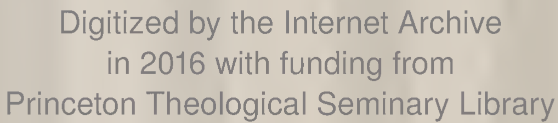
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/biblicalrepertor3521walk

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1863.

No. II.

Art. I.—*The Manner of Preaching.*

Some years ago we offered some views to our readers in regard to the "Matter of Preaching."* Intimately associated with this, of course, is the Manner of Preaching. It was within our purpose and hope to present some thoughts to them on this latter subject when an opportune season should arrive. Various circumstances have deferred the execution of this design thus far. But we propose now to call the attention of our readers to some simple and obvious views on the subject, which, we hope, will commend themselves as neither unseasonable nor unprofitable.

We do not propose to offer any novel theories; nor to essay any formally scientific or exhaustive view of the subject; nor to bring it under the canons of formal rhetoric, the technics of art, or the methods of the schools. These are all valuable in their place. We are the last to disparage or supersede them. What we have to offer will be concentric with, and, if to any extent outside of, not in opposition to them. Or rather, it will aim to assist in more fully realizing the best principles of science and art as related to this subject. Our standpoint for remark and suggestion is simply that of a somewhat extended

* See *Princeton Review*, October 1856.

observation—made, too, in the light of considerable personal pastoral experience—of the points in the manner of preaching, which augment or impair its efficacy. Following this method, it is very likely that we shall advance little that is novel, or unfamiliar to our readers, including even those most deeply concerned. Our object is not so much to say new things, as true things; which, however well they may be understood theoretically, are widely disregarded in practice; whereby the preaching of the word and the services of the sanctuary suffer great loss of power and efficacy. And we do not mean to limit our observations to the sermon, but to be free to touch upon whatever affects the edifying power of any part of public worship. The plainer, more familiar, and acknowledged any truth is, the greater is the necessity of urging attention to it, if the cause of religion is seriously suffering from its being widely unheeded and ignored by those whose prime duty it is to obey and exemplify it. Because it is a commonplace and undisputed truth that men ought to live within their incomes, or to give systematically, as God prospers them, to Christ, his cause, and his poor, it does not follow that such truths do not require to be set forth and urged, often and emphatically.

Here one or two preliminary questions demand notice. What is to be understood by the "Manner of Preaching," and of other parts of divine service? Whether we succeed in the answers and definitions called for by this question, or not, few probably will misunderstand our subject. Supposing the matter of preaching to be right, *i. e.*, to be the truth as it is in Jesus, rightly divided, in due scriptural proportions, to the various classes for whom it is designed, then the great difference between different preachers lies in their manner of setting forth this truth. Now since, for substance, the great mass of our preachers, at least in our own church, may be presumed to preach this truth, the greatest differences among them lie in their manner of presenting it. The former is the fixed, the latter the variable quantity. And it is in this fluctuating element that we find the secret of the vast difference of power and effectiveness in the preaching of different ministers—a difference so vast, that the same glorious gospel falls dead from the lips of one preacher upon audiences, to which it comes, from

another, all aglow with light and warmth, kindling the most earnest attention, conviction, and persuasion; and, when it pleases God to give the increase, penetrating their souls with the "demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

Now, it is undeniable that, supposing the orthodoxy and piety, and the distribution of the different elements of truth, substantially the same in these two sorts of preachers, the difference lies in the *manner* of putting it. And this *manner* reaches all those points in the *ex*pression of this divine truth by the preacher, on which the *im*pression of it upon the hearers depends. Again, this depends on the structure and style of the discourse itself—its clearness, freshness, both its penetrating and finding a response in, the consciousness of the hearer, its aptness of application; in short, its FORCE, argumentative, emotive, pathetic, and persuasive. Nor is this all. Suppose the sermon, as to its structure, perfect, a model in the foregoing points; and suppose it be so spoken, either that it cannot be heard; or, if heard, that it be so faulty in articulation and emphasis, that its meaning is only feebly and partially conveyed to the audience—is not all frustrated through this fundamental failure? Whatever merits the discourse has, if it be so spoken as to be lost upon the people, is not all lost? "How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher?" Rom. x. 14. Or, with a preacher who so speaks as to be unheard, or heard to no purpose? These questions are clearly self-answering, whatever contempt any may cast upon style and utterance in preaching.

But the question meets us, is the success of the gospel dependent upon the manner of the preacher, and not rather upon the power of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven? We answer, that this is raising a false issue. We admit and insist that the whole success of the gospel, however and by whomsoever preached, is due to the power of the Holy Ghost, causing the hearers to "receive it not as the word of man, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which worketh effectually in them that believe." 1 Thess. ii. 15. This, however, no way militates against our position. The Holy Ghost operates through the truth. We are begotten and sanctified through the truth instrumentally; and although this work of the Spirit

be above nature, it is nevertheless in harmony with, not in subversion of, our rational and voluntary faculties, and their normal action. Such is the explicit testimony of Scripture. But why argue this? Is not the command explicit to "preach the gospel to every creature"? But why this, unless the presentation of it to the human soul be indispensable to win such soul to the obedience of faith? "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." 1 Cor. i. 21. "How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard?" This settles the whole question. If the gospel must be presented to men in order to their salvation, it is a part of this necessity that it be really, truly, effectively set forth. That is all. The manner of preaching becomes important only as it has to do with the real and effective presentation of the gospel—as it clears away impediments, and supplies helps to the due apprehension and appreciation of the great objects, truths, and duties of religion; to their being duly received and believed, loved and obeyed; and so exercising that moulding and transforming influence which, through grace, they are designed and fitted to exert.

"In Homiletics, as in Rhetoric, we must begin with a just notion of eloquence. The notion appears to us to include two elements: one, subjective, which is but the power of persuading; the other objective, which is moral truth or goodness. It is not, in fact, we who are eloquent, but the truth; to be eloquent is not to add something to the truth, but to render to it its own; it is to put it in possession of its natural advantages. It is to remove the veils which cover it; it is to leave nothing between man and the truth. We may be eloquent in a bad cause, but never without giving to evil the appearance of good. Eloquence dies in an infected air."—*Vinet's Homiletics*, p. 252.

This representation is entirely just. Eloquence does not add to the truth, but simply affords it its natural advantages, by fairly displaying it. The difference, therefore, between the modes of preaching, is simply this: that a good and genuine manner allows, while a vicious manner denies, to the truth, its intrinsic and legitimate force.

It is only presenting the same truth from another side, to say that the essence of all that is valuable in the manner of

preaching is FORCE. And by force is meant simply those kinds of energy in the representation of gospel truth which aid it in penetrating the intellect, the conscience, the affections, and the will—all that clears the way for truth to work with its own appropriate power. It does not necessarily mean vehemence, much less violent extravaganzas of argument, or noisy appeal, or mock pathos, or profuse imagery, magnificent or vulgar, or stentorian explosions, with proportionally formidable gesticulations, stampings, and grimaces. Much of this sort often destroys genuine force. The most gentle, deliberate, tender, subdued modes of address are often the most effective, and therefore the most forcible. It is in this manner of preaching that we frequently witness the word of God endued with its most ethereal temper and penetrant edge—a very sword of the Spirit, "piercing to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Heb. iv. 12.

It may not be amiss, withal, just here, to put in a *caveat* against one not impossible nor unnatural misconstruction. A good manner of preaching, as of speaking or writing, universally, is at a heaven-wide remove from manner*ism.* A good manner and mannerism are mutually exclusive. Mannerism is the unvarying adherence to a certain manner, for the sake of that manner, and making the matter and shape of the discourse subordinate and subservient to this manner;—the former a mere frame-work on which to exhibit the latter. The mannerist makes a certain manner his end, and sacrifices all else to it. A good manner, on the other hand, is simply subservient to the matter, to rendering the truth manifest, conspicuous, and effective. It varies as it may best subserve this end. It does not exist for itself, or as an ultimate end at all, but as the instrument for powerfully manifesting the truth, the glass through which it is most completely displayed and beheld. Mannerism in any literary or oratorical production, so far as it goes, tends to a spurious and feeble product. In the pulpit it is simply nauseating, a badge of impotence. We have sometimes seen preachers otherwise quite respectable, or more than respectable, greatly impairing the efficacy of their performances by a pet mannerism, so demonstrative as to subordinate

all else to its overbearing dominion. But by far the worst cases of this kind have been young preachers, imitating the tones and ways, even to the faults, of eminent preachers whom they admired. How common was it for the pupils of the late Dr. N. W. Taylor, and of Dr. Archibald Alexander, to try to repeat them, as to style, manner, and voice, in the pulpit! How is this sometimes attempted, even with regard to oddities, endurable or even pleasing in extraordinary men, in whom they are natural and original, but absolutely shocking and intolerable when copied by small and mediocre men, in whom they are simple monstrosities! However the late Dr. Lyman Beecher might interest his auditors by his strange swinging to and fro of his spectacles, what more ridiculous than the aping of this, or the like things in other celebrated preachers, by their juvenile admirers? The contortions and gyrations of some celebrated living preachers, greatly as they may infringe the canons of the schools, are often interesting and impressive, because original and spontaneous; but when poorly mimicked by second or third-rate imitators, they become disgusting and horrible enormities. In short, affectation of any sort in literature and oratory, but especially in the preaching of the truths of God, is its bane. It is to all products of the mind, and especially to sacred oratory, precisely what hypocrisy is to religion—its negation and ruin. And this truth cannot be too intensely realized by all concerned.

Preliminaries thus being cleared, and the true point at which we aim defined so as to preclude all misconstruction, we ask the attention of our readers to a few things in the manner of preaching and conducting public divine service, which are requisite to give the truth its own inherent efficacy, or to afford it a fair chance to exercise its power.

1. It is obviously true, not only of the sermon, but of all the exercises of the sanctuary, that, however excellent otherwise, they are of no avail, unless they are HEARD. "How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" In this negative sense we may subscribe to the canon of eloquence attributed to the prince of orators, that in oratory the first, second, and third thing is delivery. All is lost without effective delivery.

A man may, indeed, be a mere empty declaimer, a *brutum fulmen.* This makes it none the less true that all else, however good, is lost without an effective delivery.* Now this does not mean merely that a rumbling, or thundering, inarticulate sound can be heard. The glory and power of the human voice lies in its articulate speech—articulate in the speaker, and to the hearer. Speaking, therefore, whether soft or loud, which fails to reach the hearer in perfectly distinct and easily understood articulate sounds, is no better than preaching in an unknown tongue. Does this seem too obvious to need stating? But so long as it is constantly and widely violated—so long as there are greater or less portions of the preaching and worship, as conducted by multitudes of ministers, which cannot be distinctly and intelligibly heard by any effort of attention—does not this simple principle need echoing and reëchoing, till every minister attends to it, and makes it sure that, in any event, he is heard by all who have ears to hear?

2. But it is not enough that the words and syllables be distinctly enunciated and heard. This may be, and be wholly meaningless and powerless. It may convey no sense, or a wrong sense; no thought, or the contrary of that intended; no feeling, or what is wholly alien and unsuitable. It is not mere words and syllables, but propositions or sentences that affirm or deny anything, and series of such sentences that convey any consecutive thought. Now the force of these sentences cannot be spoken without appropriate emphasis and accent upon the significant words. Whateley gives the following sentence as capable of six different meanings, determined by the emphasis.

* "We cannot take leave of these illustrious preachers, (Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon,) without inquiring into their *manner of delivery.* Like the ancients, they regarded it as an essential branch of oratory, paid to it eminent attention, and are said to have carried it to a high degree of perfection. Bossuet (as we have already intimated) seldom wrote all that he said. Retaining in his memory what he had composed in his closet, he filled up the unfinished sketch in the pulpit, and found a readiness of expression, marked with energy and grace. Bourdaloue and Massillon wrote their discourses in full, and preached *memoriter;* the latter so accurately that, when asked which he regarded as his best sermons, he replied, 'those which are the most exactly remembered.'"—*Thoughts on Preaching,* by Dr. J. W. Alexander, p. 415.

"The organon of Bacon was not designed to supersede the organon of Aristotle." It is easy to see that six different meanings may be given to it by making as many different words emphatic. In short, nothing is more evident, than that appropriate emphasis and pauses are indispensable to bring out the meaning of any language, however simple and lucid, to a popular audience. How much, then, depends upon manner of delivery, beyond mere audible, distinct, and articulate utterance! All the inflections, tones, swells, cadences of the human voice, with accompanying signs in the eye, the face, the motions of the body and limbs, are but wondrous powers of *ex*pression in order to *im*pression. Let each one so master his own powers, that, in his own way, free and natural, yet corrected of faults, not in any stiff, artificial conformity to cast-iron rules, he may truly utter the meaning, the thought, the feeling, which the case requires. There can be no minute or rigid prescriptions how to do this. Each one, in order to genuine force, must act out himself—which he will do all the better, not by negligent or indolent following of nature, but by training his powers to play in that natural, yet correct, easy, and forcible manner, in which art conceals art, by perfecting nature. The principle that delivery ought to be such, as most effectually to express the sense and feeling of the speaker, is universal. No uniform and unrelenting rule can be laid down by which every man can reach this result. Graceful and forcible gesticulation often adds to the impressiveness of speaking. Yet we know of some of the celebrated and permanently commanding preachers of our country, who seldom, if ever, move an arm or a hand in preaching; and unless such motions are spontaneous and natural, they detract from, more than they add to, the sermon.

The above views have full application to the reading of hymns, scripture, and public prayer, in connection with the preaching of the word. Who has not been pained to hear the loftiest and tenderest hymns, the most pregnant and touching portions of Scripture, so mauled and murdered in the reading, as to fall dead upon all the audience who were not thrown into spasms of torture? How often do ministers, not without deserved repute on other accounts, render this portion of their

public services totally unedifying by their mechanical, dead, unmeaning, and unfeeling manner of conducting it? How often does the voice reflect as little of the force and beauty of the original, as the sound of a wood-saw? How often do they appear to undertake it as if it were a schoolboy task set them, and to be got through with at the least possible cost of time and effort? Sometimes the opposite extreme prevails, of over-wrought and misplaced emphasis, artificial solemnity of intonation, and intolerable mannerism. But either way, the sense, force, and edifying efficacy of these services are lost—a loss of most serious magnitude. The true style of utterance here, as in preaching, is that of earnest conversation, modified by the subject and the attitude of the reader, and intensified in proportion to the greatness of the theme and of the audience. It is a grievous error to suppose that these parts of divine worship are too unimportant to require serious effort for duly performing or leading them. Every one who has given attention to the different effect of these exercises, as conducted by different preachers, knows the contrary. One of the ablest jurists of our country, but of a sceptical turn, was brought to tears on hearing a hymn so read as to express its real meaning, by a minister of our church yet living. The simple story of Absalom's death, and David's lamentation over it, as recorded in Scripture, when read in the most unaffected and unostentatious manner, but with fit emphasis, never fails to enchain assemblies as by a spell. Who has not seen and experienced it? But when otherwise read, how does it fall dead, its exquisite pathos being evaporated, and "wasting its sweetness on the desert air"?

Essentially similar observations, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to public prayer. Where the thoughts and aspirations expressed are devout, scriptural, and appropriate, the extent to which they touch the heart of the congregation, and enlist the people in united worship, in spirit and in truth, greatly depend on the language and tones employed. In order to the best devotional effect, the language of prayer should be simple, chaste, and elevated. The order of topics should be appropriate, each flowing out of what precedes, in a natural order. The whole thought, style, and utterance should be devout, fervent, tender,

simple. It should be fitted to kindle sympathetic feeling, and concurrent outpourings of soul to God, in the congregation.

3. As to any more minute details in regard to delivery, whether of the sermon or other parts of divine service, it is not our purpose to expound them. If any are aroused to seek further light in this regard, we can only refer them to the masters of the art. We will only offer a single caution. Let no remorseless artificial rule be set up to constrain all sorts of ministers, as if an enforced conformity to it would make them orators. Such precepts, however suited to promote effective delivery in some, often crush out all oratory in others, by fettering their proper individuality. As we have before indicated, appropriate gestures often add greatly to the force of delivery. But, however correct, according to the strict precepts of the art, if they are mechanical, and not a spontaneous outgoing and demonstration to the auditor's eye, of the speaker's mind when uttered to the ear, they burden and weaken, instead of strengthening the utterance. Hence, none should be fettered in this matter. As we have said, some of the most forcible preachers rarely gesticulate. The same may be said of other points in delivery. Monotony is fatal. In order to avoid it, a great variety in the intonations of the voice, abundant alternations from loudness to softness, from vehemence to gentleness, from swells to cadences, are requisite. Most preachers greatly impair their delivery through excessive monotony, arising from the want of such variations. And yet, such is the mysterious manifoldness of the powers of expression in different persons, that cases are not wanting of eminently powerful speakers and preachers, who have held the riveted attention of their hearers, under a continuous and almost monotonous loudness of delivery. The want of variety in the stress of the voice was compensated by extraordinary richness, fervour, and distinctness, combined with unusual force, beauty, and aptness of matter and style. Such cases, however, are anomalous—interesting to note, dangerous to follow. We remember an instance, in which a preacher confined his eyes to his manuscript, and kept his voice almost at one unvarying pitch, through a discourse marked by deep and compact thought for over an hour; and yet, in spite of these drawbacks, he

contrived, by the affluence of his thought, diction, and imagery, and by an almost impassioned earnestness of utterance, to infuse a *vis vivida* into his performance, which enchained all hearers to the end. Of course, imitation of such an example would be fatal for ninety-nine out of every hundred. And scarcely less so would be the imitation of the few preachers, who have been successful with any thing like a monotonous elevation or depression of voice in delivery. Variety in this matter is a prodigious relief both to preacher and hearer. The effort of the speaker is far less exhausting, and continuous attention in the hearer becomes far less difficult. This needs no proof to the careful observer.

It also deserves notice, that mere variety in tone and stress of voice is not of itself sufficient. The variations must be intelligent and appropriate. Vehemence of delivery must be employed where the sentiment or feeling uttered is so likewise. So of the subdued tones. They should come where they are the fit utterance of corresponding phrase, thought, or emotion. We have known good discourses spoiled or damaged by the violation of these principles—by stentorian vociferation and thunderous explosions of tame and common passages, while the more significant places were allowed to drop upon listless ears through a dull and spiritless utterance. This mock animation or oratorical variety is among the most distressing and tantalizing of pulpit crudities.

4. Without setting forth minute rules, if such there are, for attaining propriety and force in this respect, we will indicate one great principle of oratory, peculiarly liable to be violated by the ministry, the due observance of which will help to regulate all else, and set all preachers essentially right, each after the order and manner of his own native endowments. The orator must always bear in mind that he is speaking *to* others, and not soliloquizing his own thoughts to himself in the hearing of others. Such thoughts and utterances, however splendid, truthful, and important, are not oratory. Here is the secret of the utter failure of some magnificent thinkers and writers, who are truly devout and evangelical, in the pulpit. The orator speaks not merely in the hearing of others, but *to* others, in order to enlighten, convince, persuade, and move

them. This is fundamental. Now, the more fully the preacher realizes this standard, and approximates it, the more fully he addresses himself to his audience as one who is bent on convincing and persuading them in reference to matters of inestimable importance; the more simply and earnestly he reasons with them of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, arraying before them the terrors of the Lord which persuade, and the love which constrains; the more completely will he fulfil all the conditions of true eloquence; the more certain will he be to reach the tones, emphasis, vehemence, variations, which render delivery forcible and effective. There is no substitute for this attitude of mind and address towards the assembly. Where it exists, the most essential requisites to good delivery, according to the native capacity of the speaker, will rarely be wanting.

Another requisite intimately implicated with the preceding, is, that the discourse bear largely the impress, the life, the warmth of the speaker's own thinking. The interest and ardour begotten by careful meditation on any subject are obvious and familiar. The effect of this in infusing propriety and animation into the delivery, as compared with saying off commonplaces at once threadbare by repetition, and however important, yet to the speaker lifeless, because his mind has not been kindled by reflection upon them, needs not to be argued. While we muse the fire burns. Dullness in the apprehensions of the mind is apt to betray itself in deadness of utterance.

It may, however, be replied, that the fundamental truths of the gospel on which salvation depends, are few and immutable; moreover, that the preacher has no commission to proclaim his own thinking, but to preach the gospel, the word of God, the preaching that God bids him; not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord. This is true, properly understood. And, so understood, it does not militate against, but rather confirms what we have advanced. Although these truths, in one aspect, are few and immutable, yet are they vast any many-sided. To discover and unfold this amplitude and manifoldness, constantly opens up new fields of reflection to the greatest mind. Take the Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption. What mortal eye can take in all that belongs to these ineffable truths, and their prac-

tical bearings too, at any single survey, or series of surveys? If the mightiest intellect, during the longest life, cannot exhaust the knowledge of our globe, even that which is practically beneficial, how much less the knowledge of the Infinite God? Or even of that immeasurable love in Christ, which while we are to seek and pray that we may comprehend with all saints, yet evermore passeth knowledge?

Not only in themselves, but in their applications, have these truths an immense variety of adaptation to the ever-varying circumstances of men. We see in the Bible itself these endlessly ramified applications. In no other book do we find such unity in such an inexhaustible variety. Its truths, though unchangeable, are living roots, which run out into endless branches, leaves, and fruitage. So they are

> "Ever new and ever young,
> And firm endure while endless years,
> Their everlasting circles run."

Hence thought and study are indispensable to all effective and genuinely animated preaching. This is a divine requirement. "Meditate upon these things. Give thyself wholly to them: that thy profiting may appear to all." "Study to show thyself approved of God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Without such study there can be no adequate insight into divine truth or its applications; no ability nor aptness to teach it; no warm and life-like presentation of it. Those who have thought and felt powerfully on any subject; who have reached clear views and strong statements; whose souls have come to be aglow with the ardour of earnest thought; and who yield themselves to the natural utterance of a soul thus animated and earnest; can hardly fail of an effective delivery.

5. It is but a further specification under this head, to say that preaching will be effective in itself, style and delivery, in proportion as it aims to accomplish some certain result upon the whole or a portion of the audience. A sermon will take effect, other things being equal, in proportion as it is prepared and delivered for the purpose of moving the hearers, or any of them, to some particular convictions, feelings, purposes, or

conduct; and in proportion as it is without any such object or aim, it will be likely to be feeble in thought, style, and delivery. All this is so true, that we constantly hear sermons, in one sense brilliant, and even magnificent, in thought, imagery, and language, which are yet powerless, because they are aimless; and many discourses otherwise pleasant, are destitute of all force and edifying efficacy, mainly for a like reason. On the other hand, discourses which aim to work some definite conviction, feeling, or purpose, in the assembly, or any portion of it, if sufficient time and labour be given to their preparation, seldom fail to be given forth in a clear and forcible style, and with spirited and effective utterance. This is so apt to be true, that we have known discourses prepared for one class of hearers especially, characterized by a force and point which rendered them interesting and powerful with very different sorts of hearers. We have known sermons originally prepared for and delivered to college students, abounding in special allusions to their peculiar pursuits, temptations, necessities, delivered with still more marked effect to promiscuous congregations. We have known some go so far as to say that a sermon, prepared for and aimed at a single individual, and surely hitting its mark, would tell with power and profit upon any assembly. However extreme such a judgment may be, as a universal proposition, there is no doubt of its truth in some instances. Still less can we doubt the principle of which it is an exaggeration.

In saying that a discourse, to be effective, and to induce good delivery, should have a purpose, we do not mean that it should never have any aim but to move to some immediate action. It may aim to overthrow error, and establish right belief in its place. It may aim chiefly to exhibit, in an impressive manner, attributes and works of God, so as to awaken devout admiration, trust, and hope, and excite to "wonder, love, and praise." But this, and much else the like, is none the less preaching with an aim and purpose, fitted to evoke the best powers and efforts of the preacher. Such are sermons on the Attributes, Works and Ways of God, the Kingdom of Christ, the Glories of Heaven.

This carries with it the unity which the rhetoricians demand in a discourse; a unity sustained by early fastening the atten-

tion on some proposition or point, on which the preacher concentrates the mind of his hearers, and around which all his arguments and illustrations cluster. Loose and scattering discourses will not command earnest and continuous attention, or make any decided impression. It is a psychological law, that the intensity of attention is inversely as the number of its objects. All the lines of thought and imagery in an effective discourse, should converge to one bright, burning, focal point, thus concentrating a light and heat that cannot be unfelt. This principle adhered to will spontaneously correct a multitude of minor faults, and tend to remove whatever obstructs its force in style or delivery.

6. It is, moreover, but another form or necessary implication from what we have just been saying, to add that preaching will have power just and only in proportion as the preacher throws his whole soul into the message he delivers. This will show itself in earnestness, the life of all preaching. He is an ambassador. He is to plead the cause of his Master as though God did beseech by him; as a "dying man to dying men;" as though an eternity, the fate of the deathless soul were at stake; as though the honour and glory of his adorable Lord were involved in the issue. This zeal for God must not only be according to knowledge, but it must be the earnestness of love—love to Christ and the souls for which he died. Fanaticism is earnest, but it is also malignant. It luxuriates in denunciation, wrath, and terror. It hurls anathemas, not as being constrained, in love and faithfulness, "by the terrors of the Lord to persuade men" otherwise immoveable, but in frigid indifference, or as sporting with the arrows of the Lord, the imagery of woe. McCheyne, in so many respects the model of a pastor and parish preacher, asked a ministerial brother who told him that he had been preaching on the eternal torments of the lost, "Did you do it tenderly?" When Dr. John M. Mason, in his return from Scotland, was asked wherein lay Chalmers' great strength, he replied, "It is his blood earnestness." The following language of John Angell James, also a rare model of the pastor and preacher, vindicates itself.

"Do not these two words, *affection* and *earnestness*, include the very essentials of a successful ministration of the gospel?

They are intimately related, for can there be affection without earnestness, or earnestness where there is no affection? In listening to some preachers of the gospel, you perceive a deplorable want of both of these. All is didactic, heartless intellectuality. The preacher is a lecturer on the gospel; and the sermon is a mere lecture; all true, perhaps clear, but there is nothing which makes the audience feel that the preacher loves them, or is intensely anxious to save them, and is preaching to them the gospel for this very purpose. No minister can be a good and effective preacher of the gospel who does not produce on the minds of his hearers the conviction, 'This man is intent on saving our souls. He would save us if he could.' What can interest us like the interest manifested for us? How weighty a motive power is the exhibition of a sincere and ardent affection! To see a man rousing up all the energies of his soul to do good, using all the powers of persuasion, the tear starting in his eye, the flush spreading over his face, the very muscles of his countenance working, till we seem to feel his very hand laying hold with a grasp of our soul to save us from perdition! Oh, the force there is in such preaching! This gave the charm, the power, and, in subordination to the Spirit of God, the success to Whitefield's preaching."

The mention of Whitefield, a name which lives from generation to generation, while he has left to posterity no sermons or other literary monuments except an occasional fragment, that would exalt him above the most commonplace sermonizers, is a standing and stupendous illustration of all that we have said, and more than we have said, of the power of fine delivery, when kindled by holy earnestness and seraphic love. Such of his sermons as were published and have come down to us, though fervent and evangelical, seldom rise above a decent mediocrity, and furnish no clew to his power and fame. These had their origin in other qualities, to some of which we have referred, and which gave him an ascendancy, in public address, over vast assemblies of men of all descriptions, which has been rarely paralleled in ancient or modern times.

This was partly due, in connection with the qualities already noted, to his extraordinary histrionic power, and his marvellous tact in seizing all circumstances and occasions which he

could turn to account, in making the truth stand out as a living and present reality to his audience. This vivid and life-like portraiture, whether by verbal description, vocal representation, or the dexterous working of the eye, the face, the limbs, the entire person, whatever, in short, contributes to graphic expression, is unquestionably one of the elements of might in the preacher. And while the histrionic gift is a perilous one for ministers of unbalanced minds or feeble piety, it is a powerful instrument in the hands of those wise and devout preachers who know how to use it without abusing it.

"Sometimes he (Whitefield) would set before his congregation the agony of our Saviour, as though the scene was actually before them. 'Look yonder?' he would say, stretching out his hand, and pointing as he spoke; 'what is that I see? It is my agonizing Lord! Hark! hark! do you not hear? O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me! Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done!' . . . Sometimes, at the close of a sermon, he would personate a judge about to perform the last awful part of his office. With his eyes full of tears, and an emotion that made his speech falter, after a pause which kept the whole audience in breathless expectation of what was to come, he would say: 'I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I must do it; I must pronounce sentence upon you!' and then, in a tremendous strain of eloquence, describing the eternal punishment of the wicked, he recited the words of Christ, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' When he spoke of St. Peter, how, after the cock crew, he went out and wept bitterly, he had a fold of his gown ready, in which he hid his face."

"Remarkable cases are related of the manner in which he impressed his hearers. The man at Exeter is an instance, who stood with stones in his pocket, and one in his hand, ready to throw at him; but he dropped it before the sermon was far advanced, and going up to him after the preaching was over, he said: 'Sir, I came to hear you with an intention to break your head; but God, through your ministry, has given me a broken heart.' A ship-builder was once asked what he thought of him. 'Think!' he replied, 'I tell you, sir, every Sunday

that I go to the parish church, I can build a ship, from stem to stern, under the sermon; but were I to save my soul, I could not lay a single plank under Mr. Whitefield.' The story of Franklin, who went to hear him preach a charity sermon, predetermined to give nothing, being so moved as first to empty his pocket of his coppers, then of all the silver, and finally of all the gold, he had with him, is doubtless familiar to all.

"The manner in which he once turned a thunder-storm to his purpose has been thus narrated: Before he commenced his sermon, long, darkening columns crowded the bright, sunny sky of the morning, and swept their dull shadows over the building, in fearful augury of the storm. His text was, 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able.' 'See that emblem of human life,' said he, pointing to a shadow that was flitting across the floor. 'It passed for a moment, and concealed the brightness of heaven from our view; but it was gone. And where will ye be, my hearers, when your lives have passed away like that dark cloud? O, my dear friends, I see thousands sitting attentive, with their eyes fixed on the poor, unworthy preacher. In a few days we shall all meet at the judgment-seat of Christ. We shall form a part of that vast assembly that will gather before the throne; and every eye will behold the Judge. With a voice whose call you must abide and answer, he will inquire whether on earth ye strove to enter in at the strait gate; whether ye were supremely devoted to God; whether your hearts were absorbed in him. My blood runs cold when I think how many of you will then seek to enter in, and shall not be able. Oh! what plea can you make before the Judge of the whole earth? Can you say it has been your whole endeavour to mortify the flesh, with its affections and lusts? that your life has been one long effort to do the will of God? No! you must answer, I made myself easy in the world by flattering myself that all would end well; but I have deceived my own soul, and am lost!

"'You, O false and hollow Christian, of what avail will it be that you have done many things; that you have read much in the sacred word; that you have made long prayers; that

you have attended religious duties, and appeared holy in the eyes of men? What will all this be, if, instead of loving him supremely, you have been supposing you should exalt yourself in heaven by acts really polluted and unholy?

"And you, rich man, wherefore do you hoard your silver? Wherefore count the price you have received for him whom you every day crucify in your love of gain? Why, that, when you are too poor to buy a drop of cold water, your beloved son may be rolled to hell in his chariot, pillowed and cushioned around him."

His eye gradually lighted up, as he proceeded, till towards the close, it seemed to sparkle with celestial fire.

"O sinners!" he exclaimed, "by all your hopes of happiness, I beseech you to repent. Let not the wrath of God be awakened. Let not the fires of eternity be kindled against you. See there," said he, pointing to the lightning which played on the corner of the pulpit—"'Tis a glance from the angry eye of Jehovah! Hark!" continued he, raising his finger in a listening attitude, as the distant thunder grew louder and louder, and broke in one tremendous crash over the building, "It was the voice of the Almighty as he passed by in his anger!"

As the sound died away, he covered his face with his hands, and knelt beside his pulpit, apparently lost in inward and intense prayer. The storm passed rapidly away, and the sun bursting forth in his might, threw across the heavens a magnificent arch of peace. Rising, and pointing to the beautiful object, he exclaimed, "Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it. Very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof. It compasseth the heavens about with glory, and the hands of the Most High have bended it."

7. The one thing which all this illustrates is the great importance of vivid representation, and graphic portraiture in pulpit as well as other oratory. This may be, and in its best estate is, the product of a combination of powers, argumentative, imaginative, descriptive, vocal, histrionic. Or it may more prominently arise from some one or a part of them. It may be, in greater or less degrees, attached to a spinal column of solid thought and adamantine logic. But in some form,

this graphic power is observable in all preachers, who have long been able to command promiscuous crowds of hearers. It is marked in the great French pulpit orators, in the McLaurins, Chalmers, Irvings, Guthries, Melvilles, and Spurgeons, of Britain, in the Davies, Bellamys, Griffins, Masons, Alexanders, Summerfields, Larneds, and others of the commanding preachers, living and dead, in our own country—not excepting the metaphysical Edwards, who had his vein of poetry too.

8. If discourses, *ceteris paribus*, have power in proportion as they are vivid and graphic, it is far more fundamental that they be intelligible to the audience, including, as far as may be, all classes of hearers. As already set forth, the great truths of the gospel, in their manifold applications, must constitute the staple of preaching. As the gospel is to be preached to every creature, so it follows that it must be adapted to the understanding of every creature, and should be so presented as to be intelligible to every creature, *i. e.*, every creature who is held to faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as a requisite to salvation. This, to be sure, does not mean that preaching is never to have any special adaptation to the class of persons to whom it is addressed. It does not mean that a missionary to the Zulus should preach in just the same style as the pastor of a highly cultivated American congregation; or that an address to young children should be precisely like a discourse to an assembly composed largely of liberally educated men. Divine authority requires milk for babes in Christ, and meat for strong men—a grade of instruction for those advanced in Christian knowledge and experience, which would ill befit those who have need that one "teach them which be the first principles of the oracles of God." Yet, as illustrating the importance of "great plainness of speech" in preaching, we may remark in passing, that we have more than once known ministers make their strongest impression on the maturer portion of the congregation, in felicitous discourses especially prepared for and addressed to children.

Making due allowance, however, for the more or less rudimentary character of Christian teaching, according to the stage of experimental and doctrinal knowledge in the hearers, and possibly some other slight exceptions, we are of opinion that

the style of preaching which is most effective and profitable for one class of hearers, is so for all. There is much less ground for what may be called class-preaching than is generally supposed. "The rich and the poor meet together; the Lord is the Maker of them all." The same apostle, mighty at once in learning, logic, eloquence, and zeal, was a "debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians; both to the wise and the unwise." Rom. i. 14. No philosophic or literary preaching, which was yet a true preaching of Christ, could make him other than foolishness to the unregenerate Greek; no concessions or explanations which did not sacrifice the gospel, could make it otherwise than a stumbling-block to the unrenewed Jew. But it was one Christ crucified, clearly set forth, that, to both Jews and Greeks, was the power of God and the wisdom of God. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal. iii. 28. For we have a "common salvation." "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Eph. iv. 4—6.

As Christianity is thus one for all, presenting the same glorious objects, meeting the same wants, appealing to the same radical susceptibilities, in all, of every class, it might be inferred *a priori*, that the style of preaching which is most profitable to all classes is essentially the same. There is less need of different sorts of sermons for people of different grades of culture, wealth, social rank, and occupation, than is generally imagined. After a somewhat extensive observation, and leaving room for such exceptions as must qualify all such general rules, we are of opinion that the style of preaching which is powerful and profitable for the highest, is so for the humblest classes in society, who have been equally instructed in religion. We think this principle will find its verification in the highest and largest congregations, and under the ablest pastors of our land. In a large proportion of these, many of the poor and humble meet on the same platform as the rich, learned, and refined. They are enlightened and every way edified by the same discourses. Those sermons which most penetrate and

electrify one class, most stir and command the whole assembly. In a congregation which we personally know, comprising in itself all grades of people, from a numerous body of blacks, to the first civilian in the State, we always observed that, ordinarily, the sermons which wrought most powerfully upon one class, did so upon all. When the congregation was vacant, and had been unable to unite upon a pastor, a young preacher, wholly unknown and unexpected to all, was providentially sent. On coming out of church, and before any opportunity to hear the remarks of others, the eminent lawyer just referred to, and a simple-minded coloured man, each said that the preacher they had just heard would be their pastor. This proved speedily to be the case. We well recollect that in a neighbouring congregation, embracing much culture and social rank, which had dwindled under an inefficient pastor, a young man was called of powerful intellect and great attainments. He delighted the most educated hearers by the depth, energy, and beauty of his thought and expression, accompanied by a rough but vehement delivery. While they compared his style to that of Macaulay and the other great masters of sentences, the most plain and unlettered people flocked to hear him, and during his whole incumbency there, crowded spacious galleries that had previously been empty. The same results attended his second pastorate over another and larger congregation, and in its measure, his occasional preaching in other congregations. This was due to the clear, nervous, vivid presentation of the simple gospel in its manifold relations to man as man, to the sinner as a sinner, the Christian as a Christian. This is a type of a whole class of living preachers, as each one may easily ascertain for himself; and it is no less true of the great masters of pulpit oratory among the dead. Examine McLaurin's great sermon on "Glorying in the Cross of Christ;" that of Dr. Griffin on the "Soul;" that of Dr. J. Addison Alexander, from the text, "All things are now ready;" and they are striking illustrations in point. The simplicity of the late Dr. Archibald Alexander's preaching, and its great adaptation to all classes, have often been remarked. His son, Dr. J. W. Alexander, supplied the coloured congregation in Princeton most acceptably before his eminently successful pastorate in New York.

