceding and following the Lord of life and death. Quite a number of interpreters have adopted the notion that all theophanies must be squared to the scheme of an advancing storm; and the one before us has not escaped the same fate, and as might be expected the strangest mal-interpretations have followed. Here all is light and brightness, not clouds and tempest. And even in those representations, it is never a mere storm, that is depicted, but always something extraordinary and supernatural to which a natural storm bears only a partial analogy. For although nature is itself a revelation of God, yet it becomes so in a more immediate and remarkable manner, when God appears for judgment and nature serves on the one hand as the instrument of his vengeance, while on the other it mirrors forth his majesty or sympathizes with what man endures.

Thus far the sun-rise of the Theophany, so to speak. The brightness that veils God though it has risen into view, is yet afar only filling the world with the beams of its distant glory. Now it comes into closer contact with the earth and its inhabitants. He stands and—not, measures the earth (though the verb might easily have this sense) whether with reference to the division of Canaan among the tribes, or to a future division of the territory of their enemies among his people or in the sense of measuring with his eyes i. e. to survey—but,

shakes the earth, but he simply treads upon it and it quivers. He looks and makes the nations quake. Everlasting mountains—not symbols of nations or kings, but in the literal sense—burst asunder, not as obstacles to be removed out of the way of God's advance, but from fright which they are represented as sharing in common with man. Perpetual hills sink, as all that is lofty must before the Almighty. The everlasting ways ascribed to him are not mountain-tops considered as the road over which God comes but literally goings of eternity or remote antiquity are his, he goes forth now as he did when he appeared of old. By the mountains here Delitzsch understands the dark granite mountains of Seir, as those lay nearest the scene of the theophany; and to the epithet everlasting he gives the geological sense, which certainly suits Seir very well, of primitive as opposed to stratified, mountains whose formation goes back to the time of the original creation not the work of subsequent deposition and upheaving. Cusham (perhaps the same as Cush or Ethiopia) and Midian, nations bordering on the Red Sea and in the immediate neighborhood of this magnificent descent are singled out in their terror, not by way of contrast to others who do not share it, but as an instance of what is universal.

The language now suddenly changes from the form of narration in which the prophet has been describing what he saw to that of direct address. The apparition grows more and more distinct. The Lord has come forth from the brilliancy in which he was hid, equipped as a victorious warrior with chariot and horse. The sea and rivers (Delitzsch supposes the Nile and Astaboras of Ethiopia) are seen in fearful agitation (an evident allusion to the miraculous passage opened through the Red Sea and the Jordan.) And the prophet, too much excited by his desire to know the object of this terrific display, of which he is not made aware till v. 13, to remain longer a quiet beholder earnestly asks, if they are the objects against which God's wrath is directed. Against rivers has there been kindled, O Lord, against the rivers thine anger? against the sea thine wrath? that thou art riding upon thy horses, thy chariots of salvation. Being bared bare is thy bow,—he is seen stripping from it its covering that it may be

ready for use,—sworn the arrows by thy word,*—the command of God has bound them as by oath to execute their commission, they shall not fail to strike wherever they are aimed. This completes the draught of Jehovah as a conquering hero; the singers hush (Selah) while the instruments prolong loud notes of reverential praise. The address begun v. 8 still continues, Thou art cleaving the earth with rivers. The bursting forth of streams from the bowels of the earth is another accompaniment of that majestic appearance, of which it had been asked if it was in wrath against the sea. All nature is seized with consternation at the sight of the advancing deity. Mountains writhe distracted, deluging rains sweep by, the ocean roars, its waves dash against the sky, the sun and moon affrighted shrink back from view into their habitation,—the same from which they came forth when they rise (Ps. xix. 5), and into which they enter when they set, but into which they now suddenly from the midst of heaven withdraw themselves, not because everpowered with superior brightness, but terror stricken—at the light of thine arrows that are flying, at the bright flashing of thy spear. The spear and arrows of God are lightnings, not as natural phenomena accompanying a supposed storm, but as the weapons of his wrath. In indignation thou art marching through the earth, in anger thou art threshing the nations. And now the sudden certainty breaks in upon the prophet that this display of fearful majesty, which has filled the world with wild dismay, and before which he has just seen the nations beaten like dust and chaff is not directed against all nations without exception. Thou hast gone forth for the salvation of thy people, to save thy anointed,—an epithet not of Judah but of their king, and that not any individual king as Josiah, Jehoiakim, etc., but the king absolutely; and as the view of the prophet is complex embracing the full realization of the idea as well as its present imperfect mani-

* This clause, the second of the two before Selah in v. 9, though consisting of but three words is one of the most difficult in the whole book as may be supposed from its having been interpreted in more than a hundred different ways. Our author's discussion of it in which we cannot of course follow him here presents an extremely beautiful specimen of exegetical skill. We have given above the translation which he adopts without assuming to decide whether it be absolutely the best. The sense of the English version is that all this God is doing to fulfil his word and oath given to the tribes of Israel.

festation, Christ the last and most glorious successor of David on the throne is not excluded. That the Davidic king including even the greatest of David's sons should be an object of divine assistance is a representation found elsewhere in the Old Testament, Zech. ix. 9, Ps. xxii., and need create no difficulty.

The accomplishment of this work of deliverance is now set forth in three distinct figures. First, the house of the wicked is dashed to pieces; head, neck and foundation are all torn away and not a vestige is left remaining. Next, the ranks of the enemy are made to turn their arms against each other, and to perish by their own weapons. Thou hast pierced through with his own darts the head of his hosts, (literally, inhabitants of villages and unwalled places,) which come like a whirlwind to scatter me, exulting secure of their prey like a robber lying in wait for some poor defenceless wanderer. The prophet sees the deliverance, but he sees too the danger that must precede it; and this as the nigher more powerfully affects his mind. With a trembling heart he beholds the advancing hosts as they rush on certain of Israel's destruction, and the similarity of peril to that in which Israel was when pursued by Pharaoh and the forces of Egypt gives rise to the third figure. The enemy follow Israel flying through the sea with its heaped up waters. God marches after them riding on his horses and chariots of salvation, v. 8. That Israel is saved and that their enemies are destroyed is not added. Just at the moment of intense expectation the figure is broken off. Israel's peril is seen; his deliverance is certain but it lies yet in the future and this leaves room for human despondency. The same fear, which oppressed the prophet at the outset v. 2, returns again upon him. A distant deliverance does not extinguish his alarm at the approaching calamity. I heard,—not God's majestic approach, for that was presented to the eye rather than the ear, and was besides to his people an occasion not of terror but of joyful expectation because its object was their rescue,—but the same that he had heard with similar feelings before v. 2, viz. the prediction in chap. 1 of a speedy judgment upon Judah. I heard and all within me (both physical and spiritual) trembled; at the voice my lips quivered;

rottenness enters into my bones (paralyzing all my strength,) and I tremble where I stand, that I must quietly wait for the day of trouble, for his coming up against the people who shall invade them in troops. It is the being obliged to await this righteous inevitable chastisement which gives rise to the feelings just expressed. The next verse expands the idea of the day of trouble by giving the consequences of the invasion; it is a prophetic picture of the desolation of the holy land by the wars with the Chaldeans and in part also, for the prophet does not chronologically separate them, its mournful condition during the Babylonish exile. But the confidence of faith triumphs over all, and with the exultation of victory the psalm closes.

ART. IV.—*Essays of Sir W. Jones and H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.*, published in the 1st, 5th, 7th and 8th vols, of the Asiatic Researches.

2. *Vedanta Sara*, translated by Rev. W. Ward. 1st vol. of Ward's "View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus."
3. *Account of Indian Philosophy*, 1st and 4th vols. of "Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy."
4. *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, by H. H. Wilson, LL.D., F. R. S. Boden Sanscrit Professor, Oxford, Calcutta, Bishop's College Press. 1846.
5. *Two Lectures on the Religious Practices and Opinions of the Hindus;* delivered before the University of Oxford, on the 27th and 28th of February, 1840, by H. H. Wilson, M. A., Boden Professor of Sanscrit, etc. Oxford, 1840.
6. *Calcutta Review*, Nos. VI, VII, and VIII, respectively for June, September and December, 1845.
7. *North British Review*, No. II, August 1844.
8. *Friend of India*, a weekly newspaper edited by J. Marshman, Esq., Serampore. Vols. of the years 1845 and 1849.*

* The writer makes the acknowledgment once for all that he is indebted to these sources for the materials of which his article is compiled.

Dr. Duff said with truth, that as in the history of the physical world chaos precedes the cosmos, so it is ever in the moral world that a moral chaos precedes the divine generation of the new spiritual order of the kingdom of heaven. It lies in the very idea of a creative energy that it may compass the end immediately—for what we call means are but the articulations of the one power which comprehends the end from the beginning. But in the design of Jehovah in all his works of creation and providence, the end proposed is not so much the attainment of certain results in the physical universe, and in his system of government, but principally the revelation of his own infinite wisdom, power, and goodness to his intelligent creatures, in forms suited to their comprehension—and for this end an explicit evolution of the method of his works is essential. In that sublime command, Let there be light, and in its immediate fulfilment, we have the revelation of a power whose sublimity may well excite adoration, and which in fact constitutes the ultimate ground to which we refer every exhibition of power, but which utterly transcends our sphere in kind as well as degree, and therefore cannot enlighten us as to its own nature, nor as to the intelligence by which it is determined. It is only when God works in, and (as men say) through a system of means infinitely multiplied and various, holding all in balance and directing all to his own ends, that we can trace and adequately appreciate the divine wisdom and the provisions of the divine goodness.

In the original generation of a new order in this physical world for the habitation of man, and the higher races of animals and vegetables provided for his use, we know, that when the Spirit brooded over the face of the waters, although the earth was without form and void, the energy exerted was nevertheless not an unconditioned creation—for it appears from the record itself that it was conditioned by the preëstablished laws of matter. Thus also is the work of the regenerating gospel in the bosom of any particular nation, not an unconditioned new creation ; for beyond the universal conditions of human nature, there are always present those of preëxisting civilizations, systems of faith, social and religious institutions, as well as contemporary political relations. All these, in as far

as they are merely natural, will be assumed by the ordinating Spirit and wrought into the new creation, but, in as far as they are the results of the adverse powers of darkness, they will be utterly extirpated and cast out.

In this physical world, when the power of life is withdrawn from any organization, there is not always a disintegration of form, as is witnessed by the fossil remains of ancient strata, but the component elements always assume a relation of fixed equilibrium, which only a new life can invade and disturb. Stagnation is the result and evidence of death. When any form of life invades a sphere thus stagnant, the old equilibrium is instantly broken up, and there at once commences an action and reaction of, what appears to us, warring forces, the constant flux of elements thrown out of the sphere of chemical affinity in order that they may be brought into the higher sphere of vital harmony. This is of course true in a far higher sense in the spiritual regeneration of a community of men, for here not only a new, but a higher life is introduced, which has not only to subordinate to itself past and lower developements, but to meet and destroy essentially opposing powers. This has always been the fact, and always in proportion to the previous civilization, and the authority of preëxisting institutions among any people. Here the first effect of the preaching of the gospel is to break up the old stagnation, and to excite the most intense and apparently opposing action. The zealots of the old system are aroused to new energy, and cast about for new weapons of defence; and above all the passions of men are excited in new directions, and the most various and conflicting forms of opinion are generated by the contact of the old with the new. A period of transition ever gives birth to monsters, abnormal growths, which belong neither to the old nor the new order, which, as they are not born of law, cannot be referred to law, but which bear unequivocal witness that the old things are passing away, and behold all things are becoming new.

The phenomena attending the introduction of the gospel into India are probably more marked and instructive than in the case of any other modern nation,—for its preceding history and character, and from the manifold and mastering in-

fluences now brought to bear on it from without. Here in a continent, isolated by oceans and mountain chains from the rest of the world, and in the body of one of the most populous communities on the earth, that most comprehensive system of heathenism, reaching from the highest esoteric refinement to the lowest exoteric grossness, brought over from the central region of Iran in the infancy of the race, by the cunning and tyrannous Brahman tribe, has had for more than three thousand years full sway in moulding all the forms of society, and in determining the entire moral habits and religious life of the people. Whatever may have been the character or degree of their intercourse with western nations; however much their political system may have been broken, and however often their territory may have been invaded and its sovereignty assumed by foreign tribes of a different faith, it is certain that until the beginning of the present century no foreign leaven had penetrated the mass of the nation, or had in any essential degree modified either their opinions or social and religious forms and habits. To this day are the writings of their ancient sages received as the fountain of all religious light and all secular knowledge—the education of their youth is still conducted in all respects according to the directions of the *Dharma Shástra*, in the chapter on education—and all the relations of society, and the duties and business of life are defined and directed according to the Institutions of their most ancient law-givers, of whom *Manu* the grandson of Brahm , who spoke in the beginning of time, is the first and greatest. But it has pleased Providence, in connection with the radical and all-embracing revolutions which are in these days, under the maturing developments of a Christian civilization, taking place in the constitution of society and in the relations of nations, to bring even this ancient people within the general system, and to subject them to the moulding influence of the most intimate intercourse with Christian nations. Not only has the British Empire the political supremacy in India, but in all the Company's territory, the details of the police in the most remote districts are superintended by the English magistrate in person. The service of government, and an extending commercial intercourse has, especially in the large seaports,

created an ever increasing demand for the knowledge of European science and the English language. This innovation, which at first was met with the most bigoted prejudice, has since become a fashion, and the sons of Rajahs and Nawabs, who may be raised above the motives of interest, are in Bengal seeking an English education as a necessary accomplishment. Thus are the government schools, established in all the principal cities of their territories, and the far more effectively conducted schools of the missionaries every where introducing a new leaven; and in some centres of concentrated influence, as Calcutta, they have already revolutionized whole classes. In Calcutta—for we wish to be understood as confining our attention to the Bengal presidency—these schools find a most powerful correlative agency in a very active periodical press, conducted by European and native editors of all parties both in English and the vernacular.

Our appreciation of the great work which has been accomplished by these agencies will be enhanced when we remember that missionaries were not admitted into the Company's territory until after 1813, and that the present system of English schools supported by government, was not fully introduced before 1835. After the Company's establishment in India assumed a political character, and their agents began to recover from the surprise of their almost magical successes, the policy of training for the service of government a superior class of native subordinates by a more efficient system of education than the country then afforded, became evident to all. But at the same time so great was the sense of the insecurity of their tenure of power, that the most extravagant fear of exciting the religious and national prejudices of the natives gave character to their whole policy. They never conceived the glorious aim of communicating to their subjects the inestimable boon of the knowledge of true science and true religion; their plan comprehended only the restoration and more active dissemination of Hindu and Mahommedan science and literature.

On the occasion of the renewal of the Company's charter, in 1793, the friends of humanity and religion, of whom the most prominent leaders were Mr. Charles Grant and Mr.

Wilberforce, made the most earnest efforts to induce the Imperial Parliament to make provision for a more efficient system of education, and to authorize the promulgation of Christianity among their Indian subjects by European missionaries. These endeavours however at that time resulted in no positive order favourable to their wishes, although an impression was made upon the public mind, which gradually strengthening, attained the desired end at the next renewal of the charter in 1813. From that time misssionaries have had free entrance, and Parliament then required the Company to appropriate a a laq of rupees, or $50,000 annually, for the promotion of education among the natives. No application however was made of this appropriation until 1823, when a *General Committee of Public Instruction* was formed at Calcutta, with full powers of administering this money and the entire educational scheme. But it was not until 1835, under lord William Bentick, and in a great measure through the enlightened and zealous exertions of C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., that the system of using the learned Oriental languages as the medium, and in great part the matter of instruction was done away, and the glorious sun of English literature and science rose full into the Hindu horizon.

Up to 1835, the pupils in all government schools were encouraged to cultivate native literature by numerous scholarships and prizes—but since that date these have all been done away, and the encouragement turned in favour of English studies. English classes have been added to their original Oriental institutions, as the Calcutta Madrissa, and new English Colleges have been formed at Delhi, Agra, Benares, Murshedabad, and other principal cities, and preëxisting institutions founded by native liberality, as the College at Hoogly, and Hindu College at Calcutta have been adopted into the government scheme. And in all applications for office under government in any department, preference is now given to those who have made the largest acquirements in the English language and Western science. But in the face of the powerful competition of government patronage and rich endowments, the schools of the several missionary bodies, from their greater moral vitality, and the superior talent of the teachers, have

not only been more successful in their results, but actually more popular; and are exerting a wider as well as a deeper influence. The Church Mission have theirs—the Established Church of Scotland theirs—the Baptist Society theirs—the London Society theirs, for which the Rev. Dr. Boaz has lately secured a splendid endowment—and above all, the acknowledged model of all, the school of the Free Church of Scotland, numbering for years past a thousand pupils.

As might be supposed, all these agencies, political and commercial, educational and religious now brought to bear upon this ancient community—differing so much as they do in principle among themselves, yet all making correlative aggression upon the entire system of Hindu faith and manners—thus bearing not only upon the external territories of that system but upon its inmost centre and essential life—have made the most profound impression upon classes the most exposed to their influence, and have generated intense intellectual excitement, exhibiting itself in very various results. It must not be supposed that this leaven has so far penetrated the mass, that the lower orders of society are positively much affected. Yogís seeking absorption in Brahm through a course of the most extravagant self-torture may still be seen in the public stations attracting the wonder and obeisance of crowds of old women and doting men; entire classes, as Qulís, artisans, small shop-keepers, still wear the mark of the Beast upon their foreheads; pujás are celebrated in all form, and festival days are punctually observed; and the streets of Calcutta at present probably exhibit the same and as general evidences of a reigning superstition as ever before. But it is notoriously different among the educated classes. Some it is true with the maddening presentiment of approaching destruction cling even more desperately to the old faith, and like owls and bats are yet more blind because of the new light. But liberal sentiments are everywhere active, and everywhere prevail. They find expression and a scope for action through the medium of the press, and in numerous debating societies. It is of course known that the entire system of government education is wholly secular. All religious instruction, and as far as possible all notices of religion are carefully excluded. But as

the Hindu system embraces the most monstrous errors in physics and history as well as in theology, any kind or degree of true knowledge at once assumes an attitude of antagonism to it, and sets the seal of imposture upon the whole. While therefore some, who have been only to a superficial extent affected, have taken the alarm, have been thrown into a more conscious and active opposition, and now constitute the most prominent leaders of the conservative or orthodox Hindu party, the great mass of the more thoroughly educated on the contrary are thoroughly convinced of the silliness and vileness of the existing faith and religious practices of the people. This entire latter class, embracing various and dissimilar elements, passes under the generic designation of "Young Bengal"—in truth a chaotic gulf, the grave of an old, and womb of a new world.

The orthodox Hindu party is represented, its interests advocated, and all its movements as a party controlled and directed by the *Dharma Shabha*, literally *Holy Assembly*. This society was instituted in 1829, in opposition to the *Brahma Shabha* of the Vedantists, for the objects of preserving the existing Puranic system of mythology and idol-worship, in opposition to all foreign influences whatever, and especially to the pretended internal reform of the Vedantic philosophers. It soon increased greatly in numbers and power, and exerted for a long time a controlling influence in the native society. It still exists, and retains potentially all its elements of influence, although the energy and activity which characterized it under the exciting circumstances to which it owed its origin have given place to the native apathy, and want of any positive principle of union, so preëminently characteristic of the Hindu of this age. In its more active days it carried on an excited controversy on all the great interests in debate, through the press and in every sphere of society. It desperately opposed any liberal innovation, as the abolition of the rite of Satí, or burning widows with the corpse of their husbands, and more lately those most honourable orders of an enlightened government, which truly form a prominent epoch in the moral renovation of India, abolishing the tyrannous native law which inflicted the forfeiture of all hereditary property upon converts renoun-

cing the religion of their birth. The organ of the Dharma Shabha from the beginning has been the Churndrika, which still retains its place in the native periodical literature of Calcutta, under the management of its first editor Bhobany Churn Banerjea—one of the most active members of the Shabha.

To return however to the innovating classes which constitute Young Bengal, we find among them, as we should naturally expect the most endless diversity. A class, very small as compared with the whole, graduates of the mission schools, or those who have received illumination from other more accidental sources have been convinced of the truth of Christianity, and more or less openly profess their faith in it. These may be seen, four or five in a group every Sunday at all the Christian churches. The great mass however of the educated have by no means gone so far. Most indeed have no earnest care for any religion. Rejoiced to be freed from the hard service of their old superstition, they have changed their liberty into licentiousness and add foreign vices to those inherited from their fathers. These men for the most part conform to all the superstitious rules of their caste, so far as they are not too irksome, some to avoid persecution, others for the love of the fun and licentious pleasure connected with their religious rites, and their most comprehensive distinguishing marks, are an irreverent contempt of all sacred things, card playing, beef-eating, and wine-drinking, at their club houses in Bow bázár, or in private apartments in the English hotels. This class of universal skeptics and scoffers are armed with all the weapons of both the Indian and European schools of infidelity. The works of Tom. Paine have in time past been sent to Calcutta by the ship load from America, and with the kindred works of Volney and Gibbon have always found there a ready market.

Among the more studious and respectable of the educated natives there are two general classes. Those who have been most thoroughly imbued with English literature, and whose training in the forms of Western civilization has been most complete, have without reserve renounced all faith as well in the esoteric philosophy as in the popular mythology. They have declared themselves to be be-

lievers in one God, but to be not fully satisfied that he had made any revelation of himself other than the universal one in nature and the heart of man. They do not however assume the attitude of skeptics in opposition to any positive creed, but of simple seekers for the truth. The organs of this party at the first were the Inquirer and Gyananeshun, the former in English, the latter in Bengálí, both conducted by native editors. The highly educated and able editor of the former, Krishna Mahana Banerjí, was with a number of others of like standing, convinced of the truth of Christianity through the instrumentality of Rev. Dr. Duff as a public lecturer on the evidences of revealed religion, and having been hopefully converted, has since become a highly respected minister of the government establishment. This party is at present represented by the Theophilanthropic Society, whose position, as having renounced idolatry and the divisions of caste, and as searching for further illumination, is said by the able editor of the Friend of India to be fitly set forth in that passage of Paul's speech at Athens. "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from any one of us."

But there is another party, embracing many of the most respectable though less thoroughly anglicised of the educated natives, who, while they are as much convinced as the others of the debasing vileness of the popular superstitions, and the utter falsehood of the entire system of historical and theological myths, nevertheless shrink from entirely rejecting the religion of their fathers. The rejection of their national religion appears to them equivalent to the rejection of their nationality. These consequently, while denying the authority of the Puránas and later books, which abound most in gross materialistic cosmog-

anies, infrahuman incarnations and monstrous mythic heroes, and inculcate idolatry in its most naked form—have sought in the monotheism and fragmentary teaching of spiritual truth scattered through their older books, and enshrined in the adyta of their philosophical systems, a means of reconciling their new enlightenment with their old profession. The particular system of Hindu philosophy which they profess is the vedantic, the most popular and influential in Eastern India. Ram Mohun Roy, the first and greatest of these reformers, was determined to the choice of this particular system, not because it is the most pure and furthest removed from the popular idolatry, but because he was best acquainted with it, and because it was the most available for his purpose. This party of Vedantists is now very extended and influential, embracing however men of very various degrees of honesty of purpose and intellectual illumination. Some are truly what the name imports, disciples of Vyása, philosophical pantheists; most however holding their opinions rather on the authority of reason than revelation. Others like Ram Mohun Roy himself, are simple Deists, who believe that the Koran of Mahomet, many portions of their Shástras, and the Gospel of Jesus alike teach much truth, and are so far all alike revelations of the God of truth. They prefer, however, for themselves to derive their own designation from the system taught by one of their own national sages, and to hold the truth which belongs alike to all, in the form in which they are able to glean it from their own most ancient books. These men are spreading through the country in every direction, and are wherever they go, in proportion to their individual honesty and earnestness of character, discouraging the popular superstitions. It is of very frequent occurrence for Bengális, as they are travelling through the North Western Provinces, to call upon our Missionaries at the several stations there, and to introduce themselves to them as Vedantists, as if that profession brought both parties on somewhat of a common ground, at least relatively to the popular idolatry. And it is of these, their doctrinal basis, and their attitude as a sect, that it is the design of this article principally to speak. What then is Vedantism? And who are the Vedantists?

Hindu literature has been classified under three great periods—that of the Vedas, the original and supreme scriptures, received alike by all sects, and regarded as the normal source of all knowledge, referred by scholars to the twelveth or fourteenth or sixteenth century before Christ—that of the great heroic poems, the Rámáyana of Valmiki, and the Mahábhárata of Vyása, marking a transition stage of this ancient faith, mediating between the nature worship of the Vedas, and the degenerated hero-worship of the Puránas—and lastly, the period of commentaries upon the original scriptures, characterized by the deification of mythical personages, the multiplication of actual divine existences from the figurative personifications of the primitive worship, and the invention of idolatrous symbols and rituals. These latter are the work of ever multiplying and diverging sects, and consequently of canonical authority only in the estimation of their respective sections. The Vedas are represented as essentially one and eternal, coeval with the breath of Brahmá the creator, and infinite in volume. The supreme ruler, however, communicated as much as was necessary for the divine illumination of the human race, to Krishna Dwaipáyana, who compiled the existing four Vedas—Rik, Yajush, Sáma and Atharva—and delivered one to each of his principal disciples, thence receiving the titular name of Vyása, the compiler, by which he is most commonly designated. Prof. Wilson fixes his era at the thirteenth century before Christ. These writings, with the exception of the last Veda, exist in an original rude dialect of the Sanscrit, which preceded its classical maturity, and are consequently read with extreme difficulty by the most accomplished Sanscrit scholars, and at the present day are studied by very few even of the most learned Brahmans. Each Veda consists of two parts, the one practical and ritual, the other doctrinal and argumentative. The entire collection of hymns and prayers of any Veda, is called its Sanhitá—the doctrinal parts appended to the former, and consisting of precepts, arguments, theological and philosophical aphorisms, are called the Bráhmana. These are regarded by scholars to be of much later date than the ritual, which has become practically obsolete, and of a less homogeneous character ; they were

grafted upon the primitive scriptures by Brahmans of various philosophical opinions, in order to secure for them a co-ordinate divine authority. The Upanishads are theological and philosophical tracts appended to the Vedas, of comparatively modern origin, and of very various doctrinal character, for the most part however teaching the spiritual pantheism of the Vedantic philosophy, and forming the scriptural basis upon which that school rests the divine authority of its doctrine. The religion of these original scriptures consisted essentially in the recognition of one God, yet not sufficiently apprehending him as a person distinct from his creation, but rather directing worship to him mediately in his attributes personified, and the visible manifestations of his power in the elements and order of the physical universe. Colebrooke, the highest authority in all subjects connected with Indian science and law, says "The real doctrine of the whole Indian scriptures is the unity of the deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism, which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the planets and stars as gods." Dr. H. H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, and since the death of Colebrooke occupying the first rank in this department of Oriental learning, says, "The elements were worshipped as types and emblems of the divine power, for there can be no doubt that the fundamental doctrine of the Vedas is monotheism." "It is true (preface to the Rik Veda*) that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni or fire; Indra or the firmament; Váyu, the air; Varuna, water; of Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered—in their own houses, not in temples—by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences not to visible types. In a word the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry." The three principal personages of Hindu mythology are barely mentioned in the Vedas; but there they are represented only as personifications of the attributes in

* See a very learned article on the "Sacred Literature of the Hindus," North British Review, August, 1844.

action of the one indivisible Supreme—Brahmá of his creative, Vishnu his sustaining, Siva his destroying, or, what in Hindu philosophy is the same, his regenerating energy. But the literal incarnation of the deity is said to be asserted in no genuine passage, and the worship of deified heroes forms no part of their system. This latter, which has given birth to the whole mythological scheme of modern Hinduism, and in the later Puránas and Tantras has degenerated into the grossest idolatry, first found articulate expression in the great heroic poems of the second period of Indian literature. The two most popular objects of worship at present in all India, with the exception of several female deities, are the incarnations of the God Vishnu in the persons of Rama and Krishna. "The history of these two incarnations gives to the adoration paid to them every appearance of Hero-worship. They are both of royal descent and were both born on earth like true knights errant to destroy fiends, giants, and enchanters, and rescue helpless maids and matrons from captivity and violence. Poetry exaggerated their exploits, and mythology deified the performers."* Rama is the hero of the great poem Rámáyana, and Krishna of the Mahábhárata. After the Vedas and heroic poems, the sacred writings of the Hindus, embracing the whole cycle of their sciences, are classified under the heads of the six Angas, or bodies of learning, and the Upangas or inferior bodies of learning, and the Tantras. The Angas treat respectively of astronomy, and of the grammar, prosody, the signification of difficult words and phrases, the proper tones and manner of reading, and the details of the ritual of the Vedas. The Upangas comprise the philosophical Shástras, the Dharma Shástra, or Institutes of law, and the Puránas, legendary and mythological treatises. These books are the actual scriptural authorities of the Hinduism of the present day, the primitive and simple ritual of the Vedas having become entirely antiquated and superseded by these more modern compilations. Although their ancient laws ordain that the first period of the youth of all twice born men, i. e. of the three higher castes, shall be spent in learning the text and interpretation of the scriptures, yet in these degenerate days

* Prof. Wilson's "Two Lectures before the University of Oxford."

even the Brahmans, whose exclusive function it properly is to learn and expound them, with extremely few exceptions, never see any portion of the text, except the little that is contained in manuals and breviaries of very recent compilation. These are considered sufficient for all services, and are read by the priest as mere formulas, with reference only to the sound.

The Purános, although the signification of the name itself is *the old*, and claiming for themselves the very highest antiquity, have been conclusively proved by Prof. Wilson to be in their present form of quite modern origin, the oldest not dating farther back than the ninth century of our era, and the latest not being more than two or three hundred years old. He describes them however as containing many fragments of a much greater age, and as representing that stage of Hinduism which immediately succeeded the great mytho-heroic poems, from which these writings very much derived their character. They differ from the Vedas essentially, in ceasing as a whole to be the scriptural rule of the entire Hindu faith. They have an essentially sectarian character, advocating the claims of one or the other deity, or individualized manifestation of the one God, to the exclusion of the rest, and are received or rejected by the several sects of Vaishnavas, Saivas, Saktas, as they advocate or oppose the exclusive worship of their respective gods. The worship of the elements as the visible signs of God's power has given place to the worship of heroes, who were probably historical characters, and who were deified by being represented as incarnations of that one God himself Brahmá, Vishnu, Siva are no longer set forth as personifications of the energy in action of the supreme Brahm, but as Brahm himself incarnate. His marvellous exploits in this character are recounted, hymns are written in his praises, rites are instituted for his worship, symbols are designated as monuments of his advent, and as objects fitted to direct and stimulate the worship of his less intelligent followers. But it must be remembered that even to the last the fundamental monotheism of the ancient faith was never lost in their recognized literature. The particular divine beings, which the Purános severally exalt, are always represented, not as co-ordinate gods, but as the One, who can know no fel-

low—the one universal soul individualized, revealing himself for the apprehension of men, in a personal and always anthropomorphic form. Wherever this is not distinctly kept in view, and several co-ordinate divine individualities are recognized, they are absolutely divine only as all other persons and things are divine, since Brahm is every thing and every thing is Brahm. As individuals their divine power and immortality is only relative to tho weakness and ephemeral life of man. When the cycle of a hundred years of Brahmá is fulfilled, he himself, the myriads of gods, and the divine sages will be merged as indistinguishable parts into the one indivisible universal soul from which they emanated.

Prof. Wilson describes the Tantras as coming next to the Puránas in the degenerating scale, and the principal authorities for whatever is most gross and demoralizing in the existing religious rites. Although they are written in the classical language they have not found admission to the usual lists of the several classes of Indian scripture, nor have they been generally known to European scholars. They are, for the most part, the rule of faith and ritual of the various Sakta sects, or worshippers of the female deities, who were originally the personified energy of the supreme God, or of the several mythological characters, and represented as orignating with the deity, and co-existing with him as his bride and part of himself. It is from these books and these sects that the most cruel and obscene rites have originated, which though extensively popular refuse to confess themselves in open profession, and lurk under the name and insignia of less abominable superstitions. Under this head are to be classed the bloody sacrifices offered to Káli, the barbarities and indecencies perpetrated at the great Durgá Pujá, and the world famous Churuk Pujá or hook swinging festival.

In no respect has the Indian mind been more prolific than in the number and variety of philosophical schools which it has originated. These have been distinguished as orthodox, i. e., conformable in their results to the normal divine revelation—or the reverse—but no adequate ground for such a classification can be found in the internal character of the systems themselves, since some of those reputed orthodox by no means recog-

nise the system of the universe taught in the scriptures, and consequently the reason of the distinction must be sought in extrinsic circumstances. The fact is that the most extreme latitude of speculation has been allowed as long as it confined itself to the sphere of the abstract, and did not intrude upon the province of positive institutions, nor the authority of the received canon. Every system therefore which repudiated the Vedas, and the distinctions of caste, with the supremacy of the Brahmans—as above all the Buddhist—was branded as atheistical, and followed by the most zealous opposition, while the Sánkhya, which, although of more than doubtful theistical character, presents a complacent front to the positive monuments of the national faith, has been generally, though not always, received among the orthodox. It is usual to enumerate under the head of Upangas, or inferior bodies of learning, six philosophical Darshanas. Three of these are said to sustain the relation of principal respectively to one of the others, which was subsequently attached to it by way of supplement, or deduced by way of consequent from it. Taking therefore the name of the principal for the designation of the pair, we have the Sánkhya, the Nyáyika, and the Minánsá. There are two principles which characterize all these schemes alike, and which consistently run through the whole. The first is the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and the second the maxim that 'ex nihil, nihil fit'—that the effect must not only potentially but essentially be contained in the cause. The idea of absolute creation therefore lies entirely without their mode of thought, which admits only of generation, an explicit evolution of that which from the first was implicitly in the principle. These systems are chiefly differenced therefore by the number and character of these ultimate self-existing principles from which they develope the existing forms and phenomenal order of the universe. The Sánkhya is a dualistic scheme, characterized by the pointed opposition which it maintains between spirit and matter—both uncreated—spirit conscious, intelligent, but capable neither of action nor production—matter unconscious unintelligent, but ever producing, by a blind formative energy evolving itself from its primitive condition of transsensible subtlety, through a scale of elements

becoming more and more gross and palpable, and their manifold combinations, and thus with the myriad individual spirits which in its circling flow it bears upon its bosom—as bubbles float among the ripples of an eddy—produces all the phenomena of the existing world. With all this, spirit has nothing to do, it is a spectator only, and 'stranger in the world.'

The Nyáyika is also a dualistic system, although it is not so prominently characterized as the Sánkhya by the opposition asserted between spirit and matter. The first portion is said to be principally occupied with discussing the laws of reasoning and the sources of knowledge, the latter portion assumes the existence of eternal indestructible atoms, which in their infinite combinations produces the phenomenal world, being impelled in their mutual attractions and repulsions by the power, and directed in their combinations by the intelligence of a separate and coördinately eternal Supreme Spirit.

These are in the proper sense of the word philosophies—that is speculative schemes, acknowledging indeed, but not moulding themselves upon the dogmas of traditionary and canonical authority. The Mimánsá, on the other hand, which is chronologically posterior to the others, appears to have arisen from a desire to give a scientific development and justification to the dogmatical aphorisms of the Vedas, and to reconcile the apparent materialistic character of the frequent assertions that Brahm is the world, with absolute spiritualism. This system therefore is preëminently the orthodox, making constant reference to the text of the Vedas, and principally founded upon the Upanishads or supplementary doctrinal tracts. It is divided like the other systems into two sections—the Purva Mimánsá, or prior investigation, occupied with practical and ethical disquisitions arising immediately from the interpretation of the scriptures—and the Uttara Mimánsá, or posterior investigation, called usually the Vedanta, or philosophic resolution of the end or scope of the Vedas. The reputed author of the system is the same Vyása before referred to as the compiler of the primitive scriptures and the author of the Mahábhárata and Puránas.

The Vedanta is preëminenlly non dualistic, a pure spiritual

pantheism. It asserts the existence of but one principle from which the whole system of the universe is evolved, of but one essence, whether self existent or created, and that an infinite uncompounded spirit, the supreme Brahm. Vyása declares that not only the essence of God may not be apprehended by the senses, but that the finite understanding can make no approach to a just comprehension of the mode of his existence. And consequently their definition of the Supreme does not attempt logical self consistency, for they first describe his being by a list of negative predicates so comprehensive as to exclude every possible positive conception, and then inconsistently enough assert that light, truth, wisdom and almighty power are his essence. It is a preëstablished assumption, which conditions every scheme of Indian philosophy and theology, that all modes of passion and action are incidents only of the passing phenomenal world, and therefore conditions only of imperfect being. Consequently in their endeavour after the realization of ideal perfection every form of these must be denied, while at the same time the potential existence, at least, of every positive excellence must be ascribed. These must be taken together, like every other effort of the human mind to conceive, and of human language to express the conditions of infinite being, not as defined positions, but rather as the projection of certain lines of direction, which, like the lines of a truncated pyramid, indicate a point of solution high in the inaccessible spheres above us. He is affirmed to be incorporeal, immaterial, without beginning or end, without cause and incapable of change—secondless, without a fellow, and without any external conditions of a coördinately self-existent substance—uncompounded, without parts or qualities—impassible, without affections, motives, or purpose—*incomprehensible.* Nevertheless he is all-knowing, all-powerful, the material as well as efficient cause of all, pervader, sustainer, controller of all, in his essence infinite light, wisdom and power.