It is true, indeed, that many preachers have a measure of success as pastors of cultivated congregations, whose preaching is suited to no other. But it is equally true, that were their discourses so simplified as to be useful and acceptable to the humbler class, they would exert still greater power over their present hearers, and a much more powerful attraction upon others. The celebrated exordium of Massillon, in his funeral discourse at the interment of Louis XIV., when, having uttered the text, "I became great, and got more wisdom than all they that were before me in Jerusalem; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit,"—after a short pause, he slowly said, in a solemn, subdued tone, "God only is great," upon which all the audience spontaneously arose, and looking at the altar, reverently bowed,—no less than his wonderful sermon "on the small number of the righteous," is alike fitted to command, to startle, and to awe all grades of hearers.* Illustrations of this nature, as our readers are doubtless aware, might be indefinitely multiplied. Dr. John M. Mason, in his great sermon entitled "The Gospel for the Poor," itself a grand illustration of the views we have advanced, says:

"Unlike the systems of men, and contrary to their anticipations, the gospel is as simple as it is glorious. Its primary doctrines, though capable of exercising the most disciplined talent, are adapted to the common understanding. Were they dark and abstruse, they might gratify a speculative mind, but would be lost upon the multitude, and be unprofitable to all as doctrines of consolation. The mass of mankind never can be profound reasoners. To omit other difficulties, they have not leisure. Instruction, to do them good, must be interesting, solemn, repeated, and plain. This is the benign office of the gospel. Her principal topics are few; they are constantly recurring in various connections; they come home to every man's condition; they have an interpreter in his bosom; they are enforced by motives which honesty can hardly mistake, and conscience will rarely dispute. . . . From this simplicity, moreover, the gospel derives advantages of consolation. Grief, whether in the learned or illiterate, is always simple."

* See *Thoughts on Preaching*, by Dr. J. W. Alexander, pp. 412—14.

9. We, of course, cannot complete our survey of this subject without some remarks upon written and unwritten sermons. In our view, if the requisites to efficient preaching already spoken of be realized, it is of less conseqence how it is accomplished. Different men have their special modes of reaching the most free and buoyant intellectual activity, and of most facile and effective preparation for the pulpit. Some are hampered by any use of the pen. It is very rare, nevertheless, that any preachers, however gifted in extemporaneous oratory, may not strengthen their productions by some use of the pen in the study. Some prefer to preach from written skeletons, sometimes before them while preaching, and sometimes left behind them. Others prefer to write out more fully, but not completely. Others, and, in some sections of country, the great majority, write out their sermons in full to the last word. Of those who do this, some few memorize their sermons more or less perfectly, and leave their manuscripts behind, or pay little attention to them. The most of those who write sermons preach from their manuscripts, and are at a loss without them. There are few, however, who are so enslaved to manuscripts that they do not easily and effectively preach in the lecture-room, and on occasions less formal and exacting than the public services of the Sabbath, without written preparations. And no one can impose laws upon others in these matters, much less determine for them, that their gifts can be made more effective without than with the use of the pen; and its free and abundant use, too, to the extent of a complete manuscript sermon.*

It is obvious that the absence of a manuscript is likely to have the advantage of leading the preacher to conform to the first great requisite of oratory, that he speak *to* his audience, and have the aspect and attitude of directly addressing them. And if he be quite self-possessed, it favours ease and freedom, and, so far forth, the force of the address. We have, however, known preachers who, after giving up the practice of writing sermons, lost the power of facing and eyeing the audience, because they became so absorbed in the process of invention,

* See note on p. 183, in regard to the practice of the great stars of the French pulpit.

in thought and language, as to divert them effectually from looking at their hearers.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that written preparations have the advantage, on the score of accuracy, clearness, condensation, method, fluency, self-possession, and ensuring something like a due care of preparation. Still, there is a large class, and in some sections quite the largest, who have an invincible repugnance to what they call reading of sermons, which they put in contrast with preaching, or denounce as a corruption of the ordinance of preaching. Another class, who in other sections are quite as predominant, have a great aversion to unwritten discourses. They think of them as unprepared, superficial, rambling, repetitious, crude, and tedious. The true explanation of this we apprehend to be, that so small a proportion of those who write sermons, prepare them on oratorical principles, in the form of a sufficiently direct address to the audience; and still fewer give them an oratorical delivery. *They have not acquired the art of speaking, instead of merely reading, from a manuscript.* They have probably never sought, with any due painstaking, to acquire it. They do not, at least many of them, even appreciate it. They do not so prepare their sermons, as to chirography and previous effort to become familiar with them, as to be able to lift their eyes from their paper, to face the congregation, and emphasize and gesticulate, as propriety, and force, and impressiveness may require. This is the secret of the aversion and prejudice against written sermons. This is all the more so, as the few written sermons preached in regions where the people are unaccustomed to them, are usually poor specimens of their kind, at least as to delivery. Ministers who seldom use manuscripts, are usually more fettered and awkward in handling them, than those who are habituated to their use. They are apt to appear more like poor readers than good speakers, in the delivery of written sermons. But the point on which we insist is, that the aversion to written sermons, where it prevails, is mainly owing to the want of an oratorical delivery—sometimes aggravated, to be sure, by the want of oratorical structure and style in their composition; and that attention to each of these points, especially the former, is of the first importance in the case of all

who preach written sermons. We agree with Sir H. Moncreiff in his remarks, at a late meeting of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh, on the motion of Dr. Begg, to send an overture to the General Assembly, "urging that body to adopt means in the theological colleges of the church, for training students in the habit of delivering their sermons without reading. On urging his motion, the Rev. Doctor introduced some amusing anecdotes illustrative of Scotch antipathy to the use of the manuscript."

"Sir H. Moncreiff, who considered that it was not so much the reading of sermons as their ineffective delivery to which exception was taken by the people, proposed that to the overture the words should be added, that means should be adopted for training students in the habit of delivering their discourses effectively, with the use of their manuscript on the desk."

On a division, the original motion was carried by a majority of 10 to 9.

If he had moved that they be trained to deliver their discourses effectively, with or without manuscripts, as they might choose, we can hardly doubt that, even in Scotland, this majority of one would have been reduced to a minority. He was undeniably right. Good sermons, spoken forcibly from a manuscript to the people, instead of being read almost as if the preacher had no audience before him, seldom fail to interest and impress all classes of people, as decidedly as if the same things were delivered without a manuscript.

On the other hand, the prejudice in many sections of the country against preaching without a manuscript, arises largely from the fact, that the poorest specimens of preaching which they hear are generally extemporaneous, not only in form, but in fact. Ministers accustomed to preach written sermons at the principal Sabbath service, seldom appear on such occasions without a manuscript, unless, for some reason, they have been cut short of time for preparation. Hence, they rarely feel at ease in this sort of preaching, not only because they are unaccustomed to it, but because conscious of being unprepared. Hence, the people take the absence of a manuscript as a token of the absence of preparation. They expect a crude, undigested, rambling address. This expectation, in

such cases, perfectly well understood by the preacher, reacts upon him, and still further disheartens and disables him. The meagre performance resulting, still further confirms the people in their aversion to unwritten sermons. And so, by a ceaseless action and reaction, the difficulty aggravates itself. And yet, as we have often seen, no people are more delighted and edified than these very congregations, by vigorous, instructive, and earnest preaching, without the aid of a manuscript, when they are favoured with it, which, owing to the causes already specified, rarely occurs.

It is unwarranted, and worse than useless, to prescribe any iron rule, or to put all sorts of preachers, with every variety of gifts and training, upon any Procrustean bed, in this matter. To do so, would be to rob the church of the services of some of her noblest sons. We once heard a young man declaiming against preaching from manuscript. When he attempted to answer this argument, by saying that those were not called to preach who had not the requisite gifts, he apparently became embarrassed at the rashness of his own assertions, and was obliged to bring forth his manuscript from his pocket, in order to escape a more mortifying failure. It was once taken for granted, in this country, from the peculiarities of their printed sermons, that Chalmers preached extemporaneously, while Robert Hall carefully wrote his discourses. The reverse turned out to be true. The free, diffuse, impassioned Chalmers carefully wrote his discourses. The severely correct, elegant, classical, yet eloquent discourses of Hall were unwritten. Edwards, reading from a manuscript most closely written, caused spasmodic uprisings and shrieks in congregations, as he depicted to them the case of "sinners in the hands of an angry God." Those sermons of Griffin, that now overawed, and now transported vast audiences of all descriptions of people; now causing the obdurate sinner to tremble on the brink of the bottomless pit, and anon lifting the humble and contrite spirit to the third heaven, "were written with great care, the author often rewriting, and cutting out every thing superfluous." Davies, "a model of the most striking pulpit oratory," probably the prince of American preachers, who almost invariably produced a profound impression on the largest audiences, whose

discourses, heard by Patrick Henry, kindled that great orator to his almost matchless efforts of patriotic eloquence, usually wrote his sermons with great care, and carried them into the pulpit; but, like Dr. Griffin, "delivered them with freedom, without being confined to his manuscript."

We do not deem it important to discuss this matter further. Our aim has been to impress young preachers and candidates for the ministry with the importance of labouring, in the use of all due means, to acquire the power of giving written sermons an oratorical character, in their composition, and especially in their delivery. All facts show that, whatever be their training, the greater proportion of our young preachers will depend upon written preparations, in their more important public discourses. They will not trust themselves to any thing less surely reliable. This being so, it is of the utmost moment that they spare no pains, not only to acquire the power to speak, as they must and will on so many occasions, without a manuscript, but also to wield manuscript sermons effectively. We are persuaded that many of our younger ministers and candidates overlook, or underrate, the importance of this part of their ministerial qualifications. We have often observed young men who excelled as declaimers and speakers in college, and in delivering sermons committed to memory in the seminary, disappointing the expectations thus created, on their first appearance in the pulpit. They have bent to the servile reading of a manuscript, without which they were afraid to venture, and with which they were wholly inexpert, and incapable of effective oratory, because they were wholly untrained to its skilful use. Now, whatever be their powers and attainments for the ministration of the gospel, we scarcely need repeat that, with an insipid or dead delivery, all, or nearly all, is lost, and goes for nothing. It is to prevent this deplorable waste of power, and sacrifice of usefulness, that we thus earnestly call attention to this subject.

Probably no class goes through a theological seminary which does not exhibit phenomena like the following. Occasional members of the class who have been indifferent as students, and inferior in all the exercises in which the students measure their comparative strength, except speaking, go out and command

calls to important charges, while their superiors in every other respect are passed by. The cause is obvious, and confirms what we have maintained. It is true, indeed, that, although they thus get the start, they are at length distanced by their more faithful and accomplished fellow-students, after they have remedied this great deficiency, if they ever, as they do not in all instances, remedy it. But why should they not have done this justice to themselves, and the sacred cause they plead, from the first? Why suffer themselves to be outrun, by laggards in all the more fundamental requisites for the defence of the gospel, and rightly dividing the word of truth? Besides, the sooner attention is given to the exercise and training in this department, while yet the powers are flexile to discipline, the better the result. It is indeed vain for young men to think of sustaining themselves long, without the resources of thoroughly educated and furnished minds, whatever their powers of elocution. It is *vox et præterea nihil.* But it is equally vain to have all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and to be unable to dispense them so that the people can hear, understand, or appreciate them. It is equally futile to have the power to speak without having something to say; or to have a world to say, and be unable to say it to any good purpose.

A word in conclusion as to the degree to which sermons should be elaborated. Here, again, no uniform rule, of course, can be laid down. Much depends on the "man, the subject, and the occasion." Sermons on great and rare occasions are entitled to special labour. Nor can we say that the labour of rewriting and retouching discourses again and again, by Dr. Griffin and others of his type, was wasted. If this rendered them more powerful, and they were to be often repeated to various congregations, as was the real fact, the labour was not misspent. But this is scarcely normal for ordinary pastors; any more than it would answer for them to attempt to follow the method which Dr. Nettleton pursued with such success in times of revival—to make an extemporaneous discourse of successive solemn repetitions of a single text, interspersed with offhand, original, racy, apposite comments. Our own experience and observation, however, authorize few exceptions to the

remark attributed to Dr. Richards, that it takes a poor preacher to write more than one sermon a week. On the other hand, it is beyond doubt that a sermon may be elaborated and polished, till all the freshness and glow of life are worked out of it. It may be overloaded with matter and ornament beyond the capacity of the audience to digest, or it may be pared down to the quick, in the anxiety to remove all defects. A bony skeleton only remains. On the other side, sermons may be extemporaneously written as well as spoken. If this become a habit, as we fear it too often does, it will, in due time, become apparent, that what costs nothing is worth nothing, and that preachers who have not, or have loose habits of study, grow feeble, whether they write for the pulpit or not. This is one extreme. The other is, to elaborate and polish, till all the native and elastic force of the sermon is worn away. The critical faculty is invaluable when it is just sufficient to guide the executive power, and correct its serious mistakes. In this potency, it saves aimless effort, the waste of power, and removes obstructions to the free play of that power. Carried further, it paralyzes, and in many men, in various spheres of action, is a source of impotence. In excess, it enfeebles the preacher and his productions. By fit attention and labour, we may invigorate and perfect living organisms. But to go so far as to anatomize a thing of life, is to kill it. Here as elsewhere extremes meet, and are to be shunned.

Art. II.—*The Life of Edward Irving*, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Few personal histories of the last half century are more instructive than that of Edward Irving. Cast, an unknown young man, upon the mass of London life; taking charge of a little congregation of fifty foreigners in an obscure chapel in Cross Street, with an organization opposed or despised by the vast body around it; suddenly emerging in the full brilliancy of almost unparalleled popularity; nobility, philosophy, fashion, thronging, and pressing, and jostling one another in the struggle to gain access even to the windows of his chapel, and standing through discourses two or three hours long, with prayers half the length of the discourses; scattering his thoughts through the press, which sends out to an eager public edition after edition of six hundred pages octavo; rearing a noble church edifice, which receives his fifty members augmented to a thousand; and then, from the very height of his power and popularity, falling like lightning from heaven—this is a scene not often repeated in a generation. It is the record of no common man. The person whom Thomas Chalmers could choose as an assistant was no mere fanatic. The man whom Canning, in the British Parliament, could affirm to have preached the most eloquent discourse he had ever heard, was no mere actor. The preacher who could rouse an Edinburgh audience from their beds at five o'clock in the morning, in such crowds that Chalmers himself could not obtain entrance, was no mere charlatan. The man who could toil, and sacrifice, and suffer as Irving did, was not a mere impostor.

To those who may have desired a fuller account of this remarkable man than has heretofore been accessible, the volume whose title stands at the head of this article, will be welcome. Mrs. Oliphant, who is well known as a writer under another signature, has here produced a work of real interest. Without entering into any detailed criticism, we feel bound to

say at the outset, that the authoress' partiality for Irving has led her to do great injustice to others. The reputation of individuals and of ecclesiastical bodies is nothing to her, if it stands in the way of the fair fame of Irving. In the painful passages of his life, where he enters into conflict with his wisest and warmest friends, and with the judicatories of the church, things are left in this memoir untold which should have been told. The points at issue are stated more in the form of an attorney's plea, than in that of impartial history. All we care to say here is, that it is simply absurd to suppose that the church of Scotland could have, without strong cause, any other feeling towards its brilliant, and almost solitary representative in London, than profound interest and sympathy. She could have no reason for wishing him silenced or rebuked, as long as there was any method of reconciling his position with his obligations to the church, or with her faith and order. We regret that a work in many respects so attractive, should be marred by the common and easy cant of errorists against orthodoxy, creeds, and confessions, and by apologies for departures from the established faith of the evangelical church. We regret it doubly from one of Scotch Presbyterian birth. We presume, however, Mrs. Oliphant has found it difficult to depart from her customary field of authorship. Mr. Irving is her hero. His faults are better than other men's virtues.

Irving was born in Annan, on the Scotch border, August 4th, 1792. His father was a tanner. Among his early playmates, and later friends, was Hugh Clapperton, the distinguished African traveller. It is an interesting fact, that the last letter Clapperton ever sent to his native land, was written to Irving. Having pursued his preparatory studies in the Academy of Annan, Irving entered Edinburgh University at the age of thirteen, and four years later took his degree. Up to this time there seems to have been nothing remarkable in his attainments. Soon after, he is found engaged in teaching in Haddington, carrying on theological studies at the same time. Here we catch some of the first glimpses of the character to be more fully revealed hereafter. "This youth will scrape a hole in every thing he is called on to believe," was the significant

remark of a gentleman, in whose family in Haddington Irving was intimate.

From Haddington, at the end of two years, Irving removed to take charge of an academy in Kirkaldy, where he remained until seven years later. Thomas Carlyle having appeared on the same stage, he relinquished the post. These seven years, however, were not exhausted in teaching. Among his pupils was the daughter of the parish minister, Isabella Martin, to whom he became engaged, and whom, after long waiting, he married, and who stood by him, a true wife, in all his marvelously varying fortunes; no less believing and faithful when all had forsaken him, than when the uncounted multitude shouted his praise. The manse of Kirkaldy became the scene of Irving's most tender, as well as tearful associations.

In 1815, Irving was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Kirkaldy. A pleasant incident is preserved of his first sermon in his native place. The whole town turned out to hear him. His old teachers, "with solemn brows, came out to sit in judgment" on his sermon. "A certain excitement of interest, unusual to that humdrum atmosphere, thrilled through the building. When the sermon was in full current, some incautious movement of the young preacher tilted aside the great Bible, and the sermon itself, that direful paper which Scotch congregations hold in high despite, dropped out bodily, and fluttered down upon the precentor's desk underneath. A perfect rustle of excitement ran through the church. Here was an unhoped for crisis. What would the neophyte do now? The young preacher calmly stooped his great figure over the pulpit, grasped the manuscript as it lay, broadways, crushed it up in his great hand, thrust it into a pocket, and went on as fluently as before. There does not exist a congregation in Scotland which that act would not have taken by storm. His success was triumphant. To criticise a man so visibly independent of 'the paper,' would have been presumption indeed."

Notwithstanding this auspicious beginning, Irving's early preaching drew very little attention. It was not easy for him to find a minister who would invite him to occupy his pulpit, and still less easy to find a congregation who wanted to hear him after he was invited. He retired to Edinburgh, and gave

himself to fuller preparation for his work, waiting, meanwhile, for a call. At this time he had gathered a strong dislike to the prevalent modes of preaching. He resolved to burn all his old sermons, and open a new system. The immediate result is thus stated, and is significant. He was preaching one of his first sermons after his adoption of the new system, when, "in his noble and impassioned zeal for the supreme and infallible standard of Scripture, he startled his audience by a somewhat unqualified condemnation of ecclesiastical formulas, although he still unquestionably maintained, as he had conscientiously subscribed, all the doctrines of our orthodox Confession of Faith." He was not sceptical, we are told, as to these doctrines; he was only "feeling his way." This incident, favourably as it is stated, marks the first distinct step of Irving's public life in that peculiar path which so many have undertaken to tread—an avowed and apparent exaltation of the word of God, with a contempt of those formulas in which the church of Christ, age after age, has delighted to set forth her faith in and love to her risen head. The last great tragic scene of Irving's life was but the development of this germ.

At this period, too, we have a glimpse of another feature of his peculiar mental and spiritual conformation. Weary with his failure to arrest the attention of his own countrymen, he turns his thoughts to other lands. He will be a foreign missionary. But it shall be no missionary of the common type. "The countryman of Mungo Park, and school-fellow of Hugh Clapperton, bethought himself, 'In all the heathen world which hems Christianity about on every side, was there not room for a missionary according to the apostolic model—a man without scrip or purse, entering in to whomsoever would receive him, and passing on when he had said his message?' No societies should support him; no printing-press accompany him; no schools spring up along his pathway for the *civilization* of a people to whom his message was to be, Repent and believe the gospel. 'Rejected by the living,' said he, 'I conversed with the dead:' And with grammars and alphabets, with map and history, with the silent fathers of all literature standing by, he prepared himself for this old world demonstration of his allegiance and his faith." Here again we have the shadow of coming

events. This is the germ of that scathing three-hours' argument, which, years afterwards, from the height of his influence, he poured upon the heads of the London Missionary Society; and for which they were ready to cry, We called thee here to bless us, and lo! thou hast cursed us altogether.

This missionary scheme, which, with all its impracticability, had a certain grandeur in its wildness, was brought to an end by unexpected circumstances. Irving preached for Dr. Andrew Thomson, in St. George's, Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers was present. It resulted in a call to Irving to become assistant to Chalmers in St. John's, Glasgow. St. John's will be remembered as the celebrated parish chosen by Chalmers as the field of his grand experiment of the church's capacity to provide for the poor. He chose it for this very purpose. It was "one of the largest, poorest, and most degraded of the town." He stipulated with the magistrates that it "should be handed over to him in undisturbed possession, swept clean of all poor-rates, work-houses, and public parish aid." There were over ten thousand souls in the parish, most of them in poor and humble life. In this immense field Chalmers undertook to demonstrate that the church could take care of the poor, and he did it. Irving seems to have entered upon his work here with all his heart. He was, of course, but a secondary light, and his spirit must often have been tried as he met the people flocking from the church, when they had found that Chalmers was not to preach. The feature of his character which shines most brightly at this period, and which indeed never disappeared, is his love and devotion to the poor. He entered their homes and their hearts, gaining the confidence and affection of those ready to receive him, and overcoming the opposition of those prejudiced against him. Here occurs the familiar incident in reference to the infidel shoemaker, whose hostility Irving conquered by knowledge derived probably from his father's business; and who struck the colours of his infidelity with the quiet remark, "He's a sensible man, *yon;* he kens about leather!"

The apostolic model which Irving had set before his mind in view of the foreign field, he did not wholly yield in his home work in Glasgow. He entered the homes of his parishioners

with the salutation, "Peace be to this house!" He laid his hands upon the heads of the children, and blessed them. What he had he gave, silver, or gold, or benediction. While acceptably pursuing his labours out of the pulpit, as a preacher he made little progress. His preaching, said Chalmers, was like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs. This state of things could not last. Irving was nearly thirty years old. He had been with Chalmers three years, and was yet only a "helper." He was not even ordained. He cannot remain under the shadow of that gigantic oak. His thoughts revert to his ideal apostolic mission. He receives a call to a church in Jamaica, and soon after is spoken of as successor to "the great Mr. Mason," of New York. The latter business he "does not think will come to any head, because he is not worthy of the honour." In the mean time a door is opening which presses aside all other plans, and through which he passes to his future work and destiny. The little Caledonian church in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, London, broken and dispirited by repeated disasters, sends a call to Chalmers' assistant. He accepts it, and after the arrangement of certain difficulties, not of his raising, is ordained. While these preliminary matters were pending, and Irving was looking forward with something like irrepressible exultation at the unlimited, yet to human view, unpromising field before him, we see the occasional flashes of the spirit which is yet to break upon the world with vast power for good or evil—for good if chastened and subdued to the simple and childlike obedience of the faith—for evil if, bursting the bonds of sanctified reason, it shall dash wildly, recklessly, brilliantly, athwart the wisdom and faith of ages, to make for itself the path it cannot find. Thus he writes, "There are a few things which bind me to the world, and but a few; one is, to make a demonstration for a higher style of Christianity, something more magnanimous, more heroical than this age affects. God knows with what success." And again, he is crossing the Gairloch with friends: "You are content to go back and forward on the same route, like this boat; but as for me, I hope yet to go deep into the ocean of truth." A noble hope, truly; but not without something perilous in the very tone of its utterance. It has been heard repeatedly in the his-

tory of the church. We are quite familiar with it in our own day. "*You* are content. *I* hope to go deep." And we have heard also its later utterance, when the depths have been reached, "Adieu, O church! thy road is that way, mine is this; in God's name, adieu!" And we have seen the sublimated soul, rising above "worn-out symbolisms, reminiscences, and simulacra," go forth alone to worship amidst the "Supreme Silences" in the "Great Cathedral of Immensity." It is remarkable how often this "going deep" exhausts itself in denying depths already found. Audacity in assailing established truth is not unfrequently confounded with the genius to discover new truth. They are as wide asunder as the poles. There may be a certain kind of originality in a man's undertaking to row his little boat safely over Niagara, but there is no genius in it. He may find "depths;" but it is a question whether they will be worth the finding either to himself or the world.

At the time when Irving was "going deep" into his theologic ocean, Isaac Taylor was quietly writing these weighty words, "Christianity, being as it is, a religion of documents and of interpretation, must utterly exclude from its precincts the adventurous spirit of innovation. Theology offers no field to men fond of intellectual enterprise; the church has no work for them; or none until they have renounced the characteristic propensity of their mental conformation. True religion, unlike human science, was given to mankind in a finished form, and is to be learned, not improved; and though the most capacious human mind is nobly employed while concentrating all its vigour upon the acquirement of this documentary learning, it is very fruitlessly and very perniciously occupied in attempting to give it a single touch of amendment."*

Irving entered upon his work in London in the summer of 1822. "The fifty people who had signed his call, with such dependents as might belong to them, and a stray sprinkling of London Scotsmen, curious to hear what their new countryman might have to say for himself, formed all the congregation in the little chapel. The position was not one calculated to excite the holder of it into any flights of ambition, so far as its own

* Natural History of Enthusiasm.

qualities went. It was far from the fashionable and influential quarter of the town—a chapel attached to a charity, and a congregation reduced to the very lowest ebb in point of numbers."

Some time after Irving's ordination, Dr. Chalmers came up and gave him an *ex post facto* "introduction." Greatly interested in him and his work, Chalmers expresses the hope that he may "not hurt his usefulness by any kind of eccentricity or imprudence." Mrs. Oliphant amuses herself, and wearies her readers, by the frequency with which she represents Chalmers as "perplexed" and "puzzled" by Irving's peculiar greatness. He never really understood him. To most readers, however, it will appear quite possible that Chalmers may have had a clearer insight into Irving's character, and a more vivid apprehension of the perils by which he was environed, than Mrs. Oliphant has even now. Certainly, Chalmers did not see him as Mrs. Oliphant sees him, and he would undoubtedly have been "perplexed" if this obligation had been laid upon him. But he saw a man of great power, restless and impatient under authority—chafing in the bonds of ecclesiastical faith—scorning the ordinary forms and modes of truth, and waiting only the opportunity to plunge away to unsound depths. While he hopes, therefore, that his usefulness may not be injured by "eccentricity or imprudence," the hope itself betrays the judgment which had forecast the impending catastrophe.

Irving had been tried by neglect. He was now to pass the more perilous ordeal of popular applause. The immediate occasion of his sudden and immense popularity is said to have been as follows: In prayer, on a certain Sabbath, he alluded to a family of orphans in his congregation as "thrown upon the fatherhood of God." Sir James Mackintosh happened to be present at the service. The expression arrested his attention. He repeated it to Canning, who was so struck by it that he at once determined to hear Irving for himself. He did so; and soon after, in a discussion on ecclesiastical matters in the House, stated that he had recently heard a Scotch minister, settled over an unendowed church, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever heard. Forthwith "society" was in commotion. The little chapel in Cross Street was at once over-

flowed. The narrow streets about Hatton Garden were crowded long before the hour of service. Ladies of high birth and fashion, nobles, statesmen, philosophers, painters, poets, vied with sturdy Scotchmen for a standing-place in the doors, or seats in the windows of the chapel. It was an exploit to be told of, to gain entrance without accident or injury. Within a year from his entrance to London—"a large, raw-boned Scotchman," without friends or fame beyond his little charge of half a hundred names—he sprang to the pinnacle of popularity. His appearance in the pulpit was striking. With a tall, powerful frame, dark, flowing hair, brilliant eye, strong and impressive voice, he attracted at once an attention which to the end was but strengthened by the power and eloquence of his discourse. The only personal defect was an obliquity of vision. He was cross-eyed.

In estimating Irving's popular success, we must not leave out the unconscionable length of his services. When he began preaching in London, his sermons averaged an hour and a quarter; afterwards he would seem to have prolonged them to two hours, with devotional exercises in proportion. Chalmers tells this story of him, on an occasion when he himself was to preach. "The congregation, in their eagerness to obtain seats, had already been assembled three hours. Irving said he would assist me, by reading a chapter for me. He chose the longest in the Bible, and went on for an hour and a half. On another occasion he offered me the same aid, adding, 'I can be short.' I said, 'How long will it take you?' 'Only an hour and forty minutes.'"

In the second year of his residence in London, Irving published his first work, *Orations and Arguments for Judgment to Come*, a volume of six hundred pages, which, under merciless criticism, ran through three editions in a few months. Among the friends that gathered around him here, were Wilkie, Mackintosh, Basil Montague, and Coleridge; to the latter of whom he avows himself more beholden for the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, than to all men besides! He confirmed his faith in, and attachment to Coleridge, by the dedication of one of his works to him.

In the freshness of his reputation, Irving was invited to

deliver the anniversary sermon before the London Missionary Society. This was in May, 1824. In anticipation of a crowd, the celebrated chapel in Tottenham Court Road—"Whitefield's soul trap"—was chosen as the place of meeting. It was a wet and dismal day; but the building was crowded long before the hour of meeting, and many were compelled to leave, unable to obtain seats. Irving preached for more than three hours, stopping twice to allow the congregation to sing. In this discourse the old pent-up fire burst out. Instead of an argument in behalf of the society, it was rather a tremendous assault upon their whole system of operations. Indeed, the "machinery of evangelism" found no sort of favour with Irving. Its prudence, calculation, and balance sheets were his disgust. The missionary should walk by faith and not by sight. He had the same Lord and the same promises that apostles had. Let him live, and work, and die as they did. What had he to do with estimated expenditures or rates of exchange? His Lord had sent him forth to preach the gospel to every creature, and promised to be with him always; what more should he ask? and for what purpose was all this waste of missionary organization and operation? Here Irving made his first marked public divergence from the great body of his brethren. His discourse, instead of eliciting the usual vote of thanks, or request for publication, called forth a rejoinder from the Secretary of the Society before which it was delivered.

It is impossible to withhold a certain kind of admiration for the eloquence and energy with which Irving pours his soul into his conception of the ideal missionary. In contrast with the ponderous machinery of modern organizations, and the cautious provisions of the modern missionary, he points back to scenes when Christ sent forth his labourers to the harvest. "Without staff, without shoes, they paced on their way two by two; their sandaled feet exposed to dust and sultry heat; their bodies to every blast of heaven; their natural wants to men's precarious charity. The most defenceless bird that flies athwart the heavens; the weakest, most persecuted beast that cowers beneath the covert, or scuds along the plain, are better provided with visible help than were these apostles of the Highest; for the birds of the air have nests to which to wing their flight at

eventide, and the beasts of the earth have holes wherein to screen themselves from pursuit; but the founders of the spiritual and everlasting kingdom had not where to lay their heads. . . . . Like Jonah, commissioned with the burden of Nineveh, they are to gird up their loins and make speed; they are to hie from house to house, and hasten from town to town, inquiring after the spirits of immortal men; to tell their tale, and hurry onward, as the heralds of the northern chiefs were wont to hasten from house to house, and from village to village, when rousing the mountain clans to war; and cause, truly see I none, why they who hold the commission to make peace, should not be as fleet as those who hold the commission to levy war; and the messenger of salvation fly with as hasty a wing as the messenger of death; why servants should not be found to do as much, and to do it as hastily, for the King of heaven, as for the lordly chieftain of a mountain clan, or the throned monarch of a mighty land."

Without entering into the change of circumstances, and without derogating from the power of faith, it is obvious to inquire whether the faith of the individual is to release the vast body of the redeemed and regenerated church from all obligation to preach the gospel to every creature; nay, whether the multitude whose love to Christ is constraining them to do somewhat to this great end, are to be denied the privilege of ministering to the necessities of the saints, that these may live by faith, and not by sight? Undoubtedly, Irving had hold of a great truth, which it were well to have restored in all its fulness and power to the church—this life of faith upon the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself for us; but the error was, that he grasped it, not at its centre, but at its extremity. He grasped it strongly, but in part. This was his defect. He fixed his eye with piercing energy upon a passage of Scripture until, in the brilliancy of that passage, the rest was lost. "We wait with impatience," said the Secretary, "for the experiment, when, as you have well denominated them, 'the non-descripts' shall go forth to the battle of the nations."

From the ideal missionary, Irving turned to prophecy, which he selected as the subject of another public address—a subject obviously demanding, for any safe treatment, the most solid

judgment, with great modesty of interpretation—two qualifications in which, of all others, Irving was perhaps most deficient. Unconscious of difficulty, he plunged into the subject, as it was his nature to do, with all his heart. Hartley Frere had lately given him a new theory of interpretation, before which old things had passed away, and all things had become new. Everything was clear. He knew precisely the metes and bounds of the sublime and awful field of prophecy. He could stand and point with untrembling finger to that which had been fulfilled, and to that which yet remained to be fulfilled, and whose fulfilment was at the door. Henceforth "the gorgeous and cloudy vistas of the Apocalypse became a legible chart" to his course. It was not in him to do things with moderation. Prophecy now engrossed him, body and spirit. He joined himself to a company of kindred minds, of different religious connections, who were wont to retire into the country to spend days together in the study of the prophetic Scriptures. From this time forth there is a clear and marked development in Irving's history. An insatiable appetite for whatever was new and strange; peculiar views as to the operations of the divine Spirit, a growing assumption of authority, an increasing spirit of severity of judgment towards his brethren, and towards the whole visible church—these are some of the marks of that which to him was vast spiritual progress. The aspect which he here presents is remarkable, but by no means peculiar. We refer to the singular combination of an apparent independence of judgment, even to contempt of the judgment of others on matters long settled and well established, with the most simple and even ludicrous credulity in reference to anything strange and novel. Irving could reject with scorn, faith which had entered into the heart of the Christian church for generations, and swallow with reverence the suggestion of some wandering enthusiast of yesterday. The united judgment of the most solid and godly expositors of Revelation weighed nothing in the balance against the utterance of an unknown dreamer. Whether it was the exegesis of a passage of Scripture, or a theory of medicine, the key of all the mysteries of Revelation, or a secret for the prevention of all bodily disease, Irving's ear was

open to receive it with the docility of a little child.* This greedy credulity in a man of Irving's powers is marvellous. Yet it is far from being a solitary case. The genesis and the exodus of error are strikingly alike in all ages and all lands. Often, as we have followed the history of Irving, have we seemed to be tracing over again records that have become familiar in our own country. The arrogant self-confidence, with the unbounded credulity; the apparent earnest seeking after truth, with the contemptuous rejection of the truth; the loud demands for Christian charity and freedom of opinion, with the most bitter uncharitableness and denunciation of those who reject the views for which freedom is demanded—these are the contradictions of error; they are the significant signals which warn of the rocks and shoals where men make shipwreck of the faith.

It was at this time—the fall of 1825—that God laid an arrest upon Irving's thoughts, which, it might have been hoped, would have turned them from mystic speculations upon the future to the realities of the present. His first-born son, in whose life the father's heart was peculiarly bound, was taken from him, and the wail of sorrow that broke under the blow, sounds down through all the coming years of Irving's life. The journal which he wrote to his wife, whom he had left in Scotland after this bereavement, is one of the most remarkable portions of this biography. It extends over a period of about six weeks, and occupies over eighty pages in the volume. With much that cannot command our assent, with abundant indications of rash and perilous intellectual activity, there is, nevertheless, so much that shows us a strong, earnest, toilsome, prayerful, loving man, where he could toil and love and pray, that we can but lament the more deeply, as the loss of our common Christianity, the failures and the errors by which such forces of good were finally neutralized.

We are now approaching the point where Irving's divergence from his brethren becomes marked and permanent. The deci-

* The theory that disease was sin, and that no man with faith in Christ ought to be overcome by it, was afterwards a principle of the new church which was organized for Irving.

sive step has not yet been taken. The noble vessel is still moving prosperously on, apparently to a sublime destination. But a careful observer can see that she has been already struck by currents which, unless escaped from, must inevitably drift her upon the rocks. Long since, Irving has come in conflict with creeds and confessions; he has doubts in regard to the character and the constitution of his mother church of Scotland; he embraces the highest High-church Toryism of the Stuarts—absolute passive obedience to tyrants—a theory which went to the wall with the last of the Stuart dynasty. His views of baptism, says Mrs. Oliphant, differed from the doctrine of baptismal regeneration "by the most inappreciable hair's-breadth;" the spirit of apostolical authority was growing upon him; the Holy Ghost was in a special manner guiding him; the field of prophecy was clear before him; his brethren were in error; the church was in darkness; the world was in confusion; the coming of the Son of Man was just at hand. These were the impulses under which Irving was now moving. Symptomatic and dubious as these signs were, they were soon to give place to others which could leave no doubt. It was still the day of his triumph. In 1827 his new church in Regent Square, now occupied by Dr. Hamilton, was finished. Chalmers preached the opening sermon. A thousand regular sittings were taken. The first *furore* was over. "Fashion," said Carlyle, "went her idle way." But a thousand substantial and united people remained—a people "who steadily, and not capriciously, according to the dictates of fashion, resorted to the teaching of a man who kept them nearly three hours at a stretch, Sunday after Sunday, plunged in the deepest questions of religion—sometimes maintaining the strain of an argument which ascended into the secret places of the Trinity, unfathomable mystery—sometimes stirring with appeals and exhortations, which excited the multitude into all but open outcry."

Irving had now reached a position with which most men would have been satisfied, as the result of five years' labour. He had gained a name and a place for himself and for his church. From an obscure "helper" in Scotland, he had come forth the most popular preacher in the British metropolis. A

little disheartened congregation of fifty had increased to a thousand permanent worshippers. The most beautiful non-episcopal church edifice in London had been erected for him. He was still a young man—not yet thirty-five. What a field of promise stretched before him! Let us see with what views he contemplates the scene. He writes to his father-in-law, "I am now fairly entered upon my duties in the new church, and, by the grace of God, have begun with a more severe self-devotion to secret study and meditation. In the morning I propose to expound the whole Epistle to the Ephesians, in order to clear out anew some of the wells of salvation which have been choked up, at least in these parts, and to see if there be not even deeper springs than the Reformers reached. In the evening I am to discourse upon the sixth vial, which I propose as a sequel to my discourses upon Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed, and which I intend to print in the fall of the year. I think that, by God's blessing, I can throw a new and steady light upon the present face of Christendom and the world."