Though they thus taught that simple spirit is the sole principle of all things, the older vedantists did not deny the objective reality of the objects of sensuous perception. The phenominal world is real because it is a veritable emanation from

the essence of Brahm—and therefore the ground of these phenomena is not a material nature as the other schools assert, but in some ineffable manner they are simulations of form and mode by spirit, which, according to their definition, is incapable of mode. These modes, which are the conditions of the phenomena, are not in Brahm—he is neither long or short, swift or slow, hot or cold, and yet there is nothing in the world but Brahm. He is all that appears, yet that which appears is not Brahm, "as the crystal may assume any colour, and yet all the while remains essentially colourless." He is said to be both the potter and the clay, for to suppose him to be merely the fashioner of an independently existing substance, would be to make the ever-blessed Lord beholden to another. It is declared that it is not beyond analogy that the effect should be phenomenally different from, and even opposite to its cause—as various vegetables grow out of the same soil, insensible hair and nails from the sentient body, and living worms from inanimate matter, and even from corruption the process of death. As the spider spins out its thread from its own substance, and draws it into itself again, so has the supreme Spirit from eternity caused the procession of an infinite series of worlds from his own essence, and their absorption again into the source whence they emanated. Yet the procession of all things out of God follows an order of gradual evolution, the more palpable from the more subtle. From the divine spirit immediately proceeded ether, from ether air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth—and from the various combinations of these the gross elements and all the objects of sense are formed.

Individual souls on the contrary are not emanations from the universal soul, but parts of him—"as the vacuum between the separate trees of a forest and universal space are one, so Brahm and individuated spirits are one." The relation they sustain is said not to be that of servant and master, subject and ruler, but of part and whole. It is a doctrine common to all these systems, that the individual understanding, which combines and analyzes phenomena and judges of the relation of means to ends, and the self-consciousness, which individualizes the soul, and teaches it to say—I do, I suffer—are not

intrinsic faculties of spirit itself, but entirely extrinsic to it, a product on the contrary of external nature. The Sánkhya says that these are an emanation from the formative material principle of things—the Nyáyika that they are the resultant of a certain composition of atoms—the Vedanta that they are emanations from the universal soul, yet related to him not as the individual souls of men, which are simple parts of him, but as the other emanations of the phenomenal world. The five elements, before enumerated, in their combination form the five senses, through which we receive impressions from the external world, and the five organs of action, through which we react again upon the world,—these are not the members of the gross body of flesh, but of interior subtle bodies, which act through the external organs as their vehicles. The individuated soul then, beside the gross body in which it is incarnate, is ensheathed in three subtle bodies—the first is the understanding united with the senses, constituting that body which is made up of knowledge—the second is the self-consciousness, the individualizing power, causing the soul to regard itself as in fact a doer and sufferer in the world—and the third sheath is composed of the two former with the organs of action. These like a sphere of repulsion invest the soul, individualizing it from the universal spirit of which it is a part, and deceiving it both as to its own separate agency, and as to the real character of external phenomena, it draws it within the ever-involving toils of nature. These subtle bodies, investing the soul at the first origin of its separate existence, attend it through all its incarnations, whether infrahuman, human or superhuman, and are dissolved only when the part is resolved into the whole, when the individual is absorbed in the universal soul.

As long, however, as the soul continues under their influence it must continue under a delusion both as to itself and the world. As the mirage, and a chord mistaken for a snake, have an objective reality, so are all the phenomena of the world real, but the soul is under a delusion as to their true nature, not discerning that all is the mere sport of Brahm, and that he is the real cause of the acts, which the self-consciousness appropriates to itself. This is the origin of the

doctrine of the later writers of this sect, that all is *Máyá*—illusion—which they figuratively describe as the energy of Brahm, coëxisting with him, and constituting the material cause of the universe, while he himself is the efficient cause. The meaning of this is that although the facts of consciousness, and of the objective world are real, yet to the understanding looking through the senses, and to the self-consciousness they are a pure illusion—the one assuming them to be just what they appear, and the other referring action and sensations to itself as subject—while all is in reality only the essence of Brahm, yet so manifested as to reveal in no manner his true nature; as the red rays of the sun piercing through a fog do not discover the true colour of their source. So although all the phenomenal world is only Brahm, yet the soul that would know him must look elsewhere, for "this is only Brahm's play."

It is this delusion which entangles the soul in nature, and which causes it, as one gross body dies, to migrate to another—the present condition, and stage of being of any individual being determined by the merit or demerit contracted in previous stages. Since therefore this delusion, ever more and more involving the soul in nature, and beclouding it with the passions of sense, is the parent of all evil, and the cause of endless transmigration, the great end of all religion is to deliver the soul from its power, that by the knowledge that all action, and passion, and change are extrinsic to itself, it may be forever freed from them. For this end two methods are indicated—the one imperfect, for the mass of mankind, the other perfect, for the truly wise. In the first the common mass by the strict fulfilment of all the relative duties of life, by obedience to the Brahmans, the worship of the gods, and the punctual observance of ceremonial forms, may accumulate such a stock of merit in this world, that in the next life the individual shall be born—still invested and individualized by the subtle bodies—in the heaven of the particular deity (hypostatised Brahm) which he had worshipped on earth, and there enjoy the felicity of his communion for a longer or shorter period, until the merit is exhausted—when he must be again born into some form of flesh, and commence anew a round of

transmigrations. This is the point of divergence of the whole exoteric system.

But he that would be entirely and forever free from the power of illusion and the Metempsychosis, can find such freedom only in the true science of the Vedanta. He must so abstract himself from the senses, so deny the delusive notices of the understanding and self-consciousness, and so meditate on the being of Brahm, as the All, that he shall at last attain to an abiding realization of Brahm in all; so that his own acts and feelings are to him only the pulses of the universal life, and so that he perceives only Brahm in all the changing phenomena of the external world; as before a fixed abstracted gaze the superficial reflection of external forms upon a lake fades away, and the colourless water only is perceived. Thus may the truly wise continue to live in the world, yet in the most absolute sense not of it. He must still remain until the consequences of former births have expended themselves, which however affect him no longer, but pass by him "like an arrow in its flight"—and then the gross flesh being laid aside, and the subtle investitures of the soul being dissolved, its individuality shall be lost by its absorption into the one who is the all—the bubble has burst into the air, the drop has dissolved in the sea.

In answer to the question, What is Vedantism? the late Dr. Yates gave an account of the above philosophical system in the Calcutta Review; but this account answers very imperfectly to the second question, Who are the Vedantists of Young Bengal? What is the true position of these, who, while they assume the attitude of reformers, still arrogate to themselves par excellence this most orthodox title of ancient Hinduism? This doctrine as taught in the schools of Vyása had been received as the most orthodox esoteric scheme ages before any illumination from a foreign source had penetrated the native horizon. But, as before remarked, since this new light has arisen, hundreds, while constrained to repudiate the whole mythological system and idolatrous ritual, have through national pride, and with the flexibility characteristic of their indefinite creed, sought to derive from, or at least engraft upon their primitive scriptures, the more enlightened and spiritual views they have received from their

conquerors. Some of these are in fact pantheists, and consequently in the strict sense of the word Vedantists, but by far the most are simple deists, who have adopted the word Vedant, rather in its etymological than its technical sense—the end and scope of the teaching of the Vedas, their oldest and purest scriptures, in opposition to the Purńnas and Tantras, later and less genuine compositions. These primitive scriptures are said to contain many passages asserting the being of but one God, and discouraging idolatry. Prof. Wilson has translated the following among others. "There is in truth but one deity, the Supreme Spirit." "Adore God alone, know God alone, give up all other discourse." "The Vedant says, 'It is found in the Vedas, that none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man." "The fools who think God is in images of earth, stone, metal or wood, practising austerities, obtain only bodily pain but do not secure the highest peace." And even in the Bagavat Gíta, an episode of the Mahábhárata, one of the great mytho-heroic poems, such texts as the following occur: "The idiots who forsaking me, the God animating all things, worship images, only spill ghí on ashes." It was by this class of passages that Ram Mohun Roy the most prominent originator of the reform movement, and others of like mind, justified their declaration that the original and genuine canon of the Hindu faith taught as absolute a monotheism, and as spiritual a worship, and was as utterly opposed to the popular Polytheism and idol-worship, as either Christianity or Mahommedanism. Simple deists themselves, some of them perhaps cared as little for the Vedas as for the Koran or the Gospel, but upon this basis of internal reformation they hoped to attack the popular delusions with infinitely more authority, and consequent advantage than would be possible from any exterior ground.

As Ram Mohun Roy was the prototype of an increasing class—none the less because he was in the full flower and matured fruit what most are only in the germ, nor because he excelled all as much in the truthfulness and energy of his moral nature, his entire emancipation from prejudice and in his universal philanthropy, as in the power of his intellect or the greatness of his acquirements—it is a subject of great

interest to determine what in fact was his religious creed, and the object of his efforts as a reformer. While yet a boy he had been sent to receive under the tuition of the learned Maulavís, of Patna, a Persian and Arabic education. It was from this source that he received his first religious enlightenment, and captivated with the simplicity and beauty of the monotheism of the Koran, contracted an ever growing disgust for the popular superstitions of his country. He had also been thoroughly instructed by the Pandits of Benares, in the sacred language and literature of his own nation, and he subsequently attained to the highest eminence as a Sanscrit scholar and theologian. He afterwards acquired the Hebrew and Greek, as well as a practical use of the English, and in their original tongues read the Old Testament with a Jewish Rabbi, and the Gospels with some Christian Divine in order to satisfy himself as to the amount of truth taught in them. Although he was never convinced of their being in any specific sense a divine revelation, yet he very much admired the spiritual excellence of their precepts. He published in 1820, a work entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus the guide to Peace and Happiness." In his preface he says, "This simple code of religion and morality is admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God—and to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, themselves and society." When he left India on his embassy to England, where he died, he said to some of his friends that when he died the professors of all the different religions would claim him, but that in truth he was neither Hindu, Mahommedan nor Christian. As from the study of the Koran at Patna, when he was yet a boy, he was confirmed in his faith in one spiritual and holy Creator, Preserver and Judge of all, while he altogether rejected the claims of Mahomet to the prophetical office, and all that distinguishes his doctrine from natural theism, so he appears never through his whole life to have altered or advanced his creed. He ever was a firm, and increasingly devout believer in what is called among us natural religion. He called his press, from which most of his writings were issued, 'The Unitarian Press'—but that term was assumed in opposition to

polytheism, and not in the sense of Christian humanitarian, as with us. In the early years of his life he appears to have been chiefly alive to the impious and degrading character of idol-worship, but as he grew older, and saw springing up around him a new race, who had learned to despise the superstition of their fathers only to deny all religion, he became more and more impressed with the danger of the opposite and growing evil of universal skepticism. He was therefore ever most careful to oppose no religion which was based upon the few and simple doctrines which alone he held essential, and the enlightened and devout worshippers of the one God, of every name he loved as brethren. It is recorded of him by a friend who knew him well that—"He often deplored the existence of a party that had sprung up in Calcutta, composed principally of imprudent young men, some of them possessing talent, who had avowed themselves sceptics in the widest sense of the term. He described it as partly composed of East Indians, partly of Hindu youth, who from education had learned to reject their own faith without substituting any other. These he thought more debased than the most bigoted Hindu, and their principles the bane of all morality."

In perfect consistency with his disposition to embrace all religions which are purely theistical in doctrine, and spiritual in precept and ritual, was the whole method of his attempt to reform the superstition of his benighted countrymen. It was neither his policy nor was it consistent with his principles to denounce Hinduism root and branch. He had the interest both of a native of Hindustán, and of a scholar in the more ancient scriptures, and more elevated doctrines concerning God and man, from which the present gross idolatry of his people had degenerated. His design was therefore to lead them back to the fountains by translating their scriptures into the vernaculars. He is charged however with having attributed to the Vedas, much of what he had learned from other sources, and thus of having inculcated an altogether one-sided view of the Vedant system—as was indeed natural for him a believer in a personal God, and an admirer of the Gospels, and no Pantheist. He said himself—"The ground I have taken in all my controversies was not of opposition to Brah-

manism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmans was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey." He published most of his controversial tracts and translations at his own expense, and circulated them gratuitously among the people. He commenced with a translation of the Vedant into Bengálí, which he afterwards retranslated into Hindustání, and again into English in 1816, His own preface to this work states very distinctly his design in this series of translations.

"In pursuance of my vindication, I have to the best of my abilities, translated this hitherto unknown work, as well as an abridgment thereof into the Hindustání and Bengálí languages; and distributed them free of cost among my own countrymen, as widely as cicumstances have possibly allowed. The present is an endeavour to render an abridgment of the same into English, by which I expect to prove to my European friends, that the superstitious practices, which deform the Hindu religion, have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates.

"I have observed, that both in their writings and conversation many Europeans feel a wish to palliate, and soften the features of Hindu idolatry; and are inclined to inculcate that all objects of worship are considered by their votaries, as emblematical representations of the Supreme Divinity. If this were indeed the case, I might perhaps be led into some examination of the subject; but the truth is, the Hindus of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected, and ceremonies performed. There can be no doubt however, and it is my whole design to prove, that every rite has its derivation from the allegorîcal adoration of the true Deity; but at the present day, all this is forgotten; and among many it is even heresy to mention it. . . . . . I have therefore been moved to make every possible effort to awaken my countrymen from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God."

In like manner Ram Mohun Roy published for gratuitous distribution translations in Bengálí and English of a number of Upanishads and other selections from the Vedas, and with indefatigable perseverance maintained the aggressive in the violent controversy which he had excited in that until now stagnant world. He was denounced not only as heretic but as atheist, yet this rage of opposition only the more evidenced his power —he was soon surrounded by disciples, and the founder of a

sect. In 1828 he instituted the Brahma Shabha, in opposition to which the party of orthodox Hindus instituted the Dharma Shabha, before alluded to. These two congregations became not only the seminaries of their respective opinions, but also the centres of an excited controversy, which then penetrated and moved the entire community, and which has not yet spent itself, but awaits only the voice of another prophet to break in a tempest on a wider sphere, and with ever accumulating resources. The Brahma Shabha, from the first, has held regular meetings for worship every Wednesday evening. The favourite portions of the Vedas are read and expounded, and the religious and ethical doctrines of the sect are advocated in discourses in the vernacular before audiences composed of all castes and religions. In a number of the Friend of India, July 5th, 1849, we find an apologetic account of this institution as it exists at present from a native correspondent. "Here passages from the holy Veda are recited and expounded by the ministers, (Pandits of Benares) and discourses and sermons are read and delivered glorifying the great God and his attributes; then the young gentlemen altogether in a sweet low tone, pray heaven to forgive them the trespasses they have done, when divine songs are sung and the service ends. The members of this Samaj, or Young Bengál, have entered into a covenant never to worship any idol, nor perform any idolatrous ceremony; they have likewise bound themselves to abstain from using spirituous liquors, or other intoxicating drugs, on penalty of being excommunicated from the Samaj. A monthly publication is issued from the Samaj, edited by its members, in which are published essays and discourses on moral and religious subjects, such as the existence of the Deity, death and the immortality of the soul, together with passages selected from the Ved, and is widely circulated both among Old and Young Bengál." The "Reformer," Ram Mohun Roy's original paper, still continues to be issued by a native editor with great ability in the English language. The monthly journal alluded to in the above extract, as the organ of the Brahma Shabha, is the Tuttubodhinee Putrika, or Advocate of Spiritual Knowledge, edited both in Bengálí and English. A mission-

ary correspondent of the Calcutta Christian Herald, Dec. 1845, in a very interesting review of the native press of that city, says of this journal that, "It advocates Ram Mohun Roy's one-sided view of the vedant. What it finds not in purely native sources, it borrows without acknowledgement from Christianity. It is at once interesting and instructive to see how such as are so far enlightened by education as to reject the absurd abominations of the Puránic idolatry, would perforce find in Hindu theology—a materializing pantheism—something beyond monstrous physics or a debasing metaphysics—are compelled to have recourse, like the equally disingenuous anti-christian philosophers and transcendentalists of the West, to that very Christianity which they repudiate, yet from which they must after all, consciously or unconsciously, borrow all that is truly rational in principle, pure in sentiment, or good in practice." In like manner they are represented as more and more imitating the Christians in their habits of life and modes of worship. Distinctions of caste are not regarded, set sermons are preached, and the audience bow the head and cover the face in prayer, or when the scriptures are read.

The Hindu Theophilanthropic Society has since been instituted by enlightened native gentlemen, of the same general views as their illustrious countryman, who have been roused to a sense of the imminent danger to the best interests of their nation arising from the very general prevalence of atheism among that new race growing up under the influence of an English education from which all religion has been eliminated. They have themselves defined their object to be the search after and dissemination of religious truth, and their motive as arising from "a conviction irresistably forcing itself upon every reflective mind, that the great work of India's regeneration cannot be accomplished without due attention to her moral and religious improvement." The editor of the Friend of India speaks of these men as apparently diverging from the vedantist party, "although they yet linger in a fond regard for the sacred language of their country, and would fain find some portions of its shástras they might cling to."

In the fall of 1836, Rev. Dr. Howard Malcom of the United

States attended a meeting of the Brahma Shabha with the Rev. Mr. Lacroix of Calcutta as interpreter. He described the audience as very small, the number of regular attendants never being over thirty, and from this he forms his very disparaging estimate of the "boasted reformation" of Ram Mohun Roy. But it is evidently exceeding unfair to measure him or his work by his success simply as the founder of a sect. That specifically was never his object. His great aim was, by introducing his countrymen to a knowledge of their older and purer scriptures, to dissuade them from polytheism and idolatry, which he asserted to be an innovation of priestcraft, and to lead them to the knowledge and service of the one only living and true God. And, considering all things, he was, even in his own life time, eminently successful, and his writings still remain, and every year bear their testimony to a greater number. Hundreds read his books in their own vernacular who have never been brought under any mode of English influence, and hundreds have been won to the faith and practice of his doctrine who have never seen the Brahma Shabha.

In the words of the Calcutta Reviewer of 1845, "The life of Ram Mohun Roy was commensurate with one of the most important and stirring periods in the annals of this country. It embraces the commencement of that great social and moral revolution through which she is now silently but surely passing. When Ram Mohun Roy was born, darkness, even the darkness of ignorance and superstition, brooded over his fatherland. When he died, the spirit of inquiry was abroad in high places, and was triumphantly exploding antiquated errors. He lived to see a line of demarcation, which, since his death, has been considerably deepened, strongly drawn among the Hindus between the enlightened few and the benighted many. Ram Mohun Roy was the author of a great religious schism, which is destined to spread and widen. No native before had been enlightened and bold enough to open the eyes of his countrymen to the monstrous absurdities of their national creed. He was the first who thundered into their ears—which had for ages been accustomed to the invocation of montras, and her-

metically sealed against all true religion—the great truth that 'God is One and without a second.' But as yet we have only seen the dawn of a better and more promising era."