This is the echo of the voice that we long ago heard floating over Gairloch, "You are content—I hope to go deep." He had now reached a depth from which he drew a doctrine which startled the whole church. It was in reference to the incarnation. Here again we have to object seriously to Mrs. Oliphant's record. In her zeal for her client, and affection for her hero, she has failed to present that which historic candour demanded. Her own statements, indeed, are sufficient to show that the alarm taken at Irving's teachings was not groundless; but testimony which was before the courts, and before the public, and the recital of which shocks the soul of every ordinary believer in the blessed Redeemer, is not given.

The question was, whether the Son of God took upon himself human nature *fallen* or *unfallen;* or, in its mildest form, as presented by Irving, "Whether Christ's flesh had the grace of sinlessness and incorruption from its proper nature, or from the indwelling of the Holy Ghost?" "I say the latter," says Irving. Stated in this form, the doctrine would not readily arrest attention; but it was different when, speaking of the human nature of Christ, he thundered from the pulpit "that

sinful substance;" when, sitting down, he deliberately put on record, and published to the world, that "human nature was corrupt to the heart's core, and black as hell; and *this* was the human nature which the Son of God took upon himself, and was clothed with;" and when this doctrine was held, not as a mere speculation, nor as a subordinate truth, nor even as a coördinate truth, but as the central point, the vital principle of Christianity and of Christian preaching, Irving's doctrine seems to have been clearly this: The incarnation was the Son of God taking up fallen human nature, soul and body. This nature was, of course, sinful. Christ never did actually sin; but he was kept from it only by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, and his whole life was a struggle with the elements of his sinful nature. In this struggle he conquered. Thus he overcame for us, not by substitution, not in our place, but for our sake.

This doctrine of the incarnation, we repeat, became the very life of Irving's life, the power of his gospel. "I believe," he cries, "that my Lord did come down, and toil, and sweat, and travail, in exceeding great sorrow, in this mass of temptation, with which I and every sinful man am oppressed; did bring his divine presence into death-possessed humanity, into the one substance of manhood created in Adam, and by the fall brought into a state of resistance and alienation from God, of condemnation and proclivity to evil, of subjection to the devil; and bearing it all upon his shoulders in that very state into which God put it after Adam had sinned; did suffer its sorrows, and pains, and swimming anguish, its darkness, wasteness, disconsolateness, and hiddenness from the countenance of God; and by his faith and patience did win for himself the name of the Man of Sorrows, and the author and finisher of our faith."

The difficulty of arraigning a man capable of thus pleading for himself, is obvious. With many, personal character and ability are a sufficient answer to all charges touching graver matters. It is much easier to dismiss the inquiry concerning heresy by saying, The man is a good man, and an able, than it is candidly to investigate it; and the multitude who look only at present effects, and think nothing of, and care nothing

for, the remote issues of error, have little sympathy with any effort to restrain the speculations, however perilous, of a man of acknowledged ability. It is not probable, therefore, that the removal of Irving from his church would have met the same public acquiescence if it had been based upon his doctrinal teachings. Indeed, as the event proved, it is hardly probable that the removal would have taken place on that ground alone. As Irving maintained the perfect sinlessness of the Redeemer in fact, a common ground was found upon which he and his brethren of the London Presbytery were willing for a time to stand.

Before this question came to its crisis, Irving visited Scotland. He had felt himself called in the Spirit to deliver his message to his native land and the church of his fathers. Edinburgh was the place, and the gathering of the General Assembly in the month of May, 1828, the time selected for the object. That he might not be interfered with by the ecclesiastical sessions, six o'clock in the morning was the hour of meeting. The audiences that pressed to listen to him were immense. Chalmers wrote, "He is drawing prodigious crowds. We attempted this morning to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public." Certainly there must have been, as Chalmers adds, a marvellous power of attraction that could turn a whole population out of their beds at five o'clock in the morning, and fill the largest churches in the metropolis to overflowing. Children were brought that they might at least hear, and in their old age be able to say that they had heard Edward Irving. Chalmers at length found entrance. This is his record: "For the first time heard Mr. Irving. I have no hesitation in saying it is quite woeful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but, withal, a mysterious and extreme allegorization, which, I am sure, must be pernicious to the general cause."

It *was* woeful! that a man of Irving's magnificent powers should have been given up to the hallucination that *he* was divinely commissioned to inaugurate a new era upon earth, to clear out the wells of salvation, to open deeper springs than Reformers had reached, and to pour new light upon the face

of Christendom; and that all this was to be done by such kind of exercise as opening the sixth vial! This was woeful beyond all contradiction.

Irving assumed—unconsciously, perhaps, as many others have done—that, upon some of the most momentous points of Revelation, the Holy Spirit, as teacher and guide of the church, had passed by the vast mass of the redeemed and regenerated body of Christ, to rest upon him. This is a tremendous assumption for any man to make; and yet it is one of the most common among errorists. What are the creeds and confessions of evangelical Christendom—which are usually the first objects of assault by those who trouble the church of God—but the conclusions to which a multitude that no man can number, and who have been taught of the Holy Ghost, have been led? Undoubtedly these creeds and confessions are fair subjects of the most earnest and honest examination; but no man can deal truly with himself in such examination, without remembering that he is passing in review a faith not now for the first time tried; a faith that has been precious to a host of God's elect; a faith in which they have lived, by which they have been sustained in every experience of human life; to which they have clung, and in which they have calmly and joyfully died; a faith, moreover, to which successive generations, having wearied themselves in the ever-recurring cycles of error, have been compelled to return for rest. For the candid and thoughtful inquirer we would have all respect; but the facility and pertness with which some affect to dispose of the long established formularies of the Christian faith, are proof of pitiable shallowness rather than of depth.*

Irving's doctrinal speculations quickened rather than arrested his prophetic zeal. While "writing upon Christ, the altar of incense, the brazen altar, and the laver," "Captain Gambier

* While writing these pages we have heard of a minister delivering himself before an association in New England, to this effect: "The Westminster Shorter Catechism is a worse book than all the infidel productions ever written!" And this minister is in "good and regular standing" in a body which once testified that, "having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith, published of late by the reverend Assembly, in England, (Westminster,) they do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith."

opened to him his interpretation of Ezekiel's three chapters of Tyrus, making it out to be this land," with which interpretation, though he has not had time to examine it, Irving is "much impressed." "After breakfasting with a bishop and a vicar," he comes to the conviction "that Christ's death is on account of the whole world, so as that he might be the Lord both of the election and the reprobation."

Mr. Paget thinks—and Irving believes, and takes it to be "a most important" truth—"that the righteousness of Christ which is imputed to us is not the righteousness of the ten commandments, which he kept, and which is only a fleshly righteousness, but the righteousness into which he hath entered by the resurrection." Henry Drummond "brought him as far as Miss Macdonald's in his carriage," and gave him a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, if true; that men had come to Leipsic fair with the news that "the Tribes had been discovered, twenty millions in number." All this is food for the Albury Conference, where the brethren open up the "Signs of the Times, the Apocalypse, and the Millennium."

The following year, 1829, we find Irving again before the General Assembly in Edinburgh, claiming a seat as an *elder* from Annan. The Assembly declined to admit him. He preached, however, extensively, and, apparently, with undiminished popularity, in various parts of Scotland. We have met an account, by an eyewitness, which gives a view of scenes which seem, at that time, to have been almost uninterrupted. Irving was at Dumfries. On Saturday, he preached to a crowded congregation in old St. Michael's church. "On Sunday, he delivered two discourses, without intermission, to innumerable multitudes," assembled in the open air; and in the evening preached again in the churchyard of Holywood. The audiences at each service were estimated at from twelve thousand to thirteen thousand in number. In each of his services, he "brought forward, more or less prominently, his peculiar dogmata relative to baptism, to the immediate downfall of popery, to the very near approach of the millennium, with the personal presence of Jesus Christ on earth; to the temptable and sinful human nature of Christ, who was prevented from actual guilt only by the unmeasured possession of the Holy

Spirit; to the redemption of the terraqueous globe, with all its animals, reptiles, vegetables, and minerals—a doctrine overlooked in all our pulpits, although little inferior, he thinks, in importance to the redemption of man. . . . His prayers were very beautiful and impressive."

The character and effect of Irving's prayers, here alluded to, are abundantly confirmed. Nothing seems to have been more common than for individuals and whole assemblies to be melted to tears under the power of his supplications. Chalmers records, in reference to his last interview on earth with Irving, "We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered with great pathos and piety." "I have heard Chalmers pray," writes one, in whose family Irving had once offered prayer, "I have heard Chalmers pray, and Robert Hall, and Bickersteth, and Blunt of Chelsea, but no prayer which I can remember had the unction of his. It fastened itself on the memory, and would not be displaced."

We must hasten over the last and saddest scenes of Irving's eventful life. The cloud which arose over his horizon, no bigger than a man's hand, is spreading and still spreading, gathering withal elements of terrible darkness and desolation. The noble vessel is now drifting with a rapidity visible to the unpractised eye, to its doom. We have seen how early and how strongly Irving's mind had reverted to apostolic example as furnishing the form of ministerial faith and action. He now received the idea of *the restoration of apostolic gifts.* We say received, for with all his genius he seems rarely, if ever, to have started any of his peculiar beliefs. He received them with that marvellous openness to which we have referred, and often from persons vastly his inferiors in both mental and moral power.

The west of Scotland was under strong religious agitation in connection with the preaching of John Campbell of Row—a name familiar to the church courts of Scotland. Campbell had rejected some of the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism, and was prepared to enter into views, which seem to have been suggested both to him and to Irving by Alexander Scott, in regard to the perpetuity of all apostolic gifts. Questions were

raised which it was not easy for common people to answer. What is the proof that supernatural gifts have ceased from the church? Is there any evidence from Scripture that the necessity or the fact of miracles was confined to the apostolic age, or to any age? Is it not one and the self-same Spirit that dwells in the church evermore, and divideth to every man severally as he will? To one, wisdom? to another, faith? to another, *gifts of healing?* to another, the *working of miracles?* to another, *tongues?* And by what authority do we lay an interdict on the operations of the Divine Spirit in these last days? Why has not the church the same right that apostles had, to expect miraculous interventions in answer to the prayer of faith?

It is obvious that the minds of people, already under a powerful and peculiar religious excitement, could not be pressed with these questions by ministers in whom they had unbounded confidence without some effect. Whatever difficulty there may be in explaining all the results which followed, it is evident that there was a preparation for some uncommon manifestations. These soon came.

The beginning of the extraordinary scenes in which Irving was to be so deeply concerned, has been given by himself. There was a little farmhouse at the head of the Gairloch, inhabited by a pious family of the name of Campbell. An interesting and beautiful daughter—Mary—lay upon her deathbed, as all supposed. Her medical attendants had pronounced her near the grave. It was a Sabbath evening. "One of her sisters"—we quote Irving's account—"along with a female friend, who had come to the house for that end, had been spending the whole day in humiliation, and fasting, and prayer before God, with a special respect to the restoration of the gifts. They had come up in the evening to the sick-chamber of their sister, who was laid on a sofa, and, along with one or two others of the household, were engaged in prayer together. When in the midst of their devotion, the Holy Ghost came with mighty power upon the sick woman, as she lay in her weakness, and constrained her to speak at great length, and with superhuman strength, in an unknown tongue, to the aston-

ishment of all who heard, and to her own great edification and enjoyment in God."

The scene is now opened. Mary Campbell is not only endowed with the power of tongues, but at the command of faith rises from the borders of the grave, and is made whole. Others experience similar effects. James Macdonald, a worthy shipbuilder, was the first who received this power to rebuke disease. Standing by the bedside of a suffering sister, he commands her to arise, and she forthwith obeys him, and is healed of whatsoever disease she had.

Irving hears of the wonderful work. A dear child of his own is sinking in death. He has faith in the power of prayer. Shall he refuse faith to the extent of the miraculous intervention of the Holy Spirit? "Tell me," he cries in the agony of his anticipated bereavement, "when this distinction of the works of the Spirit into ordinary, and extraordinary, arose? There is no such thing in the Scriptures. I believe the Holy Ghost is as mighty in the church, and, but for our unbelief, would be as apparent as ever He was." But no miracle came. The power which had been revealed for the joy of the Campbells and Macdonalds was withholden from Irving. The child died; and Irving bowed his head and travelled on into still deeper gloom.

The year 1830 was drawing to a close, when the Presbytery of London began to move in regard to Irving's doctrinal teachings. He denied their jurisdiction, and appealed his cause to the church of Scotland. His session united with him in a testimony of his orthodoxy, and repudiation of heresy. The next year ushered in events which ultimately broke the bonds that had bound Irving so firmly to his church. We have seen the channel in which his restless mind was working. The recovery of apostolic gifts and powers was possible. The same Lord was rich unto all that call upon him. He waited only for apostolic faith and prayer to pour out the fulness of apostolic blessings. Scotland had already received the first fruits. Why should not London—why should not Regent Square repeat, on a more grand and glorious scale, the scenes of Pentecost? Why should not the lonely ambassador, whose tearful eye, piercing through the mists of ages, has so long rested upon

promise and prophecy, burdened with the divine glory, be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence?

A daily prayer-meeting was appointed, which was ultimately attended by nearly a thousand persons. It was in these meetings that those manifestations occurred which occasioned for a time so much excitement, and which resulted in a final rupture between Irving and his church. The following is Irving's own account of this matter, as given in his defence before Presbytery:—"We met together about two weeks before the meeting of the General Assembly. . . . . We cried unto the Lord for apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, anointed with the Holy Ghost, the gift of Jesus, because we saw it written in God's word that these are the appointed ordinances for edifying of the body of Jesus. We continued in prayer every morning, morning by morning, at half-past six o'clock, and the Lord was not long in hearing and in answering our prayers. He sealed first one, and then another, and then another, and then another, and gave them first enlargement of spirit in their own devotions, when their souls were lifted up to God, and they closed with him in nearness. He then lifted them up to pray in a tongue which the apostle Paul says he did more than they all. . . . . I say as it was with Paul at the proper time, at the fit time, namely, in their private devotions, when they were wrapt up nearest to God, the Spirit took them and made them speak in a tongue, sometimes singing in a tongue, sometimes speaking words in a tongue; and by degrees, according as they sought more and more unto God, this gift was perfected until they were moved to speak in a tongue, even in the presence of others. But while it was in this stage I suffered it not in the church, acting according to the canon of the apostle; and even in private, in my own presence, I permitted it not; but I heard that it had been done. I would not have rebuked it—I would have sympathized tenderly with the person who was carried in the Spirit and lifted up; but in the church I would not have permitted it. Then, in process of time, perhaps at the end of a fortnight, the gift perfected itself, so that they were made to speak in a tongue and to prophesy; that is, to set forth in English words for exhortation, for edification, and comfort, for that is the proper definition of prophesying."

Now followed scenes which defy description. Men and women crying out in unknown tongues, interrupting the preacher, singing, shrieking, exhorting, reproving both people and pastor. Irving stood out for some time against admitting into the church on the Sabbath that which he "foresaw would turn harmony into chaos." But he was soon taught by "the power" that he was thus resisting the Holy Ghost! The doors were thrown open, and the storm swept through and through the National Scotch church, threatening its utter desolation. Such scenes as the following seem to have been not uncommon. Irving is preaching, of course, upon the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; suddenly a man—more probably, perhaps, a woman—rises and commences "a violent harangue in an unknown tongue." The confusion is extreme. The whole congregation rise from their seats in affright; some ladies scream aloud, others rush to the door. Some suppose a murder has been committed, and shout to the beadle to stop the murderer. "There was, indeed," says a witness, "in the strange, unearthly sound, and extraordinary power of voice, enough to appal the heart of the most stout-hearted." Irving, on the other hand, describes the voice as "the most majestic and divine utterance he had ever heard;" and "so far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial" do say, "it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, *which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is* to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech!"

It is important to remark here, that the "gifted persons" were not the staid old Presbyterians who had formed the church, and gathered around Irving at his coming. Almost without exception they were new-comers; not Presbyterians at all, but simply *Irvingites.* When we remember that such people gathered under Irving's magical influence to pray for the manifestation of supernatural gifts; that they were standing in ardent expectation of these gifts; that they had heard in what manner these gifts had manifested themselves elsewhere, it goes far to explain the singular scenes that broke upon London in 1831. We do not hold ourselves called upon to explain all the phenomena of those scenes. A man has lived to little purpose in the world, if he has not learned to admit that there may be

many things quite beyond his power of explanation. It does not follow, therefore, that these things are miraculous. We have, ourselves, been acquainted with an uneducated somnambulist whose achievements under the most scrutinizing and intelligent investigations, were as utterly inexplicable by any known laws, as were any of the operations of "the gifted," who "turned harmony into chaos" in Regent Square. What then? Did it follow that "the Lord had made choice of an handmaid to show forth his glory" with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost? We trow not. An event may be inexplicable; it may be even supernatural, and yet be as far as possible from proving any such conclusions as Irving and his disciples drew. To them it was nothing that the "tongues" were, in every sense, unknown"; that they were intelligible to no mortal, and, therefore, of no mortal use; that there was no evidence, therefore, that they were tongues at all; it was nothing, that speaking with actual tongues, if there was none to interpret, was forbidden by the inspired apostle; it was nothing, that women were required to keep silence in the churches; it was nothing that apostolic gifts came in no such "degrees" as attended the development of these; that it did not require "about fourteen days" for these gifts to "perfect" themselves in the apostles; that God is not the author of confusion, but of peace; all this was nothing. They had asked for bread, God had not given them a stone; they had prayed for the restoration of apostolic gifts, here was the answer. This was to Irving the unanswerable logic of faith.

It is hard to say whether we must have been more amazed or amused to see a man of Irving's gigantic stature and gigantic mind stopping short in the midst of an impassioned burst of sacred eloquence, in the most solemn services of the Sabbath, to listen reverently to some woman who springs to the floor, and arrests the voice of the preacher with such "utterance" as this, "He shall reveal it! He shall reveal it! Yea, heed it! Yea, heed it! Ye are yet in the wilderness. Despise not his word! Despise not his word! Not one jot or tittle shall pass away!" and then to see Irving rise and devoutly call upon the church to "bless the Lord for his voice which they had just heard in the midst of the congregation!"

We are quite unable to see the necessity of any supernatural interference to accomplish such a deliverance; or to enable a fullgrown and educated man like Henry Drummond to wind up the services of the Sabbath after this manner—"Ah! look you well to it! The city shall be builded—ah! Every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it—look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! Confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah! look ye to it! look ye to it!"

It seems to us hardly less than blasphemy to ascribe such utterances to the sacred Spirit. Surely he never moved a man to talk less sense under his power than he could talk without it. But to Irving these things were beyond controversy, "the Holy Ghost speaking in the members of Christ, as on the day of Pentecost." He proceeded to set in order his church and its services according to the new revelations.

The affair had reached its head. The sturdy common sense of Presbyterian Scotchmen could bear no more. They had idolized Irving; but if the choice must be made between him, and the church of their fathers with its faith and order, they cannot hesitate. But they make effort after effort to save him before proceeding to extremities. It is all in vain. They are content to go back and forth across Gairloch; he has found his depths. They are resisting the Holy Ghost which he and his motley company of followers have received.

The trust-deed of the National Scotch Church property bound the congregation to the order of worship of the church of Scotland. Upon the ground of a violation of this deed the trustees entered complaint against Irving. The Presbytery of London was the body having the decision of the case, according to the deed. To the charge, that contrary to the usages of the Scotch church he had allowed the worship to be interrupted by various persons, men and women—some members of the church, some not members. Irving's steady reply was, he allowed no interruption by *man* or *woman;* he only allowed *the Holy Ghost* to speak! "I deny," he said, "every charge

brought against me *seriatim*, and say it is not persons, but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in the church."

The Presbytery sustained the complaints, and decided that Irving should be removed from his church. The house was immediately closed upon him, and he went forth with his followers to find another field and home. He preached in halls and in the public ways, sometimes insulted, sometimes listened to by crowds. Money was raised to erect another church edifice, but "the Spirit forbade," and the work was relinquished. A gallery in Newman street was at length obtained, and a reorganization effected. Under the direction of "the power" new offices were instituted, and a new order of worship introduced. Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, endowed with original powers and authority were again given by Christ to the church. More than a score of preachers were sent forth by the Spirit into the fields and streets of London to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. "Every two months," writes Irving, "there are added to the church nearly fifty souls." Their mode of worship was as thoroughly revolutionized as their ecclesiastical order. Almost the only thing that was retained was the old Rouse version of the Psalms—one of many proofs that that version is not sufficient to hold men in the paths of sound doctrine and order.

In 1833, Irving was summoned by the Presbytery of Annan, from which he had received ordination, to answer to the charge of heresy. The charge concerned his doctrine in reference to the human nature of the Lord. In obedience to the citation, Irving presented himself in Annan. A crowd was gathered in the street in expectation of his arrival. It increased as the hours passed on; and when the church was opened two thousand persons pressed in to hear the trial. Irving defended himself with greater earnestness than calmness. Denouncing the charges against him as "lies," and "proceeding from the father of lies;" he exclaims, "Ye ministers, elders, and presbytery, this is no question of scholastic theology. I speak for the sanctification of men. I wish my flock to be holy; and unless the Lord Jesus has contended with sin as they are commanded to do, how can they be holy when they follow him? Can I ask the people to do or suffer more than he did? He is

the Captain of their salvation, and I wish them to follow him! Can a soldier, who is sick, wounded, or dead, be expected to follow a leader who is filled with the omnipotence of God? Nay. But if his captain be sick, wounded, and dead too, may he not ask the soldier to do the like? Now Jesus was sick for us, contended with sinful flesh for us, and hence it is that he can call on us to follow him in our contendings with sin, our sicknesses, and deaths." Nevertheless Jesus was holy—"holy in his mother's womb; holy in his childhood; holy in his advancing years; holy in his resurrection." Evidence was presented from his published writings, which Mrs. Oliphant has not given; such as this—"Christ's human nature, of itself, did not obey the will of the Father. The devil tempted because he knew our Lord to be temptable;" and the sentence already quoted, "Human nature was corrupt to the heart's core, and black as hell; and this was the human nature which the Son of God took upon himself." Mrs. Oliphant's avoidance of Irving's stronger expressions, however, does not materially affect the testimony. Every page of his defence shows that he held a doctrine which was unknown to the standards of the church. The doctrine was, that the Son of God took upon himself a *sinful* nature. "He disdained not our fallen, yea, our sinful nature." It is true, he claimed also that that nature was perfectly sanctified from the first; but such perfect sanctification would have rendered impossible that subsequent and constant struggle, *precisely like our own*, with the elements of sin, which, to Irving, constituted the whole power of the Redeemer's sacrifice. Besides, it is not easy to see how one who needs regeneration himself can atone for the sins of others. It contradicts the whole teaching of Jewish types, as well as the obvious sense of multitudes of express Scripture declarations as to the nature of the Messiah. Further, the nature which needs to be regenerated needs to be atoned for. To apply this necessity to Christ would destroy not only the contrast between him and the Levitical high priest, who had to offer first for himself and then for the people, but the very possibility of a vicarious atonement. When the victim itself needs to be atoned for, where is the hope of the offerer? It does not meet these objections to repeat over and over that "he

was tempted in all points, like as we are." The "all" here, as repeatedly elsewhere, has its obvious limitations. No one will claim that Christ was ever tempted by remorse to self-destruction. But this is a temptation not uncommon among men. The doctrine comes to this. If the Redeemer was conceived with a sinful nature, but that nature was immediately and perfectly sanctified by the Holy Ghost, so that thenceforth it was as sinless as if it had been created sinless, then nothing is gained by the doctrine; if the nature remained sinful, then every thing is lost.

Irving is sent forth by his biographer as a martyr of the persecuting church of Scotland, which had borne with him for years, when he was not only assailing her doctrines, but thundering against her the most violent denunciations. In this very defence he said—though we are not indebted to Mrs. Oliphant for the information—"A heretic, after the first and second admonition, should be rejected. The General Assembly, which has been three times admonished, I have rejected, and all that belongs to them, and do still reject. . . . The church is struggling with many enemies, but her worst enemy is within herself—I mean that wicked Assembly."

In his defence before the Presbytery of London, he had declared, in reference to the standards of the church, that he never subscribed them with a view that his tongue was to be tied up by "the decision of a council sitting in Westminster in troublous times;" and he delivers himself of this broader testimony, "I do solemnly declare my belief, that the Protestant churches are in the state of Babylon as truly as is the Romish church. And I do separate myself, and my flock standing in me, from that Babylonish confederacy," &c. Mrs. Oliphant has hardly language severe enough to denounce the church of Scotland for separating from her communion one who had not only taken position against her faith and order, but who had already claimed to have excommunicated her! Nay, who had committed the whole Protestant church to the condition and doom of the mystical Babylon!

The Presbytery deposed Irving from the ministry. He did not hear the sentence. Just as it was about to be pronounced, a voice broke from the pew in which he was sitting, "Arise,

depart! arise, depart! flee ye out, flee ye out of her!" This Irving at once interpreted as the voice of God—it was the voice of his friend, Mr. Dow—and rising, pressed his way out, exclaiming, "Stand forth! stand forth! What! will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost!"

Thus the pain of his excision from his mother church was broken. He had been summoned out of her by the direct voice of the Holy Ghost. He will now return to London, and, as the anointed "angel" of a new and glorious church, go on his way rejoicing. But another and more bitter trial awaited him. For these wretched "utterances" he had given up every thing, church, people, home, friends, reputation, to take his official place in the new dispensation. But his humiliation is not yet complete. Returning from Annan in the triumphs of a martyr, he is immediately put under the ban of the Spirit. The "power" forbade him to exercise any but the lowest office in the church. Once more he bowed his head and held his peace. He could do nothing else without renouncing his whole faith in the new system. The man who had denounced Presbytery and General Assembly for subjection to creeds and confessions, prostrates himself with abject submission before these senseless deliverances.

Irving remained silent "until, by the concurrent action, in manifested supernatural power both of prophet and apostle, he was called and ordained Angel, or chief pastor, of the church in Newman Street, being the second who was set in that office."* And thus, in his last days, he attained the office of the Christian ministry "by the apostolic hands of Mr. Cardale, at the command of one of the ecstatic speakers!"

But we can follow this development no further. Irving has reached his deepest depths.† Whether he is a wiser, better,

* The first Angel ordained was over the church at Albury, where the prophetic conferences were held; the third was an Independent minister; the fourth an Episcopalian.

† The following incident is given here, by Mrs. Oliphant, to show "what the outer world was saying" at this time, "and what miraculous incomprehension existed in the minds of many who came to gaze at the wonders in Newman Street." She "does not know who the American, Dr. Addison Alexander, may have been," but is "told he is a man of some note in his own country." "He was in Irving's church on the 10th of May, 1833, and sent an

happier man, or more faithful to his Lord, than those who have been content to go back and forward across Gairloch, to rest in the faith of ages, let the world judge.

His work was nearly finished. A physical system of extraordinary power was breaking down under the unnatural pressure to which it had been subjected. His health failed rapidly. But in the new light it had been revealed that disease was *sin*, and was to be overcome by faith. Irving took his lonely way into Scotland, fully persuaded that God would interpose for his deliverance. To the very borders of the grave he clung to this expectation. He knew, he said, that he was, to all appearance, dying; yet he was assured that God would raise him again. Only in the article of death did the truth seem to flash upon him. He murmured the Hebrew of the twenty-third Psalm—the death-chant of so many pilgrims of earth and heirs of heaven—and his last words were, "If I die, I die unto the Lord: amen!" And thus he passed away, on the 6th of December, 1834, at the age of forty-two. He was buried in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, in the tomb of a stranger.

account of what he saw there to the New York papers. With American detail, he described the man, the church, and the services, which he thought, 'extremely well contrived for scenic effect;' then added his impression of the demeanor of the preacher. 'Dr. Cox and I,' said the self-important trans-Atlantic spectator, 'flatter ourselves that he observed and preached at us. I saw him peeping through his fingers several times, and I suppose he was not gratified to see us gazing steadfastly at him all the time, for he took occasion to tell the people that it would profit them nothing without the circumcision of the ear.'"

Art. III.—*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M's Government, in the years 1849–1855. By Henry Barth, Ph. D., &c., in Five Volumes. New York: Appleton & Co., 1857.

Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. By Paul B. Du Chaillu. One Vol. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1861.

Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. By David Livingstone, LL. D., &c. One Volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa. By Richard F. Burton, Capt. H. M. I. Army. One Volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860.

We have tried to find the old atlas in which we studied geography, but we fear the hard usage inflicted by ourselves, or cotemporaries, has left no trace of the venerable relic. This much has, however, survived school days, that *unexplored regions* was printed over the whole of Central Africa. Just below the Great Desert the Mountains of the Moon were stretched in one unbroken line across the continent. The river Niger was laid down, but with great indefiniteness; for no one pretended to know its course. We have looked over maps of later date than the one which we used in our youth; but we found mountains, lakes, and rivers distributed on the principle, that they existed, and must belong somewhere, though uncertain where. Thus, in M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary, a round, central lake is placed in the centre of the peninsula instead of the long lake Tanganyika, which is some ten degrees to the northeast. The river Zambesi, too, is made to hug the eastern coast, instead of nearly crossing the continent, and draining, with its net-work of streams, that elevated central plateau, which is anything but a sandy desert. These maps were, however, the result of theory and vague report, instead of actual observation. In fact, it was not till the period marked by the writers placed at the head of this article, that

we expected anything like accuracy in the unexplored regions of Africa. On Barth's route, however, Denham and Clapperton had partially opened the way, in the year 1824, and prepared the way for the solution of the question about the Niger, down a portion of which Mungo Park sailed in 1805. Southern Central Africa, however, was supposed to be as inaccessible as the regions around the North and South Poles; the one as much from its intense heat, as the other from its intense cold. We cannot say whether it was a popular error, or a mistaken fancy of our youthful imagination, that if it was hot and unhealthy on the coast, it would be still hotter and more unhealthy in the interior. Even in 1842, Moffat, the father-in-law of Livingstone, wrote,* "The continent of Africa, though probably the most ancient field of geographical enterprise, still is, and there is reason to believe that it will long continue to be, the least explored portion of our earth. Its interior regions continue a mystery to the white man, a land of darkness and of terror to the most fearless and enterprising traveller." It was evidently an honour that he did not expect to have his assertion contradicted by his son-in-law.

But the interest which attaches to Africa is not merely the desire to learn about hitherto unknown regions. There is something more, at least, than in the unpeopled lands of the Antarctic circle. Geographical knowledge of any portion of our globe has its importance; but the question which presses close upon the heels of the observer is, what use will your knowledge be to man? what new fields of enterprise to commerce? what new avenues to reach untaught heathen?

One item of interest is wanting in Africa, and that is, that, except on its northern border, whose civilization connects with Europe and Asia, it has no past history. Central Negroland has something approaching to a past, but all the rest is a blank, unwritten, debased heathenism. Africa has, however, its peculiar claims. The naturalist finds in its wilds a fauna and a flora unlike that of other portions of the globe. More than any of the large continents, it lies in tropical regions, and there is the home of whatever is huge and enormous. There is the

* Southern Africa, p. 1.

baobab, the largest, though not the most majestic of trees. There is the ostrich, the largest and the fleetest of birds. There is the elephant, the hugest of beasts; the boa-constrictor, the greatest of serpents; the gorilla, the fiercest and largest of the monkey tribe. All nature seems in its highest and fullest development except man. The law which developes growth in the animal and vegetable kingdom does not reach the mental and spiritual in the human form. It might be well for those philosophers who think man a curtailed monkey, to give us some solution of this fact, and tell us why the continent which has produced the fullest development of the animal, has prodused the lowest type of man.

Again, from the beginning of modern European civilization, Africa has been the source of supply for slaves. The inhabitants of the New World have been fading away since its discovery, and another race, differing not materially in colour, have prospered and increased in the very servitude which the Indian could not endure. All the complicated questions of slavery and the slave trade, of emancipation and colonization, and the question of the inferiority of races, which, by association of colour with degraded position, has been connected with the negro, all these cluster around his home in Africa. What is he then? What can be made of that vast continent? Is it a land of "terror and darkness," where civilization can never flourish? or is it an inviting field for commerce, where, with industry developed, cotton might be cultivated in abundance for the looms of Manchester and Lowell? Are there routes into its interior, where the philanthropist and the Christian can go with safety, and labour with some good degree of hope for the elevation of this long-oppressed race? We shall attempt no direct answer to these questions, but will follow the path of some of the more prominent modern explorers in different sections of the continent, and let their record afford what light it may on the prospects of a future for Africa different from its past. The researches of Barth and Livingstone, the one in the north, and the other in the south, have been the most extensive and important. Burton has given us important information in reference to the lake regions of Central Africa, and Du Chaillu, on the other side, attempted to solve the most

interesting geographical question which yet remains in that part of the world, namely, the existence and character of the mountainous range near the equatorial line. We will commence with Barth, whose explorations, he tells us in his preface, "extended over a tract of country of twenty-four degrees from north to south, and twenty degrees from east to west, and included vast deserts of the most barren soil, and also the fertile lands of Central Africa; the head waters of the eastern and western branches of the Niger, and the populous cities of that region of the world."

Dr. Barth, though a German, was appointed by the English government in connection with Mr. Richardson, who did not live to see the object of his mission accomplished, to explore Central Africa. They left Tripoli in March 1850, and Dr. Barth returned to that point in August 1855. The route was southward, by the usual caravan route towards Central Africa. The region through which they passed is generally a stony or rocky country, dividing the great Sahara into two parts, and in some places, besides being watered, the land is such that it can be cultivated. Murzuk is one of the first places of any importance on this route. It is about four hundred and fifty miles south of Tripoli, is a small walled town, and has a population of about two thousand eight hundred. The climate is very dry. Date and a few fruit trees are cultivated. Vegetables are scarce.

Nearly to this point are remains of Roman ruins, mostly sepulchres, showing that they had penetrated southward as far as this, and that they probably used this same thoroughfare for carrying on commercial intercourse with Central Africa.

The next place of any considerable importance is Agades, about eight hundred miles to the southwest of Murzuk. The journey through this part of the desert was attended with some danger. Freebooters, mounted on swift camels, hung in the rear of the caravan, occasionally sending some of their party to join the travellers, to find out their situation. They were finally robbed, but escaped without further damage, though their lives were threatened if they would not turn Mohammedans. Their loss was an unfortunate one, for they

were put to great straits to meet expenses and make presents to the chiefs of the country.

Agades deserves a passing notice. It is situate near the southern border of the desert, on an elevated plateau, a position favourable for health, having in the neighbourhood some pleasant valleys and considerable vegetation. It was probably built by the Berber tribes, but was conquered in 1515 by the Emperor of Singhay, whose dominion extended westward to Timbuktu, and whose capital was the once famous city of Gogo. Agades was a commercial depot in former times, between the east and west. It was on the route from Gogo to Egypt, and from the north to Central Africa. At one time it seems to have enjoyed a large commerce, its king paying a yearly tribute of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. One of its articles of commerce was gold. Of late its trade and population have greatly declined. A salt caravan passes through annually to the south. The population at present, Dr. Barth estimates at about seven thousand. In its most flourishing period it had a population from thirty to fifty thousand. The town has a wall of clay. The houses are built of the same material, of which the better class are two stories in height. The place is Mohammedan, having ten mosques, formerly there were seventy.

From Agades the general course of the caravan was still to the south. About one hundred miles from that place they came to the southern border of the desert. At that point it has the appearance of high table-land, elevated about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The travellers now began to leave the arid regions of the desert, with its sandy plains, occasional valleys with scanty vegetation, and also barren mountains, reaching an elevation of four to five thousand feet, and approached the regions of Central Africa. Some fields of corn (maize) began to appear, and fat and sleek horses, instead of lean and tall camels; and flocks and pasture grounds, instead of the home of the giraffe, antelope, and ostrich. This region was not, however, so densely peopled as in former times, or as the fertility of the soil would easily admit of, owing to the bloody wars which have been carried on by the sultan of Agades on one side, and the Bornu king, whose residence was

near Lake Tsad, on the other. This depopulation is manifest in a place like Katsena, which is in the midst of this disputed territory. Its wall has a circuit of thirteen or fourteen miles, and if only half this space was inhabited, Dr. Barth estimates that the population would have been at least one hundred thousand. But at present the inhabited quarter is confined to the northwest corner of the large space enclosed by the walls, and does not number over seven or eight thousand. Its prince too, dependent on the king of Bornu, was formerly one of the most wealthy and conspicuous rulers of Negroland. The place was reduced by famine, after a war of seven years, in 1807, in a strife which seems now and then to break out in fresh vigour between Islamism and paganism. The town seems, however, admirably situate at the water parting between the basin of the Tsad and the Kwara or Niger, at a general elevation of from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred feet, and enjoys the advantage of being well-watered and well-drained, the chains of hills which diversify the surrounding country sending down numerous rapid streams, so that it is less insalubrious than other regions of this part of the continent. Its productions are varied and rich, though its elevated situation seems unfavourable to the growth of cotton. Cotton, though largely used in this region, is not usually well cultivated. The plants are left in a wild state, overgrown with all sorts of rank grass. The plant is, however, in leaf at almost every season of the year, and partly even in a state of fructification.

The character of the country and its productions, as Dr. Barth passed further into the regions of Central Africa and beyond the desolations caused by frequent wars, may be judged of by the following extract. It was on the road from Katsena to Kano. He says, "The country through which we passed formed one of the finest landscapes I ever saw in my life. The ground was pleasantly undulating, covered with a profusion of herbage not yet entirely dried up by the sun's power; the trees, belonging to a great variety of species, were not thrown together into an impenetrable thicket of the forest, but formed into beautiful groups, exhibiting all the advantage of light and shade. The densely luxuriant groves seemed to be the abode only of the feathered tribe, birds of numberless

variety playing and warbling about in the full enjoyment of their liberty, while the "serdi," a large bird with beautiful plumage of a light-blue colour, especially attracted my attention. Now and then a herd of cattle was seen, dispersed over the rich pasture grounds, all of white colour, and the bulls provided with a large fat hump, or 'tozo,' hanging down on one side. But in this delightful spectacle objects of destruction also were not wanting, the poisonous plant 'tumnia' starting forth everywhere." Vol. ii. p. 87.

The houses or huts of the natives in this region consist of clay walls, with a thatched roof, which Dr. Barth says is certainly the mode of architecture best adapted to the climate and the whole nature of the country. The interior of the towns are generally well provided with trees. Among them is the tall and majestic rimis, or silk-cotton tree, the bentang of Mungo Park, which, as the tallest of the vegetable kingdom, can be seen at a great distance, and forms a good way-mark, and was perhaps planted in such positions for this reason. In this same region Dr. Barth passed through extensive tobacco fields, and met men carrying home indigo plants. Garden fields were not uncommon, laid out with wheat and onions.

At length, after nearly a year's exertions, Dr. Barth reached Kano, the far-famed entrepot of Central Africa. Thus far most of his journey had been in nearly a southerly direction from Tripoli, through twenty-two degrees of latitude. He was now in 12° north. From this point his explorations were to be east and west. Here, at this great commercial emporium of Central Negroland, Dr. Barth was to replenish his exhausted finances by the sale of merchandise which had been sent on for that purpose. In order to effect this, a matter in which he did not succeed very well, he was obliged to remain in Kano for some time. He gives a lively description of the sights which met the eye as he rode on horseback through the principal streets, and found it so different in external form from all that is seen in European towns, yet so similar in its internal principles. "Here a row of shops, filled with articles of native and foreign produce, with buyers and sellers in every variety of figure, complexion, and dress, yet all intent upon their little gain, endeavouring to cheat each

other; there a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half-starved slaves, torn from their native homes, from their wives or husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desperately upon the buyers, anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall. In another part were to be seen all the necessaries of life; the wealthy buying the most palatable things for his table, the poor stopping and looking greedily upon a handful of grain; here a rich governor, draped in silk and gaudy clothes, mounted upon a spirited and richly caparisoned horse, and followed by a host of idle, indolent slaves; there a poor blind man groping his way through the multitude, and fearing at every step to be trodden down; here a yard neatly fenced with mats of reed, and provided with all the comforts which the country affords—a clean, snug-looking cottage, the clay walls nicely polished, a shutter of reeds placed against the low, well-rounded door, and forbidding intrusion on the privacy of life, a cool shed for the daily household work, a fine spreading alléluba tree, affording a pleasant shade during the hottest hours of the day, or a beautiful gónda or papaya, unfolding its large, feather-like leaves above a slender, smooth, and undivided stem, or the tall date-tree, waving over the whole scene; the matron in a clean black cotton gown, wound around her waist, her hair neatly dressed in 'chokoli,' busy preparing the meal for her absent husband, or spinning cotton, and at the same time urging the female slaves to pound the corn; the children, naked and merry, playing about in the sand, or chasing a straggling, stubborn goat; earthenware pots and wooden bowls, all cleanly washed, standing in order. Further on, a dashing cyprian, homeless, comfortless, and childless, but affecting merriment or forcing a wanton laugh, gaudily ornamented with numerous strings of beads around her neck, her hair fancifully dressed and bound with a diadem, her gown of various colours, loosely fastened under her luxuriant breast, and trailing behind in the sand; near her a diseased wretch, covered with ulcers or elephantiasis. Now a busy 'márimá,' an open terrace of clay, with a number of dying-pots, and people busily employed in various processes of their handicraft; here a man stirring the juice, and mixing with the indigo some coloring-

wood, in order to give it the desired tint; there another, drawing a shirt from the dye-pot, or hanging it up on a rope fastened to the trees; there two men beating a well-dyed shirt, singing the while, and keeping good time; further on, a blacksmith, busy with his rude tools in making a dagger, which will surprise, by the sharpness of its blade, those who feel disposed to laugh at the workman's instruments, a formidable barbed spear, or the more estimable and useful instruments of husbandry; in another place, men and women making use of an ill-frequented thoroughfare as a place to hang up, along the fences, their cotton thread for weaving; close by, a group of indolent loiterers, lying in the sun and idling away their hours. Here a caravan from Ginja, arriving with the desired kola-nut, chewed by all who have 'ten-kurdi'* to spare from their necessary wants, or a caravan laden with natron starting for Núpe, or a troop of Asbenawa going off with their salt for their neighbouring towns, or some Arabs leading their camels, heavily laden with the luxuries of the north and the east, to the quarter of the Ghadamsiye; there a troop of gaudy, warlike-looking horsemen, galloping towards the palace of the governor, to bring him the news of a new inroad of Serki Ibram. Everywhere human life in its varied forms, the most cheerful and the most gloomy, seemed closely mixed together; every variety of national form and complexion—the olive-coloured Arab, the dark Kanuri, with his wide nostrils, the small-featured, light, and slender Ba-Fellanchi, the broad-faced Mandingo, the stout, large-boned, and masculine-looking Núpe female, the well-proportioned and comely Ba-Haushe woman."

The population he estimates at thirty thousand, which is swollen by temporary residents so as often to amount to sixty thousand. The dominant race is Mohammedan. Kano is situate in a province which is one of the most fertile spots on earth, and is able to produce not only all that it needs of corn, but to export. It possesses also fine pasture grounds. Its principal celebrity is owing, however, to its commerce and manufactures. The principal article of manufacture, and also of commerce, is

* Kurdi are shells used as coin in this part of the world. It takes two thousand of them, or more, to make a dollar.

cotton cloth, which is woven and dyed here, or in the neighbouring towns. The cloth is made into robes or coats, in the various styles used in that region, and finds its way as far north as Murzuk, and even Tripoli; to the west, not only to Timbuktu, but in some degree even as far as the shores of the Atlantic; to the east, all over Bornu, except so far as it comes in contact with the native industry of that region; and to the southeast, where it is limited by the nakedness of the pagan *sans-culottes.* The whole produce of this manufacture, as sold abroad, Dr. Barth estimates at about 300,000,000 kurdi, or not far from $25,000 a year. As a source of wealth, its value can be seen, when a whole family may live in that country with ease, including every expense, on less than $30 a year. The more expensive of these dresses are either mixed with, or embroidered with silk, of which they have a variety, obtained from a silk-worm which lives on the leaves of the tamarind tree. Besides cloth, another article of native industry is sandals, which are exported to the north of Africa. Other articles of leather are also made here. Slaves are also brought to Kano, many of whom are sold into domestic slavery, and others taken into regions beyond. The number annually exported Dr. Barth estimates at five thousand. European goods of various descriptions are found in Kano, the greater proportion coming by the northern route, but the eastern branch of the Niger will probably soon be the path for commercial intercourse. Slave-dealers have already opened this route. Mr. Richardson, who was for a time fellow-traveller with Dr. Barth, says that all this part of Africa is put under contribution to supply the South American market with slaves, and that the best of them go in that direction."

From Kano, Dr. Barth journeyed eastward to Kukawa, the capital of Bornu, which lies near Lake Tsad. It was on this journey that he heard of the death of Mr. Richardson, the director of the expedition. After crossing the desert, they had separated, for the purpose of facilitating their explorations, and were to have met at Kukawa. It was not far from this place that he died.

Bornu is also a Mohammedan kingdom, founded in the 10th century. Two centuries later, its influence extended as far as

Egypt. At present, the empire is in a state of decay, and exposed to predatory incursions from the Tawarek, a nomadic northern tribe, from which the rulers of Bornu are descended. Kukawa, the capital of this kingdom, is a double town, both parts of it being surrounded by a high clay wall. The two parts are separated about half a mile from each other, the space between being quite thickly inhabited. It is not so populous, nor commercial a place as Kano, from which place it is distant about four hundred miles. One chief point of interest, was the lake in the neighbourhood. The Tsad is an inland lake, or lagoon of fresh water, and most of it very shallow. It has no outlet. There are numerous islands scattered over its surface, which support an independent tribe. The banks towards Kukawa are low, and during the periods of inundation greatly overflowed. The lake is about eight hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea. A river flowing into the Benuwe, or eastern branch of the Niger, is not separated far from one flowing into the Tsad. Dr. Vogel thinks there may be a bifurcation from an independent central lake, one stream going one way, and one the other; at most, the breadth of water-parting cannot exceed, Dr. Barth thinks, more than twenty miles, consisting of an entirely level flat, which separates this lake of Central Africa from the waters of the Atlantic. The lake itself was surveyed by Mr. Overweg, a companion of Dr. Barth, but he died, and was buried on its shores, before he had written out his memoranda, so that they were of no service to the expedition. It is doubtful, however, whether the Tsad will ever be of any great service in commerce. Its waters are too shallow, at least towards Kukawa, to admit of navigation, except with canoes. In fact, it was thought that one could ride on horseback to the first large island, thirty miles distant, at least in certain seasons of the year.

From Kukawa, a place which had been visited by former travellers,—Denham and Clapperton,—Dr. Barth proceeded south to Adamawa, into regions which had not then been visited by any white man. One object was, to ascertain the correctness of reports "concerning a considerable river, said to be navigable, which falls into the Kwara, or Niger, at a place

between Kakanda and Adda, not more than a few days distant from the mouth of that celebrated river."

At first, the journey in this direction was over the low swampy grounds of Bornu. In the course of a few days, it was exchanged for a border country, but thinly inhabited by pagan tribes, which had been desolated by slave hunts, or had given a partial adhesion to Mohammedan rule. The road was through a forest, but thinly inhabited, and had been trodden by elephants, and was filled with holes, which made travelling difficult, especially for camels. Camels soon became an object of curiosity, being seldom seen south of Bornu. In this border country, a range of mountains appeared to the east, elevated about twenty-five hundred feet above the sea. Still further south, Dr. Barth came among hills, and a region more thickly settled. Everywhere, he says, the people were busy in the fields; and, altogether, the country enclosed by several beautifully shaped mountain ranges, and by detached mountains, presented a most cheerful sight. The patches of grass were diversified and embellished with a kind of violet-coloured lily. Speaking of provisions, of which there was some scarcity that year, in the shape of corn, the male population having been engaged in war, he says, nature, in these countries, has provided everything; dishes, bottles, and drinking vessels are growing on the trees, rice in the forest, and the soil, without any labour, produces grain. This mountainous country, interspersed with fruitful valleys and plains, extended to the banks of the Benuwe. Just before reaching its banks, still further to the south, could be seen Mount Alantika, rising eight or nine thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The arrival at the banks of the Benuwe, Dr. Barth represents as one of the happiest moments of his life. He saw at once, from its size and course, that it was the eastern branch of the Kwara, or Niger, and that this was the natural highway for European commerce and civilization to penetrate this part of Central Africa. The point where he approached the river was at its juncture with the Faro, a very considerable river coming from the southeast, and flowing by the foot of the high mountain, Alantika. The river, when Dr. Barth crossed it, was at least eight hundred yards broad, and its channel generally eleven

feet deep, and liable to rise, during the height of the rainy season, thirty, and even fifty feet higher. A steamer sent out by the British government upon receiving Dr. Barth's reports, succeeded in ascending the river to within about one hundred miles of the point where he crossed it. They were warned not to take the steamer further up, on account of a narrow passage in the mountains.

After crossing the Benuwe, Dr. Barth proceeded south two or three days journey, to Yola, the capital of Adamawa, where he met with an unfriendly reception from the governor, and was obliged to leave, after one or two attempts at friendly intercourse, and return to Kukawa.

Adamawa is one of the more recent Mohammedan conquests in this part of Central Africa, the father of the governor who treated Dr. Barth so unfriendly, having first conquered this region. The conquerors are the Fulbe, or a race of lighter-coloured negroes, who have extended their conquests east and west. The pagans have become an easy prey, simply because of their want of unity of counsel, or government among themselves. The Mohammedan conquerors are, however, far from agreeing among themselves. They have set up various principalities south of the desert, and are often engaged in bloody conflicts with one another. Yet they seem to cling together better than the pagans, and are able to form larger kingdoms, and maintain better control over them than the pagan tribes. Their civilization, too, is, in some respects, superior; one of the first effects of which is seen in the introduction of clothing. Matrimonial alliances, however, soon make the conquerors and conquered one people. But disintegration, instead of unity, is the constant tendency in a low order of civilization.

Kukawa, the capital of Bornu, is so unhealthy in the rainy season, that though Dr. Barth and his fellow-travellers were well received there, they did not feel inclined to stay long. While making it his head-quarters, Dr. Barth made three more short trips, one to the northeast, around Lake Tsad, and two to the southeast.

The first journey was made in company with some Arab robbers, originally inhabitants of the desert, but who had established themselves in the more fertile regions south of the

desert, and who had been taken into affinity by the sultan of Bornu for the sake of furthering his designs against the Waday, a once powerful kingdom to the northeast of the Tsad. They were unsuccessful, however, and were obliged to retreat, by the natives arming themselves against them.

The second expedition differed a little from the first, being of a warlike character, the ostensible object being to reduce to subjection a part of the empire to the southeast of the capital. Dr. Barth accompanied this soon after his return from the first. One of the things which he noticed on this expedition, was that the former rulers had paid more attention to the beauty and bounty of nature in fixing the site of their towns and cities than the present. He came to what was once a royal city, containing a population of twenty-five thousand, with fine clay walls, beautifully located on the banks of a river flowing into the Tsad, and in the midst of a fine cotton region. It is strange, however, as before remarked, that their cotton fields are not well cared for, but overgrown with rank grass. He afterwards in Bagirmi, on his next journey, saw cotton growing on ridges, and the fields well cared for. In front of the governor's residence was a fine caoutchouc tree, making a shady canopy seventy or eighty feet in diameter, and so symmetrical was the crown of leaves that it seemed shaped by art. These trees seem to be often planted in front of public places for the shade they give, and not at all for the sake of the India rubber.

This expedition led them into the richly watered regions between the Tsad and Benuwe, or the eastern branch of the Niger, which, instead of presenting the appearance of the high range of Mountains of the Moon, as laid down in old geographies, was a level country filled with water-courses. It was inhabited by pagan tribes, the object of the expedition being to reduce them to subjection, or, in other words, to capture all the slaves they could lay hands on, burn the huts and granaries of the people, murder the able-bodied men, and carry off the spoil.

The third expedition which Dr. Barth undertook from Kukawa was very unlike the last, though partly in the same direction. It was more easterly. The one from which he had

just returned was south-east, in company with a motley host of Arab warriors, on what proved to be a slave-hunt. This present expedition was undertaken alone, and almost without any means of making presents and purchases except needles, so that he acquired the title of "Needle Prince." On this journey he crossed two rivers which unite and empty into the Tsad. The larger branch of the two was six hundred yards wide, and in the channel had a depth of fifteen feet. The crossing of the second river brought him into a region never before visited by a European, and it was not without difficulty that he was allowed to proceed to the capital on the eastern side, and in which, when he arrived, he was detained as a prisoner, not being allowed to depart until the sultan, who was absent on a warlike expedition, should give permission. He, however, met on this journey Arabs who had travelled quite extensively. One had thrice made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Another had not only read, but had in his possession manuscript translations of Aristotle and Plato into Arabic.

Masena, the capital of Bagirmi, is, like the kingdom itself, in a dilapidated state. The palace of the sultan, which consists, as is generally the case in this part of Negroland, of irregular clusters of clay buildings and huts, was in this case surrounded by a wall of baked bricks. Bricks seem to have been more used formerly than now, Dr. Barth having found them in ruins, especially of the old capital of Bornu.

During his stay at this place Dr. Barth found the insects, especially the various species of white and black ants, very destructive. The large black ant once came pouring in an uninterrupted line about an inch broad into his store-room, and it was only after a fight of two hours that he was able, with the help of his servants, to put them to route and turn them back. Other travellers in different parts of Africa relate similar encounters with this insect. The black ant, according to Dr. Livingstone, preys upon the white, not making them slaves, as has been said, but killing them. The white ant lives on vegetable substances, destroying them with great rapidity. But the hills which they make are the most fertile part of the country. The red ants are scavengers of animal substances; when

a traveller incautiously treads upon their line of march they attack him as fiercely as a swarm of bees.

Dr. Barth had indulged the hope of proceeding eastward to the sources of the Nile, but found the country so unsettled, and his means so insufficient, that he was obliged to make Masena, the capital of Bagirmi, the terminus of his explorations to the east.

Bagirmi is a flat country, though Dr. Barth conjectured that to the south there must be considerable mountains to give rise to the three rivers, the Benuwe, the Shari, and the Logon; but he says they lie entirely beyond the range of his information. However, he was sure that there was no perpetual snow, or even snow remaining for any length of time, in this part of the continent. But the fall of rain near the equator is sufficient to feed numbers of rivers, and to cause them to overflow in so astonishing a manner, often rising over forty feet above their level in the dry season.

The people of this region were a fine race, the females especially being finely formed—more so than in Bornu. They have adopted Islamism so recently, as to be more properly called pagans than Mohammedans. They possess little learning, only a few natives being versed in Arabic. In the industrial arts, they weave and dye their cotton robes.

Upon Dr. Barth's return to Kukawa he met Mr. Overweg, his companion in travel, who had made an exploration of the Tsad, in a boat brought by the expedition. But his health was not good, and he soon afterwards died, leaving Dr. Barth alone, as the only European to carry out the design of the mission. He therefore determined to give his whole attention to the west, and explore the western branch of the Niger, and visit Timbuktu, regions which had not been visited by Europeans since the days of Mungo Park. He set out for these regions, November 1852, passing partly over the same ground which he had visited in journeying from Kano to Kukawa when he first arrived in Bornu. He, however, took a more northern route, so as to avoid Kano. He found a fine hilly country, well cultivated, and contrasting pleasantly with the flat regions about Bornu. Herds of cattle abounded, as also fields of corn, cotton, wheat, and onions. The last two have

been introduced into Negroland by the Arabs. He also passed one or two natron lakes, whose white surface looked like snow. The natron is collected by the inhabitants, and forms quite an article of export. In one case, there were two lakes united by a narrow channel, one of which was fresh water, while the other was quite brackish, and full of natron. This mixed character of brackish and sweet water also prevails about the Tsad, where natron is also collected. Near one natron lake, the people were busy in digging saltpetre, in pits near its border.

At Katsena Dr. Barth struck again on the route which he had taken in going southward to Kano. From this place began his westward journey into the empire of Sokoto. Such were the difficulties and dangers of the first part of the journey, that he was obliged to wait for the company of an armed escort. They met the sultan of Sokoto near a place called Wurno, just as he was about starting on a warlike expedition. He received Dr. Barth with great cordiality, promising protection in his journey to Timbuktu, and guaranteeing security to British merchants and their property, in visiting his dominions for the purposes of trade. The empire of Sokoto, in the early part of the present century, had risen to considerable importance and influence, through the religious zeal of its Mohammedan conquerers. But the native tribes were again asserting their rights, and making incursions into the very heart of the empire, so that travelling was unsafe. The country was capable of sustaining a large population, and was populous, abounding in all the products of Negroland, and in flocks, notwithstanding its disturbed state.

It was in Sokoto that Captain Clapperton, who had explored Central Africa from the Bight of Benin to the Mediterranean, died.

On this route to the Niger, one new feature which attracted attention, was the cultivation of rice. In eastern Negroland the only rice is that which grows in a wild state. Salt is also produced in one locality on this route, by filtering water through the soil impregnated with it, and then boiling the water. He also noticed a primitive method of smelting iron ore. The furnaces were about six feet high, and a foot and a

half at the base. A fire of wood is kept around the iron-stone till it melts and runs off in a channel at the base.

He at length arrived, about the middle of June, on the banks of the Niger, opposite the town of Say. It was here a noble river, somewhat contracted by a rocky bank, but about seven hundred yards wide, with a current of about three miles an hour. This is one of those sights which repay the toil of explorers in such lands, to look upon highways of civilization and commerce hitherto unused, and to feel that they are marking out a path which may hereafter be pursued with comfort and safety. He was ferried across in boats forty feet in length, and capable of taking three camels over at one time.

After crossing the river, it was not considered safe, on account of the disturbed character of the country, to proceed along its banks, so Dr. Barth travelled in a northeast course until he came within a few days' journey of Timbuktu. The first part of this route was over a hilly country, apparently not so fertile as that through which he had passed on the western side of the river. It was in the same state of anarchy, and travelling became even more unsafe on nearing Timbuktu, when Dr. Barth thought it advisable to assume the character of a Mohammedan. One of the most interesting sights on this part of the route was the approach to the Hombori mountains, which do not rise to any great elevation, but have the appearance, in their turret-like form, of castellated cliffs. Soon after leaving these, he came upon the back-waters of the Niger, in the form of bayous and lakes, which, as the wet season advanced, opened a water communication with the capital. Dr. Barth took advantage of this, and completed the last part of his journey by water. The native boats were large canoes, covered over with matting, and propelled by oars. One great difficulty was, that they were not very tight, so that it was not easy to keep dry. After emerging from the back-water and creeks upon which they first embarked, Dr. Barth came to the Niger itself, which at this place spread out into a broad river, not less than one thousand yards wide. But they had again to leave it, and debarked at a place called Kabara, which is the port of Timbuktu. Here, in the palmy days of the empire, a numerous

fleet of boats was always lying, through which intercourse was kept up with the neighbouring provinces. Now only seven good-sized boats were seen in the harbour, which consists of a circular basin, and so regular that it seemed artificial.

Before reaching this place, Dr. Barth heard the unsatisfactory news that El-Bakay, the sultan, was absent. He was a chief on whose character for straightforwardness he relied for his own personal safety. Unfortunately, while yet many days' journey from the capital, he had met an Arab of pleasing manners, who had travelled in various directions, and was able to communicate much information, but who made use of his position to extort presents, which he said were to be given to chiefs, but instead of being presented, were sold. This man first persuaded Dr. Barth to travel as a Mohammedan to save his life, and then himself formed designs against his life to secure his property. Immediately upon his arrival in Timbuktu, Dr. Barth found his way encompassed with difficulties. The fanatical Mohammedans demanded his life. The sheikh El-Bakay was absent, and until his return, Dr. Barth was obliged to remain in the quarters assigned him, which were near the sultan's. In addition to this, he was attacked with fever. However, after waiting twenty days, oppressed with anxieties, sick in body, and harassed by threats and solicitations for presents, the sultan arrived. Even before his arrival, he sent a letter assuring him of his protection. But though the sultan determined to protect him, and exercised his authority to do so, yet an opposing faction, who had conquered the city in 1826, were as determined to kill him. The sultan accordingly kept Dr. Barth with him, part of the time in an encampment on the outside of the city.

But in order better to understand his position and the state of the country, it is necessary to refer briefly to the history of the kingdom of Songhay, of which Timbuktu is the capital. Fortunately the records of the history of this formerly important kingdom have been written out by a historian of their own, down to the year 1640 of our era. Since then, later additions have been made by other persons. The first Mohammedan king reigned in the beginning of the eleventh century. At that time the principal intercourse with this region was through

Egypt. Later than this, about the year 1500, the Portuguese sent several embassics to Timbuktu, the king of Songhay then being Sonni Ali, who, though having the reputation of being a cruel prince, was a great conqueror. A little later than this, the empire of Songhay was ruled by Mohammed Askia, who is considered the greatest prince that ever ruled in Negroland. He was a native prince, born on one of the islands of the Niger. His empire extended from the region of Agades and Katsena on the east, to the borders of the Atlantic on the west, and from the pagan country of Mosi, in latitude 12° north, to Tawat, on the south of Morocco. He seems, also, to have governed this vast territory with justice and equity, and introduced such features of Mohammedan civilization as he considered might be useful to his subjects. This was at the period when the Portuguese took possession of Western Africa, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and, travelling eastwards, founded their Indian empire. The influence of learning is also manifest about this time. Pilgrimages were made to Mecca; and one pretender to the throne was induced by the mayor of Timbuktu, whom he visited, to give up his ambitious designs, much to the disgust of his army, for a quiet course of study. The author of the history of Songhay also gives a list of learned natives of Negroland, and he himself had a library of sixteen hundred books.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the kingdom of Songhay began to decline. It passed through various revolutions, until, in 1826, Timbuktu was conquered by the Fulbe, the zealous Mohammedans who were so inclined to persecute Dr. Barth. The Fulbe occupy the upper sources of the Niger, the most fruitful section of the country, and upon which the town is really dependent for its supplies. The Tawarek, the roving tribes of the desert on the east, reconquered it in 1844, and the sheikh El-Bakay formed a third party between them and the Fulbe, who effected a compromise in 1846, and he was still ruling when Dr. Barth visited the place; and it was owing to his personal influence that Dr. Barth was preserved from violence. In 1826 Major Laing, on leaving Timbuktu, where he had been well received by the father of El-Bakay, was murdered shortly after he left the city.

Timbuktu, at the time of Dr. Barth's visit, had a settled population of about thirteen thousand, with a floating population, from November to January, of five thousand more. The city was formerly at least twice as large. There are three large mosques, one two hundred and sixty-two feet in length by one hundred and ninety-four in width. The houses, at least those of the better class, are of clay, many of them having a second story, and some are well built, with attempts at architectural adornment. The tops of the houses are flat, and they have one or two central courts, after the manner of Arab houses in the East. The principal commercial intercourse is north to Morocco, by the way of Tawat. There is also another northern route from Ghadanus and Tripoli. Commercial intercourse is also kept up with the southwest, along the bank of the river. Down the river, towards its mouth, there is at present scarcely any commerce. Gold forms the chief staple of commerce. It comes from the west of Timbuktu. Part of it, or probably gold from the same region, finds its way now to the coast—the Gold Coast as it is called. That which goes to Timbuktu is mostly in rings. Its value at present, Dr. Barth thinks, is not over one hundred thousand dollars a year. Salt is another article which passes through Timbuktu, and from the eleventh century has been an article of great value in its commerce. It is brought from the mines in slabs, varying from fifty to sixty pounds weight. Timbuktu, unlike Kano, is not a place of large manufactures. In fact, the cotton cloth of Kano is used in bartering for salt. The position of Timbuktu, on the northern part of the bend of the Niger, as it describes three-fourths of a great circle, coming from the southwest and then passing on towards the southeast, makes it very favourable in a commercial point of view. Its growth is kept back by the complete state of anarchy which prevails in all that region.

It was not until May, 1854, he having arrived in September of the preceding year, that Dr. Barth was finally permitted to leave for the west. Innumerable difficulties had occurred to lengthen his stay, and more than once it seemed as though his visit would have been the occasion of an outbreak between the opposing factions. The sheikh El Bakay, however, re-

mained his firm friend, and upon his departure accompanied him as far as Gogo, the ancient capital of Songhay, which, with their slow method of travelling, and with frequent detentions, took them over thirty days. The return route of Dr. Barth was along the banks of the Niger to the town of Say, where he first crossed it on his journey to Timbuktu. Until they reached Gogo, they kept on the north bank of the river. In this part of the journey the desert reached down to the river —only its banks and those of the numerous back-waters and creeks were adapted to cultivation, producing rice and affording, in the rich tall grass, fine pasturage. Gogo, the place near which they crossed the river, was the capital of the empire in its palmiest days. It is now almost desolate, its site being occupied by only a few huts. There are the ruins of a large mosque visible. Before reaching Gogo, they passed a place of which there is the remarkable tradition, that one of the Pharaohs of Egypt once visited it and then returned. The history of the empire, according to Dr. Barth, points to Egypt as the source of its civilization.

At Gogo, Dr. Barth parted with the sheikh El Bakay. Among all the persons he had met in his long journey, he had been led to esteem none so highly as this man, notwithstanding his dilatory habits and phlegmatic indifference. He had found him trustworthy on all occasions. The sheikh was a man of considerable learning, having his pupils with him, who were instructed in Mohammedan literature. He even indulged in writing poetry. He wrote one piece while Dr. Barth was his guest, satirizing the Fulbe for their method of treating him. On parting with the sheikh, he sent two or three of his pupils to accompany him on his journey.

Below Gogo, Dr. Barth found the Niger obstructed in its then low state, by a fall of a few inches over some rocks, and by rapids. At times the river spread out, covering a large surface, and was filled with islands. At other times it was compressed between high rocky banks. He met, as he travelled along the banks, with men who had seen Mungo Park as he sailed down the river in his large boat some fifty years before. It seems that his practice was to fire at natives who

approached him in a threatening attitude, and it was this which excited them against him, and cost him his life.

At Say, Dr. Barth crossed the river, and proceeded by nearly the same route which he had travelled when going westward. At Sokoto he was kindly received, as when on his outward journey, and here learned of the rumour, which had gained credit from his long absence, that he was dead. From Sokoto he went to Kano, the great commercial emporium. His residence here was an unpleasant one, on account of the want of means. Goods which had been left at Zinder had been plundered in a revolution there. The climate of Kano also is not a favourable one for European constitutions. Even his horses, one of which had carried him safe to Masena, and then to Timbuktu and back, died by a contagious disease. At Kano he first heard, through a native, that the expedition sent up the Niger had returned without reaching Yola, the capital of Adamawa, the point from which Dr. Barth was obliged to turn back. He also learned that there had been a revolution in Bornu, and that his old friend, the sheikh, had been deposed, but that he was now reinstated. This revolution made travelling from Kano to Kukawa more insecure than at former times. Dr. Barth had, however, the pleasure of meeting Mr. Vogel, who had been sent out to assist him, and carry on the objects of the expedition. He afterwards spent some time with him at Kukawa, and assisted him in starting on one of his explorations, from which the reports afterwards came of his death. These reports have, however, been contradicted, and it is possible he may push his way out towards the sources of the Nile.

Dr. Barth's health was too much undermined to attempt further explorations, and he returned to Tripoli by a more eastern route through the desert than that by which he entered, thankful, as he says, to the Almighty, who, with the most conspicuous mercy, had led him through the many dangers which had surrounded his path, both from fanatical men and an unhealthy climate.

It will readily be seen that the route which Dr. Barth took is not a favourable one for commercial intercourse. The journey through the desert is not only long and tedious, but unsafe. Only large caravans can travel with any feeling of

security. Central Africa, too, is in a state of ferment. The kingdom of Bornu, where he experienced the most kindness, and whose rulers seemed to appreciate the importance of commercial intercourse with European nations the most, passed through a revolution of considerable importance while Dr. Barth was absent on his journey to Timbuktu. Slave hunts, too, keep the smaller tribes in a state of hostility, which they are not slow to take advantage of, when they see any signs of weakness or negligence on the part of their oppressors.

The prospects held out to commerce by water communication in the eastern and western branches of the Niger, are not very encouraging. It is evident that here are routes more expeditious and cheaper, which might be used, but which, owing to the insecurity of the country, have only been used as yet in the slave trade. It is doubtful when the time will come for opening a lawful and profitable commerce. Not, we imagine, until there is more security and permanence given to the governments of that land; and this we do not expect, until Christianity has introduced a civilization, which heathenism and Mohammedanism have both failed to accomplish.

It is evident, that here is a vast and interesting field for Christian effort. South of the desert, and in the broadest part of the continent, lies a region which, so far as explored, is of unsurpassed fertility. Parts of it are pleasantly diversified with mountains and valleys. In other regions, rich alluvial plains, filled with watercourses, yield abundant supplies of all kinds of tropical vegetation. Rice and cotton grow wild. Dr. Barth says he measured stalks of corn twenty-eight feet in length. As for cotton, we see no reason why it might not be a great exporting country. Already it is widely used on both branches of the Niger, and it would need but little stimulus, if the people were civilized, and the country secure, to draw it down to the coast. There is no doubt, that some of the cotton cloths which are already exported to Brazil, for the use of the slaves there, come, in part, from this region. In fact, the capabilities of Africa for supplying the wants of man, have not yet been tested. It is a rich, virgin soil, and it needs but the industry of its population, which has been drained by the slave-trade, to make Africa's unused rivers teem with a world-wide commerce.

The capability of the inhabitants of Negroland for civilization, has been tested, in some degree, by their Mohammedan conquerors. Empires, of no mean extent, and of no small magnificence, have appeared on the stage of African history. To be sure, their record is, for the most part, unwritten, except in the empire of Songhay, but the ruins of large and populous cities show that man was far advanced beyond that barbarism which we are so apt to associate with the negro.

It is, perhaps, well that Christianity has commenced its inroads on this region from the seacoast. Had it been obliged to follow the track of Mohammedan conquest, we fear that its zeal, associated so much with ships and watercourses, would have cooled in crossing the burning sands of the desert. It is, however, a matter of thankfulness, that these other ways are open, for now the fanatical and unscrupulous Mohammedan will be attacked in the rear. Paganism, rejoicing in a higher civilization, will roll back from the seacoast to the desert an advancing tide of truth and life, the power of which the wandering Arab will one day feel. Already, between the Senegal and the Gaboon, are more than one hundred Christian churches, with fifteen thousand hopeful converts. Connected with them are nearly two hundred schools, with not less than sixteen thousand native youth receiving a Christian education. More than twenty different dialects have been reduced to writing, in which the Bible, and other religious books, have been translated, and it is believed that some knowledge of Christian salvation has been brought within the reach of at least five millions of Africans. Still, this is but the beginning. The outskirts of this broad land have been barely entered. The rich and teeming regions beyond, which seem most interesting and inviting, remain to be possessed. One promising point of approach seems to be in the region of Abeokuta, that wonderful outgrowth of Christian effort, at Sierre Leone. From this point, mission schools have penetrated as far as Rabba, on the Niger, four hundred miles from its mouth.

Du Chaillu's explorations, or adventures, as he more properly styles them, were confined within a much narrower circle than Barth's. His travels were strictly in Equatorial Africa, and confined within two degrees north and two degrees south of the

equator, and extending from the coast, on his longest journey, three hundred and fifty or four hundred miles. This region is south of the delta of the Niger, and where the continent of Africa begins to contract into a peninsular form. It is the region surrounding, and back of Corisco bay and the Gaboon, which have become so well known, from the labours of our missionary brethren at those points. Du Chaillu embarked on his enterprise as a mere private adventurer, and the additions which he has made to our knowledge of Africa, are mostly in reference to its fauna, especially the famous gorilla, the largest of the monkey tribe. He says, "that he shot and stuffed over two thousand birds; of which, sixty are new species; and over one thousand quadrupeds, of which, not less than twenty are species hitherto unknown to science." Though his adventures are mostly of this character, and are wanting in scientific accuracy, which would have made his book doubly valuable, yet his knowledge of the language and habits of the tribes on the coast, and his journeys into regions so little known, render his book worthy of notice, in considering what has been accomplished by recent explorers in Africa.

One of the most interesting geographical points which will have to be settled by future explorers, is the existence of a mountain range across the continent. Dr. Barth did not find this range in the locality formerly ascribed to it, that is, immediately south of the desert. Still, he thought it might exist further south. Du Chaillu reached what he thought to be the beginning of such a range, extending across the continent, near the equatorial line. Slaves brought from the eastward, said that their country was mountainous, and continued so as far as they knew. Capt. Burton's testimony, from the other side of the continent, as we shall see, confirms this supposition. Sir Roderick Murchison, whose theory of Central Africa was strikingly confirmed by Livingstone, in the southern part, seemed to think that the same phenomenon of lakes and marshes extended from Lake Tsad to Lake Ngami. Besides the geological formation on which he based his theory, there is a resemblance in these two lakes in their shallow formation. Actual explorations will, we hope, soon decide this question, whether this net-work of lakes and rivers is broken by a chain of mountains, extending

across the continent. We see that Mr. Mackey, of Corisco, started on a tour, which would have helped towards the solution of this question, but was obliged to turn back. We hope that his want of success will not prevent a repetition of the experiment. As we shall see, from Capt. Burton's experience, the west coast is the best point of departure to solve this problem.

The tribes with which Du Chaillu came in contact are usually enumerated as belonging to the Ethiopian family, in distinction from the Nigritian, or those in Central Africa, among whom Dr. Barth travelled. There is certainly a great difference, owing in part, doubtless, to the influence of Mohammedan civilization. Among the Nigritian tribes commerce exists, the land is largely cultivated, cities of some size are not uncommon. But among the Ethiopian tribes cities are unknown; villages are often forsaken for the slightest cause; though greedy of trade, it is so much hampered in passing from tribe to tribe, that it becomes a nullity, except in ivory and slaves. Less land is tilled, and the industrial arts, even in providing clothing, are almost unknown.

One of Du Chaillu's first expeditions was to the Fan tribe, living on the Sierra del Crystal, or coast range. His point of departure was from Corisco, passing up the Muni, which, though large at its mouth, soon becomes a small stream. He soon had to leave it, and travelled by land. The Fan tribe he found to be energetic, fierce, and warlike, yet treating him with hospitality. He soon learned, however, that they were cannibals, and ate the bodies even of those who had died of disease. Human flesh, even in this disgusting form, did not seem to disagree with them, for they were a hardy race of mountaineers, and possessed considerable ingenuity. It was not manifest, however, in clothing, for that was of the scantiest quantity, but in the manufacture of weapons of war. Upon the iron ore they build a huge pile of wood, to which they add constantly, having no furnace, like their northern neighbours, to retain the heat. But they take this rough iron, and by heatings and hammering, turn out a superior article of iron or steel, from which they make knives and arrow-heads. Sometimes they ornament their knives and spears with scroll-work. This mountainous region is within one hundred and fifty miles

of the coast, and is well watered, fertile, and, compared with the coast, healthy. Du Chaillu tried to penetrate further into the interior, but found that he could not do it at that point. The Fans had no friendly intercourse with tribes beyond, and were unwilling to help him forward.