This article would indeed have been written in vain if the impression is not left distinct and actuating in the reader's mind, that, under the providence of God, and the new relations established among the nations of the earth, a great change is now working in all the elements of the Indian community which most eminently involves the responsibility of the Church, as the instrument of God in evangelizing the world. The Church of Christ is a special power, commissioned with the Gospel, and endowed with the Spirit, and so ordained to inform mediately with its own life, and to assume into its own economy the unfixed elements of the ever changing and disintegrating forms of the world of spiritual death. But this special work of the Church is embraced in, and must ever be conditioned by, the wider working of God in providence. This preparatory and coördinate work of God in providence does not consist chiefly in merely opening a wide door of access—as of late has been so much spoken of in the case of China—but when, by his all efficient inworking and all embracing direction of the merely natural principles of human society, in the fulness of his own time, he causes a new and foreign civilization to break in upon an old and effete world, disintegrating the old, and setting the elements free to take on new associations, and to create new forms, it is then eminently, and then only that he gives opportunity to the Church to inform the moral chaos with its own divine life, and direct the nascent elements in their inevitable combinations. In this view no other missionary field in the world so imperatively demands the immediate and energetic action of the Church as India. The question is not whether we will preach the Gospel to the millions of the present generation, or leave our children to preach to the millions of the next—the providence of God leaves no such alternative. The Church may indeed withhold her hand, but human society will no more stay its inevitable progress, than the stars their course in the heaven. A nation of polytheists may give birth to a nation of atheists—but those who come after us

may for ages expect in vain such another opportunity, as has in our age, for the first time since the dispersion from Babel, been afforded to the Church, of giving character to the forming stage of a radical moral revolution involving the entire mass of the Indian nation.

ART. V.—*Conscience and the Constitution.* By Moses Stuart.

THE past year has been one of great anxiety for the peace and union of our country. The danger, though greatly lessened, cannot be considered as entirely passed. There is still great dissatisfation both at the north and south with regard to what are called "the compromise measures," adopted by Congress at its late session. We hope and believe that the great body of people in every part of the Union are disposed to acquiesce in those measures, and to carry them faithfully into effect. Still the agitation continues. At the South there is in the minds of many, a sense of injustice and of insecurity; and at the North not a few have conscientious objections to one at least of the peace measures above alluded to. This difficulty is not to be obviated by mutual criminations. The South will not be pacified by calling their demands for what they deem justice, treasonable; nor the North by denouncing their opposition to the fugitive slave bill as fanaticism. Both parties must be satisfied. The one must be shown that no injustice is designed or impending; and the other must be convinced that they can with a good conscience submit to the law for the delivery of fugitive slaves.

Every candid man must admit that the violent denunciation of slave-holders, in which a certain class of northern writers habitually indulge, it is not merely irritating and offensive, but in a high degree unjust and injurious. It is an evil of which the South have a right to complain. But it is to be considered that it is an evil incident to our free institutions, and cannot be prevented without destroying the liberty

of speech and of the press. It is an evil for which secession or separation of the Union is no remedy, but would prove a great aggravation. It is moreover not the offence of the North but of a small class of northern men. It is no more to be imputed to the whole people, than similar disparaging and injurious representations emanating from southern men against northern institutions, are to be imputed to the whole South. Though therefore we admit the injustice of the denunciations in question they are not a grievance which ought to disturb the peace of the country.

Again, candid men must admit that the South has a right to complain of the facilities afforded for the escape of slaves, and the difficulties thrown in the way of their recapture. But this is an injustice which the North has, by the action of their representatives in congress, shown every disposition to abate. And it moreover an evil, which as Mr. Clay remarked in his place in the Senate, is almost exclusively confined to the border slaveholding states.

The great ground of complaint, however, at the South, so far as we can understand, is that the equilibrium between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states in the Senate, has been destroyed by the admission of California into the Union. A certain class of southern politicians seem to think that justice requires that there should be perfect equality in the senatorial representation between the two sections of the country; and consequently that the South should have the half of all new territory acquired, and that whenever a free state is admitted to the Union provision should be made for the admission of a slaveholding state to counterbalance it. This demand we are satisfied cannot appear reasonable to the great majority of the people. It is equivalent to a demand that one-third of the population should have a representation equal to the remaining two-thirds. Justice surely does not require this in a republic whose fundamental principle is that representation should be in proportion to the population. Nor does the security of the South require this arrangement. A retrospect of the history of our congressional proceedings, proves that there is neither the disposition nor the power on the part of the North to interfere with the rights of the South.

It is an established law in all free governments that a compact minority holds the balance of power, and controls the action of the government. The South has long been in the minority, and yet our history clearly shows that their influence has always predominated in our general councils. They have had a majority of the leading offices of the government, and of the members of the Supreme Court. They have determined all the great questions of our foreign and domestic policy. This must continue to be the case; for the causes which have determined this course of action are permanent. In Pennsylvania the Germans, though not one-third of the inhabitants of that state, have for generations had the balance of power in their hands and given character to its politics and policy. We are satisfied that a calm examination of the past, and a careful consideration of the principles which control the action of the government, and especially the limited nature of its powers, must convince the South that they are in no danger of suffering injustice from the North, and that the evils incident to all human institutions, and especially to the confederation of so many states differing so much and so variously from each other, would be aggravated a thousand fold by a dissolution of the Union. Men might as well prescribe decapitation for the head-ache, as the destruction of the confederacy as a cure for the present difficulties. No human mind can estimate and no human tongue express the evils to be anticipated to the prosperity, the morals, the religion of the country, and to the hopes of the world from such a catastrophe as the breaking up of this confederacy. It is no wonder then that the remote fear of such an event has roused the whole country, and called forth from the pulpit, the press, and the forum so many addresses to the wisdom, patriotism, and brotherly-love of the people.

There is no more obvious duty, at the present time, resting on American Christians, ministers and people, than to endeavour to promote kind feelings between the South and the North. All fierce addresses to the passions, on either side, are fratricidal. It is an offence against the gospel, against our common country, and against God. Every one should endeavour to diffuse right principles, and thus secure right feel-

ing and action, under the blessing of God in every part of the land.

If the South has no such grounds of complaint as would justify them before God and the human race, whose trustees in one important sense they are, in dissolving the Union, how is it with the North? Are they justifiable in the violent resistance to the fugitive slave bill, which has been threatened or attempted? This opposition in a great measure has been confined to the abolitionists as a party, and as such they are a small minority of the people. They have never included in their ranks either the controlling intellect or moral feeling at the North. Their fundamental principle is anti-scriptural and therefore irreligious. They assume that slaveholding is sinful. This doctrine is the life of the sect. It has no power over those who reject that principle, and therefore it has not gained ascendency over those whose faith is governed by the word of God.

The real strength of the abolitionists as a party may be estimated from its representatives in our national councils. Two or three Senators and a dozen or less members of the House of Representatives are all it can boast of. We have ever maintained that the proper method of opposing this party, and of counteracting its pernicious influence was to exhibit clearly the falsehood of its one idea, viz: that slaveholding is a sin against God. To this object we have devoted several articles in the preceding numbers of our journal. The discussion has now taken a new turn. It is assumed that the law of the last Congress relating to fugitive slaves is unconstitutional, or if not contrary to the constitution, contrary to the law of God. Under this impression many who have never been regarded as abolitionists, have entered their protest against the law, and some in their haste have inferred from its supposed unconstitutionality or immorality that it ought to be openly resisted. It is obvious that the proper method of dealing with the subject in this new aspect, is to demonstrate that the law in question is according to the constitution of the land; that it is not inconsistent with the divine law; or, admitting its unconstitutionality or immorality, that the resistance recommended is none the less a sin against God. We do not

propose to discuss either of the two former of these propositions. The constitutionality of the law may safely be left in the hands of the constituted authorities. It is enough for us that there is no flagrant and manifest inconsistency between the law and the constitution; that the first legal authorities in the land pronounce them perfectly consistent; and that there is no difference in principle between the present law and that of 1793 on the same subject in which the whole country has acquiesced for more than half a century. We would also say that after having read some of the most laboured disquisitions designed to prove that the fugitive slave bill subverts the fundamental principles of our federal compact, we have been unable to discover the least force in the arguments adduced.

As to the immorality of the law, so far as we can discover, the whole stress of the argument in the affirmative rests on two assumptions. First, that the law of God in Deuteronomy, expressly forbids the restoration of a fugitive slave to his owner; and secondly, that slavery itself being sinful, it must be wrong to enforce the claims of the master to the service of the slave. As to the former of these assumptions, we would simply remark, that the venerable Prof. Stuart in his recent work, "Conscience and the Constitution," has clearly proved that the law in Deuteronomy has no application to the present case. The thing there forbidden is the restoration of a slave who had fled from a heathen master and taken refuge among the worshippers of the true God. Such a man was not to be forced back into heathenism. This is the obvious meaning and spirit of the command. That it has no reference to slaves who had escaped from Hebrew masters and fled from one tribe or city to another, is plain from the simple fact that the Hebrew laws recognised slavery. It would be a perfect contradiction if the law authorized the purchase and holding of slaves, and yet forbid the enforcing the right of possession. There could be no such thing as slavery, in such a land as Palestine, if the slave could recover his liberty by simply moving from one tribe to another over an imaginary line, or even from the house of his master to that of his next neighbour. Besides, how inconsistent is it in the abolitionists in

one breath to maintain that the laws of Moses did not recognise slavery, and in the next, that the laws about the restoration of slaves referred to the slaves of Hebrew masters. According to their doctrine, there could be among the Israelites no slaves to restore. They must admit either that the law of God allowed the Hebrews to hold slaves, and then there is an end to their arguments against the sinfulness of slave-holding; or acknowledge that the law respecting the restoration of slaves referred only to fugitives from the heathen, and then there is an end to their argument from this enactment against the law under consideration.

The way in which abolitionists treat the scriptures makes it evident that the command in Deuteronomy is urged not so much out of regard to the authority of the word of God, as an argumentum ad hominem. Wherever the scriptures either in the Old or New Testament recognise the lawfulness of holding slaves, they are tortured without mercy to force from them a different response; and where, as in this case, they appear to favour the other side of the question, abolitionists quote them rather to silence those who make them the rule of their faith, than as the ground of their own convictions. Were there no such law as that in Deuteronomy in existence, or were there a plain injunction to restore a fugitive from service to his Hebrew master, it is plain from their principles that they would none the less fiercely condemn the law under consideration. Their opposition is not founded on the scriptural command. It rests on the assumption that the master's claim is iniquitous and ought not to be enforced.* Their objections

* In the New York Independent for January 2, 1851 there is a sermon delivered by Rev. Richard S. Storrs, Jr., of Brooklyn, Dec. 12, 1850, in which his opposition to the fugitive slave bill is expressly placed on the injustice of slavery. He argues the matter almost exclusively on that ground. "To what," he asks, "am I required to send this man [the slave] back? To a system which . . . no man can contemplate without shuddering." Again, "Why shall I send the man to this unjust bondage? The fact that he has suffered it so long already, is a reason why I should NOT. . . . . Why shall I not HELP him, in his struggle for the rights which God gave him indelibly, when he made him a man? There is nothing to prevent, but the simple requirement of my equals in the state; the parchment of the law, which they have written." This is an argument against the constitution and not against he fugitive slave law. It is an open refusal to comply with one of the stipuations of our national compact. If it has any force, it is in favour of the dislsolution of the union. Nay, if the argument is sound it makes the dissolution

are not to the mode of delivery, but to the delivery itself. Why else quote the law in Deuteronomy which apparently forbids such surrender of the fugitive to his master? It is clear that no effective enactment could be framed on this subject which would not meet with the same opposition. We are convinced, by reading the discussions on this subject, that the immorality attributed to the fugitive slave law resolves itself into the assumed immorality of slaveholding. No man would object to restoring an apprentice to his master; and no one would quote scripture or search for arguments to prove it sinful to restore a fugitive slave, if he believed slaveholding to be lawful in the sight of God. This being the case we feel satisfied that the mass of the people at the north, whose conscience and action are ultimately determined by the teachings of the Bible, will soon settle down into the conviction that the law in question is not in conflict with the law of God.

But suppose the reverse to be the fact; suppose it clearly made out that the law passed by Congress in reference to fugitive slaves is contrary to the constitution or to the law of God, what is to be done? What is the duty of the people under such circumstances? The answers given to this question are very different, and some of them so portentous that the public mind has been aroused and directed to the consideration of the nature of civil government and of the grounds and limits of the obedience due to the laws of the land. As this is a subject not merely of general interest at this time, but of permanent importance, we purpose to devote to its discussion the few following pages.

Our design is to state in few words in what sense government is a divine institution, and to draw from that doctrine

of the union inevitable and obligatory. It should, therefore, in all fairness be presented in that light, and not as an argument against the law of Congress. Let it be understood that the ground now assumed is that the constitution cannot be complied with. Let it be seen that the moralists of our day have discovered that the compact framed by our fathers, which all our public men in the general and state governments have sworn to support, under which we have lived sixty years, and whose fruits we have so abundantly enjoyed, is an immoral compact, and must be repudiated out of duty to God. This is the real doctrine constantly presented in the abolition prints; and if properly understood we should soon see to what extent it commends itself to the judgment and conscience of the people.

the principles which must determine the nature and limits of the obedience which is due the laws of the land.

That the Bible, when it asserts that all power is of God, or that the powers that be are ordained of God, does not teach that any one form of civil government has been divinely appointed as universally obligatory, is plain because the scriptures contain no such prescription. There are no directions given as to the form which civil governments shall assume. All the divine commands on this subject, are as applicable under one form as another. The direction is general; Obey the powers that be. The proposition is unlimited; All power is of God; i. e. government, whatever its form, is of God. He has ordained it. The most pointed scriptural injunctions on this subject were given during the usurped or tyrannical reign of military despots. It is plain that the sacred writers did not, in such passages, mean to teach that a military despotism was the form of government which God had ordained as of perpetual and universal obligation. As the Bible enjoins no one form, so the people of God in all ages, under the guidance of his Spirit, have lived with a good conscience, under all the diversities of organization of which human government is susceptible.

Again, as no one form of government is prescribed, so neither has God determined preceptively who are to exercise civil power. He has not said that such power must be hereditary, and descend on the principle of primogeniture. He has not determined whether it shall be confined to males to the exclusion of females; or whether all offices shall be elective. These are not matters of divine appointment, and are not included in the proposition that all power is of God. Neither is it included in this proposition that government is in such a sense ordained of God that the people have no control in the matter. The doctrine of the Bible is not inconsistent with the right of the people, as we shall endeavour to show in the sequel, to determine their own form of government and to select their own rulers.

When it is said government is of God, we understand the scriptures to mean, first, that it is a divine institution and not a mere social compact. It does not belong to the category of vo-

luntary assoeiations sueh as men form for literary, benevolent, or eommereial purposes. It is not optional with men whether government shall exist. It is a divine appointment, in the same sense as marriage and the ehureh are divine institutions. The former of these is not a mere eivil eontraet, nor is the ehureh as a visible spiritual eommunity a mere voluntary society. Men are under obligation to reeognise its existenee, to join its ranks, and submit to its laws. In like manner it is the will of God that eivil government should exist. Men are bound by his authority to have eivil rulers for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well. This is the seriptural doetrine, as opposed to the deistieal theory of a soeial eompaet as the ultimate ground of all human governments.

It follows from this view of the subjeet that obedienee to the laws of the land is a religious duty, and that disobedienee is of the speeifie nature of sin, this is a prineiple of vast importanee. It is true that the law of God is so broad that it binds a man to every thing that is right, and forbids every thing that is wrong; and eonsequently that every violation even of a voluntary engagement is of the nature of an offenee against God. Still there is a wide differenee between disobedienee to an obligation voluntarily assumed, and whieh has no other sanetion than our own engagement, and disregard of an obligation direetly imposed of God. St. Peter reeognises this distinetion when he said to Ananias, Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God. All lying is sinful, but lying to God is a higher erime than lying to men. There is greater irreverenee and eontempt of the divine presenee and authority, and a violation of an obligation of a higher order. Every man feels that the marriage vows have a saered eharaeter whieh eould not belong to them, if marriage was merely a eivil eontraet. In like manner the divine institution of government elevates it into the sphere of religion, and adds a new and higher sanetion to the obligations whieh it imposes. There is a speeifie differenee, more easily felt than deseribed, between what is religious and what is merely moral; between disobedienee to man and resistanee to an ordinanee of God.

A third point included in the scriptural doctrine on this

subject is, that the actual existence of any government creates the obligation of obedience. That is, the obligation does not rest either on the origin or the nature of the government, or on the mode in which it is administered. It may be legitimate or revolutionary, despotic or constitutional, just or unjust, so long as it exists it is to be recognised and obeyed within its proper sphere. The powers that be are ordained of God in such sense that the possession of power is to be referred to his providence. It is not by chance, nor through the uncontrolled agency of men, but by divine ordination that any government exists. The declaration of the apostle just quoted was uttered under the reign of Nero. It is as true of his authority as of that of the Queen of England, or of that of our own President, that it was of God. He made Nero emperor. He required all within the limits of the Roman empire to recognise and obey him so long as he was allowed to occupy the throne. It was not necessary for the early Christians to sit in judgment on the title of every new emperor, whenever the pretorian guards chose to put down one and put up another; neither are God's people now in various parts of the world called upon to discuss the titles and adjudicate the claims of their rulers. The possession of civil power is a providential fact, and is to be regarded as such. This does not imply that God approves of every government which he allows to exist. He permits oppressive rulers to bear sway, just as he permits famine or pestilence to execute his vengeance. A good government is a blessing, a bad government is a judgment; but the one as much as the other is ordained of God, and is to be obeyed not only for fear but also for conscience sake.

A fourth principle involved in the proposition that all power is of God is, that the magistrate is invested with a divine right. He represents God. His authority is derived from Him. There is a sense in which he represents the people and derives from them his power; but in a far higher sense he is the minister of God. To resist him is to resist God, and "they that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation." Thus saith the Scriptures. It need hardly be remarked that this principle relates to the nature, and not to the extent, of the power of the magistrate. It is as true of the lowest as of the

highest; of a justice of the peace as of the President of the United States; of a constitutional monarch as of an absolute sovereign. The principle is that the authority of rulers is divine, and not human, in its origin. They exercise the power which belongs to them of divine right. The reader, we trust will not confound this doctrine with the old doctrine of "the divine right of kings." The two things are as different as day and night. We are not for reviving a defunct theory of civil government; a theory which perished, at least among Anglo-Saxons, at the expulsion of James II. from the throne of England. That monarch took it with him into exile, and it lies entombed with the last of the Stuarts. According to that theory God had established the monarchical form of government as universally obligatory. There could not consistently with his law be any other. The people had no more right to renounce that form of government than the children of a family have to resolve themselves into a democracy. In the second place, it assumed that God had determined the law of succession as well as the form of government. The people could not change the one any more than the other; or any more than children could change their father, or a wife her husband. And thirdly, as a necessary consequence of these principles, it inculcated in all cases the duty of passive obedience. The king holding his office immediately from God, held it entirely independent of the will of the people, and his responsibility was to God alone. He could not forfeit his throne by any injustice however flagrant. The people if in any case they could not obey, were obliged to submit; resistence or revolution was treason against God. We have already remarked that the scriptural doctrine is opposed to every one of these principles. The Bible does not prescribe any one form of government; it does not determine who shall be depositories of civil power; and it clearly recognises the right of revolution. In asserting, therefore, the divine right of rulers, we are not asserting any doctrine repudiated by our forefathers, or inconsistent with civil liberty in its widest rational extent.

Such, as we understand it, is the true nature of civil government. It is a divine institution and not a mere voluntary compact. Obedience to the magistrate and laws is a religious

duty; and disobedience is a sin against God. This is true of all forms of government. Men living under the Turkish Sultan are bound to recognise his authority, as much as the subjects of a constitutional monarch, or the fellow citizen of an elective president, are bound to recognise their respective rulers. All power is of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God, in such sense that all magistrates are to be regarded as his ministers, acting in his name and with his authority, each within his legitimate sphere; beyond which he ceases to be a magistrate.

That this is the doctrine of the scriptures on this subject can hardly be doubted. The Bible never refers to the consent of the governed, the superiority of the rulers, or to the general principles of expediency, as the ground of our obligation to the higher powers. The obedience which slaves owe their masters, children their parents, wives their husbands, people their rulers, is always made to rest on the divine will as its ultimate foundation. It is part of the service which we owe to God. We are required to act, in all these relations, not as men-pleasers, but as the servants of God. All such obedience terminates on our Master who is in heaven. This gives the sublimity of spiritual freedom even to the service of a slave. It is not in the power of man to reduce to bondage those who serve God, in all the service they render their fellow-men. The will of God, therefore, is the foundation of our obligation to obey the laws of the land. His will, however, is not an arbitrary determination; it is the expression of infinite intelligence and love. There is the most perfect agreement between all the precepts of the Bible and the highest dictates of reason. There is no command in the word of God of permanent and universal obligation, which may not be shown to be in accordance with the laws of our own higher nature. This is one of the strongest collateral arguments in favour of the divine origin of the scriptures. In appealing therefore to the Bible in support of the doctrine here advanced, we are not, on the one hand appealing to an arbitrary standard, a mere statute-book, a collection of laws which create the obligations they enforce; nor, on the other hand, to "the reason and nature of things" in the abstract, which after all is only our

own reason; but we are appealing to the infinite intelligence of a personal God, whose will because of his infinite excellence, is necessarily the ultimate ground and rule of all moral obligation. This, however, being the case, whatever the Bible declares to be right is found to be in accordance with the constitution of nature and our own reason. All that the scriptures, for example, teach of the subordination of children to their parents, of wives to their husbands, has not its foundation, but its confirmation, in the very nature of the relation of the parties. Any violation of the precepts of the Bible, on these points, is found to be a violation of the laws of nature, and certainly destructive. In like manner it is clear from the social nature of man, from the dependence of men upon each other, from the impossibility of attaining the end of our being in this world, otherwise than in society and under an ordered government, that it is the will of God that such society should exist. The design of God in this matter is as plain as in the constitution of the universe. We might as well maintain that the laws of nature are the result of chance, or that marriage and parental authority have no other foundation than human law, as to assert that civil government has no firmer foundation than the will of man or the quicksands of expediency. By creating men social beings, and making it necessary for them to live in society, God has made his will as thus revealed the foundation of all civil government.

This doctrine is but one aspect of the comprehensive doctrine of Theism, a doctrine which teaches the existence of a personal God, a Spirit infinite, eternal and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, justice, holiness, goodness and truth; a God who is everywhere present upholding and governing all his creatures and all their actions. The universe is not a machine left to go of itself. God did not at first create matter and impress upon it certain laws and then leave it to their blind operation. He is everywhere present in the material world, not superseding secondary causes, but so upholding and guiding their operations, that the intelligence evinced is the omnipresent intelligence of God, and the power exercised is the *potestas ordinata* of the Great First Cause. He is no less supreme in his control of intelligent agents. They indeed

are free, but not independent. They are governed in a manner consistent with their nature; yet God turns them as the rivers of waters are turned. All events depending on human agency are under his control. God is in history. Neither chance nor blind necessity determine the concatenation or issues of things. Nor is the world in the hands of its inhabitants. God has not launched our globe on the ocean of space and left its multitudinous crew to direct its course without his interference. He is at the helm. His breath fills the sails. His wisdom and power are pledged for the prosperity of the voyage. Nothing happens, even to the falling of a sparrow, which is not ordered by him. He works all things after the counsel of his will. It is by him that kings reign and princes decree justice. He puts down one, and raises up another. As he leads out the stars by night, marshalling them as a host, calling each one by its name, so does he order all human events. He raises up nations and appoints the bounds of their habitation. He founds the empires of the earth and determines their form and their duration. This doctrine of God's universal providence is the foundation of all religion. If this doctrine be not true, we are without God in the world. But if it is true, it involves a vast deal. God is everywhere in nature and in history. Every thing is a revelation of his presence and power. We are always in contact with him. Everything has a voice, which speaks of his goodness or his wrath; fruitful seasons proclaim his goodness, famine and pestilence declare his displeasure. Nothing is by chance. The existence of any particular form of government is as much his work, as the rising of the sun or falling of the rain. It is something he has ordained for some wise purpose, and it is to be regarded as his work. If all events are under God's control, if it is by him that kings reign, then the actual possession of power is as much a revelation of his will that it should be obeyed, as the possession of wisdom or goodness is a manifestation of his will that those endowed with those gifts, should be reverenced and loved. It follows, therefore, from the universal providence of God, that "the powers that be are ordained of God." We have no more right to refuse obedience to an actually existing government

because it it not to our taste, or because we do not approve of its measures, than a child has the right to refuse to recognise a wayward parent; or a wife a capricious husband.

The religious character of our civil duties flows also from the comprehensive doctrine that the will of God is the ground of all moral obligation. To seek that ground either in "the reason and nature of things," or in expediency, is to banish God from the moral world, as effectually as the mechanical theory of the universe banishes him from the physical universe and from history. Our allegiance on that hypothesis is not to God but to reason or to society. This theory of morals therefore, changes the nature of religion and of moral obligation. It modifies and degrades all religious sentiment and exercises; it changes the very nature of sin, of repentance and obedience, and gives us, what is a perfect solecism, a religion without God. According to the Bible, our obligation to obey the laws of the land is not founded on the fact that the good of society requires such obedience, or that it is a dictate of reason, but on the authority of God. It is part of the service which we owe to him. This must be so if the doctrine is true that God is our moral governor, to whom we are responsible for all our acts, and whose will is both the ground and the rule of all our obligations.

We need not, however, dwell longer on this subject. Although it has long been common to look upon civil government as a human institution, and to represent the consent of the governed as the only ground of the obligation of obedience, yet this doctrine is so notoriously of infidel origin, and so obviously in conflict with the teachings of the Bible, that it can have no hold on the convictions of a Christian people. It is no more true of the state than it is of the family, or of the church. All are of divine institution. All have their foundation in his will. The duties belonging to each are enjoined by him and are enforced by his authority. Marriage is indeed a voluntary covenant. The parties select each other, and the state may make laws regulating the mode in which the contract shall be ratified; and determining its civil effects. It is, however, none the less an ordinance of God. The vows it includes are made to God; its sanction is found

in his law; and its violation is not a mere breach of contract or disobedience to the civil law, but a sin against God. So with regard to the church, it is in one sense a voluntary society. No man can be forced by other men to join its communion. If done at all it must be done with his own consent, yet every man is under the strongest moral obligation to enter its fold. And when enrolled in the number of its members his obligation to obedience does not rest on his consent; it does not cease should that consent be withdrawn. It rests on the authority of the church as a divine institution. This is an authority no man can throw off. It presses him everywhere and at all times with the weight of a moral obligation. In a sense analogous to this the state is a divine institution. Men are bound to organize themselves into a civil government. Their obligation to obey its laws does not rest upon their compact in this case, any more than in the others above referred to. It is enjoined by God. It is a religious duty, and disobedience is a direct offence against him. The people have indeed the right to determine the form of the government under which they are to live, and to modify it from time to time to suit their changing condition. So, though to a less extent, or within narrower limits, they have a right to modify the form of their ecclesiastical governments, a right which every church has exercised, but the ground and nature of the obligation to obedience remains unchanged. This is not a matter of mere theory. It is of primary practical importance and has an all-pervading influence on national character. Everything indeed connected with this subject depends on the answer to the question, Why are we obliged to obey the laws? If we answer because we made them; or because we assent to them, or framed the government which enacts them; or because the good of society enjoins obedience, or reason dictates it, then the state is a human institution; it has no religious sanction; it is founded on the sand; it ceases to have a hold on the conscience and to commend itself as a revelation of God to be reverenced and obeyed as a manifestation of his presence and will. But, on the other hand, if we place the state in the same category with the family and the church, and regard it as an institution of God, then we elevate it into a higher sphere;

we invest it with religious sanctions and it become pervaded by a divine presence and authority, which immeasurably strengthens, while it elevates its power. Obedience for conscience sake is as different from obedience from fear, or from voluntary consent, or regard to human authority, as the divine from the human.

Such being, as we conceive, the true doctrine concerning the nature of the state, it is well to enquire into the necessary deductions from this doctrine. If government be a divine institution, and obedience to the laws a matter resting on the authority of God, it might seem to follow that in no case could human laws be disregarded with a good conscience. This, as we have seen, is in fact the conclusion drawn from these premises by the advocates of the doctrine "of passive obedience." The command, however, to be subject to the higher powers is not more unlimited in its statement than the command, "children obey your parents in all things." From this latter command no one draws the conclusion that unlimited obedience is due from children to their parents. The true inference doubtless is, in both cases, that obedience is the rule and disobedience the exception. If in any instance a child refuse compliance with the requisition of a parent, or a citizen with the law of the land, he must be prepared to justify such disobedience at the bar of God. Even divine laws may in some cases be dispensed with. Those indeed which are founded on the nature of God, such as the command to love Him and our neighbour, are necessarily immutable. But those which are founded on the present constitution of things, though permanent as general rules of action, may on adequate grounds, be violated without sin. The commands, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy, are all of permanent authority; and yet there may be justifiable homicide, and men may profane the sabbath and be blameless. In like manner the command to obey the laws, is a divine injunction, and yet there are cases in which disobedience is a duty. It becomes then of importance to determine what these cases are; or to ascertain the principles which limit the obedience which we owe to the state. It follows from the divine institution of government that its power

is limited by the design of God in its institution, and by the moral law. The family, the church and the state are all divine institutions, designed for specific purposes. Each has its own sphere, and the authority belonging to each is necessarily confined within its own province. The father appears in his household as its divinely appointed head. By the command of God all the members of that household are required to yield him reverence and obedience. But he cannot carry his parental authority into the church or the state; nor can he appear in his family as a magistrate or church officer. The obedience due to him is that which belongs to a father, and not to a civil or ecclesiastical officer, and his children are not required to obey him in either of those capacities. In like manner the officers of the church have within their sphere a divine right to rule, but they cannot claim civil authority on the ground of the general command to the people to obey those who have the care of souls. Heb. xiii. 17. As the church officer loses his power when he enters the forum; so does the civil magistrate when he enters the church. His right to rule is a right which belongs to him as representing God in the state—he has no commission to represent God either in the family or the church; and therefore, he is entitled to no obedience if he claims an authority which does not belong to him. This is a very obvious principle, and is of wide application. It not only limits the authority of civil officers to civil affairs, but limits the extent due to the obedience to be rendered even in civil matters to the officers of the state. A justice of the peace has no claim to the obedience due to a governor of a state; nor a governor of a state to that which belongs to the President of the Union; nor the president of the Union to that which may be rightfully claimed by an absolute sovereign. A military commander has no authority over the community as a civil magistrate, nor can he exercise such authority even over his subordinates. This principle applies in all its force to the law-making power. The legislature can not exercise any power which does not belong to them. They cannot act as judges or magistrates unless such authority has been actually committed to them. They are to be obeyed as legislators; and in any other capac-

ity their dicisions or commands do not bind the conscience. And still further, their legislative enactments have authority only when made in the exercise of their legitimate powers. In other words, an unconstitutional law is no law. If our congress, for example, were to pass a bill creating an order of nobility, or an established church, or to change the religion of the land, or to enforce a sumptuary code, it would have no more virtue and be entitled to no more deference than a similar enactment intended to bind the whole country passed by a town council. This we presume will not be denied. God has committed unlimited power to no man and to no set of men, and the limitation which he has assigned to the power conferred, is to be found in the design for which it was given. That design is determined in the case of the family, the church, and the state, by the nature of these institutions, by the general precepts of the Bible, or by the providence of God determining the peculiar constitution under which these organizations are called to act. The power of a parent was greater under the old dispensation than it is now; the legitimate authority of the church is greater under some modes of organization than under others; and the power of the state as represented in its constituted authorities is far more extensive in some countries than in others. The theory of the British government is that the parliament is the whole state in convention, and therefore it exercises powers which do not belong to our congress, which represents the state only for certain specified purposes. These diversities, however, do not alter the general principle, which is that rulers are to be obeyed in the exercise of their legitimate authority; that their commands or requirements beyond their appropriate spheres are void of all binding force. This is a principle which no one can dispute.

A second principle is no less plain. No human authority can make it obligatory on us to commit sin. If all power is of God it cannot be legitimately used against God. This is a dictate of natural conscience, and is authenticated by the clearest teachings of the word of God. The apostles when commanded to abstain from preaching Christ refused to obey and said, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken

unto you more than unto God, judge ye." No human law could make it binding on the ministers of the gospel, in our day, to withhold the message of salvation from their fellow-men. It requires no argument to prove that men cannot make it right to worship idols, to blaspheme God, to deny Christ. It is sheer fanaticism thus to exalt the power of the government above the authority of God. This would be to bring back upon us some of the worst doctrines of the middle ages as to the power of the pope and of earthly sovereigns. Good men in all ages of the world have always acted on the principle that human laws cannot bind the conscience when they are in conflict with the law of God. Daniel openly in the sight even of his enemies, prayed to the God of heaven in despite of the prohibition of his sovereign. Sadrach, Mesheck and Abednego refused to bow down, at the command of the king, to the golden image. The early Christians disregarded all those laws of Pagan Rome requiring them to do homage to false Gods. Protestants with equal unanimity refused to submit to the laws of their papal sovereigns enjoining the profession of Romish errors. That these men were right no man, with an enlightened conscience, can deny; but they were right only on the principle that the power of the state and of the magistrate is limited by the law of God. It follows then from the divine institution of government that its power to bind the conscience to obedience is limited by the design of its appointment and the moral law. All its power being from God, it must be subordinate to him. This is a doctrine which, however, for a time and in words, it may be denied, is too plain and too important not to be generally recognised. It is a principle too which should at all times be publicly avowed. The very sanctity of human laws requires it. Their real power and authority lie in their having a divine sanction. To claim for them binding force when destitute of such sanction, it is to set up a mere semblance for a reality, a suit of armour with no living man within. The stability of human government and the authority of civil laws require that they should be kept within the sphere where they repose on God, and are pervaded by his presence and power. Without him nothing human can stand. All power

is of God; and if of God divine; and if divine in accordance with his holy law.

But who are the judges of the application of these principles? Who is to determine whether a particular law is unconstitutional or immoral? So far as the mere constitutionality of a law is concerned, it may be remarked, that there is in most states, as in our own, for example, a regular judicial tribunal to which every legislative enactment can be submitted, and the question of its conformity to the constitution authoritatively decided. In all ordinary cases, that is, in all cases not involving some great principle or some question of conscience, such decisions must be held to be final, and to bind all concerned not only to submission but obedience. A law thus sanctioned becomes instinct with all the power of the the State, and further opposition brings the recusants into conflict with the government; a conflict in which no man for light reasons can with a good conscience engage. Still it cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed, that the ultimate decision must be referred to his own judgment. This is a necessary deduction from the doctrine that obedience to law is a religious duty. It is a primary principle that the right of private judgment extends over all questions of faith and morals. No human power can come between God and the conscience. Every man must answer for his own sins, and therefore every man must have the right to determine for himself what is sin. As he cannot transfer his responsibility, he cannot transfer his right of judgment. This principle has received the sanction of good men to every age of the world. Daniel judged for himself of the binding force of the command not to worship the true God. So did the apostles when they continued to preach Christ, in opposition to all the constituted authorities. The laws passed by Pagan Rome requiring the worship of idols had the sanction of all the authorities of the empire, yet on the ground of their private judgment the Christians refused to obey them. Protestants in like manner refused to obey the laws of Papal Rome, though sustained by all the authority both of the church and state. In all these cases the right of private judgment cannot be disputed. Even where no question of religion or morality is driectly concerned,

this right is undeniable. Does any one now condemn Hampden for refusing to pay "ship-money?" Does any American condemn our ancestors for resisting the stamp-act though the authorities of St. Stephens and Westminster united in pronouncing the imposition constitutional? However this principle may be regarded when stated in the abstract, every individual instinctively acts upon it in his own case. Whenever a command is issued by one in authority over us, we immediately and almost unconsciously determine for ourselves, first, whether he had a right to give the order; and secondly, whether it can with a good conscience be obeyed. If this decision is clearly in the negative, we at once determine to refuse obedience on our own responsibility. Let any man test this point by an appeal to his own consciousness. Let him suppose the President of the United States to order him to turn Romanist or Pagan; or Congress to pass a bill requiring him to blaspheme God; or a military superior to command him to commit treason or murder—does not his conscience tell him he would on the instant refuse? Would he, or could he wait until the constitutionality of such requisitions had been submitted to the courts? or if the courts should decide against him, would that at all alter the case? Men must be strangely oblivious of the relation of the soul to God, the instinctive sense which we possess of our allegiance to him, and of the self-evidencing power with which his voice reaches the reason and the conscience, to question the necessity which every man is under to decide all questions touching his duty to God for himself.

It may indeed be thought that this doctrine is subversive of the authority of government. A moment's reflection is sufficient to dispel this apprehension. The power of laws rests on two foundations, fear and conscience. Both are left by this doctrine in their integrity. The former, because the man refuses obedience at his peril. His private conviction that the law is unconstitutional or immoral does not abrogate it, or impede its operation. If arraigned for its violation, he may plead in his justification his objections to the authority of the law. If these objections are found valid by the competent authorities, he is acquitted; if otherwise, he suffers the penalty.

What more can the State ask? All the power the State, as such, can give its laws, lies in their penalty. A single decision by the ultimate authority in favour of a law, is a revelation to the whole body of the people that it cannot be violated with impunity. The sword of justice hangs over every transgressor. The motive of fear in securing obedience, is therefore, as operative under this view of the subject, as it can be under any other. What, however, is of far more consequence, the power of conscience is left in full force. Obedience to the law is a religious duty, enjoined by the word of God and enforced by conscience. If, in any case, it be withheld it is under a sense of responsibility to God; and under the conviction that if this conscientious objection be feigned, it aggravates the guilt of disobedience as a sin against God an hundred fold; and if it be mistaken, it affords no palliation of the offence. Paul was guilty in persecuting the church, though he thought he was doing God service. And the man, who by a perverted conscience, is led to refuse obedience to a righteous law, stands without excuse at the bar of God. The moral sanction of civil laws, which gives them their chief power and without which they must ultimately become inoperative, cannot possibly extend further than this. For what is that moral sanction? It is a conviction that our duty to God requires our obedience; but how can we feel that duty to God requires us to do what God forbids? In other words, a law which we regard as immoral, cannot present itself to the conscience as having divine authority. Conscience, therefore, is on the side of the law wherever and whenever this is possible from the nature of the case. It is a contradiction to say that conscience enforces what conscience condemns. This then is all the support which laws of the land can possibly derive from our moral convictions. The allegiance of conscience is to God. It enforces obedience to all human laws consistent with that allegiance; further than this it cannot by possibility go. And as the decisions of conscience are, by the constitution of our nature, determined by our own apprehensions of the moral law, and not by authority, it follows of necessity that every man must judge for himself, and on his own responsibility, whether any given law of man conflicts with the law of God or not.