Upon his return towards the coast, he fell in with a party who were going to collect India rubber. This once formed one of the largest exports from this part of the coast. Bar-wood, which is a red dye-wood, is also collected in large quantities. The caoutchouc of Africa, or at least this part of it, is obtained from a vine, and not from a tree. The vine is sometimes five inches in diameter at the base, and has but few leaves, which are broad, dark green, and lance-shaped, and grow at the extremity of the vine. To get the best rubber, the milk must be taken from an incision in the bark, without wounding the wood, which has a juice of its own, and which, mixing with the milk, spoils it. This vine grows equally well in low and high ground, though most plentiful in the valleys and bottom lands of the rivers. That on the high land yields the best rubber. The milk is collected in little jars, and then poured into wooden cylinders to congeal.

The tribes on the coast, especially the Mpongwe, have acquired some of the habits of civilization. Many of them speak English or French. They are great traders, fond of bargaining, and are not often outwitted. They also monopolize the trade, not allowing the tribes in the interior to trade directly with the whites, but only through them. They have a fancy for dress, and a silk hat is the sign of royalty or chieftainship. Their houses are oblong or square, instead of conical huts, and well adapted to the climate. Some of these coast tribes are also quite good sailors. They build canoes of a single tree, which are often sixty feet in length, three to four feet wide, and three feet deep. They fell the tree, burn out the inside, carefully guiding the fire, and trim with an adze. They have to make their canoes wherever they can find a tree, and then roll them on rollers to the nearest water. With these canocs they make quite extensive voyages along the coast.

The country north of the Gaboon is almost all one vast

dense and nearly impenetrable forest. In fact, in some places the streams were so covered over with vines and hanging branches of trees, as to be hardly passable for canoes. South of the Gaboon is hilly rolling land, containing immense prairie tracts. Each clearing is lined with dense evergreen forests, where the buffalo spends his days, grazing by night. These forests shelter also the elephant, the leopard, and all the varied fauna of these woods, which abound more in game than the country north of the Gaboon.

Cape Lopez, a little south of the equator, which Du Chaillu visited, is a great slave depot, once one of the largest on the whole coast. At the time of his visit, a drunken negro officiated as king, who had three hundred wives, and supposed he had six hundred children. This king had visited Brazil, spent two years in Lisbon, could speak French and Portuguese. His house was situated on a tolerably high hill, fronting the seashore, between which and the town—a distance of two miles—stretched a beautiful prairie. Du Chaillu visited one of the slave factories at this place. From the outside it appeared as an immense enclosure, protected by a fence of palisades, twelve feet high, and sharp-pointed at the top. Passing through the gate, there was a large collection of shanties, surrounded by shade-trees, under which were lying people enough to form a considerable African town. The male slaves were fastened six together, by a little stout chain, which passed through a collar secured about the neck of each. This mode of fastening has been found the most secure, six men seldom agreeing in any move for their own good, and no attempts to liberate themselves, when thus fastened, succeed. In another yard were the women and children, who were not manacled, but allowed to roam at pleasure. Many of the slaves seemed quite merry, and contented with their fate. Others wore sad apprehensions of the fate which they believe awaits them. Du Chaillu says they firmly believe the whites buy them to *eat* them. They cannot conceive of any other use to be made of them.* While there, he saw a young lad of

* When Dr. Livingstone was approaching the west coast, the natives told the Makololo who accompanied him, that the white man was only leading them down to the coast to sell them, and they would be taken on board ship, fattened, and eaten, as the white men were cannibals. Page 402.

fourteen, and two young women, brought for sale. The boy brought a twenty-gallon cask of rum, a few fathoms of cloth, and a quantity of beads. A slaver also appeared in the offing while he was staying at this place. It was a vessel of one hundred and seventy tons, and took on board six hundred slaves. It only took a short time to fill her. Large canoes, with twenty-six paddles, were ready on the beach. The slaves were hurried from the factories, and a more piteous sight, he says, he never saw. They seemed terrified out of their senses. Even those whom he had seen in the factory, contented and happy, were now gazing about with mortal terror in their looks, such as one neither sees nor feels very often in life. They were being taken away, they knew not whither, and the frightful stories of the white man's cannibalism seemed revived afresh in their minds.

From Cape Lopez, Du Chaillu went a little further south into the delta formed by the mouths of the Ogobay river, which have been considered not as one, but three rivers, which have found their way into the sea. He ascertained that they all belonged to one stream. Du Chaillu spent much time here and in trips into the interior. One of his first excursions was to a small lake about ten miles wide, bounded on one side by hills, on the top of which were seen numerous native villages. The India rubber vine abounds in this region, also ebony, and the traveller found himself picturing steamers of light draft pushing their way up this narrow stream among hippopotami and crocodiles.

A much longer journey, and the most interesting one which he made, was under the patronage of a native king, who showed him much kindness and received him with a great deal of formality. With the assistance of this chief he travelled and hunted in various directions through his territories, killing gorilla, and discovering one or two entirely new varieties of the monkey tribe. The surface of the country as he passed into the interior became more mountainous. Passing over a high ridge, on his most distant journey into the interior, he came into the Ashira country. The view from this ridge, he says, presented one of the finest landscapes he ever saw. Far as the eye could reach was a high rolling prairie. This plain,

or prairie, as he afterwards discovered, was fifty-five miles long by ten wide. All over it were scattered collections of Ashira huts. The hills and valleys were streaked with ribbon-like paths, and here and there the eye caught the silver sheen of a brook winding along through the undulating land. In the far distance loomed up mountains higher than any he had yet seen, and whose peaks were lost in the clouds. The people here were greatly astonished at his appearance, thought him a spirit, and especially wondered at his straight hair. He was now, he supposed, two hundred and forty miles east from Cape Lopez. After some difficulty he pushed still further into the interior. The coast tribes, and so on with each successive one, do not like to have their monopoly of trade broken up by even allowing the interior tribes to be visited. The idea is for trade to be carried by one tribe to the next, changing hands with profits to each tribe before it reaches its destination. However, Du Chaillu succeeded in partly breaking through this custom, as his object was not to trade. He came next to the Apingi, who, unlike the tribes nearer the coast, seem to live in settled villages. They hold property also in trees, which only the owner may use, and were, for Western Africa, an industrious people. They manufacture a kind of grass-cloth from the fibrous parts of the leaf of a palm. They make them in small pieces, about two feet long and eighteen inches wide, and sew them together quite neatly. They also work in colours by dyeing threads. This cloth often finds its way to the seacoast, and is used for garments, and also for mosquito bars. The region occupied by this tribe is hilly. A considerable stream, three to four hundred yards wide, at least in the rainy season, flows through their country. Du Chaillu attempted to ascend it, but found the canoes so small and frail, and the current so rapid, that he was obliged to give it up. Hearing of a large waterfall down the river, he determined to visit it. He embarked on the river, and found the scenery, as the current bore them down, growing higher and bolder. At last, they could hear the dull boom of the waterfall in the distance, the river began to break up into rapids, and he went ashore, intending to make the rest of the way to the falls by land. But he could get no one to accompany him. Those who

had come with him were afraid of a hostile tribe whom they might meet. And after a survey of the impenetrable jungle of an African forest, Du Chaillu was obliged to give up the hope of reaching it alone. He was sorry to miss a sight of which the natives spoke with awe and wonder, and the roar of whose waters he could already hear.

After this, he determined to make another attempt to explore the mountain range which he could see extended in a line due east. He hoped, at least, to penetrate some four hundred miles further inland, and attempt to settle the question of the extension of the mountain range in that direction. The chief of the Apingi assisted him to start, though he did not think it possible to carry out the undertaking. He found it impossible also to obtain any guides, though he found some men who were willing to accompany him to the next tribe. There were no roads, the way was rocky and the forest dense; the air, however, was tolerably pure and cool. They travelled by compass, without any path. The first day Du Chaillu wore out a pair of shoes. What added to their trouble was the fact that game was scarce. And of the cumbersome vegetable food of the natives, it is impossible to take a supply more than for two or three days. After travelling for three days and finding no signs of a village, and able to kill only two small birds, a monkey, and a snake, they were obliged to return, and before they reached the place from which they started, were reduced to almost starvation. This was the *ultima thule* of his wanderings in the interior, a point about three hundred and fifty miles from the coast.

Before leaving Du Chaillu, we must give our readers a specimen of his meeting and killing a gorilla. It is necessary to be very cautious in approaching them. One day he went with a negro hunter called Gambo, and after finding the fresh tracks of a gorilla in a dense jungle, they came suddenly in sight of two, a male and female. The latter ran, but the male had no such idea. "He rose slowly from his haunches, and at once faced us, uttering a roar of rage at our untimely intrusion. We stood side by side, and awaited the advance of the hideous monster. In the dim half-light of the ravine, his features working with rage, his gloomy, treacherous, mischievous gray

eyes, his rapidly agitated and frightful satyr-like features had a horrid look, enough to make one fancy him really a spirit of the damned. He advanced upon us by starts, as is their fashion, pausing to beat his fists upon his vast breast, which gave out a dull, hollow sound, like some great bass drum, with a skin of ox-hide. Then he roared, making the forest ring with his short bark and the refrain, which is singularly like the loud muttering of thunder. We stood at our posts for at least three long minutes, guns in hand, before the great beast was near enough for a safe shot. In this time I could not help thinking of the misfortune of my poor hunter, but a few days ago, (a man who had fired at, and only wounded a gorilla, and before he could reload, he was struck by him, and so badly wounded that he died in a few days,) and as I looked at the gorilla before us, I could fancy the horror of the situation, when, with empty gun, the poor fellow stood before his remorseless enemy, who came upon him, not with a sudden spring, like a leopard, but with a slow, vindictive certainty which is like fate. At last he stood before us at the distance of six yards; once more he paused, and raising his head, began to roar and beat his breast. Just as he took another step toward us we fired, and down he tumbled at our feet, upon his face, dead." This animal proved to be one of the largest Du Chaillu ever saw. Its height was five feet nine inches. Its arms spread nine feet. Its chest had a circumference of sixty-two inches. Du Chaillu attempted once to tame a young specimen which his men caught, but it was so vicious that he could do but very little with it, and it finally died, after being confined a short time.

Livingstone, whose travels were from the southern extremity of Africa northward, to both sides of the peninsula, reached in his journey to the western side of the continent, St. Paul de Loanda, a Portuguese colony not far south of Cape Lopez, so that a notice of his explorations naturally follows that of Du Chaillu's. Livingstone, like Du Chaillu, was a solitary explorer. His object, however, was not the natural history of the country, but to open the vast interior of that unknown region as a highway to commerce and Christianity, for in that country, it is Dr. Livingstone's opinion, they must go hand in

hand. From Loanda to the mouth of the Zambesi on the east coast, where Dr. Livingstone crossed the continent, it is more than twenty-five degrees of longitude in breadth, and as many degrees of latitude from Cape Town to Loanda; so that, taking the difficulties of the route, the distance travelled, the unknown regions through which he passed, and also the careful accuracy of his statements, Dr. Livingstone may well hold the first rank among all modern explorers.

At first, and for a number of years, he occupied a missionary station north of Kuruman, which had been the farthest inland station of the London Missionary Society from the Cape. This is in that dry region of Southern Africa, so unlike the equatorial belt, in which the great prayer of the native is for rain. Rain doctors are as common as witch doctors on the western coast. On account of the dryness of the atmosphere, this region is one of the healthiest parts of the continent. The desiccation of the country has been gradually increasing, and that within the memory of man. Beds of rivers are found where no water runs. Dr. Livingstone laboured at his station, where a supply of water was at first obtained for irrigating gardens, but it gradually failed. This failure of water, together with the hostility of the Boers, the descendants of the Dutch settlers at the Cape, who were disposed to make forays upon the natives, too much resembling the slave-hunts of the Mohammedan conquerors south of the desert, and having, in one of these expeditions, laid waste Dr. Livingstone's missionary station, he determined to go further north. This policy was much favoured by the fact, that Sebituane, the chief of the Makololo, (a tribe which we shall have frequent occasion to mention,) and who had taken up his residence on the Zambesi, wished very much to obtain direct communication with white men. This desire was known to Dr. Livingstone through a nephew of his, who was the chief at Kolobeng, the missionary station of Dr. Livingstone. But to reach the country of Sebituane, it was necessary to travel a long way, and part of it through the Kalahari desert. This desert is a level region of country, through portions of which travellers are obliged to carry water for two or three days' journey. It is not, however, destitute of vegetation. Grass grows in tufts, and it is dotted with

clumps of trees, but so exceedingly similar, that the traveller is apt to lose his way. Great varieties of game abound in this region. Elands and ostriches are found at a distance from water, while in the vicinity of fountains are seen the rhinoceros, buffalo, gnu, giraffe, zebra, elephant, and the lion; the latter not so formidable an animal, according to Dr. Livingstone, as he is often represented. Some tribes of Bushmen also find their subsistence in this region. During some years, when a larger quantity of rain has fallen than usual, watermelons abound.

Dr. Livingstone crossed this desert first to Lake Ngami, which is on the route towards Sebituane on the Zambesi, whom, however, he did not reach on his first journey. Lake Ngami, which Dr. Livingstone discovered in August 1849, is a shallow body of water, from seventy-five to one hundred miles in circumference. This lake is the receptacle of the overflow of rivers to the north—a land full of rivers and large trees, as the natives told him—so that when he had reached this point he was desirous to go still further, and see a region so unlike "the large sandy plateau" of philosophers. The lake is evidently in a hollow or depression, though about two thousand feet above the sea; yet from Kolobeng they had descended about two thousand feet. The outlet of the lake, though deep, and flowing for some distance to the southeast, eventually becomes dry, through evaporation and absorption. The bed of the river can be traced beyond the flow of the water. The country of Sebituane, which was still two hundred miles further north, Dr. Livingstone could not reach at this time, as a chief of another tribe refused the guides necessary for travelling in these unexplored regions.

One of the great impediments to travelling in an ox-cart, which is the usual method in South Africa and through the desert, is the tsetse, which is found in certain localities on the banks of rivers. It is not much larger than the common house-fly, and its bite is perfectly harmless to man and wild animals, but certain death to ox, horse, or dog. The bite is not irritating at first, but seems to poison the blood of the animal, so that they become emaciated, and die sometimes after an interval of months.

After another trial, Dr. Livingstone, with his wife and children and a Mr. Oswell, reached the Makololo, who were delighted to see them. The chief Sebituane showed his joy by coming a hundred miles to meet them, as soon as he heard of their approach. They told him of the difficulties they had encountered, and how glad they were at last to reach his residence. He signified his own joy, and added, "Your cattle are all bitten by the tsetse, and will certainly die; but never mind, I have oxen, and will give you as many as you need." This remarkable chief, who received them with so much frankness, had been a great and successful warrior, and had the faculty of attaching his followers to him. He had conquered several other tribes, which were now dependent upon him. He did not, however, live long after Dr. Livingstone's arrival. After a time the chieftainship was conferred upon his son, Sekeletu.

Dr. Livingstone found the country occupied by the Makololo unhealthy. It was low and swampy. It was on the borders of the Chobe, which he soon afterwards discovered emptied into the Zambesi. When the river is at its height, it floods fifteen or twenty miles of lands adjacent to its banks. When Dr. Livingstone discovered the Zambesi, at the end of the dry season, there was a breadth of from three to six hundred yards of deep flowing water. Before this, the Zambesi was supposed to rise far east of where they now were. From this point, lying not far from the centre of the southern half of the peninsula, it receives the drainage of numerous rivers to the north and northwest. The Makololo had taken up their residence on the banks and islands of these rivers for the sake of being free from the incursions of their enemies.

It did not seem best to Dr. Livingstone to subject his family to the unhealthiness of this locality, without an attempt to find a better position, both for himself and future labourers. He accordingly took his family back to the Cape, and after seeing them safely on board ship for England, returned again by nearly the same route to Linyanti, the residence of Sekeletu, on the Chobe. The latitude of this place is 18° 17′ south, and near the centre of the southern half of the peninsula. The population numbered between six and seven thousand.

The Makololo had made a garden and planted maize for Dr. Livingstone during his absence, and now it was ground into meal in Egyptian fashion, by pounding it in a mortar. Sekeletu added ten or twelve jars of honey. Two cows were also to be milked morning and evening, and an ox was slaughtered every week or two.

The houses of the Makololo are circular huts, with small holes as doors, into which it is necessary to creep on all-fours. The roof projects over the walls, and reaches nearly to the ground, forming a good shade. The huts are cool in the heat of the day, but hot and ill-ventilated at night.

The Makololo, in common with the Bechuanas and other tribes of Southern Africa, have no "form of public worship, or of idols, or of formal prayers, or sacrifice, which makes them appear as among the most godless races of mortals known." It has been supposed by many that they had no knowledge of God. But Dr. Livingstone says, that on being questioned as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God and a future state, they have scouted the idea of any of them ever having been without a tolerably clear conception on all these subjects. (P. 176.) When asked to part with some relics of a deceased person, the reply was, "Oh no, he refuses." "Who refuses?" "Santuru," was the reply, which was the name of the deceased person, showing their belief in a future state of existence. (P. 239.)

One of the first objects of Dr. Livingstone, was to ascertain if there was any healthy locality in the neighbourhood of this confluence of rivers. He accordingly procured some canoes, and commenced the ascent of the river Chobe. These canoes were about thirty-four feet long by twenty inches broad, and propelled by six to ten men with paddles, who stand upright, and keep the stroke with great precision. Sekeletu accompanied him, and the fleet consisted of thirty-three canoes, and about one hundred and sixty men.

The river is a magnificent one, often more than a mile broad, and adorned with many islands. Both islands and banks are covered with forest, the islands often looking like great masses of rounded vegetation resting on the bosom of the stream. The river is, however, interrupted by falls, or rapids, around one of

which they had to carry their canoes for the distance of a mile. The valley of the river is covered with coarse succulent grass, some of which was twelve feet high, and affords pasturage to immense herds of cattle, as well as wild animals. The whole valley is, however, submerged during inundations of the river, and the natives are obliged to build artificial mounds for their villages. There was a slight rise of the valley to the eastward, above the level of the highest inundations, and Dr. Livingstone thought that this might be exempt from fever. But when the water retires from the valley, such masses of decayed vegetation and mud are exposed to the torrid sun, that even the natives suffer severely from attacks of fever. Dr. Livingstone pushed on up the river, which flows, in this part of its course, nearly south, or south by east, to lat. 14° 11′, or four degrees north by west from Linyanti. Finding no healthy location in the region occupied by the Makololo, and friendly tribes, he thought that, by ascending this river, and its branches, he could come within one hundred and twenty miles of a river which flowed towards the west coast. This supposition, together with the desire of finding some outlet for commercial relations, led him to resolve on a journey to the west coast. He might have struck it in a more direct line, by journeying directly west, instead of going west by north, but he would then have been obliged to pursue a track which had been opened by slave traders, which it was desirable to avoid. Portuguese half-castes, and traders, and also some Arabs, had recently found their way to this region for the sake of buying slaves. Dr. Livingstone accordingly returned down the river to prepare for this journey to the west coast. After this tour up the river, which took him nine weeks, he says, "I have been brought into closer contact with heathenism than ever before, and though all, including the chief, were as kind and attentive to me as possible, and there was no want of food, (oxen being slaughtered daily, and sometimes ten at a time,) yet, to endure the dancing, roaring, and singing, the jesting, anecdotes, grumbling, quarrelling, and murdering of these children of nature, seemed more like a severe penance than anything I had ever met with in the course of my missionary duties. I took, thence, a more intense disgust at heathenism than I had before, and formed a

greatly elevated opinion of the latent effects of missions in the south, among tribes which are reported to have been as savage as the Makololo." (P. 246.)

On consultation with the Makololo, at a formal gathering, or assemblage, the general voice was in favour of the projected journey. This tribe wished to obtain free and profitable trade with white men. They felt that they were throwing away elephant's tusks to give them for a few bits of prints and baize. So a band of twenty-seven men were appointed to accompany Dr. Livingstone to the west coast. This desire of the Makololo coincided with his own conviction, that no permanent elevation of a people can be effected without commerce. Accordingly, in November 1853, he started, pursuing, for the first part of his journey, the same course which he had taken in going up the river.

Dr. Livingstone found plenty of amusement as he sailed in his canoe, in watching the different varieties of animal life which abound in this region. In the river were hippopotami and crocodiles. The former are usually harmless when together in a herd, but sometimes a solitary one will attack every canoe that passes. The crocodiles not unfrequently carry off children as they are playing about the water. Great quantities of birds also filled the air; upwards of thirty species are found on the river itself; among them are ducks and geese, large pelicans, and the ibis religiosa, the same bird that frequents the Nile. The poorest persons in this valley are so well supplied with food from their gardens, fruits from the forest trees, and fish from the river, that those who go from it to other tribes, especially south, towards the desert, look back to it, as the Israelites did to the flesh-pots of Egypt. After two shots from his gun one day, his companions picked up seventeen ducks and a goose.

As they ascended the river still further, it took the name of Luba. It flowed through the most charming meadows, and the grass having been burnt, was short and green after the rains. The trees, which grew on the elevations, were covered with a profusion of the richest foliage, and seemed planted in groups, so that the country looked like a well kept park, instead of being in the hands of simple nature alone. One day they

found a man burning rushes and coarse grass, which grew in a brackish marsh, in order to extract salt from the ashes. The ashes were put into water, and then filtered through coarse grass twisted into a rope, and made into a funnel shape, and then the water evaporated in the sun.

In about lat. 13° south, they left their canoes, though the water was still sufficient, and in the right direction. But a female chief of a tribe through which they passed, insisted upon their going by land. Here they saw the first evidence of the existence of idolatry, in going north. It was simply a human head carved on a block of wood. At another village, was an image of an animal, made of clay. It stood in a shed, and the natives pray and beat drums before it all night in cases of sickness.

The forests became more dense as they went north, and animals more scarce. The difference in animal life was very striking, which Dr. Livingstone accounted for, by the use of fire-arms, which have been introduced by slave dealers. In some places it was almost impossible to get animal food, the natives frequently catching mice, and other rodentia, to help along their insipid manioc, which is here the staff of life. There is plenty of pasturage for oxen, but the tsetse, Dr. Livingstone thinks, prevented their keeping them; and since the disappearance of that fly, by the destruction of the larger wild animals, the natives have not been at the pains of getting breeds of cattle.

As they came more into the region of the slave trade, the tribes through which they passed were less friendly, demanding payment not only for food, but for passing through the territory of even petty chiefs, whose standing demand was a tusk, a gun, or a man. As they had none of these articles to part with, they had some disagreeable palavers, but none of them resulted in bloodshed, though this was feared more than once.

At length, on the last of February, they reached water which flowed to the north. They had passed through extensive lands which are overflowed in the rainy season, some of them so deep as to be impassable. The waters stand so long that trees cannot live, and the lotus and other aqueous plants

come to maturity. On his return, when the waters on these plains were more dried up, he found a lake which seems to form the watershed between the waters running to the Indian and those to the Atlantic ocean. This lake he judged to be not more than four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and one thousand feet lower than the western ridge, which is crossed before reaching the seacoast. Central Africa, at least in this part of it, is an elevated central basin, filled with lakes and water-courses, and in many places is only an extensive plain where one may travel, as Dr. Livingstone says, a month, without seeing anything higher than an ant-hill or a tree. The waters here flow north, and uniting, form the Congo, which empties into the sea on the west coast, in latitude six degrees south. The valleys of these northerly flowing streams became deeper as he advanced. The most remarkable one which he crossed was that of the Quango, which is about one hundred miles broad, and the descent from the table-land, which was in many places very steep, was one thousand or twelve hundred feet. The opposite side of the valley appeared like a range of mountains. The valley was clothed with dark forest, except where the light green grass covered meadow lands on the banks of the Quango, which glistened here and there in the sun as it flowed on its course to the north. The sight was a refreshing one after passing the flooded plains and dark forests of Londa. A cloud passed through the valley while they were on the height, from which the thunder pealed, while above it, where they were standing, all was glorious sunlight. After crossing the Quango, which flows in the centre of this valley, they came to the first Portuguese settlements. Most of the principal men were half-castes, but they received Dr. Livingstone kindly, and he was greatly in want of rest and refreshment. He was nearly worn out with repeated attacks of fever. His little tent hardly kept off the rains, which fell almost daily, and sometimes so heavily that they could not travel, and the ox which he rode had given him many a fall in his weak condition. He stopped at the first Portuguese settlement in this valley, a place called Cassange, to recruit. There were some forty Portuguese here, who had native wives. They treated Dr. Livingstone and his party with the greatest kind-

ness. They had European vegetables in their gardens, so that he began now to come back into the regions of civilization. The natives have been to some extent taught by the Catholic missionaries, who have occupied this region for two centuries, to read and write. They have not, however, given them the Bible. Cassange was still three hundred miles from the coast. The remainder of the journey was performed on foot, or on oxback, for the Portuguese have not taken pains to open any wagon road to the interior. The country back from the coast is very fertile, producing coffee, cotton, and sugar, without difficulty. Cotton, even from the American seed, becomes a perennial.

On the last of May, Dr. Livingstone and his party entered the city of Loanda. He was sick with dysentery and depressed in spirits, uncertain whether he should meet with kindness or not. But he was cordially welcomed by one of his own countrymen, and cared for liberally during his recovery from sickness, brought on by exposure during a six months' journey from Linyanti to this point.. Some officers of vessels of war which came into port, seeing his reduced condition, offered him a passage homeward. But, though he had reached the coast, he found that in consequence of the great amount of forest, rivers, and marsh, there was no possibility of a highway for wagons, and on account of the unfriendliness of the tribes, it would be impossible for his men to return alone, he therefore declined their tempting offers, with a view of trying to make a path to the east coast by means of the Zambesi.

The Makololo, who had come with Dr. Livingstone, looked with awe upon the large stone houses and churches. A house with more than one story was, before this, beyond their comprehension. In speaking of them, Dr. Livingstone had been obliged to use the word for hut, and how two huts were placed one over the other, and the conical roof projecting into the second, and it be of any use, they could not see. The capacity of ships, too, astonished them. They were canoes, they said, which it took a moon and a half to unload, and still there were left plenty of the "stones that burn." A man of war, they said, was not a canoe at all, but a town, into which you climbed with a rope.

We will not attempt to follow Dr. Livingstone and his party on their way back, which was mostly by the same route by which they came. The Makololo were greatly pleased with what had been accomplished, and in an assembly of the people, those who accompanied Dr. Livingstone declared, how they had they had been to the end of the world, where all beyond was water. They immediately put their experience in practice, and projected another journey to Loanda.

Dr. Livingstone considered this central region as a more inviting field for missionary labour than the west coast. The tribes are friendly, and consider themselves honoured by the presence of a white man residing among them. The fevers, too, in the interior, do not take so malignant a form as on the coast. They are more intermittent, and their effect in time is to enlarge the spleen, which is best treated by a change of climate. This change could be easily found by going to the dry regions of the south. He, however, felt that his first duty was to open a way, if possible, to the east coast, and see if one more practicable than that to the west could be found. He thought some of going to the northeast, towards Zanzibar, in which direction some Arabs, who had found their way to the Makololo, said that the tribes were friendly. But as water carriage was extremely desirable, if it could be found, he determined to try the route by the Zambesi. As the tribes in that direction were unfriendly, one hundred and fourteen men were furnished by Sekeletu to accompany Dr. Livingstone.

As they descended the Zambesi, the first object of importance was the great falls of Victoria, as Dr. Livingstone named them, or of Mosioatunya, or Smoke-sounding, as the natives called them. As he approached within five or six miles, columns of vapour were seen ascending to the clouds. On either side the hills rose up three to four hundred feet above the banks of the river, covered with forest. Among them, and towering over all, is the great baobab,* whose arms are like the trunks of large trees; besides groups of graceful palms, some trees also resembled the spreading oak, others the

* A little further on, he spent a night near a baobab which was hollow, and would hold twenty men inside. Another one, which he measured, was eighty-five feet in circumference.

chestnut, and one species is in form like the cedar of Lebanon. The river itself was at least one thousand yards broad, with several small islands in the centre. Dr. Livingstone went in a small canoe down the rapid current, to a small island in the middle of the river, and on which he could approach close to the edge of the falls. The falls are made by a fissure in hard basaltic rock, the water pouring down into the chasm one hundred feet or more, with the opposite side of the fissure not more than eighty feet distant, and directly in front, except on the left bank, where the fissure turns and widens, and is prolonged through thirty or forty miles of hills. These falls form the drain for this part of the central basin of Africa. Here is the opening through the ridge, which is higher to the eastward, and which, like the western ridge, rises to about five thousand feet above the ocean. These ridges on either side are higher than the central basin, which has the appearance of having been once a vast lake. As Dr. Livingstone advanced, this eastern ridge appeared very favourable in point of health. It has neither fountain nor marsh upon it; part of it is a treeless, undulating plain, covered with short grass, and resembles that most healthy of all climates, the interior of South Africa. This eastern ridge has the advantage of water-carriage, with the exception of one short rapid, up to its base. The natives, however, appeared to be very much debased. The Makololo had once inhabited this region, but had left it for fear of their enemies, but always spake of it as a region where they had not even a headache. The present inhabitants have been subject to forays from other tribes, and were anxious for peace. Both sexes had the custom of knocking out the upper front teeth, and the men all went about *in puris naturalibus*. They supplied them, however, abundantly, after they crossed the frontier tribes, who were disposed to be hostile, with groundnuts, maize, and corn. The pasturage, also, was very fine, both for cattle and sheep. The country became more beautiful as they descended the eastern side of this ridge, which is not to be understood as a narrow mountain range, but a wide, elevated, diversified, belt of country. In some places there were deep valleys. In the bed of one stream they found rocks of

pink marble. Some hills near were capped with marble of beautiful whiteness. Large game also abounded.

They made their way down from this higher ground through hills which looked high, but whose tops were no higher than the bottom of the central basin at Linyanti. When they came again in sight of the Zambesi, it appeared to be flowing between ranges of hills fifteen miles apart. It was very much wider than above the falls, and had a current of four and a half miles an hour.

At a place called Zumbo, they came to the confluence of the Loangwa and Zambesi. Here there had formerly been a residence of the Portuguese. The ruins of a church built of stone were found, and one side of a broken bell, with the letters I. H. S. and a cross, but no date. The situation of this place is admirably adapted for commerce. Besides the Zambesi, which here flows from the southwest, the Loangwa comes from the northwest, and another river, the Kafur, not far above this, empties into the Zambesi from the west. In the back ground from the river are high hills, and the soil is admirably adapted for cultivation. Two or three days after leaving this place, they crossed the Zambesi to its southern shore. At the place of crossing it was twelve hundred yards wide, with seven or eight hundred yards of deep water. After crossing, they were still ten days' journey from Tete, the nearest Portuguese settlement. They had no little trouble with the natives, who had been at war with the Portuguese, but finally reached Tete in safety.

Tete is two hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the river. It is built on a long slope down to the water, and on the bank is a fort held by the Portuguese with a few soldiers. There are only about twenty Portuguese residing here, besides the military. The native population is about four thousand. The Portuguese power in this region is much less than formerly. In former times, grain, such as millet, wheat, &c., besides gold dust and ivory, were exported. The gold dust was procured by washings at various places in the vicinity. Grain was produced by slave-labour. At length the demand for slaves led them to sell them, and they were left without the labour to secure gold or raise grain.

Dr. Livingstone was treated with great kindness by the Por-

tuguese here, as well as on the west coast. After resting awhile, he descended the river in a boat to Kilimane, near its mouth. Kilimane is built on a mud flat, and is very unhealthy. The entrance to the river from the sea is somewhat difficult. This, with the unhealthiness of Kilimane, are unfavourable items, from a commercial point of view. Dr. Livingstone had, however, every reason to believe that the Zambesi was navigable for small steamers. Coal can be found on its banks. He, himself, saw seams near Tete. Above that place there is said to be a rapid, which may prevent a passage beyond. Fully impressed with the importance of opening this river communication, and satisfied with the healthiness of the climate on the eastern ridge, he returned to England, to make the necessary arrangements for further explorations.

On his return to Africa, he took with him a small steamer, for river navigation. With this, he sailed up the Zambesi as far as Tete. He also accompanied the Makololo, whom he had left at Tete, back to Linyanti. This was no more than an act of justice to a tribe, whose assistance had proved so valuable in opening a way to both coasts. Sekeletu was found sick, and the disease ascribed to witchcraft, in consequence of which, several persons were beheaded. This shows the prevalence of that dreadful scourge, even in those tribes which had been supposed most free from it.

Most of Dr. Livingstone's attention, since his return, seems, however, to have been bestowed on the Shire valley, and the region about Lake Nyassa. The river Shire is the outlet of this lake, and flowing to the southeast, empties into the Zambesi, not far from its mouth. He went up this river at first as far as the Falls, or Murchison cataracts, which, we suppose, corresponds to the falls on the Zambesi, as they pass through the eastern ridge from the interior. From this region, Dr. Livingstone writes as follows: "On the river Shire, and Lake Nyassa, the great evil we have to contend against is the slave-trade. According to our consul at Zanzibar, nineteen thousand slaves pass annually through the custom-house there, and most of them come from the lake and river just named. This traffic destroys all the better feelings of those among whom it flourishes. We were never robbed in Africa until we came within

the sphere of a slaving dhow's operations, about halfway up the lake, nor attacked with deadly weapons till we were among slave-hunters. We lately sailed about two hundred miles along the western shore of Nyassa, and, notwithstanding the yearly drain to the east coast, never saw such a teeming population as lined its shores. They were, upon the whole, very civil. No fines were levied, or dues demanded. All were busily engaged in catching fish with nets, creels, hooks, torches, or poison. Slaves were often offered for sale. The lake is over two hundred miles long, from twenty to fifty miles broad, and very deep. It is surrounded by mountains of great height and beauty; the uplands, at their base, are probably all healthy, and fit for the residence of missionaries. This region of Lake Nyassa and the river Shire is four hundred miles in length, and is but a small portion of this continent, of the future of which the more we know, the more interesting it becomes, and the more urgent do its claims appear on those who possess and prize Christ's holy gospel. We hope to be engaged soon in carrying the steamer past the cataracts, and anticipate doing some good anent the slave-trade, and in preparing the way for the messenger of the Prince of Peace." (*News of the Churches*, August, 1862.)

Since then, in October, 1862, he writes from the river Rovuma, one branch of which rises in the hills on the east of Lake Nyassa, and empties into the Indian Ocean in lat. 10° south. As this is not far from the port of Kilwa, Dr. Livingstone thinks this may be one point of approach to Lake Nyassa.

These recent explorations of Dr. Livingstone bring us into the lake regions of Central Africa, a part of which has been explored by Capt. Burton, who went out under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. His point of departure was from the island of Zanzibar, on the east coast, in lat. 6° south. There are many Arabs on this part of the coast, and many of the natives are of mixed Arab descent. A single sentence will suffice for a description of the natives with whom he was first brought in contact, and its application might be extended to a good portion of the continent. "Life, to the European so real and earnest, is with them a continual scene of drumming,

dancing, and drinking; of gossip, squabble, and intrigue." It was with great difficulty that he hired porters for his baggage, which consisted mostly of cloth and beads, designed to take the place of money in buying provisions, and in paying "black mail" to the chiefs, through whose territory he expected to pass. His route was nearly due west, and was the one frequented by slave caravans from the interior. These are notoriously the worst routes to travel. Dr. Livingstone was never attacked until he came upon them, and always avoided them if possible. Capt. Burton was not, however, so much in personal danger, but was kept constantly annoyed by exactions of chiefs, by difficulties with porters, who were constantly deserting or losing their baggage, which, in spite of all precautions, diminished rapidly in quantity. Asses also, the only beasts of burden, seemed to partake of the general demoralization, and one after another failed, or broke down. To add to their troubles, Capt. Burton and his companion, Capt. Speke, suffered severely from sickness, consequent upon being detained in localities filled with malaria. The first part of the route was through jungle and low lands on the coast. The country was rich and fertile, but unhealthy, owing to poor drainage, and vegetation rapidly decaying under a tropical sun and equatorial rains. Through parts of this region are higher rolling lands, where forests are interspersed with grassy land, which give the appearance of parks, or pleasure grounds. The breadth of this low coast land is about one hundred miles. Then comes the coast range, corresponding to, or a prolongation of the ridge, spoken of by Dr. Livingstone, further south, which here rises five and six thousand feet above the sea. The ascent, in many places, was very abrupt, but the change was agreeable. "Truly delicious," he says, "was the escape from the cruel climate of the river valley to the pure, sweet mountain air, and to the aspect of clear blue skies. Dull mangrove, dismal jungle, and monotonous grass were supplanted by tall, solitary trees, amongst which the lofty tamarind rose gracefully; and a swamp, cut by a net-work of streams, nullahs, and stagnant pools, gave way to dry, healthy slopes, with short steep pitches and gently shelving hills." After passing this range, a high table land is reached. In some parts it was dry, and appeared

the counterpart of the desert lands of South Africa. Game was not, however, abundant. In some places birds, even, were not to be seen.

On the hundred and thirty-fourth day after leaving the coast, having travelled at least six hundred miles, they reached Kazeh, a village or settlement occupied by Arab merchants, and a depot for their merchandise from the north and south as well as east and west. Kazeh is situate in a plain, or basin, about three thousand five hundred feet above the sea level. It is not, however, well chosen for health. It is a convenient, central locality, and from the Arabs staying here the travellers received much kindness.

From this point, westward two hundred and sixty miles, they reached Tanganyika lake, the main object of their exploration. From a hill summit they caught the first sight of its light-blue waters, situate in a depression among the hills. Its breadth they found to be from thirty to thirty-five miles, and its length they supposed to be two hundred and fifty miles. They were unable to survey its whole extent. Captain Burton made a trip towards its northern extremity, in company with a set of fierce and noisy natives, who would allow him to make no soundings. He went in a native boat made of planks fastened together, and to a central hollowed log, without caulking, which had to be constantly bailed. One object of his journey was to find whether there was any northern outlet to the lake, but though he could not reach its northern limit, he was satisfied, from good authority, that there was no outlet at that point. In fact, the low position of the lake—only eighteen hundred and fifty feet above the sea level—indicates that it receives the drainage of this part of the African basin, and that evaporation from its surface equals the supply made to its waters. Al least this was Captain Burton's conclusion. It is not a shallow body of water, like Lake Ngami or the Tsad, but a deep crevasse, apparently made by volcanic agency. There is one high rocky island in its centre, and a few smaller ones scattered along its shores. The mountains rise, on both sides, two and three thousand feet above water level. The longest axis of the lake is from north to south, and lies between three and eight degrees south latitude. Judging from the experience

of Captain Burton, the lake is subject to violent storms. Notwithstanding the fact that he was kept constantly wet in his trip on the lake, and obliged to sleep in a tent frequently soaked by rains, his health improved during his stay on its borders. The vegetation around the coast of the lake was very luxuriant. The hill sides were clothed with giant trees, of which the tamarind was one of the most conspicuous. The lower lands are dark with groves of plantains and guinea palms. The natives raise manioc and cereals, besides which the lake furnishes them with abundance of fish.

The tribes around the lake are engaged in constant wars with one another. They are all slave-dealers, fond of trade, but levy a heavy tariff for the privilege of carrying it on. Most of the trade is in men and ivory. Slaves are so cheap that even the porters bought them, though one drawback against such investment is desertion. Some of the tribes were reported as cannibals. All of them are scantily clothed. Some of the chiefs dress up in clothes brought by caravans. But many of the common people only wear strips of cloth made from the inner bark of various trees. The trunk of a tree is stripped once or twice, and then bound with plantain leaf till a finer growth appears. The bark is then removed, steeped in water, kneaded, and pounded, till it assumes the appearance of coarse cotton.

To the northeast of the lake, it is said, are tribes under a more monarchical government, and not split up into such small factions as prevails to a great extent in Africa. The residence of the sultan, whom the Arabs have visited, is about sixty miles northeast from the lake. The country there is said to be mountainous. The road over these mountains is described as abrupt and difficult, but not impracticable for aden asses. There are no plains, bush, or jungle, but the deep ravines, and the valleys intersecting the various ridges, drain the surface of the hills, and are the sites of luxuriant cultivation. Captain Burton thinks that this is the western terminus of the Mountains of the Moon, or of that range which Du Chaillu thinks he saw the beginning of on the western coast, and which lies near the equatorial line on both sides of the peninsula. This range is one of the most interesting geogra-

phical points in Africa which remains to be verified by actual observation.

On the return of Captain Burton to Kazeh, his companion went northward to visit a large body of water called Lake Nyanza. The southern extremity of this lake, which is the only part that has as yet been visited by white men, is in lat. 2° 24′ south. It lies northeast from Tanganyika, and it was supposed that there might be some connection between the two. But the Arabs, who have travelled over the high land between them, say there is not. The difference in the height of the two above the sea-level is very considerable, the Nyanza, which lies nearest the ocean, being much the highest. Its altitude, as measured by the boiling point of the thermometer, was found to be three thousand seven hundred and fifty feet above the ocean. It seems to be an elevated basin, or reservoir, the recipient of the surplus monsoon rain, which falls on the western slope of the coast range and the eastern slope of the Karagwah, or Mountains of the Moon. The shores, so far as observed, were low and flat, dotted here and there with little hills, unlike the Tanganyika, which is a long narrow mountain-girt basin. The breadth of the Nyanza was judged to be about eighty miles. Its length is still uncertain. It was supposed, from some calculations made by natives, that it might be two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles long. If so, it extends to lat. 1° or 1° 30′ north, and the question arises whether it may not find an outlet in the White Nile. Captain Speke was fully of this opinion. Captain Burton, however, thought the arguments strongly against it. The inundations of the Nile, Captain Burton thinks, do not correspond with those of the lake. The Nile has been explored to lat. 3° 22′ north, and its fountains were reported three hundred miles distant to the southeast. One testimony describes it as a small and rocky mountain river, probably flowing from a range, the waters of which on one side pass into the Nyanza, and on the other, unite and form the Nile.

Captain Burton returned to the coast by nearly the same route by which he entered. He has interspersed in his narrative of the journey interesting and valuable remarks on the

geography and ethnography of this region, but it would take too much space to introduce a notice of them here.

Dr. Livingstone, writing from Lake Nyassa, (which must not be confounded with its more northern neighbour, the Nyanza,) says, as already quoted, "the more we know of Africa, the more interesting does it become, and the more urgent do its claims appear on those who possess and prize Christ's holy gospel." With something of the same feeling, though doubtless in a less intense degree than the worthy missionary explorer, do we rise from a perusal of these explorations. A vast continent, abounding in regions of unsurpassed fertility, is spread before our eyes. From a commercial point of view, it has, in its rich tropical vegetation, much to attract the civilized portion of the earth. In its forests grow camwood, barwood, ebony, and rosewood. On the Zambesi, Dr. Livingstone found lignum vitæ so plentiful that they cut it for fuel for their engine on the steamer. India rubber and gutta percha are already important articles of commerce from the west coast. Among products of human industry, palm oil has assumed an important place. Coffee and sugar-cane grow with little care. Cotton, from being an annual, becomes a perennial, and alongside of it is found indigo. All that is needed to bring forth its almost untouched treasures is the labour and industry of man. While Africa has furnished two continents with labourers, its own soil has been untilled. From its discovery, its great contribution to civilization has been the unrequited toil of its sons and daughters. It is time that this woe was turned into a blessing; that, taught the value of industry, their labour should enrich their own soil.

But there is no hope for Africa disconnected with the gospel. Superstitious, sensual, disinclined to labour, with society broken into fragments, each preying upon and devouring the other, it presents, on the largest scale, the sad picture of human degradation and misery. But, then, all who believe that God has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth; who have seen the power of the gospel in regenerating some of the lowest tribes, such as the Bushmen of South Africa; who believe, also, in the promise that Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God, look forward to the time when

Africa shall take her place among the nations of the earth. It is a great land yet to be possessed. The church has a great work before it. Great difficulties are to be overcome. It is to elevate a continent from the lowest paganism, to give an evangelical literature and education to those without a written language, social order and culture to naked savages. Yet by the grace of God, it can and must be done. The church must gird herself for the task. God commands it. At one time, it seemed as though it must be undertaken in the face of the most deadly climate on the globe. But men plunged into that to carry on the slave-trade; and as soon as that began to decline, the way was shown to higher and more healthy ridges along each coast. Africa is not the land of terror which it once was. And who knows but that, as the birth of our republic gave rise to the colony at Sierra Leone, and that to Liberia, this second great convulsion and struggle for life, which is so much more intimately connected with the African race, may not prove a still greater blessing to Africa than the first? Where so natural a refuge for the black man as on his own shores? And where does there open such a field, at once so needy and so promising? Nowhere would industry sooner reap a rich reward; nowhere would the gospel and civilization obtain greater triumphs. Africa, if it has had no past but scenes of bloodshed and misery, let her at least have such a future as the gospel can triumphantly give. Were our color black, our bones should find their resting-place in Africa; for there do we believe the black man can do the most for God and for his race, of any place on the globe. And for a white man, ought not civilization, which has done so much to oppress, and which has fattened and been clothed by the black man's toil—has he no debt of gratitude, or, at least of compensation, to help to lift the country and the race in the scale of civilization? Come up it will, and blessed is the man who is willing to bear a part in laying the foundations of her future greatness, good and strong!

ART. IV.—*The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire*, by the Rev. JOHN KENNEDY, Dingwall. Edinburgh: John MacLaren. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1861.

THE history of the Church of Scotland during the last three centuries, includes a larger number of memorable epochs than that of any one of her Reformed sisters—epochs, which, in the eyes at least of all Scottish Presbyterians, stand out with a rare and glorious prominence. The days of John Knox and of Alexander Henderson, or, as they are commonly styled, "the first and the second Reformations"—the first signalized by the overthrow of Popery, the second by the overthrow of Prelacy—the period extending from 1640 to 1660, and designated in many a testimony as "the purest and best times of the Church of Scotland;" and then those dark and dismal years of persecution, from 1660 to 1688, during which the noble company of Scottish martyrs and confessors was mainly gathered;—these are the periods of which Presbyterians of the genuine Scottish type, Covenanters, Seceders, and Free Churchmen, never weary of reading.

And as the *history* of Scotland has its memorable epochs, so the *country* has its memorable districts and localities—spots, whose names are associated with deeds, the memory of which no one who has Scottish blood in his veins "will ever willingly let die." Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, Airds-moss, Bass rock, Dunnottar, and many a wild moor in Lanark, Renfrew, and Wigton, will be deemed by coming, as they have been by past, generations, to be invested with all the sacredness which any place can derive from struggles for freedom and the blood of martyrs for the truth. Most of the localities identified with the heartstirring recollections of the past, with the apostolic labours of such men as Welsh and Rutherford, and the heroic sufferings of Cameron, and Cargill, and Renwick, are within the counties lying south of the Clyde and Forth. Here it was that Robert Patterson, the "Old Mortality" of Scott, found most of those graves of the martyrs, whose humble monuments he so carefully and piously repaired. And within this region

good old John Howie gathered the largest share of those precious materials and memorials of the great and the good men of the olden time, which he worked up into that unpretending volume, the Scottish Worthies. The southwest of Scotland was always considered to be the "very hotbed" and home of Presbyterianism. Dr. McCrie supposes that the pure and simple faith of the ancient Culdees maintained its ground in this district, down almost to the very days of the Reformation, and thus prepared the way for the victory which it so quickly won, and for its getting so firm and fast a hold of the mass of its population, that all the efforts of the Stuarts, continued, as they were, through four generations of that infamous house, were unable to weaken it. There are, indeed, counties and parishes in other parts of Scotland, whose annals hold a distinguished place in her ecclesiastical history. Many of Rutherford's incomparable Letters were penned at Aberdeen, in what he styled "Christ's palace," or, in other words, the prison in which he was confined, a building which we used in bygone times daily to pass, and never beheld without thinking of that heavenly-minded man. Dundee still religiously preserves the remnant of its ancient wall—a sort of gateway spanning one of its narrow streets, from the summit of which George Wishart was accustomed to preach the glorious gospel to "the sick and the sound," within and without the walls of the town, at a time when it was desolated by the plague. St. Andrews witnessed the martyrdom of that heroic herald of salvation—the city within whose academic cloisters, and now decaying cathedral, John Knox began his illustrious career. But all the parishes and localities, whether north or south of the Forth and the Clyde, that are so intimately associated with the memory of the battles fought for truth, and with the story of the sorrows and sufferings of its martyrs and confessors, belong to the Lowlands of Scotland.

At the period when those mighty struggles, to which we have alluded, were going on, if a traveller had gone from the Lowlands into the Highlands, though the journey would have been very inconsiderable in point of distance, he would have found himself in a region differing so entirely from that which he had left behind, that he might readily have fancied himself

transported, as if by magic, into a distant land, between which and Scotland wide oceans rolled. The form and features of the country, the language and habits of the people, and the structure and condition of society, combined to create the strongest possible contrast between it and the other great division of the kingdom. Here, Romanism held an almost undisputed sway, long after the Reformation had triumphed so completely in the Lowlands, that not even a solitary masshouse, much less a monastery, could be found in any part of them. The causes of this state of things are not difficult of discovery. In the first place, the language of the Highlander was a huge obstacle in the way of the progress of the gospel, and of that friendly intercourse between the two populations, which might have opened the door for the entrance of whatever Christianizing and civilizing influences and agencies existed in the Lowlands. Between the Celtic and the Saxon Scot there could be no free communion, no friendly fellowship worthy of the name. Never were they brought face to face in any considerable numbers, except when some Highland clan, with the fierce impetuosity of one of their own mountain torrents, rushed down from their wild fastnesses amid their heathery hills, into the inviting plains and valleys of the "Sothron" on a "cattle-lifting," or perhaps a yet more savage raid. In the next place, though the royal authority was nominally recognised as paramount over Highlands and Lowlands, the actual power of the monarch in the former district was vastly inferior to that of the chief or head of the clan. The command of a Stuart was practically impotent when opposed to that of a Macdonald or Macintosh; and the only way in which the former could wield any influence or give effect to his behests, was by stimulating the rivalry of chieftains, and exciting one clan to visit its vengeance upon another. Hence a missionary, however zealous, however familiar with the language of the region, however fortified by royal patronage, could have made little headway in the conversion of a Highland clan, unless he had first secured the favour of its chief. This point gained, his work would be comparatively easy.

We have said that Popery retained its dominion in the Highlands long after the great body of the Scottish people had

thrown off its yoke. The poor Highlander, profoundly ignorant of all matters outside of his own little world, and, withal, intensely superstitious, was a perfectly manageable subject in the hands of the Romish priesthood, because they kept him as really a heathen as when they found him. He had an implicit faith in the power of the ghostly father, but he was at the same time as firm a believer in the existence and power of the fairies. He brought his venison to the priest, and rigidly observed the practices and penances imposed by the church; but he expected, in return, that whatever wild license he was pleased to indulge in would be duly tolerated, if not formally sanctified. With all his devotion to holy church, he retained not a few notions and ceremonies inherited from his Druid ancestors, which would have scandalized an English or a French Catholic. From the early records of the Presbytery of Dingwall, (in 1656,) it appears that the people of Applecross were accustomed to observe the "abominable and heathenish practice of sacrificing a bull on the 25th August—a day, as they conceive, dedicated to St. Mourie;" but whether he belonged to the Pagan or the Popish calendar they could not determine. In a word, eager as Rome has ever been to secure for herself a monopoly of power, she seems to have early learned that the attempt to gain it would involve a serious struggle with the lord of each Highland clan. The priest and the chieftain, therefore, came to terms, each finding it his interest to acknowledge and advance the influence of the other. The chief sent his clansman with blood on his hands to the priest for peace and pardon; and the priest sent back his penitent with the old score of sins wiped out, and all the more ready to obey the behests of his chief. The priest himself must be a Celt, and thus shared in the loves and hatreds of his clan. Hence, it was not difficult to persuade priest Mackenzie to gather the Macnabs, or Munros, ostensibly to celebrate mass, but really to afford his own chieftain a convenient opportunity to butcher or to burn them.

Such was the religious condition of the Scottish Highlander at this period. In other respects, his character presented a singular mixture of good and evil qualities. On the one hand, it was distinguished by an almost patriarchal simplicity, romantic courage, and high-minded independence; while on the other,

it was tarnished by the ferocity and cunning of the savage, and an invincible love of plunder, and even of low theft. It appears almost incredible, that the same men who gave up their bed to the weary, and their food to the hungry stranger; who tended him in sickness with all of woman's gentleness and care, could rush forth from their fastnesses on a barbarous raid, committing cot and castle to the flames, mingle their wild music with the screams of the widow and the orphan, and listen unmoved to the dying agonies and curses of a brave and hereditary foe. But Highland history abounds with incidents illustrative of these strangely antagonistic and coincident traits. In one of his earliest public sermons,—for the Gaelic Schools,—Dr. Chalmers makes a most striking and eloquent use of the contrast between the home of the Celt as it was, and as it is. "O, ye soft and sentimental travellers," says he, "who wander so securely over this romantic land, you are right to choose the season when the angry elements of nature are asleep. But what is it that has charmed to their long repose the more dreadful elements of human passion, and human injustice? What is it that has quelled the boisterous spirit of her natives, and while her mountain brows look as grimly, and her torrents roar as fiercely as ever, what is it that has thrown so softening an influence over the minds and manners of her living population?" Yes, nature wears the same look now as in the days of old; the physical characteristics of the people are as marked as ever, and the tongue they speak is the same that was heard three centuries ago; but in other respects, how immense the change that has been wrought through the simple agency of the gospel of Christ! In many a Highland parish, scenes have been enacted as pentecostal as any ever witnessed in Scotland. Pastors have laboured there whose names are not unworthy to be placed by the side of those of Welsh and Rutherford. And now the very region, which was the last one that Popery yielded up, is the stronghold of the olden Presbyterianism of Scotland.

While the spiritual condition of the Highlands was, in the main, such as we have described, for many years after the overthrow of Popery in Scotland, there were a few districts on the outskirts of that division of the kingdom, districts in which

some great Protestant noble, like Mar, or Argyle, had a dominant influence, that were more or less perfectly illumined by that Divine Light which had quickened the Scottish Lowlands into newness of life. One of these was *Ross-shire*, which ultimately became, in a spiritual point of view, one of the most favoured spots in Scotland; a fair garden, abounding with trees of righteousness, whose fragrance was like that of a field which the Lord hath blessed. Many of the churches in this county enjoyed, during the eighteenth century, very precious revivals of religion, which were marked by not a few most striking illustrations of the transforming power of the gospel. Of course, the fruits of these revivals were essentially the same as those produced by similar religious movements in our own country, but the former possessed some traits peculiar to themselves, and yielded results that have not, so visibly at least, followed from the latter. The nature of these revivals, their special features, and spiritual products, will be best exhibited by giving a brief sketch of some of the Fathers of Ross-shire, as they are called by the author of the charming volume, whose title is placed at the head of this article.

With one exception, their names were never known outside of Scotland. Probably the fame of most of them never extended beyond the Highlands amid which they lived and laboured. Yet they appear to have been remarkable as Christian men and as Christian ministers. Each of them had his own peculiar experience, his own favourite department of truth, his own special gift or grace; they differed just as men everywhere differ from one another, but there were certain characteristics common to them all. As preachers, says the author, in a passage well worthy of being quoted, they were all remarkable. "There are some who preach *before* their people, like actors on the stage, to display themselves and to please the audience. Not such were the *self-denied* preachers of Ross-shire. There are others who preach *over* their people. Studying for the highest instead of the lowest in intelligence, they elaborate learned treatises, which float like mist over the heads of their hearers. Not such were the *earnest* preachers of Ross-shire. There are some who preach *past* their people. Directing their praise or their censures to intangible abstractions,

they never take aim at the views and the conduct of the individuals before them. They step carefully aside, lest their hearers should be struck by their shafts, and aim them at phantoms beyond them. Not such were the *faithful* preachers of Ross-shire. There are others who preach *at* their people, serving out in a sermon the gossip of the week, and seemingly possessed with the idea that the transgressors can be scolded out of the ways of iniquity. Not such were the *wise* preachers of Ross-shire. There are some who preach *towards* their people. They aim well, but they are weak. Their eye is along the arrow towards the hearts of their hearers, but their arm is too feeble to send it on to the mark. Superficial in their experience and in their knowledge, they reach not the cases of God's people by their doctrine, and they strike with no vigour at the consciences of the ungodly. Not such were the *powerful* preachers of Ross-shire. There are others still who preach *along* their congregations. Instead of standing with their bow in front of the rank, these archers take them in line, and reducing their mark to an individual, never change the direction of their aim. Not such were the *discriminating* preachers of Ross-shire. But there are a few who preach *to* the people, directly and seasonably, the mind of God in his word, with authority, unction, wisdom, fervour, and love. Such as these last were the eminent preachers of Ross-shire."

The specimens of their sermons that have fallen in our way show that their preaching combined careful exposition of Scripture, exact doctrinal statement, minute description of the varying experiences of the Christian life, and close application of the truth to the conscience. They preferred to expound texts rather than to discourse on subjects; they never use the former simply as mottoes to their sermons; but with the reverential pains-taking which God's word rightly claims, they searched to ascertain what the mind of the Lord is in any passage which they happened to handle. They were very zealous for a sound creed, but their form of sound doctrine was as far as possible removed from a cold and lifeless orthodoxy. But the most distinguishing feature of their preaching was the singular minuteness with which they spoke to the varied cases and circumstances of their hearers—the hopes,

enjoyments, fears, temptations, and difficulties of inquirers and of Christians. Some may think that they carried these processes of spiritual anatomy too far; but if ever men sought with intense earnestness the constant guidance of their Divine Master, they did, and many truly marvellous instances might be adduced to show their fervent prayers for light were not unheard.

James Fraser, of Alness, was one of the most eminent of these "Fathers." He was ordained minister of Alness in 1725. When first presented to the charge, he was very acceptable to the people, but before his induction some of the lairds conceived an antipathy to him, and stirred up such a factious opposition, that although the session and the great body of communicants warmly adhered to him, when the day for his ordination came, the Presbytery found the doors of the church barred against them. His opposers carried the case up to the Assembly, where they were, of course, defeated; but these bitter enemies were ultimately converted into his most attached friends.

During a considerable part of his ministry, Mr. Fraser's preaching was of an awakening kind, being mainly directed to the conversion of sinners. He did indeed proclaim Christ crucified, and comforted the broken in heart, but the predominant strain of his discourses was such as we have stated. Multitudes were aroused to deep concern for their souls, but not a few of those who had been thus awakened under his ministry went elsewhere to find healing for their wounds. The pastor of the adjacent parish of Kilmuir was Mr. Porteous, another of the "Fathers." Each Sabbath many of Mr. Fraser's people went to hear Mr. Porteous. The number at last grew to be so great, that the Kilmuir congregation complained of the crowded condition of their church, and though very willing to endure the inconvenience for the sake of strangers who had no gospel at home, they had no patience with the fugitives from Alness. The elders at length begged Mr. Porteous to confer with Mr. Fraser on the subject, for, said they, "the Alness people tell us that their minister preaches the law almost so exclusively, that they who seek the bread of life must starve, or else come hither for food and

healing." Accordingly, meeting Mr. Fraser soon afterwards at a funeral, Mr. Porteous said to him—"It gives me, my dear brother, grief of heart to see some of your people in the church of Kilmuir every Sabbath. My elders tell me that those who come to us complain of your preaching almost entirely to the unconverted, and that the poor in spirit can get no food for their souls. Now, dear brother, if the Lord gives it to you, I pray you not to withhold their portion from the Lord's people, *which you can dispense to them as I never could.*" "My dear brother," was Mr. Fraser's striking reply, "when my Master sent me forth to my work, he gave me a quiver full of arrows, and he ordered me to cast them at the hearts of his enemies till the quiver was empty. I have been endeavouring to do this, but the quiver is not empty yet. When the Lord sent you forth he gave you a cruise of oil, and his orders to you were, to pour the oil on the wounds of broken-hearted sinners till the cruise was empty. Your cruise is no more empty than my quiver. Let us both, then, continue to act on our respective orders, and as the blessing from on high shall rest upon our labours, I will be sending my hearers with wounded hearts to Kilmuir, and you will be sending them back to Alness rejoicing in the Lord." After this beautiful reply, it is hardly necessary to add, that no more complaints came from Kilmuir.

Mr. Fraser had a life-long "thorn in the flesh," in the shape of a heartless, worldly, termagant of a wife. Never did her husband enjoy a comfortable meal in his own house, and often would he have half perished from hunger, but for the considerate kindness of his people. His wife was so shameless, that she made no effort to conceal her treatment of him. Light and fire were denied him in his study—his only refuge from her dreadful tongue—even during the long, cold winter evenings, compelled to walk in order to keep himself warm, while preparing for his pulpit, he kept his hands before him as feelers in the dark, and thus actually wore a hole through the plaster at each end of his beat. Being once at a dinner where he happened to be the only evangelical in the midst of a large group of moderates, who were aware of his domestic trials, one of them proposed as a toast the health of their wives, and then

winking to his companions, with singular cruelty as well as bad taste, said to Mr. Fraser, "You, of course, will cordially join in the toast." "So I will, and so I ought," was the instant and admirable answer; "for mine has been a better wife to me than any one of yours has been to you—she has sent me seven times a day to my knees, when I would not otherwise have gone, and that is more than any of you can say of yours." These incidents reveal the man and the minister; and the fact is not wonderful, though well attested, that in many a Highland parish, besides that one which was his own special field, the precious seed sown by him continued to yield rich harvests long after he had gone to his rest.

Mr. Fraser's name became somewhat widely known as an author, by means of his excellent work on Sanctification. It consists mainly of a very elaborate exposition of the sixth and seventh chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and has long been a sort of household book among Scots people whose piety was of the olden stamp. Few works excel it for exact analysis, lucid statement of doctrine, polemical skill, and wise practical application of the truth; and though its style wants the rhetorical polish which the issues of the press now receive, the student or the pastor who should give it a careful perusal, will be amply rewarded for his pains.

Mr. *John Porteous*, of Kilmuir, has already been mentioned as one of these "Fathers." Soon after his licensure he received a presentation to the parish of Daviot, but strange to say, the people would not accept him, and as he would not consent to be "intruded" upon a "reclaiming congregation," the call was given up. In 1732, he was ordained pastor of Kilmuir, and here, from the very outset of his ministry, an abundant blessing rested upon his labours, which extended over the long period of forty years. He was, in fact, one of the most famous of the Highland preachers of his time, and he seems to have been not less eminent for his gifts and graces as a pastor. The incident already mentioned in our notice of Mr. Fraser, shows that his discourses were distinguished for their evangelical unction, and were specially adapted to guide inquiring souls burdened with the consciousness of guilt, into the way of peace. He was a son of consolation. But he knew how to "use the

law lawfully," and he exhibited a rare wisdom in dealing with those who had been alarmed by its terrors.

He was very fond of flowers, and being endowed with a lively imagination, he loved to trace analogies between the flowers in his garden and the varieties of character among his people. An humble and timid Christian once found Mr. Porteous in his garden by the side of a bed of violets. "There *you* are," said Mr. Porteous, pointing to one of them. His visitor replied, "Truly, that dark, uncomely thing, without flower or fruit, is like me." "Yes," rejoined his pastor, "it is, indeed, like you, for it is a lowly, fragrant plant, that usually hides its beauty, and whose sweetness is most felt when it is most closely searched and pressed." On another occasion, a young man, recently awakened, called upon him as he was walking among his flowers. He described his feelings, and the pastor listened in silence; but he had no *flower* to which to point the inquirer, and did not speak a word to him until he saw a toad hopping across the path. "Do you see that?" asked the minister, pointing to the toad. "I do," said the young man, and without another word they parted. A second and third interview occurred, at each of which this symbolic converse was repeated. But when, for the fourth time, the inquirer's attention was directed to the toad, he exclaimed, with deep and evident distress, "Well would it be for me, were I that toad, without a soul that can be lost for ever!" "I can speak to you," rejoined his pastor. He had judged that his wound was not deep enough before, but now he entered into close dealing with him about the way of healing, and soon afterwards found among the products of his garden a type of his young disciple.

A few specimens of his style of address have been preserved, and we wish that the limits of this article would allow us one of those allegories which he often, and with admirable art, employed to illustrate and enforce the truths of doctrine and experience, which were the staple of his pulpit instructions. He was a man of noble presence, and like many other apostolic men of those days, he was scrupulously neat and exact in matters of dress. He never married, and unburdened with secular cares, sought only "how he might please the Lord." He

quietly fell "on sleep," all alone with his Lord, in the attitude of prayer, in 1775, and in his eighty-fourth year.

Mr. *Hector McPhail*, of Resolis, was another of these "Fathers." When he entered the ministry, he was a stranger to the renewing grace of God, though a man of excellent character. His wife was the daughter of a godly minister, and previous to her marriage, had been a hearer of Mr. Porteous, whose preaching she greatly relished. Painfully sensible of the difference between her husband's doctrine and that to which she had been accustomed, she told him, a few weeks after their union, that her soul was starving, and as its welfare was her first concern, she had resolved that day to go to Kilmuir. Her husband made no opposition; but it was a sad journey to the pious wife. She reached the manse about an hour before public service, very much to the amazement of good Mr. Porteous, to whom she at once explained the reason of her coming. He retired to his study, where he spent most of the hour in prayer, and on rejoining her said: "If I am not greatly deceived, you will not long have the same reason for leaving Resolis, for I expect that the Lord will give you, by the hand of your husband, the very finest of the wheat." Nor was he disappointed. Mr. McPhail's mind was aroused, not to anger, but to solemn thought, by his wife's desertion of his ministry. It began a process of conviction which lasted for several years, and he finally resolved to demit his charge, as being wholly unfit for the sacred office. He asked Mr. Fraser of Alness to preach on a week-day, and make known his purpose to his people. Mr. Fraser came, and preached a sermon which was the means of loosing his brother from the bonds in which he had so long been held, and before the service was over, Mr. McPhail was in no mood to cease from preaching the gospel of Christ. He was full of hope and gladness, and calling at the house of an elder, who had spent many an hour in wrestling with God for his minister, he was asked, "What news to-day?" "Good news," replied Mr. McPhail; "Hector McPhail is to preach to you no more." "Oh!" said the pious elder, "I expected other news than that, for I don't reckon that good news." "Hector McPhail," explained the minister, "is not to preach any more, but the Spirit of the Lord is to

preach to you through him." "Ah, that is good news, indeed," cried the elder, in an ecstacy of joy. And from that day until his death, a more faithful, fervent, prayerful, and successful minister could not be found.

While, like his contemporary fathers, he was the instrument of the conversion of a great multitude of souls, his preaching was in a singular degree edifying to Christians. He could deal with them, in reference to their varying "cases," more closely, and with a more tender tact, than almost any other of his brethren. His own experience, doubtless, furnished him for this sort of work. Once he was engaged to preach in Petty. While a vast congregation was gathering to hear him, he was in a wood near to the church, having neither text nor sermon, wrestling with the Lord. The hour for service had long passed, before Mr. McPhail was seen approaching the place. He ascended the pulpit; but though he had preached many a memorable sermon, his discourse on this day surpassed them all, both in its comforting and converting power. Some of his own people, who chanced to be present, begged him to preach the sermon at Resolis, counting on a renewal of their former enjoyment. He complied with the request, but those who had made it were disappointed. He accounted for the difference in their impressions by saying, "When in Petty, you were looking to the Lord; but in Resolis, you were looking to me. There, you got the manna fresh from heaven; here, you got it after it had mouldered in my memory." Mr. McPhail died in January 1779, aged fifty-eight years. But among all these eminent Highland ministers, none was more famous than the last one whom our limits will permit us to notice, viz.

Mr. *Lachlan Mackenzie*, of Lochcarron. He was a man of real genius, as well as profound Christian experience; and the memory of his ministry is still fresh in many parts of the Highlands, though nearly half a century has elapsed since he went to his grave. The parish of Lochcarron had been, in a good measure, made ready to his hand by the labours of a man, belonging to a class which, we apprehend, is at the present day without a representative in the ministry of Christendom, Mr. Æneas Sage, who is described as a man of undaunted spirit, who did not know what the fear of man was. He had, how-

ever, the fear of God in its highest perfection. He was a determined enemy of vice, and a true friend of the gospel. When he became minister of the parish, its condition was absolutely barbarous. There were no elders in it; every form of wickedness was rampant, and in the church there was found "one formal stool of repentance, but no pulpit nor desks." On the first night of Mr. Sage's arrival an attempt was made to burn the house in which he lodged, and repeatedly afterwards his life was in danger. But, though he could not gain the popular esteem as a minister, he soon secured it by his great physical strength. The most renowned athlete of Lochcarron, in those days, was a man known as Big Rory, and Mr. Sage knew that if he could put him upon his back, his ascendancy in the parish would be established. Confident in his prodigious strength, he took the earliest opportunity of joining the people at their games, challenged the field, won an easy victory, and established his fame at once. Taking Rory aside, he said to him, "Now, Rory, I am minister, and you must be my elder, and we must, together, see that the people attend the church, observe the Sabbath, and conduct properly." The simple Rory agreed at once to the proposal, and on the Lord's day, when the people would gather to their games, the minister and his "elder" joined them, and each taking a couple by the hand, led them to the church, locked the door, and came back for more. This they did until the field was cleared, and the church was filled. The "elder," armed with a formidable club, then stationed himself at the door to prevent escape, while the minister ascended the pulpit and preached to them. One of the earliest of these sermons was blessed to the conversion of the "elder," who henceforth became, in very deed, a fellow-worker with his pastor in the gospel, and before the close of his career, it is recorded of the parish, that there was "a great appearance of religion" in it.

The way had thus been prepared for giving Mr. Mackenzie a cordial welcome by the people, to whom the high reputation of their new pastor, as a Christian and a preacher, was well known. He was of a singularly sensitive temperament, and but for a powerful intellect, under the control of deep piety, he might have become an impracticable enthusiast, or a fierce

fanatic. "Seldom," says one who knew him well, "do we find so much mind and so much heart combined in one man. From his very childhood he had been taught to know the Lord, and while a mere youth, was noted for his exemplary Christian character; and it might, therefore, have been inferred, that in his maturer years his joy and peace would have flowed like a river." The reverse of this was the case. Few Christians were ever subjected to greater vicissitudes of feeling; at one time he would be on the brink of despair, under the power of temptation, and at another, his rapturous enjoyment would bring him quite to the verge of heaven. Prayerfulness was the leading feature of his piety, and many a sleepless night did he spend wrestling for himself and his people, or rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. Indeed, the nearness to the mercy-seat, to which he was sometimes admitted, was quite extraordinary, and the result of it was, that among the simple people of the North, he acquired the fame and influence of a prophet. If the half that is told of him be true,—and the statements are corroborated by the testimony of many unimpeachable witnesses,—it is not wonderful that he gained such a reputation. For example, it is recorded of him, that never did a sudden death occur in the parish, without some intimation of it being given on the previous Sabbath, accompanied occasionally by warnings so strikingly verified as naturally to beget in the minds of his people the idea, that he must have been favoured with a prophetic afflatus.

The most famous sermon of Mr. Mackenzie was one entitled, "The Babe of Bethlehem." From the profound impression which it is reported to have made, and the vivid memories of it long after its author had gone to his grave, we may fairly infer that it must have borne the stamp of real genius. It was founded on the visit of the wise men from the East, and their inquiry, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews." Matt. ii. 2. The preacher, attended by an inquirer, proposed to go in search of Jesus, and the sermon consisted of a graphic description of their travels. Soon after they had started, the inquirer observes a fine mansion at a little distance from them, and says to his guide, "Surely this is the place where we shall find him." "Come and let us see," answered the guide.

They go to it, and passing through the window, perceive a company seated around a gaming table. "Come away, come away," cries the astonished inquirer, "Jesus cannot be here." "I knew that," was his guide's reply. And thus they visit many a fair looking house, only to experience the same disappointment, until the inquirer begins to despair of ever finding Jesus. The guide now takes the matter into his own hands, and conducting his disciple to the back court of an inn, and pointing to the door of the stable, says, "There you will find Jesus." "There!" exclaims he, "behind that mass of filth! Oh, surely he cannot be in such a place as this!" The guide then applies himself to meet and remove the various difficulties which an earnest inquirer encounters in the way of his coming to Christ, such as the remembrance of past sins, his sense of guilt, of unworthiness, of inward corruption, and his fears arising from the wiles of the tempter. It is to be regretted that only the skeleton of the sermon was written, though its author was in the habit of very careful preparation for the pulpit; if he could have been induced to publish it in full, we have no doubt that it would have ranked among the finest specimens of the sacred eloquence of Scotland. Mr. Mackenzie died in 1819, in the thirty-seventh year of his ministry.

We wish that we had room to notice others of these "Fathers"—Calder, Macadam, Macintosh, and especially one who may be said to have closed the illustrious series, who earned for himself the glorious title of the "Apostle of the Highlands," and whom it was our privilege to have heard when near the end of his career. We refer to the late Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh. The few brief and imperfect sketches which we have given, however, will suffice to show what manner of men these "Fathers" were. Should any one undertake (as we heartily wish that some one would) to extend Dr. John Gillies' Historical Collections in regard to the success of the Gospel, or to write a complete account of the revivals of religion during the last century, we are very confident that the historian will meet with no more interesting field of inquiry, than that which these "Fathers" were enabled through grace to cultivate so thoroughly and so well, that it became like the garden of Eden, and is still renowned for its fragrance and its fruitfulness. In

no part of Scotland, prior to 1843, was the love of her ancient kirk so universal and so intense as in the Highlands. Dissent in no form has ever been able to make much headway there. But when the Non-intrusion controversy reached its crisis, and the cry was raised "for Christ's crown and covenant," the hearts of the Highlanders were profoundly stirred, and almost to a man they joined in the so-styled "Exodus out of Egypt." And now the Highlands form one of the strongholds of the Free Church.

We cannot close without saying a word in regard to a class of lay evangelists which was the offspring of the class of ministers we have noticed. They were known as "the men," and their history deserves to be studied by all who are pondering the problem of the extent to which, and the methods in which lay agency may be employed in the edification of the church. When a Highland pastor discerned in a converted man a promise of usefulness, he brought him gradually forward into a public position, by calling him first to pray, and then to "speak to the question," at the ordinary congregational meetings. If he approved himself in this service, he was enrolled among the "Friday speakers" on communion occasions. Thus the order of "the men" was established and formed. Some of them were engaged as catechists, but most of them were occupied with their ordinary secular business, and a few became truly "burning and shining lights."

To understand the special services of "the men," it will be necessary briefly to advert to the features of a Highland communion, which is a much more imposing occasion than is the observance of the Lord's Supper with us. The Thursday preceding the Sabbath is the fast-day, and it is kept with a strictness which American Christians might find to be somewhat irksome. Friday is the day of self-examination, and the only public service is, if possible, in the open air. A large crowd has gathered. In "the tent" are the ministers who are to aid in dispensing the sacrament. The services on the Friday are, in the main, those of an ordinary fellowship meeting, but with a special reference to the solemn work of the coming Sabbath. Two questions are proposed successively, so as to secure variety, but both have reference to the evidences of saintship.

Only "the men" from other parishes are called upon to speak, and of these only "the flower," there are so many. Before the service of the day is over, not fewer than thirty will have spoken. Saturday is the "day of preparation," and the Monday following the Sabbath, the day of thanksgiving.