We would further remark on this point that the lives and property of men have no greater protection than that which, on this theory, is secured for the laws of the state. The law of God says: Thou shalt not kill. Yet every man does, and must judge when and how far this law binds his conscience. It is admitted, on all hands, that there are cases in which its obligation ceases. What those cases are each man determines for himself, but under his two fold responsibility to his country and to God. If through passion or any other cause, he errs as to what constitutes justifiable homicide, he must bear the penalty attached to murder by the law of God and man. It is precisely so in the case before us. God has commanded us to obey the magistrate as his minister and representative. If we err in our judgment as to the cases in which that command ceases to be binding, we fall into the hands of justice both human and divine. Can more than this be necessary? Can any thing be gained by trying to make God require us to break his own commands? Can conscience be made to sanction the violation of the moral law? Is not this the way to destroy all moral distinctions, and to prostrate the authority of conscience, and with it the very foundation of civil government? Is not all history full of the dreadful consequences of the doctrine that human laws can make sin obligatory, and that those in authority can judge for the people what is sin? What more than this is needed to justify all the persecutions for righteousness sake since the world began? What hope could there be, on this ground, for the preservation of religion or virtue in any nation on the earth? If the principle be once established that the people are bound to obey all human laws, or that they are not to judge for themselves when their duty to God requires them to refuse such obedience, then there is not only an end of all civil and religious liberty, but the very nature of civil government as a divine institution is destroyed. It becomes first atheistical, and then diabolical. Then the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the decrees of the French National Assembly, and the laws of Pagan Rome against Christians, and of its Papal successor against Protestants, were entitled to reverent obedience. Then too may any infidel party which gains the ascendency in a state, as has

happened of late in Switzerland, render it morally obligatory upon all ministers to close their churches, and on the people to renounce the gospel. This is not an age or state of the world in which to advance such doctrines. There are too many evidences of the gathering powers of evil to render it expedient to exalt the authority of man above that of God, or emancipate men from subjection to their Master in heaven, that they may become more obedient to their masters on earth. We are advocating the cause of civil government, of the stability and authority of human laws, when we make every thing rest on the authority of God, and when we limit every human power by subordinating it to him. We hold, therefore, that it is not only one of the plainest principles of morals that no immoral law can bind the conscience, and that every man must judge of its character for himself and on his own responsibility, but that this doctrine is essential to all religious liberty and to the religious sanction of civil government. If you deny this principle, you thereby deny that government is a divine institution, and denying that, you deprive it of its vital energy, and send it tottering to a dishonoured grave.

But here the great practical question arises, What is to be done when the law of the land comes into conflict with the law of God—or, which is to us the same thing, with our convictions of what that law demands? In answer to this question we would remark, in the first place, that in most cases the majority of the people have nothing to do, except peaceably to use their influence to have the law repealed. The mass of the people have nothing actively to do with the laws. Very few enactments of the government touch one in a thousand in the population. We may think a protective tariff not only inexpedient, but unequal and therefore unjust. But we have nothing to do with it. We are not responsible for it, and are not called upon to enforce it. The remark applies even to laws of a higher character, such, e. g. as a law proclaiming an unjust war; forbidding the introduction of the Bible into public schools; requiring homage or sanction to be given to idolatrous services by public officers, &c., &c. Such laws do not touch the mass of the people. They do not require them either to do or to abstain from doing, any thing which con-

science forbids or enjoins; and therefore their duty in the premises may be limited to the use of legitimate means to have laws of which they disapprove repealed.

In the second place, those executive officers who are called upon to carry into effect a law which requires them to do what their conscience condemns, must resign their office, if they would do their duty to God. Some years since, General Maitland (if we remember the name correctly) of the Madras Presidency, in India, resigned a lucrative and honourable post, because he could not conscientiously give the sanction to the Hindu idolatry required by the British authorities. And within the last few months, we have seen hundreds of Hessian officers throw up their commissions rather than trample on the constitution of their country. On the same principles the non-conformists in the time of Charles II. and the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, in our day, gave up their stipends and their positions, because they could not with a good conscience carry into effect the law of the land. It is not intended that an executive officer should, in all cases, resign his post rather than execute a law which in his private judgment he may regard as unconstitutional or unjust. The responsibility attaches to those who make, and not to those who execute the laws. It is only when the act, which the officer is called upon to perform, involves personal criminality, that he is called upon to decline its execution. Thus in the case of war; a military officer is not the proper judge of its justice. That is not a question between him and the enemy, but between his government and the hostile nation. On the supposition that war itself is not sinful, the act which the military officer is called upon to perform is not criminal, and he may with a good conscience carry out the commands of his government, whatever may be his private opinion of the justice of the war. All such cases no doubt are more or less complicated, and must be decided each on its own merits. The general principle, however, appears plain, that it is only when the act required of an executive officer involves personal criminality, that he is called upon to resign. This is a case that often occurs. In Romish countries, as Malta, for example, British officers have been required to do homage to the host, and on their refusal have been cashiered. An instance

of this kind occurred a few years ago, and produced a profound sensation in England. This was clearly a case of great injustice. The command was an unrighteous one. The duty of the officer was to resign rather than obey. Had the military authorities taken a fair view of the question, they must have decided that the command to bow to the host, was not obligatory, because *ultra vires.* But if such an order was insisted upon, the conscientious Protestant must resign his commission.

The next question is, What is the duty of private citizens in the case supposed, i. e. when the civil law either forbids them to do what God commands, or commands them to do what God forbids? We answer, their duty is not obedience, but submission. These are different things. A law consists of two parts, the precept and the penalty. We obey the one, and submit to the other. When we are required by the law to do what our conscience pronounces to be sinful, we cannot obey the precept, but we are bound to submit without resistance to the penalty. We are not authorized to abrogate the law; nor forcibly to resist its execution, no matter how great its injustice or cruelty. On this principle holy men have acted in all ages. The apostles did not obey the precept of the Jewish laws forbidding them to preach Christ, but neither did they resist the execution of the penalty attached to the violation of those laws. Thus it was with all the martyrs, they would not offer incense to idols, but refused not to be led to the stake. Had Cranmer, on the ground of the iniquity of the law condemning him to death, killed the officers who came to carry it into effect, he would have been guilty of murder. Here is the great difference which is often overlooked. The right of self-defence is appealed to as justifying resistance even to death against all attempts to deprive us of our liberty. We have this right in reference to unauthorized individuals, but not in reference to the officers of the law. Had men without authority entered Cranmer's house and attempted to take his life, his resistance, even if attended with the loss of life, would have been justifiable. But no man has the right to resist the execution of the law. What could be more iniquitous than the laws condemning men to death for the worship of God.

Yet to these laws Christians and Protestants yielded unresisting submission. This an obvious duty flowing from the divine institution of government. There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. Thus Paul reasoned. If the power is of God, it cannot be rightfully resisted; it must be obeyed or submitted to. Are wicked, tyrannical, pagan powers of God? Certainly they are. Does not he order all things? Does any man become a king without God's permission granted in mercy or in judgment? Was not Nero to be recognised as emperor? Would it not be a sin to refuse submission to Nicholas of Russia, or to the Sultan of Turkey? Are rulers to be obeyed only for their goodness? Is it only kind and reasonable masters, parents, or husbands who are to be recognised as such? It is no doubt true that in no case is unlimited authority granted to men; and that obedience to the precepts of our superiors is limited by the nature of their office, and by the moral law; but this leaves their authority untouched, and the obligation to submission where we cannot obey, unimpaired.

Have we then got back to the old doctrine of "passive obedience" by another route? Not at all. The scriptural rule above recited relates to individuals. It prescribes the duty of submission even to unjust and wicked laws on the part of men in their separate capacity; but it does not deny the right of revolution as existing in the community. What the scriptures forbid is that any man should undertake to resist the law. They do not forbid either change in the laws or change in the government. There is an obvious difference between these two things, viz: the right of resistance on the part of individuals, and the right of revolution on the part of the people. This latter right we argue from the divine institution of government itself. God has revealed his will that government should exist, but he has not not prescribed the form which it shall assume. In other words he has commanded men to organize such government, but has left the form to be determined by themselves. This is a necessary inference. It follows from the mere silence of scripture and nature on this

subject, that it is left free to the determination of those to whom the general command is given. In the next place, this right is to be inferred from the design of civil government. That design is the welfare of the people. It is the promotion of their physical and moral improvement; the security of life and property; the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of those who do well. If such is the end which God designs government to answer, it must be his will that it should be made to accomplish that purpose, and consequently that it may be changed from time to time so as to secure that end. No one form of government is adapted to all states of society, any more than one suit of clothes is proper to all stages of life. The end for which clothing is designed, supposes the right to adapt it to that end. In like manner the end government is intended to answer, supposes the right to modify it whenever such modification is necessary. If God commands men to accomplish certain ends, and does not prescribe the means, he does thereby leave the choice of the means to their discretion. And any institution which fails to accomplish the end intended by it, if it has not a divine sanction as to its form, may lawfully be so changed as to suit the purpose for which it was appointed. We hold therefore that the people have by divine right the authority to change, not only their rulers but their form of government, whenever the one or the other, instead of promoting the well-being of the community, is unjust or injurious. This is a right which, like all other prerogatives may be exercised unwisely, capriciously, or even unjustly, but still it is not to be denied. It has been recognised and exercised in all ages of the world, and with the sanction of the best of men. It is as unavoidable and healthful as the changes in the body to adapt it to the increasing vigour of the mind, in its progress from infancy to age. The progress of society depends on the exercise of this right. It is impossible that its powers should be developed, if it were to be forever wrapt up in its swaddling clothes, or coffined as a mummy. The early Christians submitted quietly to the unjust laws of their Pagan oppressors, until the mass of the community become Christians, and then they revolutionized the government. Protestants acted in the same way with their papal rulers. So did our

forefathers, and so may any people whose form of government no longer answers the end for which God has commanded civil government to be instituted. The Quakers are now a minority in all the countries in which they exist, and furnish an edifying example of submission to laws which they cannot conscientiously obey. But should they come, in any political society, to be the controlling power, it is plain they would have the right to conduct it on their own principles.

The right of revolution therefore is really embedded in the right to serve God. A government which interferes with that service, which commands what God forbids, or forbids what he commands, we are bound by our duty to him to change as soon as we have the power. If this is not so, then God has subjected his people to the necessity of always submitting to punishment for obeying his commands, and has cut them off from the only means which can secure their peaceful and secure enjoyment of the liberty to do his will. No one, however, in our land, or of the race to which we belong, will be disposed to question the right of the people to change their form of government. Our history forbids all diversity of sentiment on this subject. We are only concerned to show that the scriptural doctrine of civil government is perfectly consistent with that right; or rather that the right is one of the logical deductions from that doctrine.

We have thus endeavoured to prove that government is a divine institution; that obedience to the laws is a religious duty; that such obedience is due in all cases in which it can be rendered with a good conscience; that when obedicnce cannot be yielded without sinning against God, then our duty as individuals is quietly to submit to the infliction of the penalty attached to disobedience; and that the right of resistance or of revolution rests only in the body of people for whose benefit government is instituted.

The application of these principles to the case of the fugigive slave law is so obvious, as hardly to justify remark. The great body of the people regard that law as consistent with the constitution of the country and the law of God. Their duty, therefore, in the premises, whether they think it wise or unwise, is perfectly plain. Those who take the opposite view

of the law, having in the great majority of cases, nothing to do with enforcing it, are in no measure responsible for it. Their duty is limited to the use of peaceable and constitutional means to get it repealed. A large part of the people of this country thought the acquisition of Louisiana; the admission of Texas into the union by a simple resolution; the late Mexican war; were either unjust or unconstitutional, but there was no resistance to these measures. None was made, and none would have been justifiable. So in the present case, as the people generally are not called upon either to do, or to forbear from doing, anything their conscience forbids, all resistance to the operation of this law on their part must be without excuse. With regard to the executive officers, whose province it is to carry the law into effect, though some of them may disapprove of it as unwise, harsh, or oppressive, still they are bound to execute it, unless they believe the specific act which they are called upon to perform involves personal criminality, and then their duty is the resignation of their office, and not resistance to the law. There is the most obvious difference between an officer being called upon, for example, to execute a decision of a court, which in his private opinion he thinks unjust, and his being called upon to blaspheme, or commit murder. The latter involves personal guilt, the former does not. He is not the judge of the equity or propriety of the decision which he is required to carry into effect. It is evident that the wheels of society would be stopt if every officer of the government, and every minister of justice should feel that he is authorized to sit in judgment on the wisdom or righteousness of any law he was called upon to execute. He is responsible for his own acts, and not for the judgments of others, and therefore when the execution of a law or of a command of a superior does not require him to sin, he is free to obey.

Again, in those cases in which we, as private individuals, may be called upon to assist in carrying the fugitive slave law into effect, if we cannot obey, we must do as the Quakers have long done with regard to our military laws, i. e. quietly submit. We have no right to resist, or in any way to impede the operation of the law. Whatever sin there is in it, does

not rest on us, any more than the sin of our military system rests on the Quakers.*

And finally as regards the fugitives themselves, their obvious duty is submission. To them the law must appear just as the laws of the Pagans against Christians, or of Romanists against Protestants, appeared to those who suffered from them. And the duty in both cases is the same. Had the martyrs put to death the officers of the law, they would in the sight of God and man have been guilty of murder. And any one who teaches fugitive slaves to resort to violence even to the sacrifice of life, in resisting the law in question, it seems to us, is guilty of exciting men to murder. As before remarked the principle of self-defence does not apply in this case. Is there no difference between a man who kills an assassin who attempts his life on the highway, and the man who, though knowing himself to be innocent of the crime for which he has been condemned to die, should kill the officers of justice? The former is a case of justifiable homicide, the other is a case of murder. The officers of justice are not the offenders. They are not the persons responsible for the law or the decision. That responsibility rests on the government. Private vengeance cannot reach the State. And if it could, such vengeance is not the remedy ordained by God for such evils. They are to be submitted to, until the government can be changed. How did our Lord act when he was condemned by an oppressive judgment, and with wicked hands crucified and slain? Did he kill the Roman soldiers? Has not he left us an example that we should follow his steps: who did no sin,

* The doctrine that the executive officers of a government are not the responsible judges of the justice of its decisions, is perfectly consistent with the principle advanced above, viz., that every man has the right to judge for himself whether any law or command is obligatory. This latter principle relates to acts for which we are personally responsible. If a military officer is commanded to commit treason or murder, he is bound to refuse; because these acts are morally wrong. But if commanded to lead an army against an enemy he is bound to obey, for that is not morally wrong. He is the judge of his own act, but not of the act of the government in declaring the war. So a sheriff, if he thinks all capital punishment a violation of God's law, he cannot carry a sentence of death into effect, because the act itself is sinful in his view. But he is not the judge of the justice of any particular sentence he is called on to execute. He may judge of his own part of the transaction; but he is not responsible for the act of the judge and the jury.

neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself unto him that judgeth righteously. On this principle did all his holy martyrs act; and on this principle are we bound to act in submitting to the laws of the land, even when we deem them oppressive or unjust.

The principles advocated in this paper appear to us so elementary, that we feel disposed to apologize for presenting them in such a formal manner. But every generation has to learn the alphabet for itself. And the mass of men are so occupied with other matters, that they do not give themselves time to discriminate. Their judgments are dictated, in many cases, by their feelings, or their circumstances. One man simply looks to the hardship of forcing a slave back to bondage, and he impulsively counsels resistance unto blood. Another looks to the evils which follow from resistance to law, and he asserts that human laws are in all cases to be obeyed. Both are obviously wrong. Both would overthrow all government. The one by justifying every man's taking the law into his own hands; and the other by destroying the authority of God, which is the only foundation on which human government can rest. It is only by acting on the direction of the Divine Wisdom incarnate: "Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," that these destructive extremes are to be avoided. Government is a divine institution; obedience to the laws is commanded by God; and yet like all other divine commands of the same class, there are cases in which it ceases to be obligation. Of these cases every one must judge for himself on his own responsibility to God and man; but when he cannot obey, his duty is to submit. The divinely appointed remedy for unjust or oppressive legislation is not private or tumultuous opposition, but the repeal of unrighteous enactments, or the reorganization of the government.

What, however we have had most at heart in the preparation of this article, is the exhibition of the great principle that all authority reposes on God; that all our obligations terminate on him; that government is not a mere voluntary compact, and obedience to law an obligation which rests on the

consent of the governed. We regard this as a matter of primary importance. The character of men and of communities depends, to a great extent on their faith. The theory of morals which they adopt determines their moral character. If they assume that expediency is the rule of duty, that a thing is right because it produces happiness, or wrong because it produces misery, that this tendency is not merely the test between right and wrong, but the ground of the distinction, then, the specific idea of moral excellence and obligation is lost. All questions of duty are merged into a calculation of profit and loss. There is no sense of God; reason or society takes his place, and an irreligious, calculating cast of character is the inevitable result. This is counteracted in individuals and the community by various causes, for neither the character of a man nor that of a society is determined by any one opinion; but its injurious influence may nevertheless be most manifest and deplorable. No man can fail to see the deteriorating influence of this theory of morals on public character both in this country and in England. If we would make men religious and moral, instead of merely cute, let us place God before them; let us teach them that his will is the ground of their obligations; that they are responsible to him for all their acts; that their allegiance as moral agents is not to reason or to society, but to the heart-searching God; that the obligation to obey the laws of the land does not rest on their consent to them, but to the fact government is of God; that those who resist the magistrate, resist the ordinance of God, and that they who resist, shall receive unto themselves damnation. This is the only doctrine which can give stability either to morals or to government. Man's allegiance is not to reason in the abstract, nor to society, but to a personal God, who has power to destroy both soul and body in hell. This is a law revealed in the constitution of our nature, as well as by the lips of Christ. And to no other sovereign can the soul yield rational obedience. We might as well attempt to substitute some mechanical contrivance of our own, for the law of gravitation, as a means of keeping the planets in their orbits, as to expect to govern men by any thing else than the fear of an Infinite God.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VI.—*God Sovereign, and Man Free;* or the Doctrine of Foreordination and Man's Free Agency, stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures. By N. L. Rice, D. D., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. John D. Thorpe, Printer.

"The following volume," says the author, "is designed clearly to state the doctrine as held by Calvinists; and to prove it true, both by its *fruits*, and by the direct testimony of God's word." The work is divided into two parts. In the first the effects of this doctrine are considered, and the appeal is made to Augustine—to the Reformers—to the Puritans, &c. Certainly, vital piety has in every age of the church, been intimately connected with the belief of this doctrine. The intimate connection of fore-ordination with that of a particular Providence is next clearly shown; and no Christian can doubt of the importance of this doctrine to vital piety. It is clearly proved from the attributes of God, that he must have a plan for all his works, and this must be eternal and unchangeable. The objections usually made to this doctrine are ably answered. The author demonstrates very satisfactorily, that difficulties which attend this doctrine, and the reconciling it with the free agency of man, are by no means peculiar to the Calvinistic theory, but adhere with all their force to the Arminian scheme; nay, are much more intractable on that scheme than on ours.

The second part treats of the doctrine of Election, as taught in the Holy Scriptures. The author commences by answering popular objections, which he does with much ingenuity and clearness. Then the proofs of the doctrine from scripture are exibited perspicuously and forcibly. This treatise, we think, will do much good, especially in the way of obviating unfounded prejudices against the doctrine. Dr. Rice's excellence as a writer is not so much in the originality of his conceptions, as in their clearness. His views of Christian doctrine are tinctured with no extravagance, or novelty. He seizes his subject with a strong, comprehensive grasp, and

expresses his opinions in a concise and perspicuous style. Dr. Rice's polemical writings, as far as we have observed, are characterized by fairness and candour; and are free from the *odium theologicum* which is so apt to be imbibed by polemical writers. We would remark here, that books published in the Great Valley seldom cross the mountains, so as to be accessible to eastern readers. It is only by accident, that we have got a sight of this volume. We think that some arrangement should be made by which the lucid productions of western minds might be rendered useful to the inhabitants of the Atlantic states.

A Pastor's Sketches; Or a Conversation with serious Inquirers respecting the Way of Salvation. By Ichabod S. Spencer, D. D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. 1851.

We have read these Sketches with stirring interest. The cases brought to view are generally very striking, and some of them deeply affecting; and they are, for the most part, so various in character, as to prevent tedium by sameness, which is often the effect of religious diaries. We do not remember ever to have met with a book exactly similar to this of Dr. Spencer. The first impression which it made on our minds was one which doubtless was not in the view of the writer; that is, admiration of the talent, tact, fidelity, and diligence of the pastor. The aspiration naturally arose, "Oh, that all pastors were such!"

These sketches, in our opinion, will be highly useful to young pastors; who frequently enter on their public work with very little acquaintance with casuistical divinity. They may be well read in theology and church history, but in the science of the human heart under the influence of religious impressions of various kinds, they are not adepts. We have often felt compassion for young ministers, who have just emerged from the schools, and have had little opportunity of knowing the varieties of human character, when we have seen them placed as shepherds over a large flock. And when their own experience has been shallow and obscure, they are poorly

qualified to direct distressed and inquiring souls in the right way. Such young pastors are sometimes so sensible of their own deficiency in this respect, that when any unusual seriousness occurs among their people they send for some revivalist, and give up the concern into his hands. We are acquainted with more than one case in which the effect of this course was that the pastor was in a short time separated from his flock. No pastor has a right to commit his flock to the direction of a teacher, whom they have not chosen to be their guide. He ought in his own church to be the bishop, and to have the direction and superintendence of all measures employed, and of all doctrines inculcated; for he is the responsible person, and his responsibility he cannot devolve upon another. Every faithful narrative of cases of distressed consciences, must be valuable to young pastors; they are like the cases of various bodily diseases reported by physicians, and which are sought for with so much avidity by young practitioners of the healing art. We have often been struck with the superior zeal and self denial of medical above theological students, in regard to this matter. They not only search for cases reported in books, but they resort to examinations and dissections which must be very repulsive to the senses, in order that they may acquire the requisite skill in the treatment of morbid affections of every kind. It would be a favourable omen, if we could see our theological students actuated by a similar ardour in finding out the moral diseases of the mind; and especially making themselves acquainted with the spiritual maladies by which the people of God are often afflicted; in many cases suffering long for want of a wise counsellor, who accurately understands their case.

Such pastoral sketches as these cannot but be very helpful to young pastors, whether they shall think it expedient to adopt the precise measures and counsels here detailed or not; and we are of opinion that this volume may be very useful to pastors of ten or twenty years' standing, by stimulating them to make exertions for the salvation of their people, which they have hitherto neglected. It is to be feared, that the duty of addressing individuals privately anc dealing solemnly with their consciences, is, in our day, much neglected, except in

seasons of revival; and as many congregations experience no such seasons, the probability is, that multitudes go through life, without ever receiving from the pastor one solemn personal admonition. The pastor may preach the truth with zeal, but he is bound to do more—he should strive to pluck sinners as brands from the burning, by going to individuals, and warning, and entreating them to be reconciled to God. The account which pastors have to give for the souls committed to them, is one of an awful kind. With many this account will not be rendered with joy but grief.

Although our opinion of the value of this work is high, there are, nevertheless a few things in the treatment of exercised souls, which we cannot fully approve. The one that struck us with most surprise was the advice given to a lady who professed that she had no belief in the existence of God or of a future state, to continue her attendance on the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This advice was given for the purpose of avoiding certain evil consequences which her withdrawing from that ordinance would probably have occasioned. But we should never do evil that good may come. See p. 300. "I enjoined her to say nothing about her religious feelings—to attend church—*to go to the communion.*" We will not argue the point. If the impropriety of the advice does not strike every one at once, we are of opinion that reasoning would be of little service. The remarks of the author on "Unconditional submission," are, in our opinion, not exactly correct. He says, (p. 322,) "There are not a few things in the gospel, which appear to place a surrendry before faith—yielding before trusting." We are unable to find any thing in the gospel which requires any thing of the sinner prior to faith. We believe, however, that the state of mind described in the "sketch" is not uncommon in cases of real conversion. And we admit, that it precedes the conscious exercise of trust in Christ; but we are of opinion, that these feelings of submission and consequent calmness are the result of an exercise of faith in the truth of God. There is in fact, no pious exercise of mind which is not preceded by faith in the truth. Among many revivalists the word submit has become a cant word to express the duty of the awakened sinner; but it is far

better to adhere to the language of scripture. And here we would remark that the censure on waiting for certain blessings, though the idea is correct, is an unhappy use of a term often used in scripture for a diligent and patient attendance on the means of grace, in a bad sense; that is for doing nothing.

We cannot altogether agree with the remarks of the author, on the subject of the sinner's inability to repent. (p. 286). It seems to be asserted that "one grand ground of the sinner's obligation to repent" is the promised aid of the Spirit which removes every possible excuse." But is this promise made to all impenitent sinners? If not, the chief obligation to repent is in the case of such wanting. Though it is true that no sinner will ever repent, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, yet this is not the chief ground of obligation; and the command of God to an unconverted moral agent; whose inability is nothing else but his sinful nature, which never can be a reasonable excuse for disobedience.

There are some other things in the conversations of the pastor, which appear to us of doubtful propriety; but on the whole, the clearness, suitableness, and promptitude of his counsels, have given us a very high opinion of his sagacity as well as of his piety. We can, therefore, with earnestness recommend this volume to the perusal of all serious persons, and are pleased to find that it is read by many with a lively interest.

Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock. Robert Carter & Brothers, 225 Broadway, N. Y.

Here is a book, which, within a few years has gone through eight and twenty editions in London. It consists of a brief discourse preached on a text of scripture, each occupying a single duodecimo page, and accompanied with an appropriate stanza of poetry. As far as we have examined, the discourses are excellent, spiritual, evangelical and pithy, in a style pure and simple. There is a brief homily or meditation for every day in the year. This method of associating religious instruction with the successive days, is very agreeable to many minds; as appears by the popularity of Bogatzky's Golden Treasury, and other works of the same kind.

Truth and Error, or Letters to a Friend, on several of the controversies of the day. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar. Robert Carter & Brothers, N. Y.

Mr. Bonar is a pious and orthodox minister of the church of Scotland; and the errors to which his book is opposed, are as current in this country as in Scotland.

The Carters have also published an edition of King's Second Advent, and The Life of the Rev. Dr. Waugh, both of which works have been reviewed in this periodical.

The Principles of Geology Explained, and reviewed in their relations to Revealed and Natural Religion. By Rev. David King, LL. D. Glasgow. With notes and appendix by John Scudder, M. D., F. R. S., Prof. of Natural History to the Royal Society, Dublin. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 225 Broadway.

The religious public have heard so much about the discoveries of Geology, and the amazing antiquity of our earth, thereby demonstrated, that it is very desirable to have a popular treatise, so written as to satisfy the scruples and relieve the anxieties of serious Christians. Such a treatise is here furnished from the pen of a clergyman of an orthodox denomination, whose reputation is high as a man of learning and sound judgment. And as far as we have examined the work, we regard it as well adapted to the desired end. Dr. King brings forward the leading facts which have been brought to light by geology, and which seem to require an unreasonably long time to account for their existence. But while he exhibits various methods of accounting for the numerous strata containing fossil remains, yet it is evident that he does not believe that they can be accounted for by any theory, upon the supposition that the world is no more than six thousand years old. Such also is the decided opinion of all modern geologists; although most of them are believers in divine revelation.

In our opinion, there is no need to be much concerned about the age of the globe on which our race resides. The chronology of Moses is that of the human race, and not of the material part of the earth. All that is necessary to relieve the

sacred history from every objection on this ground is to interpret the first sentence in the Bible as stating the fact, that the heavens and the earth were created by God, without stating at what time; and considering the six days' creation to relate to the preparation and organization of the chaotic materialism into a form and condition to suit its new inhabitants. We regret to find, however, that Dr. King adopts the opinion of Dr. J. Pye Smith, that the deluge was not universal and endeavours to explain the language of the sacred volume in con sistence with this opinion, and chimes in with the stale objection of infidels respecting the want of capacity in the ark to contain all the species of land animals, and sufficient food for their subsistence for a whole year. Now, in regard to the universality of the deluge, the fact is asserted in scripture as positively and clearly as it possibly could be in words, "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills that were under the whole heavens were covered. Fifteen feet and upwards did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered." Gen. vii. 19, 20. If the waters were fifteen cubits above the summit of Mt. Ararat, it would have required a miracle to prevent the deluge from being universal. And if the deluge was not universal, what was the use of the ark which cost such a vast expense of time and labour? It would have answered every purpose to have directed Noah and his family to emigrate to a part of the earth which the flood did not reach. And as the people of the earth must have been very numerous, some nations we suppose would be inhabitants of almost every region; and those living where the deluge did not reach would be safe. At any rate some of the human family might have taken refuge in lands not covered with the waters of the flood.

As to a want of capacity in the ark to contain a pair of every species of land animals, we are surprised that a man of Dr. King's learning should bring it forward; when it has, by learned commentators, been so often demonstrated, that the capacity of the ark was abundantly sufficient; there was room enough and to spare.

An Essay on Jewish Circumcision and Jewish Baptism: show-

ing who are Proper Subjects of Baptism, and the Proper Mode of Baptism. By the Rev. William Calhoon, of Augusta county, Virginia. Mountain Valley, near Harrisonburg. Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons.

This is a sensible, well written essay, on the subjects and mode of Christian baptism. The author, an aged Presbyterian clergyman of Virginia, has in this treatise given a new view of the object of the rite of circumcision and its relation to baptism. He considers them to be seals of two different covenants. On this point we would express no opinion; but cordially agree with the venerable author in his general conclusions. No subject, we believe, has given rise to a greater number of theories, than that of baptism. We have long been of opinion, that the fixing accurately the definite design of this rite, or what it was intended emblematically to represent, will go far towards settling the controversy respecting the mode of administering the ordinance.

Christianity Revived in the East; or a Narrative of the work of God among the Armenians of Turkey. By H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. New York. Baker & Scribner. 1850. 12mo. pp. 290.

There is nothing light or extravagant in this entertaining volume; which relates the wonderful doings of God among the corrupt and superstitious Armenians. We have seldom read any thing more encouraging, in the history of modern missions. The very same truth which wrought the great Protestant Reformation, is here seen to be producing the same effects in Turkey. The facts here detailed, in connexion with the successes of the Nestorian Mission, give ground to hope, that it may please God, even in our days, to rebuild the desolations of many generations, and breathe life into the dead churches of the East.

The Rt. Reverend Bishop Southgate occupies a most unenviable prominence in these pages, and may congratulate himself on being in California at the time of their publication. It is here shown, that the persecuting dignitaries at Constantinople were counselled and encouraged by this prelate. He

sympathized with the patriarch, during the time of his anathemas. When the priest Vertanes was cut off, Bishop S. "did not doubt the sentence was just." He confounded the protestant Americans with "infidels and radicals." He has published his opinion, that the patriarch did not go "beyond the proper limits of ecclesiastical discipline," and that "he never met with an instance of more unjustifiable separation from a church than were the secessions which led to the act of excommunication." The best reply to all which is found in the clear, moderate, and authentic statements of Mr. Dwight, in this volume.

Letter to the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, in vindication of the principle of Christian Union for the propagation of the Gospel. Phila. 1850. pp. 70. 8vo.

This able pamphlet has attracted less attention than its matter and its style deserve. Its quiet severity towards Bishop Potter's positions is well maintained. We regard it as furnishing one of the most impressive arguments that we have ever read, for such union as takes place in the Tract and Sunday School Societies. It justly contends, that if Dr. Potter's views are correct, both these societies ought to be dissolved without delay.

The Identity of Judaism and Christianity. By Matthew R. Miller. New York. 1850. pp. 57. 12mo.

This tract, by one of our estimable missionaries to the Jews, contains an affectionate dealing with the sons of Israel, on some points of supposed difference between the two religions. The production shows much familiarity with the Jewish mode of thinking, and will, we trust, be useful.

An Address, delivered at Bedford, New Hampshire, on the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, May 19th, 1850. By Isaac O. Barnes. Boston. 1850. pp. 45, 8vo.

A eulogy of Scotch Irish Presbyterianism; and from Boston! We have read this spirited address with lively emotion.

The author, descended from Scottish emigrants, is enthusiastically full of his subject, and (to use an apt citation of his own) 'warms to the tartan.' It is so uncommon to find a New Englander recognising any type of Protestantism but the Puritan, that we cannot conceal the pleasure with which we find our brother of Boston taking a clear distinction between the "spiritual democracy" of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the "Republican Presbyterianism" of his and our ancestors. The literary qualities of the address commend it to public notice. We earnestly wish that some son of Scottish Presbytery in the North would give us a history of the Londonderry Presbytery. The field is untrodden, and the material must still be abundant.

This Ministry. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Synod of New Jersey, October 15, 1850. By Symmes C. Henry. Princeton, 1850.

The preacher's text was 2 Corinthians, vi. 1. From this he proceeds to discuss the general nature and validity of this ministry, its difficulties, and its encouragements. In the course of a very serious and fervent application, the author pays a deserved tribute to the memory of the venerable Dr. Miller. There is also an affecting reference to the third of a century, elapsed since the preacher became a member of the Synod; in which he has the distinction of having served one and the same church with respect and acceptance for more than thirty years.

The Races of Men. A Fragment. By Robert Knox, M. D., Lecturer on Anatomy, and Corresponding Member of the National Academy of France. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850.

This book is fairly beneath argument or criticism. It is a curious medley of vanity, ignorance, malice and fanaticism. At first it provoked our indignation, by the boldness and effrontery of its pretensions; but their very extravagance soon began to render them comical. It claims to originate views which are to overturn "long received doctrines, national prejudices, stereotyped delusions," &c., while any

tolerable scholar in this department is perfectly familiar with them all in the works of Virey, Courtet, Bory de St. Vincent, Edwards, La Marck, Quetelet, &c. It has not the slightest claim to originality, except for the ridiculous ingenuity, with which it carries out the more cautious follies of these infidel philosophers, into the most glaring absurdities; and sets their ingenious physiological speculations, in broad contradiction to the most authentic and unquestioned truths of history. We certainly should not have noticed this thing at all, but for two reasons. In the first place, this subject is now rendered so interesting by the important bearings of modern ethnological researches, that some of our readers might be cheated by the mere title, and by newspaper puffs, out of the market price of the book; and in the second place, we wish to express our surprise and lift up our remonstrance against such issues from a quarter so respectable as that which has given this reprint to the American public. Whatever may be the social or scientific standing of any influential publishing house, we must say, that in our judgment they merit a deliberate rebuke from the true science of the country, for reprinting so crude and wretched a performance, to say nothing of the low malignity which it vents against the Christian sentiment and enterprise of an age like the present,—and even against men, who stand in the front ranks of science, because they happen to believe that the scriptures are entitled to some respect, as authentic records; or that other races of men are capable of being Christianized, besides the Teutonic. Cuvier was an ignorant and stubborn dogmatist, whose era is now past forever. Buckland was an ingenious priest and Jesuit; and even Newton's brain was turned by Chronology.

While we are on this subject, we wish to notice a work of a very different order; which, though published two years ago, we have only recently had the opportunity of examining with care; we refer to the Physical Atlas of Alexander Keith Johnston of Edinburgh,—the friend, and we believe pupil, of Humboldt. This Atlas, is founded upon the *Physikalischer Atlas* of Prof. Berghaus of Berlin; and in its preparation, Mr. Johnston enjoyed the assistance of Sir David Brewster, the two Professors Forbes, and Prof. Nichol, besides others of

less mark. It is, as many of our readers know, one of the most costly and sumptuous productions of the modern press. It presents to the eye, in all the elegance of modern art, a comprehensive and classified summary of the splendid achievements of the gifted minds, that have been devoted with so much enthusiasm to the promotion of natural history and science. We are disappointed and pained, however, to find in it, among so much that is of sterling value, a reproduction of the low, material hypotheses of Kombst, touching the natural history and the ethnographic distribution of man, just as they appeared seven years ago in his Ethnographic Map of Europe. Why cannot the sturdy Christian science of England, avail itself of the enthusiastic and brilliant achievements of the continental *savans*, without adopting also their loose infidel notions? Why can they not see that these are no part of their legitimate science; and in accepting what is true, eliminate all such foreign and incongruous elements, as the obvious product of a false education, in view of the empty forms and childish puerilities, of the only religion they have ever known under the name of Christianity? Must we refer this humiliating slavery of opinion to the same cause, which leads the lower classes to ape the fashionable faults and follies of their social superiors? It is a thousand pities that so gorgeous a volume, replete with so much true science and learning, should be marred by the admixture of incongruous follies, which the authors themselves never could have sanctioned, had they known the deep and solid foundations on which the historical and lofty philosophy of the scriptures rest; that we should be gravely taught, e. g., that the religion of one part of the human race is paganism, of another popery, and of a third protestantism; or that the one is governed by absolute despotism, the other by limited constitutional monarchy, and the third by democratic institutions, solely because the first belongs to the Mongolian, or, African, the second to the Keltic, and the third to the Teutonic "species, of the genus man." "Race is every thing, literature, science, art, in a word civilization, depend upon it." "The Reformation, the principle of which was self-inquiry, which is the natural consequence of the prevalence of the reflective faculties in

man, has, on account of its very nature and spirit, been confined, and will be confined, to the nations of Teutonic origin."