At an ordinary fellowship meeting, the great object was the mutual comfort and edification of believers, and specially of those exercised with fears as to their interest in Christ. For this reason, none but communicants at first attended, but in process of time the meeting was open to all who chose to be present. The minister presided, and after prayer, praise, and reading a portion of Scripture, he would call upon some one burdened by anxiety or doubt, to propose a question. In response to this invitation, some man would rise, mention a passage of Scripture describing a feature of Christian character, and then express his desire to ascertain the marks of those to whom the text refers, and the various points in which they were to be distinguished from merely nominal Christians. The pastor would next open up the scope of the passage, and explain the exact import of the question founded upon it. He then called by name on those whose piety, experience, and gifts, best qualified them for the service, "to speak to the question." This they did briefly and in succession, and finally, the minister summed up what had been said by the several speakers, connecting, confirming, and expanding, as he judged needful, in order to a practical improvement of the whole subject. The person who had proposed the question, usually led in prayer, and with a song of praise and the benediction of the pastor, the exercises were ended. Such was (and, we presume, still is) a Highland fellowship meeting.

Such were "the Fathers" and "the men" who became the honoured instruments of one of the most fruitful and enduring revivals of religion of these latter days. What we have been able to gather from various sources respecting their personal character, manner of life, preaching, and pastoral labours, awakens our profound regret that an ampler record of their career had not been preserved. As we have already stated, it would form one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the history of revivals. We have never read of revivals in

any country more free of unhealthy excitement, of "wild fire," than were those in the Highlands of Scotland, and yet the latter have not escaped criticism. It has been said, for example, that the type of piety resulting from them was gloomy, exclusive, and over-much subjective,—that the Christian Highlander was employed in trying to determine whether he was a truly regenerate man or not, by searching into his own experience, when he should have been actively occupied in the service of his Lord. Though some of the traits objected to may have been owing to the peculiar temperament and circumstances of the Highland people, we still think it probable that there was ground for the above criticism. From the class of topics discussed at the fellowship meetings, these societies must have had a decidedly subjective tendency, and in many minds, they may have generated more doubt and fear than they removed. This tendency revealed itself in the dread which kept from the Lord's table not a few persons of whose Christian character none who knew them had the shadow of a doubt. It is unquestionable, that at one period many Highlanders appear to have regarded the table of the Lord with a terror, which could be explained only by supposing them to believe that "eating unworthily" is the unpardonable sin. So deep and unconquerable was this terror, that in some parishes—we have seen it stated—the Lord's Supper was not dispensed for years; and yet, in these very parishes, an ordinary visitor would have met, on every hand, indubitable evidences of a true and vigorous spiritual life. But these morbid tendencies have been checked and corrected by the manifold activities which the Non-intrusion and other "questions" originated, and by the warm and living sympathy for the Jew, the Gentile, and the heathen at home, which has stirred the hearts of Scottish Christians for more than twenty years.

We will only add, that Mr. Kennedy's charming volume is well worthy of the attention of our religious publishers.

Art. V.—*Meeting of the Mercer County Teachers' Institute,* held in Princeton, New Jersey, November 24–28, 1862.

Although not quite a novelty in the United States, the appearance of a comet would have excited much less attention, and been regarded with much less curiosity than this meeting, in our town of staid habits, and educational processes, modelled chiefly upon the (supposed) wisdom of the past; and not, perhaps, over-inclined to admit the want of any considerable change in any department of mental culture and discipline. Amongst us, the proceedings of this Institute have been altogether a new thing; and have been witnessed and shared in with much gratification, and, we doubt not, with much profit to all concerned. Information has been gained, by many, at points where it would have been secured by no other process—thoughts have been awakened, which cannot easily be put to sleep again—teachers and parents have been stimulated to a larger and deeper sense of their responsibility for the children and youth committed to their care; and many, we think, have been brought to a more firm belief that much may be done, beyond what is usually effected, not merely for the intellectual advancement, but for the moral and spiritual culture of the young, in schools of the various grades, and even in the social circle of each particular household. We know, from personal observation, that all this has been accomplished in many minds; and believe that a permanent influence of the most valuable kind may be surely reckoned upon. Nor could it have been materially otherwise. So much earnestness in the attempt to promote the highest interests of humanity—those of religion being included—so much knowledge, experience, and skill, brought with so much labour, and applied for almost a week to the population of a place like this, could never fail to produce a decided effect, or terminate in results of an evanescent character. Of the many spectators and hearers, some, of course, would not be greatly profited, and some, in a place like this, would little need the information given, or the stimulants applied; but not a few, it is believed, will hereafter be found

more zealous in the advancement of knowledge, and eager for improvements in the processes of developing the mind, than they have been heretofore. There are "truths that wake to perish never;" and some of these, even if not of the nature of discoveries, have been brought, for the first time, to the notice of persons capable of receiving, and willing to profit by them.

But leaving these generalities, we will speak of some particulars that seem worthy of attention, and suggest matters of reflection, inquiry, and criticism. (We say criticism; for our readers must not suppose that we can hastily endorse all that was said on this occasion.) The object of such meetings, under the conduct chiefly of the gentlemen connected with the State Normal School, is to make teachers of all grades more fully acquainted with improved methods of conducting schools, to give them a higher sense of their responsibility, and to secure, on the part of parents and others, a deeper feeling of interest in the whole work of educational training and development. Or, let us take the outline report of an address by Professor Phelps, made at the opening of the week's exercises:—"We shall aim to give the members a truer conception of what education really is; the true order of the development of the faculties of the mind, and the branches necessary to develope these faculties in their natural order, to arouse a hearty professional feeling amongst those engaged in this great work. Lawyers, doctors, clergymen, all resort to such combinations to further their efficiency; why, then, should not teachers follow an example so advantageous? Another object is to arouse the people, and secure their sympathy and coöperation."

The small attendance of teachers, excepting those of Princeton, who, of all grades, attended more or less upon these exercises, rendered this meeting less effective for its peculiar objects than its friends would have anticipated. But other objects, and those, perhaps, not less important, were accomplished,—more, we think, than the principal actors in the case would have anticipated. But of this we have already spoken.

Our college professors, three of them at least, were brought into positions a little peculiar, and such as to test their ingenuity more than their usual routine of instruction naturally

would. To present scientific truths to those who are prepared to receive them, is a comparatively easy task; but to array them even in their elements so as to engage the attention of a miscellaneous assemblage, is a very difficult matter; and not unfrequently those who know them best would find it least possible to do it. On this account, one who had not heard the professors of Nassau Hall in similar circumstances, might have feared that they would find their task irksome, and, perhaps, accomplish much less than they would desire. But no such fear would be entertained hereafter, respecting those who undertook the work here demanded of them. The skill displayed in handling the most difficult scientific subjects, was such as to give much credit to the professors, and great pleasure to all moderately intelligent hearers.

Few, we think, can have heard Dr. Atwater's discourses on Mental Science, without feeling, that in our common ignorance of its teachings, we sustain much loss, and are, perhaps, worthy of no little blame; and this, especially, if we have, in any form, the office of teachers. Let us look at the case. Here is a teacher,—say of a common school,—his work, did he rightly understand it, is not merely to give some rules and precepts in reading, writing, cyphering, and the use of language, but to commence the development of the minds submitted to his care; and yet he himself knows nothing of the science of mind; could not define a single word relating to it. He may, indeed, teach by traditional methods all that his employers expect of him; but can he do a work nearly as good as if he knew something of the subjects (*i. e.* the minds) that he operates upon? We will grant, that a man may succeed well in making shoes, who has only an experimental acquaintance with the properties of leather; but if his shoes, in virtue of the properties of the leather, were to produce other shoes, and must be made accordingly, then we think his empirical knowledge would hardly be enough.

Evidently, the teacher can do but an imperfect work, unless he knows what he works upon; and, although it may seem like asking too much, if we require every common school teacher to be a metaphysician, we cannot err in saying, that he ought to

have some knowledge of this kind, more than is usually sought. He cannot, we allow, go very far in the development of mind; but is compelled to do something in this way; and not teaching in any proper method may not only fail of this something, but lead his pupils into bad habits, from which it may afterwards be found very difficult to deliver them.

Dr. Atwater made a quotation from Sir William Hamilton, which, we cannot doubt, must have led some, at least, of his hearers to better thoughts than men generally cherish. The words are: "On earth there is nothing great but man; and in man there is nothing great but mind." How startling ought such expressions be to those who never make a study of themselves and their fellow-men; and how calculated to stimulate, in their zeal for the knowledge of the immortal mind, all who are capable of appreciating such lofty suggestions! What, the hearer would naturally ask, have been my feelings, and what my habitual acts respecting this incomparably greatest of all earthly objects? Have I been so deluded as to think wealth great, honour or office great, and myself, or another, when viewed simply as a human being, small, and of little account? Have I been ready to fall down and almost worship the lords of wealth, and power, and fame, while I could treat with slight respect, or ill concealed contempt, a man bearing the image of his Maker, because he is *only a man?* Have I allowed myself to ask, how much is such a one worth, and be contented with the answer, a million of dollars, without reflecting that every human being, not quite destroyed by sin, is of more account before God, *worth* more in the eyes of a judicious man, than all the other riches of the world?

Here, too, the judicious parent would ask himself, can it be that I am so anxious that my children should do or be something that the world calls great, or something to make them great, and all the time forget the greatness already given them by their having this immortal spirit within? Am I thinking of the wealth that I may gather for them, or they for themselves, as a great thing, and forgetting that an infinitely more noble treasure may be found in their minds by a proper development of their faculties?

In short, this one utterance, with the enforcement supplied by the lecture, would naturally turn the thoughts of even careless hearers to the great realities of their existence, and, we should hope, lead some to the true wisdom of a rational being.

Dr. Schanck's lecture on the forces of the material world was exceedingly well adapted to the occasion; and to those who have not heard him before his classes in college, was a pleasing proof of his well-known skill in his somewhat difficult department of instruction.

It would be beside our present purpose to report the lecture, even in outline; but one passage in it was so remarkable as a statement of fact, that we cannot pass it by. Speaking of the forces resident in the various forms of matter, he referred to a recent estimate of the force developed from coal in the production of steam in England. The calculation is, that the work annually effected by this agency, in England alone, would require the force of six hundred millions of men—far more than all the operatives of the human family. Such a statement strikes one, at first, as incredible; but if duly explained, it may appear not beyond the simple truth. The calculation is made in this wise. It is ascertained that a pound of coal will generate a given measure of steam, which will lift a certain number of pounds, through a certain number of feet, in a given time. If then we know the amount of coal used in a year, we know the force developed, and how many men would be required to exert the same lifting power against the natural force of gravitation. Let it be observed, too, that the labour of developing this power, including the mining and transportation of coals, and the tending of engines, is done by about one hundred thousand men; so that one of these (comparing the number with the six hundred millions) puts forth a power equal to the muscular force of six thousand able-bodied men.

But there is more in this than meets the eye. It would be hardly possible to organize the force of human beings, so as to accomplish so much of the work done by the steam-engine, so that really the effects of this power seem to defy calculation. What then must be the hidden force of the coal measures of the United States—measures compared with which

those of Great Britain are only as her diminutive surface with our immensely greater area.*

Professor Guyot's lecture on Physical Geography was a deeply interesting and most instructive one. To persons even somewhat familiar with what is commonly taught respecting the distribution of land and water on the globe, and the facts dependent upon this and the various elevation of lands, there were many points of novelty and valuable instruction. One statement especially, we note, viz., that nearly one-half the present population of the earth, say almost six hundred millions, is now to be found on those two (promontories we may almost call them) very limited sections of the world, India and China; while this depends, in no small part, upon the temperature and moisture of the climates of those regions as dependent upon elevation and proximity to great bodies of water.

This, again, leads us to reflect upon the fact, which *a priori* we should not have anticipated, that three-fourths of the earth's surface is covered with water. It would seem very convenient to the possible exigencies of our race that we should have more land. But let us see how it would work. Should our oceans subside to one-half their present dimensions, we should have immense tracts of now fertile lands reduced at once to the condition of the great barren plateaus of Asia, Europe, and America; and we should probably have less habitable territory than has actually been assigned for our use. So at this point, as at so many others, our science is justifying "the ways of God to man."

* It is a very curious fact, that if we take the coal measures of England, 11,600 square miles, and those of the United States at 200,000 square miles, and then the area of Great Britain, about 118,000 square miles, and compare with our 2,963,000 square miles, (deducting one-third of this area as hopelessly barren,) we shall find that as we have seventeen times the habitable area, we have seventeen times the extent of coal measures. This deduction we make in masses between our western and southwestern States, and the Pacific slope of the continent; because these large areas are visibly and almost totally distinct from the parts of our country that are generally habitable. We have then left our habitable areas, with spaces mixed and broken up, much as those of Great Britain. Then we have this surprising fact, that the Creator has given to us and the English nation, coal measures almost exactly proportioned to our respective areas of habitable territory. (The north of Scotland is *not* of sufficient magnitude to come into these calculations.)

We proceed to some notice of the lecture of Mr. F. W. Ricord, State Superintendent of Schools, on the Influence of the Education of a People upon their Character and Condition. That we have this title exactly right, we are not quite sure; for in our remembrance of the topics discussed, we find very prominent, the influence of the governmental institutions of a people upon their schemes of education—a topic equally legitimate with the other, and closely related to it.

This lecture was an eloquent performance, and with the advantages of the musical voice of the speaker, and his graceful delivery, gave more than common pleasure to every intelligent hearer. In the main, too, its teachings were just and pertinent to the occasion. Were we reviewing it with a copy before us, we could justify this assertion by various citations. But our object is rather the criticising of some passages that struck as a little questionable in their bearing and tendency.

For example, the people of the northern States of our Union were represented as having alone adopted just ideas of education, in virtue of their just ideas of government, as being democratic in its character. The extent to which a common-school education is given in the north, as compared with that at the south, and the absence of all restriction upon the subjects and doctrines taught, as compared with some countries in Europe, were strikingly, and in a measure justly, presented. In relation to the former, we recall some statistical notices. It was stated, that by the latest accessible returns, it appears that in the nine now seceded States, one in thirteen adults (white) are unable to read and write; while in the fully loyal States, only one in two hundred and eight are left in such ignorance.

But here one allowance should be made in favour of the south. In many parts of these faulted States, plantations being large, the white population is so sparse as to render it impossible to provide for the poor whites, as we do in our more densely populated regions. It is alleged, moreover, that the southern planters are, in general, quite as favourable to the education of all the whites as we at the north; and that if any amongst us could feel a scruple, lest, if all were thoroughly educated, too many would shun common employments, slave-

holders can have no such fear, since they are always secure of labourers in the always available form of bond-servants.

But to return to our apparent topic. Mr. Ricord was very distinct in his comments upon the influence of governmental ideas and institutions upon the actual course of education in the monarchical countries of Europe—attempting to make it appear, that while in some of those countries, as Prussia for example, all are compelled to accept at least an elementary education, yet the teachings are less free than with us, and less calculated to accomplish the true work of education. This is, no doubt, true to a certain extent, and worthy of note in the connection where it was introduced. We would add, also, that if Mr. Ricord had wished to press his topic, he should have referred especially to Russia and France. In Russia, as we learn from the Count Gurooski, the restrictions upon the teachings of all the schools are numerous and most significant. A form of government so nearly autocratic could hardly be maintained, or a church, so constituted as the Greek, be upheld, unless by great care in the training of all who might at any time gain political influence. Much that is taught, even in England, and still more (if we look at its contents and mode of inculcation,) of what we teach in this country, must, under the Czar's rule, be carefully excluded. So, in France, the plan of the emperor, for the last few years especially, has been to regulate, as carefully as possible, the teachings of all the schools, with a view to the confirmation of the present regime and Napoleonic dynasty. Of such instances more might have been made for Mr. Ricord's purposes than of England or Germany; and, on the assumption that our democratic notions are absolutely right, such allegations were entirely pertinent.

Were we to attempt a review that should do justice to the several speakers on this occasion, we should have not a little to say in praise of Professor Hart's lecture on the subject of Attention. On this topic, we can hardly conceive of an exposition more complete in respect to its aim, or better adapted to its special design. Every one hearing it, must feel that in the *power of attention* is our chief facility for the advancement of our knowledge beyond those rude elements which are given

through the common exercises of the outward organs of sense; and every intelligent hearer must look back with regret upon the many failures in mental acquisition to which he has been exposed by the neglect of the rules thus supplied.

This discourse we should characterize, especially, as preserving a just medium in reference to modes of securing attention to the great topics of human learning. Professor Hart knows all the modern methods of instruction, and has compared them with the older processes, which some in these days would rudely banish from all our schools of learning—from all the lower schools, at least; and we do not exactly see how, on the score of principle, they could be allowed in the higher.

Professor Hart drew from the record of his experience some almost startling examples of the ignorance that may be found amongst those who have had fair advantages for learning, owing to the want of proper attention to books read and subjects studied. He found, for example, a whole class of the more advanced pupils of a Sunday-school in Philadelphia, a Bible-class, that had been through all the lower forms, not one of whom could tell the meaning of the word *cloven*, in the expression "cloven tongues," as used in the Acts of the Apostles. We refer to this in order to call the attention of those who minister in the gospel, to the fact, that without careful examination for themselves, they can never be aware how many of the words of the Holy Scriptures are wholly unmeaning to a majority of those committed to their spiritual care, and how needful, then, it is to adopt great plainness of speech in all attempts to instruct the worshippers of an ordinary assembly. Not that we would have the *language* of the pulpit brought down, on every occasion, to the level of the most ignorant; but great care should be taken in the various methods possible, for a settled pastor gradually to secure a fair apprehension of all words and phrases that he sees fit commonly to employ.

One suggestion of Professor Hart we quote, not for its novelty, but as deserving the attention of all who are inclined to frown upon the usual processes of a liberal education, because much thereby taught can be of no practical use to the learned. His remark was: "The subject of study is often of

less importance than the manner." In consonance with this, our higher education is often conducted, not by giving information for any of the common pursuits of life, but by means of branches of learning, the manner of studying which is most sure to give vigour of tone and accuracy of operation to our minds.

Mathematics, for example, *compel* attention. No one can ever make any real progress in any department of this *learning*, (*learning*, by way of eminence, as the name imports,) without perfect acts of attention. The mind must be withdrawn from all else, in such contemplation of any subject of this kind as will put one in possession of any truth whatever; and this *manner* of studying, no matter how it may be attained, will be carried, more or less, into all departments of thoughtful research. It gives the ability to work, let the work actually required in our intellectual life be what it may.

On this account, and as experience seems to show that the habit of patient attention is not easily preserved in the excitements of professional life, we believe that the practice of devoting some little time to these severe studies would, if kept up through life, add not a little to the intellectual vigour so necessary in all labours where the mind is concerned. We would at least suggest, that any one who, in the pulpit or at the bar, finds his mental energies flagging, and feels himself impatient of the restraint that careful thought imposes, should make the experiment of addressing himself to the task of mastering mathematical questions, not too far beyond his actual reach, but such as will compel him to the most strenuous efforts of attention of which he is capable. The clergyman or lawyer may soon attain such mastery of words as will answer his purposes with the public, especially if those purposes be no higher than they sometimes are; but a true man is not content with this; he would entertain productive thoughts—such as will at least add to his own stock of real knowledge; while to this end, he will soon learn, nothing can avail, unless it be severe and prolonged attention to any matter of rational inquiry.

Of the other lectures, we have no means of making special reports; but it must not be understood that we are indisposed to give them the credit of instructiveness and pertinency in

their place. Professor Betts, on Teaching as an Art, we heard too little of to attempt any criticism. In listening to some instructions which he gave to a class, on fractions, and with special reference to circulating decimals, although he seemed to do all that could be done by oral teaching, we could not but reflect upon what has often engaged our attention in regard to instruction in mathematics, at every stage, *i. e.*, the impossibility of accomplishing much, unless in definitions, and some of the simpler expressions of truth, by any thing in the lecture form. The difficulty is evident. The learner must employ the eye, the ear, and the reasoning faculty, at the same time, and then, in the attempt to combine the notices of the three, he is all but sure to get entangled in thought, to lose the chain of argument, and then feel compelled to relinquish the hope of following his teacher through. Often have we seen the professor, to say nothing of less qualified teachers, go on, most clearly to himself, and possibly to some in his class, while not one that really needed the demonstration could follow it. There is something in the very nature of the case, that forbids much real success in this mode of instruction. We speak in general terms, allowing for the extraordinary skill which here and there a teacher may display. And, what may at first seem singular, the more complete the knowledge of the lecturer, ordinarily, the less he can accomplish, in this mode. One of only common abilities and attainments, who remembers well by what short and often painful steps he gained his own knowledge, and who knows but little beyond what he is about to teach, and is not, therefore, tempted to indulge in large views, or to take any of the shorter courses to his end, such as genius might espy, is much more likely to convey his ideas in language, and other array suitable to the learner, especially in the earlier stage of his education, than one who, in a written treatise might make valuable contributions to his own department of science. One that gains a knowledge of mathematics by the grand intuitions of a Newton, a Euler, or Lagrange, we should hardly expect to be very successful in the instruction of a college class. Talents, not genius, if we understand it, are the *sine qua non* for a good teacher in any department. This, however, by the way.

Only a word more in regard to mathematical teaching. The chief reliance at the beginning must be upon well devised definitions, rules, demonstrations, and examples, to be studied in quietude; then, upon careful examinations, to make sure of the pupil's fitness for a new lesson; and, at a later stage, such problems as will require the accurate use of what has been taught. And here we may well recall what Professor Hart so well said of "the talismanic power of judicious questioning." It is certainly a chief device of teaching, in all branches where *ideas*, in the higher sense of this term, are concerned; and, as an art even, deserves the careful study of every teacher. "Prudens quæstio est dimidium scientiæ," is a maxim for the teacher, just as much as for the original investigator of truth. Rarely has human wisdom, we may also add, been more signally displayed, than in those dialogues of Plato which present Socrates as relying almost entirely upon the catechetical method, in the noble lessons that he so freely and skilfully gave.

We proceed to a notice of some points where we are compelled to take exceptions to the doctrines of the normal school teachers; not, indeed, to deny them *in toto;* but to insist upon their not being carried too far, or made to exclude established principles and modes of teaching.

And, first, in regard to spelling: we cannot allow that it is to be learned chiefly by written exercises, or confined, in our early learning, to words already understood.

As to the use of the eye, we would remark: Language represents mental conceptions, first to the ear, and this from its essential character. The intellect sets in motion the organs of speech: "Post effert animi motus, interprete lingua." To be written, is what logicians call an accident of language; not of its essence. But there are many advantages in writing it; and one of the chief gifts to man, whether by direct inspiration, as many suppose, or by the natural exercise of his faculties, is the visible character by which we represent the sounds that we employ in the communication of thought, one with another. As compared with merely oral speech, it is the great standing miracle of our race; and when witnessed for the first

time among savages, usually produces the effect of a miraculous endowment.

What, now, is spelling? It is naming the characters which stand for a spoken word—the names being either the sounds for which the letters stand, or brief combinations, in which those sounds appear; as in our A, B, &c., or in the Alpha, Beta, &c., of the Greeks.

The child learning to spell is to be taught two things, viz., to recall the written form, when a word is pronounced, or to find the spoken word in characters before the eye. Clearly, then, he must *hear* the words, and *see* how they are written. Suppose, then, we put an old fashioned spelling-book into his hands. There he will find many common words, and as soon as he is taught the common power of the letters, and simple syllables, he will recognise the sound of the words, as indicated by the printed form. Should he err in any of them, he will be corrected at his spelling exercise; or, if need be, his attention is called to any puzzling peculiarities when his lesson is assigned. At his recitation, he names the letters composing words pronounced to him, utters the syllables, and then the entire words; and, as far as he has done this correctly, he has gained both the objects of his learning; the sounds recall the printed characters, and these, when placed before the eye, suggest the spoken words. Now, as simple matter of fact, the greater number of all that can spell correctly in our language, have learned to do so, in no small part, by the old method here indicated.

But, we are told, a child cannot remember the spelling of words, the meaning of which he does not know. This, the experience of nearly all that now write our language, or any other, proves to be untrue. A child of six or eight years of age will spell correctly hundreds of words in an hour, the meaning of which he has yet to learn; and with a diligent use of eye and ear, there is, and even can be, no difficulty in making this attainment.

The written character, it is urged, however, belongs to the eye, and by the eye it must be learned. But what is a representative independent of the thing represented. One may look at the minister of a foreign court in Washington; what will he

see but a man of the ordinary form? what will he know of him, even by all his peculiarities of dress, if he have any, unless by the mental conception of what he stands for? The simple fact is, in whatever way we turn our exercise in teaching spelling, the matter is of the eye and ear both; and, hence, both must be continually employed. The written exercise, so far as it excites attention more readily and fully than the oral, is of value, and no farther. Using the printed column, committing to memory, and reciting in the old way, engages all the faculties concerned; and, properly employed, cannot fail of its end. In one respect it has a peculiar advantage. It familiarizes the eye with the printed character, and thus gives material aid toward the fluent reading of books; whereas, attention to manuscript characters can give but little help in this way. On this account, if no other, we think that columns of words, whether their meaning be understood or not, should be learned and spelled exactly in the old fashioned way. This, too, may be done before a child ought to have any ready use of the pencil or pen. Writing words from dictation is certainly a valuable *exercise*—it cannot be pronounced more. To what extent it should be practised in a school, will depend upon circumstances. The single teacher of a promiscuous school could not accomplish much in this way, without neglecting other important parts of his work.

Here, by the way, we would remark, various methods of instruction that work well, with a sufficient corps of teachers, are impracticable in the common school-room. There, the pupil must be turned chiefly to his books, with brief exercises in recitation. Do our reformers in teaching, and while themselves engaged in the work, with numerous aids, and facilities of separate rooms, and often costly apparatus, sufficiently consider the case of our ordinary district school instructors? They would vainly essay some of the best methods of the normal or model school-room.

All who have had any experience in teaching, are well aware of the difficulty of giving any instruction that requires close attention, in a room where fifty or sixty children, of all ages and dispositions, are congregated, and with but a single mind to govern and convey knowledge. In the mere routine of hear-

ing lessons recited, one may control the whole while teaching a class. But, suppose the attempt be made to convey ideas new to the pupils, by the lecture and questioning process, or the catechetical, we may call it. A portion of those addressed may be readily interested, and their attention fully secured; but others are not attracted, and will very soon set up some performance for their own diversion, which, if suffered to proceed, will spoil the teacher's work. He then must pause and put things right. But they will not long remain so; and he must again,—just at the moment, perhaps, when he most wants full attention,—break off and reduce the school to order. The result may be, as in experience it has too often been seen, the teacher gets wearied in his double effort, and relinquishes the task in disgust. With a single assistant, or, it might be, a single monitor, to watch for him, his attempt would, perhaps, be entirely successful.

In the discipline of a school, the same distinction must be made between a collegiate institute and a school with a single teacher. During the exercises under review, Professor Phelps gave an example of a mode of discipline lately tried under his own hands, where, by bringing up the case of offenders at the close of the week, say, and in the comparatively solemn presence of teachers and pupils, they were brought to acknowledge their faults with such reference to moral delinquency, and other great considerations, that the ends of discipline seemed easily gained; and more effectively than by the common processes of trial and penalty. But, while the example would be well worth the consideration of every teacher, the circumstances of a common school would, we should fear, at least, render the example much more difficult to follow than at first it might be supposed. And even in the most favourable circumstances, the seemingly best methods are often much less successful, when they have become customary, than upon a single trial, where the influence of novelty has its full play. Many procedures are good for an occasion, which do not bear stereotyping.

Some remarks made by Professor Phelps, in connection with his statement of the case just alluded to, reminded us of a topic suggested, and partially discussed, at an association of teachers held some years since in Wilmington, Delaware. The question

was raised, Ought schools to be *managed*, or *governed?* It was raised, too, in view of the fact that some of those present appeared to hold that the discipline of a school was rather to be maintained by tact than by authority. Now, while we would give place to all the skill in management that is compatible with fostering a sense of obligation to just rules, and the respect due to a teacher, as being also a ruler in his peculiar place, we still think it one of the gravest possible errors, to make the principal of a school merely the delegate of the pupils, to conduct such exercises as they, under his suggestions, may agree upon; and to inflict only such penalties as, by a vote among themselves, they may ask him to apply to their offences. Such a procedure has been tried, in form, in some cases, and is often virtually adopted. The teacher, it is true, will prompt the establishment of such rules as he may judge best, as also propose the penalties to be administered. But this advice begins with a deposition of authority, and with the virtual abrogation of all school laws; and, of course, throws out nearly all the moral elements of the daily transactions between the teacher and his pupils.

A more serious blunder than this is rarely made by a well-meaning man, in the conduct of life. There is the pupil—to be taught in the common elements of knowledge, as a primary object, we admit—but for years, it may be, is to spend no small part of his time in circumstances where the moral aspects of his conduct will continually affect numbers about him, and where, in order to a real capacity for many of the virtues of after life, he must be in the daily practice of self-denial, and subjection to rules imposed by authority; or else form a set habit of lawlessness and self-indulgence, in the labours and pleasures of his daily course. During his education he can be but little under the eye, or even control, of his parents; while, at the same time, he has still less occasion to feel the obligations of civil life: so that if he is not learning the nature of moral subjection, he is becoming less and less capable of appreciating it in his coming years.

In short, we believe that the teacher, the *magister*, as a Cicero, with perhaps a better theory than some of the moderns have, would call him, is really a magistrate—not a mere man-

ager—and that, however careful he ought to be not to make any needless show of his authority, it should always be felt as tinging the very atmosphere of a school-room, and spreading its influence over the whole way from that room to the parent's door. He can never rule without *governing*, and he can never *govern* without the show, in some form or other, of authority; which again, as is true of all moral government, no less than of all legal control, as that of an imperial, kingly, or republican administration, requires that an array of actual force, which may at any moment be summoned to the infliction of just penalties, should always be held in readiness for use. In all wise and good governments, as in that of the Supreme Ruler, this awful power may be placed far out of sight, as its sensible presence might too much disturb the subject in the prosecution of his common labours: but it is there, always ready for the summons of the ruler, and not so far out of sight even, but that every one tempted to transgress may readily perceive it. Not to recognise this principle of all government, is fatal, we may also add, not less to the teacher than to the parent, or any other of the powers that be for the good of a social universe.

We hope our friends of the Normal School system will not suppose all this to be meant specially for them. We do not assume that they require such admonitions more than others. But in this country, where the political theory is, that all power is exercised by delegates from the governed masses, there is danger of a malign influence upon every form of government; and we have little doubt that in the education of our children and youth, whether in the family or school, there is often a great departure from the maxims authorized by the word of God, and by the experience of all well-ordered societies. To this same defect in school and family government, moreover, we think it quite possible, may be traced many of the evils that, at this moment, afflict our beloved country. Had children been ruled, as they ought to have been, in love we admit, but still with authority and power, we might have escaped many of the ills which, not merely in the shape of a great rebellion, but in many other forms, now oppress, and may yet overwhelm us.

We now pass on to the gravest point of our criticism. As

we understood Professor Phelps, it is a main principle of the method which he adopts, not to occupy the learner's attention in any way, unless with immediate explanation, with words not yet understood. The child must spell only such words as it already comprehends; and it must commit nothing to memory till the ideas represented by the words are fairly within the mental grasp. In other words, in our education, as a general and all but invariable rule, ideas in the learner's mind must be made to precede the terms expressing them.

This theory, upon the first sight of it, appears very reasonable. Nature would seem to be almost its very author; for, in the actual history of language, did not ideas, or impressions of objects on the mind, come first; and did not the names follow? So it may be thought, and we shall not here gainsay it; but the argument thus supplied does not seem quite conclusive. One would naturally ask, Must not the process of learning by mere nature have been rather a tedious one? So it would seem from the history of our race. Might not the art of man accelerate the progress of men in this course?

Here let us observe, by the way, that in the course of the proceedings of this Institute, we were often remanded to nature for lessons in the art of teaching. Now we admit that nature has some very wonderful powers, and does some things wonderfully well; but, under the appointments of her Great Author, she does some things better yet, through human aid and direction. Left to herself, and since the days of Paradise, we believe she has never produced a good apple, or an eatable peach—her somewhat rude attempts being the crab-apple, and poor fruit, off in Persia, it may be, which, with sufficient cultivation, becomes a marketable peach. Not even a grain of wheat has she given us, without the aid of man—the almost worthless ægilops of the Nile countries being her best efforts in that direction. The truth seems to be, that our Creator has seen fit to place the wonderful powers of what we call nature under human control, for many of the beneficent ends which they are to effect, even in provinces where the intervention of man would appear least necessary. And, if so, in such departments as fruits and grains, it would seem still more likely to occur in the history of human culture. The powers that are not com-

missioned (at least since the curse that passed upon even the earth itself) to produce an apple or a peach, could hardly be expected to accomplish the best possible work in the education of mankind. Lord Bacon's "Natura non vincitur nisi parendo," may, after all, be but a half truth; the other half being, that in many cases our commanding must go before our obeying. Man, placed on earth to bear and display the image of his God, should, we judge from the well-known facts of the case, have precedence, in many positions, even of the divinely appointed forces created for his advantage.

With such considerations in view, we are not prepared to learn more of nature in the department of mental culture than it seems likely she has been commissioned to teach. We rather conclude, that art—which, after all, may be viewed as a sublimation, and regulated application of native forces—may supply a better process for developing human powers and graces, than any that would show itself in a savage state.

But to return from these general thoughts, to the matter of teaching ideas first, and words afterwards. This, in some cases, is certainly expedient; but we perceive no necessity for binding ourselves to this mode. Why may we not, even with children, use language to convey ideas? Yes, the objector may say, but the language must be intelligible, or your work will fail; your ideas will not be conveyed. Is it time, then, that each and every word that we employ must have had its intellectual counterpart first conveyed to the mind by some outward transaction? We think not. A child, at the age of six or seven years, say, has a considerable number of clear conceptions, derived from sensations, and from hearing the speech of its parents, teachers, or companions. But these conceptions have their representatives in words, mostly suggestive of objects belonging to the world of sense, and capable, therefore, of conveying to the mind various ideas in the moral or intellectual world. Suppose, now, the instructor, parent, or other teacher, would convey some farther intelligence to the child. He will naturally use these familiar words, but can hardly confine himself to them. He will rather, unconsciously, it may be, introduce other terms, such as his own thoughts suggest, and, in most cases, allied in form and office to those

which are felt to be most familiar. Is he now to pause, and ask whether each word, taken by itself, is familiar to his pupil? will he not rather assume, that those already known will introduce, with hints, at least, of their true character, any that may, for the moment, seem like strangers to the awakening mind? And even let us suppose that some of the words are quite new; does it follow that they will convey no idea? Surely not. One, in reading a foreign language, may meet a word for the first time, and yet, without the aid of his dictionary, get a pretty clear idea of the sentence containing it. The vision, so to speak, presented by the opening of the sentence, may be so clear as to make known objects, which, elsewhere, would have appeared altogether strange and incomprehensible. Every one, in really learning a new language, finds himself often compelled to resort, more or less, to mere conjecture as to that meaning of a word which will fit the place in which it occurs. But all coherent thoughts have a unity, such that a hint only may suffice to convey them entire.

A consequence of the false doctrine, as we conceive it, that the learner's mind must be occupied only with words and sentences already intelligible, is, that catechisms, unless in forms of extremely infantile character, must not be taught to children. Let us take the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. The first question and answer is: "*Q.* What is the chief end of man? *Ans.* The chief end of man is to glorify God, and enjoy him for ever." This language is as simple as can well be devised; but some of its leading terms are but partially intelligible to a child, or even a youth of riper years. The phrase, "chief end," conveys but little of the idea that a mature mind has of it. A President Edwards required some pages to set down the distinctions which he thinks requisite to make this, and some related notions, fully intelligible. But not to insist upon this, we are sure that most children get very indistinct ideas from such an expression, many of them, perhaps, none at all. So of the expression, "to glorify God;" plain as it may appear to a mature scholar, we venture to say that comparatively few adults have conceptions of it as clear as some modern teachers would think necessary to warrant their hearing the expression. Then, there is the awful name of God;

is that not to be introduced till adequate ideas are made to precede it? We might even make this one question, and, in view of the whole history of religious thought, a test of the doctrine here controverted. This word must be continually offered to the minds of men, of all grades of understanding; but how few have any but the crudest ideas of its import.

In respect to the catechism, the true doctrine is that of Keble, in his "Christian year:"

> "Oh! say not, dream not, heavenly notes
> To childish ears are vain,
> That the young mind at random floats,
> And cannot reach the strain.
>
> Dim or unheard, the words may fall,
> And yet the heaven-taught mind
> May learn the sacred air, and all
> The harmony unwind."

This is true wisdom; and the experience of all, who, having been taught a good catechism in childhood, have found the at first dim and almost inappreciable words growing in force and brightness, through years of religious life, must feel the beauty and aptitude of the poet's expressions. How pertinent, again, are these verses:

> "And if some tones be false or low,
> What are all prayers beneath,
> But cries of babes, that cannot know
> Half the deep thought they breathe?
>
> In his own words we Christ adore,
> But angels, as we speak,
> Higher above our meaning soar
> Than we o'er children weak."

There is yet a higher line of argument in respect to the general principle now in question. As Bishop Berkeley has so well taught in his "Minute Philosopher," all the phenomena of the world are a language, in which God speaks to us for instruction and spiritual edification. We find, too, upon reflection, that this mode of speaking has much more the character of artificial language than at first would be supposed.

The bishop shows this in the case of light, which at first reveals nothing of distance, but only colours and forms. It is like a spoken word, whose full import can only be known as we become fully acquainted with the various circumstances to which it refers.

So of all nature; it is the voice of God, speaking of himself, his attributes, and his ways; and yet how little of it do we comprehend! Many of us scarcely get the alphabet during the course of our lives. Others pick out more; and some learn whole volumes of truth from this same speech. See how much a Newton could hear in the falling of an apple to the ground! The whole system of modern astronomy stood before him, in that one expression of the Maker's laws in the material world.