We sincerely hope that the ethnological department of this great Atlas will receive attention from some one who is competent to set it upon the same level with the other parts of the work. Two ethnographic maps, one of Europe and the other of the British Islands, is out of all proportion to the other departments of modern science, as represented in its splendid folios. We are surprised moreover, that the editor has not figured the types of the different varieties of the Human Race. A well executed plate of this sort, would be a most valuable addition to our apparatus for studying this interesting and important subject. Probably, the last of the long series of battles against the inspiration of the scriptures, pitched upon the ground of the natural sciences, is to be fought upon this field: and all that the friends of Revelation ask is fairness and openness to conviction.

The Foot-Prints of the Creator: or the Asterolepis of Stromness. By Hugh Miller, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," &c. With a Memoir of the author, by Louis Agassiz. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 337.

The very Preface to this book is exhilarating. After the vague but bold and confident assumptions of the works we have just been noticing, we felt as if we had escaped into the clear light and balmy air of heaven, from some dark and dismal mine, where there may be valuable treasures; but where loads of rubbish must be removed and sifted before they can be reached, and meantime no small risk be run of fire damp explosions from the flickering torch by which we have stumbled through the dark and dripping passages.

Hugh Miller belongs to the very first class of minds of this age: and in point of science, we have, in the introductory Memoir to this volume, the testimony of Sir David Brewster and Prof. Agassiz, thot he has no superior living, at least in palæozoic Geology. But for the endorsement of such men, we should not dare to say all we think, of the clearness, power and beauty, of the discoveries and inductive reasonings of this

fascinating volume. The author, self-educated, having been bred to the occupation of a stone mason, writes not only with the vivacity and vigour, but also with the transparency and elegance of the most accomplished rhetoric. He was selected from the accomplished scholarship of Scotland, in the troublous times of the Disruption, to edit the Edinburgh Witness, the great organ of the Free Church of Scotland, in consequence of the transcendant ability displayed in an anonymous pamphlet, addressed to Lord Brougham on the Auchterarder Case, whose authorship was traced to him. There could be few more healthful, stirring educational processes than to watch the progress of the young philosopher, as he first slowly deciphered the stony alphabet, then spelled out the antique records, in the quarries of Cromarty and Moray, and finally generalized the noble scientific results, with which he has since delighted the geologists of the world.

A more complete demolition we have never seen on any subject, than that with which the author visits the infidel hypothesis of creation by an assumed law of organic development, as popularized a few years ago by the author of the work entitled Vestiges of Creation. Mr. Miller first grapples with the hypothesis itself and shows that the facts on which it rests, if they were all granted, do not by any legitimate reasoning substantiate the hypothesis. If the geologic records did show in their organic fossils a continuous development in its successive series, it could not follow, that these successive organisms were not separately created, any more than the successive creations of the lower orders of the present animal races, during five preceding days proves that man was not created by direct miraculous intervention on the sixth. He next proceeds to wrest the assumed facts out of the hands of the theorist. So far from animal existence originating as the theory claims, in microscopic germinal vesicles, first taking on the lowest types of animal life, from the very lowest series of fossiliferous rocks, the Cambrian system, far below the Silurian, where organic remains were supposed, till very recently, to terminate, he brings up fossil remains of a high order of fishes. In the old red sandstone, lying next above the Silurian rocks, abounding with the remains of vertebrata belong-

ing to the same family with the existing *Cestracious*, ranking in many points in the very first class of living fishes, he finds also lignites, simultaneous with the oldest fucoid remains of the early vegetable world. The record of creation graven on the rocks in unmistakable symbols, by the Creator himself. thus flatly and finally contradicts the development hypothesis. Ages on ages before such development is hypothetically assumed, the higher organisms of the upper races are found in actual being.

Having thus routed his opponents, horse, foot and dragoon, he sets himself in the coolest possible way, to erect upon the deserted battle-field, a new rampart, against which no enemy can ever hope to prevail, at least from that quarter; by establishing on incontrovertible facts the precisely opposite hypothesis, viz: that instead of a law of development, there has been in steady operation a mysterious law of degradation. The evidence of this bold and novel theory appears to be absolutely decisive at least so far as the the classes of fish and reptiles are concerned. There is no mistaking the rocky record; for the law is written in the gigantic characters of the early specimens of these kingly types of primeval organic life. The types which succeed each other, in the successive geological eras of the palæozoic world, were, as every one knows, in an ascending series of complexity and completeness; but there was no transition from one type into another; and the history of each type was a *history of degradation*, as if strangely and solemnly symbolizing and foreshadowing the degeneracy of the race which was to crown and complete the whole.

Having thus demolished the antagonistic hypothesis, and established on its ruins the very opposite theory, Mr. Miller next proceeds to demolish the authors of these scientific follies. This he does in the first place by showing that the hypothesis was in no sense their own. It was suggested in its present form, precisely a hundred years ago, in the Telliamed of Maillet, when as yet geology had no existence; and it was adapted to the science of his age, and long before Professor Oken made his famous discovery of the hart's skull, by Lamark in the year 1802. And in the second place, he turns into ridicule the pretensions of every one of the propounders

and leading abetters to any tolerable acquaintance with the facts and principles of geology,—the science to which it appeals for support.*

In the closing chapters of his volume, Mr. Miller closes with the atheistic and sceptical reasonings of scientifics, and points out their fallacies with a penetration and skill, such as we have seldom seen displayed. His arguments are invariably founded on incontrovertible facts, handled with discriminating and vigorous logic, and spiced with exquisite Scotch wit and humour and sometimes the keenest sarcasm, in a style that makes one feel, that with anything less than absolute certainty for his conclusion, Hugh Miller is among the last men living whom we should wish to encounter as an antagonist in argument. For learning, ability, vivacity, humour and conclusiveness, for curious research, told in most entertaining style, we know of nothing more fascinating than this volume.

History and Geography of the Middle Ages. For Colleges and Schools. Chiefly from the French. By George Washington Greene, author of the Life of General Greene, Historical Sketches, &c. Part I, History. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton. 1851. pp. 450.

The mere exterior and superficial view of history which it was so long customary to take the whole interest of which lay in excitement of its battles, conquests and defeats, has caused the period included in this volume, to be greatly overlooked and misunderstood. The *dark ages*, as they were called by

* Our readers may form some idea of the manner in which Mr. Miller prostrates his opponents in succession, by a single blow of his brawny Scotch arm, and of the plight in which he leaves them, from the following brief extract of the passage dealt against the author of the Vestiges. "There are two things in especial," says he, "which the work wants,—original observation and original thought,—the power of seeing for himself and of reasoning for himself, and what we find instead is simply a vivid appreciation of the images of things, as these images exist in other minds. And hence an ingenious but very unsolid work,—full of images transferred, not from the scientific field, but from the field of scientific mind, and charged with glittering but vague resemblances, stamped in the mind of fancy; which, were they to be used as mere counters in some light literary game of story telling or character-sketching, would be in no respect out of place, but which, when passed current as the proper coin of philosophic argument, are really frauds on the popular understanding."

general consent even of the learned, slurred over the pregnant period, in which the hand of Providence was fashioning and vitalizing the embryonic forms of our present vast and influential civilization. As the comparative anatomist has learned to trace the peculiarities, and relative rank of the various races of the animal kingdom chiefly by the study of their formative history; so the thorough philosophical study of modern civilization has led its cultivators to ply their inquisition into the hidden processes of the dark and neglected period when the organizms of modern society were taking their characteristic forms, and unfolding their characteristic life for the high destiny to which the race is appointed in the purposes of God. As usual, our academic education has been lagging behind, in the keen race for literary distinction and achievement in this discriminating and philosophical study.

One reason for the continued neglect of this important age of human history, perhaps, is the want of suitable text-books. The author of the work before us, undertakes to furnish the supply; the present volume being only the first of a series, announced on the class of subjects to which it belongs. On the ground above mentioned, our sympathies are all in his favour. We think he has done well, and considering how little had been done before, remarkably well for his subject; and should rejoice to contribute our modicum of encouragement in so important an undertaking. It will be seen, however, that in our judgment, the adequate execution of his task is neither easy nor of small importance. We should protest vehemently against making such a series of books with scissors, or making them to sell. Above most others, they should be instinct with the life of genius. The author should be independent of other men's opinions; and to be so, he should be master of his subject himself. Having possessed himself of a complete knowledge of the period he should digest it into a comprehensive, consistent and philosophical hypothesis, setting in a clear light what he takes to be its true character, tendencies and results. We are not of those who think the proper ends of history answered by a detail however accurate, of the outward historical incidents of a period or a people. We hold it to be the proper and highest duty of the historian to furnish

a theory of the facts on which the highest logical analysis and synthesis have been expended. The mere noviciate in historical studies, of course, is incompetent to draw out their true theory; and without this half the value of history is lost. True, the historian is liable to present us with a wrong hypothesis, the result of a partial or illogical analysis; but how much more so, the reader who has access only to the partial detail of facts which his work can be made to contain. And besides, if the author should err, there are champions all armed and ready to start up from every quarter, like the knights of the middle ages, to fight the battles, and redress the wrongs of injured truth. In the second place the history of this period should take advantage of the masterly and brilliant achievements of modern ethnological science, in setting forth as clearly as possible, the origin, character and diversities and mutual relations, of the races from which the population of Europe in the middle ages sprang. This, we are painfully aware is no easy task. But much has been done; and by a laborious and faithful collation of these labours, much more might still be done by a clear-sighted historian, gifted with the faculty for the rapid comparisons and wide generalizations which such a process supposes. The details and methods of the process need not be paraded in a mere text-book like this, but the results should be there, in a form which the ripest scholar, however he might differ from them, would instantly recognise and comprehend. We press this remark for two reasons; in the first place while we are far from going the length of the low materialistic school of ethnographers, who hold that race is every thing, and literature, science, art, civilization, all depend upon it, yet we do earnestly hold that without comprehending the complex influences of race, *including* its literature, science, art, and civilization, no man can disentangle the true history of Europe in the middle ages, or comprehend the posture or prospective bearings of its present leading nations. And in the second place we think it is in this last direction that the greatest deficiencies of the work before us lie. We have not at hand the original French from which it is taken, and cannot, therefore, know how far the characteristics of this volume belong to Mr. Greene, and how far to the original author.

Roman Nights; Or the Tomb of the Scipios. By Alesandor Verri. Translated from the Italian. With Notes, and Introductory Remarks, by Henry W. Hilliard. Philadelphia: John Ball. 1850. 12mo. pp. 303.

The author of this work, holds a highly creditable rank in Italian literature; though as yet little known among ourselves. He is a man of lively fancy and fine imaginative powers. His work is an attempt to reproduce the stirring periods of Roman History and draw out from them the social, moral, and political lessons, with which they are fraught. The plan of the book, enables the author, in imaginary converse with the noble old Roman heroes at the tomb of the Scipios, to inculcate important truth under the garb of historic fiction, and also to present, in dramatic form, the inner life of the period and the men whom the author discusses. The book is interesting and to a class of readers who are anxious to possess lively general views of the more exciting incidents of Roman History, it will prove acceptable and useful.

The Christian Philosopher Triumphing over Death. A Narrative of the Closing Scenes of the Life of the late William Gordon, M. D., F. R. S. By Newman Hall, B. A. To which is added a Memoir of Dr. John D. Godman. By Thomas Sewall, M. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut Street.

"Is Christianity true?" "What does Christianity teach?" "What can Christianty effect?" These are the interesting questions which this volume proposes to answer, not by abstruse philosophical discussion, but by setting Christianity into relation with the inward experience of the human heart. The examples selected for the display of its true purport and power as revealed both in life and in death, are not taken from the ranks of the poor or the uncultivated; but they are both men of unusual refinement and distinction, both in society and science. Besides the intrinsic interest of the volume and its delightful display of the beauty, purity, and loftiness of Christian faith and Christian hope triumphing over ills of life and exulting in victory over death and the grave; the special

value of the book lies in its adaptation to awaken the consciousness, which is lying dormant in the bosom of the educated and the professional members of society, not less than the children of poverty and sorrow, that the religion of Christ possesses an adaptation to them, which creates so strong a presumption of its divine origin, as to make it both their privilege and their duty to subject its provisions to an experimental test. We have seldom met with a book, which we should place, with higher hopes of usefulness, in the hands of an intelligent physician or cultivator of science, than this simple but authentic and beautiful memoir of two men, whose names are as familiar in the departments of medicine and natural science, as they will be precious in the memory of the church of Christ.

The Paradise Lost, by John Milton. With notes explanatory and critical. Edited by Rev. James Boyd, author of Elements of Rhetoric, &c. New York: Baker & Scribner. 1850. 12mo.

This is the most convenient edition of the great English epic we remember to have seen; at least from the American press. We are very glad to see the poem in such a form, in the hope that it may tempt purchasers. Notwithstanding the traditionary reputation of Milton, and the copious commonplace eulogy bestowed by everybody on the Paradise Lost, we cannot doubt that the poem is little read, and less studied, even by those who make some pretensions to literary scholarship. We have very recently heard a young gentleman of much more than average ability and scholarship, and nearly ripe for collegiate degree, confess that he preferred the versification of Goldsmith to that of Milton. We apprehend this case is singular only in the honesty and courage of the avowal. The truth is it requires a good degree of culture, as well as a highly gifted soul, to appreciate the lofty and varied harmonies of Milton's poety, while the commonest endowments qualify a man to compass and enjoy the simple tetrachord and the poetic rhythm of Goldsmith or Scott.

For the same reason we are glad to see the poem annotated with sufficient copiousness to make its vast and varied learning intelligible to common readers. The criticism of the

editor is chiefly after the old fashioned and English style of the Spectator; from the well known essays on Milton, in which, very large portions are introduced in the notes. The critical prefaces to the several books are taken chiefly from Sir Egerton Brydges; and all the best editors of Milton are laid under contribution for the matter of the present handsome and convenient edition.

American Education, its Principles and Elements. Dedicated to the Teachers of the United States. By Edward D. Mansfield, author of the Political Grammar, &c. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 330.

A sound and wholesome treatise on a great, vital, and still very imperfectly apprehended, subject. We are not sure that we understand the hypothesis on which the plan of the book was formed; but we are generally pleased with the mode of treating the topics introduced by the authors. We should doubt whether he had himself any very definite or specific object in view, throughout the whole of the book. The vindication of Mathematics, Astronomy, History, Language, Literature, Constitutional Law, &c., as elements of a liberal course of education, is earnest, and generally vigorous and conclusive; but it is not clear what class of persons these discussions were especially intended to influence, and there is therefore a question as to the completeness of the book, growing out of a question as to its true object. We are very glad to find a vindication so intelligent, clear and forcible of the essential importance of religion, in every course of study with a view to education. The Bible and Christianity are set in their true place, in the process. The author follows Kant's comprehensive definition of education; "to develope in each individual all the perfection of which he is susceptible," but with a provincialism with which we have no great sympathy, he attempts to mould this comprehensive scheme of education, into a national type. American education should not differ on principle from complete education any where else. The commonplace, not to say invidious, declamation, about the freedom and dignity of American citizens, is out of place in a liberal discussion on a great general subject like this.

The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, author of 'Panthea,' Researches on Light, &c. First American from the second London edition. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850.

This is another of that large and rapidly increasing class of books, which we ever welcome with great pleasure, aiming as it does, to popularize the vast brilliant discoveries and inductions of modern science. Its chief characteristic among those of its class, is that it aims to bring scientific truth before the popular mind, not so much under its utilitarian or economical aspects, as in its power of exalting the mind to the contemplation of the universe. It is a noble and lofty object; and the book is admirably adapted to effect it.

The Soldier of the Cross: A Practical Exposition of Ephesians vi. 10–18. By the Rev. John Leyburn, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. pp. 339.

"The object of the author is to present evangelical truth under scriptural imagery, and with a practical application to the common every day life of the Christian." The topics discussed are, The Enemy, The Evil day of conflict, The Armour, defensive and offensive; The spirit of the warfare; The victory; The call to arms. It is evident that the passage of scripture, on which this series of discourses is founded, covers almost the whole ground of practical evangelical truth. Dr. Leyburn, therefore, has had full opportunity to bring into view all the great doctrines of the gospel, and to exhibit their bearing on Christian experience. This he has done in an able and edifying manner, and produced a book eminently adapted to be useful.

The Abundance of the Sea and our National Union. Two Discourses. By Rev. W. Henry Green, Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Published by Request. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1850. pp. 48.

The former of these sermons, delivered at the ordination of Rev. Thomas H. Newton, chaplain of the American Seamen Friend's Society, is an eloquent and elevating discourse, ad-

mirably adapted to the occasion on which it was delivered. The second sermon, delivered on the day appointed for general thanksgiving, is characterized by the wisdom, moderation, and correctness of its views, and by the glow of genuine religious patriotism.

An Historical Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, N. J. Being a sermon preached on Thanksgiving day, December 12th, 1850. By William Edward Schenck, Pastor of that Church. Princeton: John T. Robinson, 1850.

This is a handsome pamphlet of seventy-seven pages; containing an exceedingly interesting, instructive and well written account of a congregation, which, from its connection in the earlier periods of its history with the College of New Jersey, is more widely known than most other churches in our country. Mr. Schenck has done a good service in the preparation of this discourse, in which he will receive the thanks of hundreds in every part of the United States who have been connected, during their college life, with the congregation whose history he has so well detailed.

Evils of Disunion. A Discourse delivered on thanksgiving Day, Dec. 12th, 1850. By Robert Davidson, D.D. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New Brunswick, N. J. J. Terhune & Son, 1850. pp. 15.

Dr. Davidson, in the introduction of this discourse, draws a distinction between politics and questions of great national interest, involving principles of religious duty. The former he would banish from the pulpit; the latter, he shows lies properly within its sphere. He then proceeds to demonstrate with clearness and force that the disunion of our confederacy is unconstitutional, uncalled for, and unwise.

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By Rev. James McCoth, A. M. Second Edition, Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1850. pp. 530.

This work containing four Books. 1. The divine govern-

ment as fitted to throw light on the character of God. 2. Method of the divine government in the physical world. 3. The principles of the human mind through which God governs mankind. 4. The reconciliation of God and man.—We have not had time to peruse the volume since it came into our hands, and can therefore only speak of it from its reputation. It has been received with extraordinary favour in Great Britain, and has raised its author at once into fame.—The subject, the relation of God to the world, is one of the most difficult and comprehensive, in the whole compass of theology. The book has, we understand, been republished in this country by the Messrs. Carter, of New York.

Discourses, chiefly Biographical of Persons eminent in Sacred History. By David McConaughy, D.D. Late President of Washington College, Pa. Pittsburgh: 1850. pp. 404.

The venerable author of this handsome volume has given to his numerous friends and former pupils, an interesting memorial of his pulpit instructions. To the christian public generally it is commended no less by its own merits than by the high character and standing of the writer.

Memoir of Rev. Alexander Waugh, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851.

This is a reprint from the Third London edition of a very interesting piece of religious biography.

A New Method of acquiring the German Language, embracing both the Analytic and Synthetic modes of Instruction. By W. H. Woodbury. Second Edition. New York: Mark Newman & Co. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. 1851. pp. 504.

The author informs us in his preface that his design in this volume is to unite the theoretical and practical methods of instruction. It is a handsomely printed book and full of materials for a thorough study of a most important language.