Now if we are remanded to nature for processes of instruction, we refer at once to the *God of nature;* and as we are taught to be "imitators" (Eph. v. 1, Gr.,) of him, we will endeavour to be so wherever we can. If he speaks of his power in the earth below and the heavens above, though in terms that are at first but partly understood, we shall feel warranted in a like procedure, wherever the circumstances of our teaching seem to require it. If he speaks of his love in the beauties of flowers, in the splendours of a setting sun, and in the brightness of the heavenly orbs—if by such smiles of his countenance he would reveal his goodness to men, although many may fail to comprehend his speech, and few get adequate ideas of its meaning—we shall feel at liberty to pursue an analogous course, whether we attempt to instruct the young or the old. We shall hope that our words, though perhaps partially significant of themselves to many who hear them, may, in due connection, point to the great orbs of thought which they designate, and bring all auditors more or less to the knowledge of their highest instructions.

A word more in regard to the instruction of children. It is part of the divinely established system of religious discipline, that they should receive much of their knowledge *in faith.* They must believe what they are told, even though they can but partly comprehend it. This is a stepping-stone to faith in a heavenly Father and a divine Teacher; and for us to seek

to set this aside, so that the child shall always rely upon *his own understanding*, is, however unconsciously, to attempt the subversion of a great rule of infinite wisdom.

We had intended to say something upon the subject of object-teaching, so called, as it was presented at this meeting. But our limits forbid all but the suggestion, that if it be relied upon as furnishing a royal road to any high learning, it will deceive its friends, and render their work only the more difficult. As a method of gaining attention to the sensible qualities of things, it is useful; and as a variation upon the common processes of teaching, must be valuable as an occasional exercise; but the mind must always be the chief instrument of working out truth, in every form of rational thought; and its chief aids must always be spoken or written speech. The world is already full of objects; but the patient reflection that will derive knowledge from them, can never, to any great extent, be compelled.

We close with the following suggestions to teachers who have yet to learn some of the great principles of their art.

Do not assume, that because a new measure works well for an hour, it will therefore work equally well for a month; or that because it does wonders for an occasion, that therefore it must at once be made the method of a school.

Do not push things too far in any peculiar way. Always remember, *Est modus in rebus;* and, *Ne quid nimis.*

Again: *Festina lente.* Too much eagerness to secure a pupil's improvement may be just as fatal as too little. It is one of the rocks on which a good teacher may strike and his vessel perish.

Once more: Almost every thing loses somewhat of its power by stereotyping. Principles, it is true, must remain fixed; but the mode of applying them must submit to many variations.

Finally: It should never be forgotten, that the intellect, as the body, is but the handmaid for the higher objects of our existence. All education then should keep in view, that moral virtues, and holy affections, are the essential characteristics of a well educated human being; and that no principles unfavourable to best culture of the spirit, as immortal, should ever be admitted to our educational course.

ART. VI.—*The True Place of Man in Zoölogy:* continued. Essay on Classification. By Louis Agassiz.

BESIDES the reasons examined in the preceding number of this *Review*, another was alluded to, which it is proposed now to consider. It is that of language, or a comparison of the voices or tones of different kind of animals with the languages of the various nations of men. Strange as is the mere notion of such a comparison, it is strenuously maintained by Professor Agassiz.

A host of scholars had developed the affinities of many peoples by a comparison of their languages. The results had been admirable. A wide brotherhood of mankind was manifest. The Indo-European languages showed an early and intimate relationship of the nations that spoke them. A great many widely scattered peoples must have originated from one and the same stock. This conclusion must be opposed by all who hold man to have originated in several and different and distant localities, with each its peculiar language as well as origin. Such is the position of Professor Agassiz and the school he represents.

Let us hear his views in the Essay: "There is a vast field open for investigation in the relations between the voice and the actions of animals, and a still more interesting subject of inquiry in the relationship between the cycle of intonations, which different species of animals of the same family are capable of uttering, which, as far as I have as yet been able to trace them, stand to one another in the same relations as the different, so-called, families of languages." (Note, p. 66.) Years before, the same views were presented in the "Types of Mankind," by Professor Agassiz, in the following confident manner: "The evidence adduced from the affinities of the languages of different nations in favour of a community of origin is of no value, when we know, that among vociferous animals, every species has its peculiar intonations, and that the different species of the same family produce sound as closely allied, and forming as natural combinations, as the so called Indo-Ger-

manic languages compared with one another." This language was read by us in 1855 with astonishment, and has been read by students and critics in this family of languages with wonder, that even an accomplished naturalist should hazard such an assertion before a host of most learned investigators of this most important and difficult subject.

To appreciate the true character of these quotations from the writings of Professor Agassiz, and which are evidently the result of his mature and serious consideration, these families of languages are now briefly exhibited from the late learned work of Max Müller.*

These families are *three.* 1. The *Indo-Germanic*, or the later and more appropriately named, *Indo-European*, or the late named *Aryan.* The last name is from a Sanskrit word, meaning *noble*, *of good family*, and is applied to the three higher castes among the Hindoos, and excludes, of course, the fourth caste, or the common people. It embraces the ancient dialects of India and Persia, and the oldest known, the Sanskrit; the Greek, and hence the modern Greek; the Latin, and those derived from it, as the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, Wallachian, and others; the Celtic, with the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh; the Teutonic, including the English, German, Gothic, Dutch, Danish, Swedish; Sclavonic, embracing Polish, Russian, Bohemian, Bulgarian, and many others.

2. The *Semitic.* This embraces, of living and dead languages, Arabic, and Hebrew, and under them, the Ethiopic, Bible Hebrew, Samaritan Pentateuch, Phenician, and others; and the Syriac, old and new; Chaldaic, with Biblical Chaldee and Talmudic, as well as Cuneiform Inscriptions. These two families have many things in common.

3. The *Turanian.* This includes the languages and dialects of the "Nomad races" over Central and Northern Asia, which are very numerous, and the old nations of Eastern Asia. For the present purpose only the following are noticed: the Mongolic, Tungusic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Finnic, with the

* Lectures on the Science of Language, by Max Müller, M. A. Second edition, revised 1862. New York. See pages 42, 43, 236, 237, and 394—8, &c.

Malayic, Tamulic, Gangetic, containing those of Tibet and China, and many more.

"The name Turanian is used in opposition to Aryan, and is applied to the nomadic races of Asia as opposed to the agricultural or Aryan races." P. 289.

Of the first family, all are clearly traced to the Sanskrit, or to a language which must have been the common source of them and the Sanskrit. The scholar who has a doubt upon this point, is far behind the age in which he imagines himself to live. And the other two families clearly diverged from some original stock, and may have been intimately connected with the other. Such is the splendid conclusion of the richest linguical minds, and it decides beyond controversy the common origin of a vast proportion of the present and ancient families of man.

The simple mention of these families of languages, and some of their dialects, will lead all who have attentively heard the voices, and seen the actions of animals, or carefully considered the intonations of different species of the same family of animals, to inquire, in what respects can Professor Agassiz intend that they have the same relations to one another as the "different, so called, families of languages." It cannot be that he means only, that animals express in tones some feelings or emotions which man expresses in words, and has some little variety in the different species, while man has the utmost copiousness and abundance. To the animals, their benevolent Creator would give all means of communication necessary, with their natures, for their support, and the continuance of their species. This may be *called* language, if one pleases, because thoughts, feelings, desires, may be thus revealed to their species; but *what other relations* do these voices sustain to human languages?

The consideration of two views, or aspects, will give the answer.

Admitted to be language, the peculiar tones of animals are mere *sounds*, varying, in some degree, from their different feelings or desires; instinctive or impulsive, changing in strength; not common to different species, for then they would not be distinctive; not borrowed or derived from one another, for the

same reason; capable of very little improvement, for this would require education; and destitute of inflections for persons and times, things and qualities, for this would change their nature and object, and make them words.

On the other hand, human language has a conventional system of *words*, not depending for their meaning on a peculiarity or strength of tone; or the meaning is in the words independent of the tone; it is not instinctive, or simply impulsive; it may be more impressive, by force and tone, but these are not essential to its meaning; the parts of articulate language are more or less common to different languages and dialects, and one has manifestly descended by certain changes from one to another, as the French, Italian, and Spanish from the Latin, the English and German from the Teutonic, and are capable of various changes, and great improvement; and the inflections are so many and so distinct, so various and so similar, that the tracing of the languages to common sources constitutes a most interesting and important part of *the science of language*. This simple view has led to the phrase, "science of language," which shows us that we have attempted to compare things which cannot be compared; that we have no right to speak of these voices or tones of animals as analogous to the conventional dialects of man. The science of language respects the great and important facts of conventional languages; but what is the *science* of the voices, or bellowings of the ox-tribe, the barking of dogs and foxes, the mewing of the cat-tribe, the cawing of crows, the crowing of cocks, and cackling of hens, or the singing of birds? Vastly remote are the relations of these voices and similar tones of animals, from the "different, so called, Indo-Germanic languages."

The other aspect presents the different modes of communication of thought in its widest extent. With man, the object is to express emotions and thoughts, and this has distinguished the whole amount of the different modes, used by man, into *signs of feeling or emotions*, and *signs of thought or ideas*. This distinction is obvious, because founded in the nature of things. Man uses both these classes of signs. His articulate language is composed of words as signs of thought, and is artificial, conventional, necessary to be acquired, constantly chang-

ing and progressive, as the modifications of thought are multiplied in the varying relations and pursuits of man.

But, besides these, man also uses the signs of feelings or emotions. These are the tones, or other indications, of hilarity, joy, surprise, fear, affections, agony, as shown by instinctive sounds, or tones of interjections; or by the sigh, the tear, the groan, the smile, the look of anger, or defiance, or humility, the boundings of exultant joy; or such gestures as the uneducated deaf and dumb make to exhibit their emotions. These signs are so different from the spoken or written languages of men, except in being a means of communicating something, that they have no other important relation.* The tones or notes are not words, more than are the actions.

Now, to all the extent necessary for their well-being, at least the higher animals share with man in similar emotional expressions or signs. They belong to the animal nature, and are at once instinctively made, and instinctively understood. The tones or actions of the cow towards her calf, of the robin towards her young, of the cat towards her kitten, of the sheep towards her lamb, of the hen or duck towards her brood, and those which indicate either danger or protection, and peace, al which cases are familiar to a multitude, seem to be as perfectly understood by the young, on first being made, as when repeated for the twentieth time; but, as the young could not have had any experience or instruction to prompt them, we are obliged to resort to an *instinctive* power in both mother and young, as the only solution of the fact. That this fact does not result from reasoning is clear, because there are no premises from which to derive the conclusion; nor from mere sensation, because there cannot have been any action of the senses to touch the case. It is only necessary that this emotional language should begin at the birth of the lamb, for instance; as it is well known that if the sheep be prevented from doing this, by instant separation,

* "Language begins where interjections end. There is as much difference between a real word, such as 'to laugh,' and the interjection, ha, ha! between 'I suffer,' and oh! as there is between the involuntary act and noise of sneezing, and the word 'to sneeze.' We sneeze, and cough, and scream, and laugh, in the same manner as animals; but if Epicurus tells us that we speak in the same manner as dogs bark, moved by nature, our own experience will tell us that this is not the case." Lectures, p. 367.

only for a few minutes, in any way, from the new-born lamb, the sheep will not even own the relationship of the lamb, whatever efforts may be made to effect it, and however much the lamb repeats its cry or voice.

We are now prepared to appreciate the illustrations given by Professor Agassiz, of his conclusion quoted above, that the tones of different species of animals of the same family, have to one another the "same relations as the different, so-called, families of languages." He proceeds to state, in illustration, the following: "All the Canina (dog family) bark; the howling of the wolves, the barking of the dogs and foxes, are only different modes of barking, comparable to one another in the same relation as the *monosyllabic*, the *agglutinating*, and the *inflecting* languages." P. 66, note. These terms must be made familiar. Of the *monosyllabic*, is the ancient Chinese and its kindred languages. Here each word is a root, and each root a word with its own meaning, and two roots may be used as words, "each root preserving its full independence." The roots do not "coalesce," but each word or part of a word, has its radical meaning. To give one example from Müller: "Where we say in English *at home*, or in Latin *domi*, the Chinese say *uō-li*, *uō* meaning *house*, and *li*, originally, *inside*," or, *inside the house* is to be *at home*. In this language "the same root, according to its position in a sentence, may be employed to convey the meaning of *great*, *greatness*, *greatly*, and *to be great*,"* and is a monosyllable, as are other roots. The "collocation of words in a sentence" governs the meaning. Thus *ngò tà ni*, means *I beat thee;* but *ni tà ngò*, *Thou beatest me*."

2. The *agglutinative* is where "two roots may be joined together to form words, and in these compounds one root may lose its independence." The last root loses "its etymological meaning," and is changed into a "sign of derivation or case." To this class belongs the *Turanian* group, or family, with the exception of Chinese, and its cognate dialects." This *agglutination*, or "glueing together" of words, means that their "conjugation and declension can be still taken to pieces; and

* Müller's Lectures, pp. 287, 288.

although the terminations have by no means always retained their significative power as independent words, they are felt as modificatory syllables, and as distinct from the roots to which they are appended." Lectures, p. 291. One of the roots has ceased to be independent.

Illustrate by a case from the Turkic class of the Turanian. Lectures, pp. 309—311. The Turkish word for the "general idea of loving," is *sev;* to love, *sevmek;* love, as a substantive, *sevgu* or *sevi.* This root is ever the same, and no change in its letters is admitted. *Sev-er* means *lov-er* or *loving.* "Thou, in Turkish, is *sen*, and as all modificatory syllables are placed at the end of the root, we get *sev-er-sen*, thou lovest. *You*, in Turkish, is *siz;* hence *sev-er-siz*, you love. . . . Instead of 'I love, thou lovest, he loves,' the Turkish grammarian says, lover-I, lover-thou, lover," the sign of the pronoun being not written in the third person singular. In the imperfect, Müller gives, *sever-di-m*, I loved; *sever-di-ñ*, thou lovedst; *sever-di*, he loved; *sever-di-k*, (miz,) we loved; *sever-di-niz*, you loved; *sever-di-ler*, they loved. These terminations, m, n, i, miz, niz, and ler, "are exactly the same as the possessive pronouns used after nouns," shown in the following. "A Turk says, Bâbâ, father, bâbâ-m, my father; Aghâ, lord, aghâ-n, thy lord; El, hand, El-i, his hand; Anâ, mother, Anâ-niz, your mother." This is adequate illustration of the agglutinative, where the independence of one root is preserved, and of the other lost by being thus merged in the word, as it were a part of it, and not another root.

If more be desirable, the following are beautiful. *Sev-mek*, to love; *sev-in-mek*, love one's self, or to rejoice; *sev-ish-mek*, to love one another; *sev-dir-mek*, to cause one to love; *sev-dir-il-mek*, to be brought to love; *sev-me-mek*, not to love; and *sev-eme-mek*, not to be able to love. Lectures, 313, 314.

3. Of the *Inflectional*, are both the Aryan and Semitic families, where "two roots may be joined to form words, and in these compounds both roots may lose their independence," as they coalesce in forming the compounds. Lectures, p. 287. Or, "the various elements which enter into the composition of words, may become so welded together, and suffer so much from phonetic corruption, that none but the educated would be

aware of an original distinction between root and termination." P. 324.

An illustration is in the use of *d*, in forming the past tense of regular verbs in English. Thus, *I love*, and *I loved;* how is it that this affix changes the meaning from "I am actually loving" to the indication that "that feeling is past and gone"? while *loved* appears as one entire word? P. 120. Müller shows that the *d* is from "the auxiliary verb *to do*, in Anglo-Saxon, *dide*,* in English, *did*, and *I loved* is the same as *I love did*, or I did love." The same meaning has often been assigned to *d* or *ed*, as in *I roam*, *I roamed*, or *I learn*, *I learned*, by the acute mere English scholar, who never heard of this analysis, now so well understood. To the common scholar, the two roots have so coalesced as to conceal the existence of the two roots. Müller adds, that "the root *do* in Anglo-Saxon is the same as the root *thè* in *tithèmi* in Greek, and the Sanskrit root *dhâ* in *dadhami*." P. 233–4, and 272–4.†

By such studies it has been shown that "the whole framework of grammar—the elements of derivation, declension, and conjugation—had become settled before the separation of the Aryan family" or Indo-European languages, as the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Sclavonic, Teutonic, to mention

* "In *dide* the final *de* is not termination, but it is the root, and the first syllable *di* is a reduplication of the root," as in Greek and Sanskrit.

† Of these *three* forms, all the numerous languages yet examined "have been found to contain those two substantial elements, *predicative* and *demonstrative* roots." These roots, in many different dialects, are easily traced. They are original elements, and have not been increased in the ages. New words come up, indeed, but they are combinations or modifications of the old elements. How the roots came into any language from which others have been derived, is the great question; "every thing in the language, except the roots, is intelligible." To find the source of the roots, is to ascertain the origin of the language. No mere contrivance of man could have originated them. What an experienced council of planners or contrivers would be necessary for many years! They must have come in the benevolent wisdom of the Creator, spontaneously into the mind of man, and there have been retained, so that language flowed spontaneously from his lips. This science of roots makes more absurd the notion of comparing the barkings of the dog-tribe, or the voices of any animals with either or all of the three forms of language, while it gives force to the common opinion that language was the gift of God to man, as well as of the voices of animals to them. Hence, it is not, from this stand-point, imagination to think of the unity of mankind.

no more. No one can doubt that "the words which have, as nearly as possible, the same form and meaning in all the languages, must have existed before the people, who afterwards formed the prominent nationalities of the Aryan family, separated." Pp. 234–5.

To recur now to the language of Agassiz on the *barkings* of the canina, as quoted already, and which, he states, are "comparable to one another in the same relation as the *monosyllabic*," &c. Will the Professor show the learned which of the barkings is *monosyllabic*, which *agglutinative*, and which *inflectional?* Does the *fox* bark in the *monosyllabic*, or the *wolf* in the *agglutinative*, or the *dog* in the *inflectional*, or which one in either of these? If he is able to show that, and not merely to assert it, as far as he has "been able to trace them," he has made a progress in the science of the language of animals, far transcending that of all the learned writers on the languages of men. He has operated on mere tones, they on words; he has analyzed instinctive voices, they the written signs of ideas; he has shown the force and connection of isolated tones, they the grammatical relations and descent of the signs of thought; he has traced the structure of evanescent notes, they of permanent language. The very questions bear on their face the astounding absurdity of comparing the tones of the vociferous animals with the monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflectional languages of mankind.

Let us quote again from the Essay: "The Felidæ (cat-tribe) mew: the roaring of the lion is only another form of the mewing of our cats, and the other species of the family. The Equina (horse-tribe) neigh or bray; the horse, donkey, (ass,) the zebra, the dow, do not differ much in the scale of their sounds. Our cattle and the different kinds of wild bulls have a similar affinity in their intonations; their lowing differs not in kind, but only in the mode of utterance. Among birds, this is, perhaps, still more striking."

It will be noticed, that these additional cases of various tones or voices of animals, though introduced by Professor Agassiz to add assurance to the assertion of their comparability with the monosyllabic, &c. languages, afford no additional proof. Like the case of the Canina, they entirely fail. The different *forms*

of mewing; the varying *scales* of neighing or braying; the different *utterances* of lowing; or the various notes or voices of birds, avail nothing in the case, till some one is shown to be monosyllabic in character, and another to be agglutinative, and another to be inflectional. When this is pointed out in a single instance, the linguical scholar will hail its appearance. Certainly, in the meaning of the names of these different modes of language, as formed from roots, no such exhibition has been attempted. The tones of vociferous animals are a sort of language which admits of very imperfect application, an opinion of men in every age, while it is a modern fancy that they belong to the inflectional, the agglutinative, or even the monosyllabic.

It is to be observed, however, that the animals have very little regard to the tones of others than their own species, except as warnings of danger. You hear the plaintive voice of the robin mourning the loss of her young; but other birds appear to have very little sympathy with her sorrows. A crow, caught in a trap, or wounded by a shot from the gunner, has attracted some scores of crows to his miserable condition, and these have drawn others to the scene by their boisterous cawings, till you wonder that so many scores of crows can be collected from many miles square; they are vociferous in their cries, but other birds evince very little interest in all that scene which has so excited the crows. These, as soon as satisfied that there is no remedy or deliverance for the prisoner, slowly disperse and leave him to his fate. We have seen the horse greatly frightened at first hearing the braying of the ass, and continuing to be agitated, till familiarity had proved how great an ass such braying required. The different voices of different genera and species are essential to their particular and the general good. What a Babel the vociferous animals would form, if all the different voices now heard were to be changed into one and the same voice, or could be readily imitated by others. Such a mixing up of different species or families as would be disastrous to the whole, has wisely been made impossible.

One more quotation, which is the continuation of that last made. "Nobody, for instance, would suppose, that because

the notes of the different species of thrushes, inhabiting different parts of the world, bear the closest affinity to one another, these birds must have had a common origin." Whatever affinity the notes of different species of the same family may have, the notes of one species are so different from those of the related ones, that they are ever distinguished by that species from all others, and the intelligent hunter soon learns to discriminate them; the law being that each vociferous species has its own peculiar notes or tones. This prevents confusion being worse confounded.

That the species of animals had a "common origin," as proved from their notes or for any other reasons, has not been maintained in all this discussion. There is in nature no necessity for such a notion. Indeed, if the carnivorous races existed from the beginning, as is the general belief, there must have been provision in the Creator's plan for their support, by the production of such a multitude of graminivorous animals in full maturity as were necessary, and that too as far as the carnivora extend on the globe; and for the support of these graminivorous races, the fruits of the earth in adequate perfection must have been as abundant as their wants. The existence of plants and animals in vast abundance at once is the only natural and plausible opinion; neither wheat nor rice, robins nor wolves, lions nor whales, being the product of one common stock in each case. So far as has been discovered, all the necessary relationships of the same species can be made and sustained without genetic descent.

In the case of man, the fact may be different. As the voice of tradition, from early and remote peoples, points to one common origin of mankind, so the affinities of their languages go strongly to sustain it. This affinity is far better understood, more important and definite conclusions have been formed, and the brotherhood of a host of languages and peoples more firmly settled on linguical principles, and more extensively believed, than ever before. There are not found such essential "differences" in the languages as weaken the conclusion already made. To be qualified to say and maintain that such proof of "community of origin" of different nations is "*of no value*,"

one should have spent a life of application of the finest powers of mind solely upon "the affinities of languages."

This brief discussion has introduced such facts and relations, as will enable every intelligent thinking man to apprehend, though he is not learned in the study of languages, or what is called the science of language, the utter absurdity of the views of the distinguished naturalist here opposed, and the absolute impossibility of sustaining the asserted comparison. The solution of the matter is to be found in language applied to another case; for here we see "how a man of a clear, sharp, and powerful mind, and reasoning according to correct and sound principles, may yet, owing to his defective knowledge of facts, arrive at conclusions directly opposed to truth." Lectures, p. 253.

Another particular, intimately connected with this, is thus stated by Professor Agassiz in the Essay, p. 65, note. "But it is not upon structural similarity or difference alone, that the relations between man and animals have to be considered. The psychological history of animals shows, that as man is related to animals in the plan of his structure, so are these related to him by the character of those very faculties which are so transcendent in man, as to point at first to the necessity of disclaiming for him completely any relationship with the animal kingdom. Yet, the natural history of animals is by no means completed after the somatic side of their nature has been thoroughly investigated; they, too, have a psychological individuality, which, though less fully studied, is nevertheless the connecting link between them and man. I cannot, therefore, agree with those authors who would disconnect mankind from the animal kingdom, and establish a distinct kingdom for man alone."

We shall not inquire after those who in this day maintain that man has not an animal structure and animal nature, or hold that he has "no relationship to the animal kingdom" in respect to powers; but we regret to know that any naturalist in this century supports the assertion that the animals possess the same kinds of powers as belong to man, the only difference being, that they "are so transcendent in man." The "psychological individuality" of animals is that mental power which

belongs to the animal nature, and which is entirely different in its nature and action from the moral power of man, shown in conscience, or the moral sense, or the feeling of moral obligation, which is man's "psychical individuality." Man and animals are *linked* together by structure and mental power, but are separated by man's moral power at an immeasurable distance. There is no link of connection, in this power, between them. If the animal is to be separated from the plant, so is man from the animal. "I cannot agree, therefore, with those authors," who do not "establish a distinct kingdom for man alone."

As the classification had been already fixed by Agassiz upon the structure, and not upon psychological facts, the above quotation has no respect to the arrangement. Whatever may be the relation of man to animals in a psychological respect, it has been entirely set aside and ignored in the fundamental principle of the classification. It may be studied to any extent afterwards, but is excluded from the system of arrangement. No matter how "transcendent are these faculties in man," nor how utterly destitute of them is the animal, they are held by Professor Agassiz to be the common property of animal being. Yet it is, and ever will be, true, that no complete history of man and animals can exist, which does not point out this difference, and give to man the supremacy his nature justly claims. The animals have not moral powers, or conscience, and man is distinguished from them by the kind of his characters or properties. The grand line of demarcation between them is found in his peculiar "psychological individuality."

In the discussion of this important subject, it has been the fixed purpose to present fully and clearly the views of the distinguished author of the Essay, so that his doctrines may be readily understood, and the arguments by which he supports them, and the conclusions derived from them, may be at once appreciated. To prevent erroneous views, or make false impressions, would injure the cause of science without producing any conceivable good. There are some, however, who seem to think it impossible that so distinguished a naturalist, and so noble-minded a man, can really entertain the notions controverted in this paper. The full extracts certainly exhibit the

real and mature thoughts of the author; and let them be read again. Delighted would the writer be to find, that Professor Agassiz as distinctly admits, as he now denies, that man has several powers, or characters, besides that of his moral and religious nature, or conscience, all of which are peculiar to him, and separate him from animals into a distinct class; even though he maintain that these are, with propriety, excluded from a zoölogical system, which had better be made dependent on structure alone. He, himself, wrote in the Essay, "If there is any one thing which places man above all other beings in nature;" but could he intelligently change it, and say, "*There is one thing which places man above all other beings in nature*," viz., "that he possesses those noble attributes, without which, ... not one of those general traits of relationship, so characteristic of the great types of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, can be understood, or even perceived." But, when has the dog, horse, elephant, ox, goat, gorilla or baboon, peacock or hen, which we know or believe, "even perceived," much less "understood," any "one of these general traits of relationship"? And yet, how inferior is this power to that which perceives and loves the right, feels and abhors the wrong, loves his fellow-man, and renders the heart's homage to God.

But progress is made. The learned feel that man must be raised from the rank of a two-handed vertebrate mammal. In the last number of this review, it was stated that Professor Owen had placed man in a distinct sub-class, *Archen-cephala*, on account of the brain, as the organ of the ruling mind. And Professor Dana has lately given to the world his splendid "Manual of Geology," in which he puts man in the sub-class, *Archonts, man alone*, separated "from other mammals," as *Rulers*, and thus standing at the head of creation, so far as the system admits. Professor Dana remarks,* that "science, in searching out the system of nature, leaves psychical and intellectual qualities out of view." This is supposed to imply, that man has those "qualities" which would properly separate him from animals, in a distinct division; but that "science" makes use of only material and structural characters in the system of

* Silliman's Journal, Vol. 35, for Jan. 1863, p. 65.

Zoölogy. Glad are we that one thus maintains that man has a nature superior to that of animals, and is to be clearly distinguished from them. This makes the system of Cuvier *natural*, that is, makes it "agree in every respect with the facts in nature," and still be merely the "expression of a fact existing in nature, no matter how," as Professor Agassiz states. Still, the Creator has not left out the qualities of mind and soul, or spirit, but made them the crowning endowment of man, as the head of creation. Why should he who presents God's system omit them? True, Professor Dana adds, that "these immaterial characteristics have, in all cases, a material or structural expression." Be it so: but when will it be learned from the cephalic arrangement of the upper extremities, from the head raised above all the other parts of the man, and from the erect posture and fitness of the body "for intellectual uses," that man is a reasoning, moral being, and capable of sincere worship of his Creator? The common sense of man has taught, on these points, from Socrates and Plato onwards, far more than structural zoölogy can ever teach; for those topics are without its pale. The very system forbids their admission, as illustrated by Agassiz, because *man is an animal.* Let the denial of this be made by all who hold that "science leaves psychical and intellectual qualities out of view," and much evil will be prevented; much good will be done by a general agreement on this point. Still, it will be felt more than ever, that the present system is not, in truth, the translation, "into human language, of the thoughts of the Creator."

SHORT NOTICES.

Banking Association and Uniform Currency Bill, with extracts from Reports of Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to Congress in December, 1861, and December, 1862.

The principles in regard to banking and currency advocated by Mr. Secretary Chase, and embodied in the bill of Mr. Hooper, as set forth in this pamphlet, are, beyond all doubt, genuine. These principles are, 1. That banks shall secure their circulating notes by a deposit of Federal stocks with the Treasury department at Washington, to the amount of one hundred dollars for every ninety dollars of circulating notes issued by them. 2. That these notes shall bear on their face the United States *imprimatur*, showing that they are so secured by Federal stocks. 3. That they shall be receivable for all dues to and from the United States, except duties on imports, and interest and principal of the public debt. 4. These, and all other State banks not organized on this basis, to be required to keep on hand twenty-five per cent. of all their liabilities for deposits and circulation, in lawful money of the United States.

Thus far, it is obvious that this system must be sound in principle, and beneficent in operation. It gives a sound national currency under Federal authority, and yet not issued by the Government itself, to which there are grave objections, if it can be avoided. It guards very fully against a redundancy of such currency, by the large reserves of lawful money required to be kept on hand. Until the period of withdrawing the Government legal tender notes, and replacing them with specie, it creates a large demand for them in bank vaults, which will largely absorb them, enhance their value, and lessen the market difference between them and gold. It will further increase the demand for the public stocks, and thus invigorate the public credit. These results are all beneficent. We do not doubt that such a system would facilitate the rapid restoration of specie payments after the close of the war.

We think, however, the bill contains one little provision that is suicidal. We refer to the clause requiring the annual payment to the Government of a tax of two per cent. on this circulation. We think it can be easily shown that this, along with the twenty-five per cent. reserve, and the locking up of capital in the Federal stocks, would make this currency cost more

than it will earn for the banks procuring it. It will prevent any extensive organization of banks under this law and frustrate the whole measure.

We think, moreover, that the tax on the circulation of existing banks should be moderate, when that circulation is kept within sound and reasonable limits; but should be on a sliding scale, that rapidly becomes severe and prohibitory upon issues outrunning this wholesome standard. We believe, further, that the tax should be still lighter on the secured currency which prevails in New York, and possibly one or two other States, which is sound, free from inordinate expansion, and has cost dearly already, in the high premiums paid for the stocks by which it is secured. Some such modifications of this part of the bill, if we had time and space, we are prepared to show, are demanded by the highest considerations of public policy, and are requisite to the successful introduction of the scheme itself.

There is another point which requires attention. No provision is made for great abnormal emergencies, such as war, famine, financial panics. The bill unrelentingly requires the winding up of banks that, on any account, suspend payment in Government money, or fall below the required reserve of such money in their vaults. We think the two last bank suspensions in this country prove the utter impracticability of carrying such provisions into effect, in great abnormal emergencies, and the desolation and ruin that would follow the attempt to enforce them. There ought to be provision for the temporary relaxation of these provisions at such crises, salutary as they are in ordinary times. We see not why the currency bureau in the Treasury department at Washington, provided for by this bill, might not be authorized to act and judge in such emergencies, just as, in two instances, orders of council have been interposed to suspend the stringent regulations of the Bank of England, thus averting the most serious disasters of a threatened financial panic. Those who desire to see this point more fully discussed, we refer to our article on Money and Credit, in our number for April, 1862, pp. 332, et seq.

These criticisms, of course, do not touch the great principles of the bill, which we heartily approve; but those minor details on which depend the successful working out of these principles.

The Life of our Lord upon the Earth; considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations. By Samuel J. Andrews. New York: Charles Scribner, pp. 624, 8vo.

There has been great need of a life of Christ in our language, which should present attractively the best results of modern investigations of the subject. The separate study of the Gos-

pels has been advocated to the exclusion of this comparative study, for the sake of preserving their individual structure and unity. But there is also a historical unity in the life of Christ, which can only be discovered by careful combination of all its details. Much light can be thrown upon the relations and progress of our Saviour's life, which ought not to be neglected because uncertainty and omissions still remain. Besides this, the mutual relations of the several Gospels themselves can only thus be estimated: and the apologetic aspect of the subject can never be long forgotten while infidels continue to cavil. That positive answers cannot be given to many questions is, perhaps, an advantage; for it gives a choice of explanations, and leaves the less excuse for assuming a contradiction. This historical result is but little disturbed by such differences of opinions, wide as they must remain on some points, because there is a remarkable agreement among sincere interpreters in all that is essential to the production of a connected narrative of the events of our Saviour's ministry. Mr. Andrews has given us a book very carefully made, full of the results of patient investigation, with thorough knowledge of the literature of the subject, clearly presented and very succinctly, without dogmatism, and in a spirit of reverence, both for the subject treated, and the inspired record in which it is contained. There is no book on the subject, in English, so well adapted both for purposes of instruction and for private reading. The volume is also handsomely gotten up.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Part I. Abraham to Samuel. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. With Maps and Plates. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand street. 1863. Pp. 568.

Canon Stanley, as the author of the Life of Dr. Arnold, and of Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, is already extensively and favourably known in America, as well as in Great Britain. The volume before us is, as he informs us, not a history, but lectures as actually delivered to his class in the University of Oxford. This determines very much its character. It is not a continuous narrative of events, but an elucidation of them in their connection and bearings. Still, the form of history is in a good measure preserved, as all the leading events are considered in their chronological order. It entered into the design of the author to give his work an ecclesiastical character. It is the history of the Jewish church, not of the Jewish race, language, or antiquities. He, therefore, dwells specially on those parts of the history which bear directly on the religious development of the nation. Dr. Stanley is com-

monly regarded as belonging to the "Broad-school" of English theologians. This designation is intended to indicate a certain latitudinarianism of faith. It also indicates that the platform occupied by these theologians is wide enough to hold men of very different spirit and opinions. Dr. Stanley is not a believer in the strict doctrine of the inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures, and yet he is far from belonging to the rationalistic or semi-infidel class of Anglican clergymen, whose recent writings have caused so much disturbance and scandal. The work before us will be found of great and permanent value to the students of Old Testament history.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolph Stier, D. D., Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Translated from the second Revised and Enlarged German Edition, by the Rev. William B. Pope, Manchester. Revised by James Strong, S. T. D., and Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York Ministers' Library Association. N. Tibbals, Agent. Part I.

This is the first of eighteen monthly parts, in which it is proposed to publish this valuable commentary, as translated and revised under the auspices mentioned in the title-page. Of these, the name of Dr. Smith is best known, and will amply guarantee to the public the character of the translation. This work will prove a valuable treasure to ministers. This we say most cordially, without undertaking to answer for all its teachings. It is marked by great learning, ability, and piety. Like so many German works, of which all this can be said, however, it is weakened by a certain tinge of mysticism.

The Relations of Christianity and Science. A Sermon preached before the Young Men's Christian Association of Columbia College. By N. L. Rice, D. D. Published by request. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand street. 1863.

"Our knowledge of the works of creation, of their laws and uses," Dr. Rice correctly says, "is called science." As to the relation between science and revelation, he remarks, 1. The sources of knowledge in the two departments are equally divine, and therefore their teaching is necessarily harmonious. 2. Each of these two sources of knowledge is supreme in its own department. 3. The apparent conflicts between science and revelation relate to the *deductions* from the one or the other, and not to *the ascertained facts* in either. The sermon is mainly an amplification and illustration of these principles. These are the principles advocated in the article on the Scepticism of Science in the January number of this *Review*. We are happy to see them so clearly presented, and so ably defended in this seasonable and valuable sermon.

Political Fallacies: An Examination of the False Assumptions and Refutation of the Sophistical Reasonings which have brought about this Civil War. By George Junkin, D. D., LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand street. 1863. Pp. 332.

Dr. Junkin, as President of Washington College, Virginia, was accustomed to give a course of instructions on the Constitution of the United States. As he held the old orthodox interpretation of that instrument, an interpretation universally adopted as to all essential points, until the time of Mr. Calhoun, his exposition was not very palatable to some of his pupils, who began to be infected with the heresy of secession. Among other evidences of disloyalty, some of the students hoisted a secession flag on one of the college buildings. This the President ordered to be removed. It was soon, however, replaced. The question of its being allowed to remain was referred to the faculty, who decided that it should not be interfered with. Thereupon Dr. Junkin immediately resigned, and left the State, at a great sacrifice both of interest and feeling. He comes to the execution of the task proposed to himself in writing this volume, with more than ordinary preparation from his previous studies, and with more than ordinary strength of conviction and fervor of feeling. The evidence of all this is impressed in his work. There is abundant proof of his familiarity with all the literature of his subject, and with the discussions which attended the formation and adoption of the Constitution. In the present state of the country it is of great importance that correct views on the nature of our government, and of the political duties of the people, should be widely disseminated. We therefore rejoice in the publication of Dr. Junkin's seasonable work.

A Morning beside the Lake of Galilee. By James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863.

This is a meditation on the incidents recorded in the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, bearing all the attractive characteristics of Dr. Hamilton's well-known writings.

Speaking to the Heart; or, Sermons for the People. By Thomas Guthrie, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. Pp. 216.

This volume comprises twelve sermons of moderate length, on important points of Christian doctrine and experience. As Dr. Guthrie, since the death of Chalmers, stands in the first rank of the preachers of the gospel in Scotland, his name is all the recommendation such a book can need.