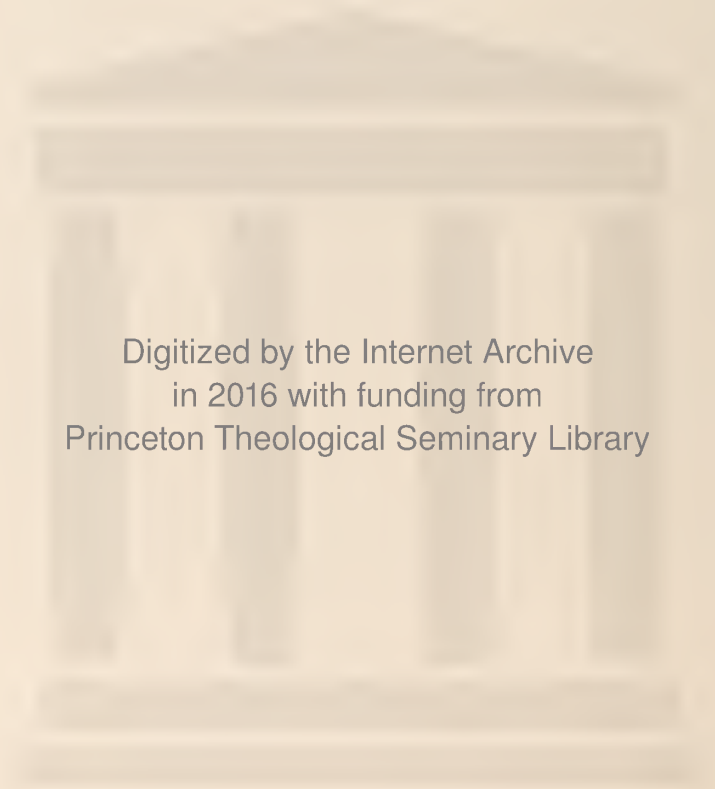

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ART. I.—*Avesta die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Aus dem grundtext ubersetzt, mit steter rücksicht auf die tradition.* Von Dr. FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL. Leipzig, 1852, 1859, 1863.

Die altpersischen Keilenschriften, im grundtexte, mit übersetzung, grammatik und glossar. Von FR. SPIEGEL. Leipzig, 1862.

A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmans. By MAX MÜLLER, M. A., Taylorian Professor in the University of Oxford. London, 1859.

The Religions before Christ: being an Introduction to the first three Centuries of the Church. By EDMOND DE PRESSENSÉ. Translated by L. CORKRAN. Edinburgh, 1862.

ON the religion of pre-Hellenic antiquity the materials are copious; and if not satisfactory on all points, are decisive as to the great features of the subject. They consist of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, the Hebrew Scriptures, and the ancient books of the Parsees and Hindoos, with incidental help from other quarters.

The primitive elements of religion, as well as its subsequent history, appear to have been very similar in the different nations thus represented. The progressive changes, as exhibited in the books now mentioned, when the older are compared with the later, are found to be of the same general tenor in all.

And the book of Genesis extends its testimony beyond the families of the Hebrew patriarchs, and, although very briefly, yet decisively, determines the same point for some of the contemporaneous inhabitants of Mesopotamia, of Canaan, and of Arabia. Of the Egyptians, although much is said in that book, it is surprising how little information is given touching the observances of religion. But otherwise we learn that the earlier faith of that people, as well as of the Assyrians, was also of the same type. Over the whole area of primitive human residence, the same religion in the main prevailed. That early type, and the nature of the changes wrought upon it in the course of time, as now appears from the fruits of recent antiquarian and literary research, are exactly the reverse of what has hitherto been deemed the beginning and progressive development of heathen religion.

The prevailing misapprehension is natural, and easy to be accounted for. Philosophical development of idolatry, admitting the symbolism of nature, leads generally to pantheism. And the phenomenon presented by every historical country, civilized under such a system, is that of gradually constructing its elements into a celestial hierarchy, with one principal God at the head of all the gods, as the actual creed of the multitude, and connected with the all-pervading deity in various ways by the educated and speculative intellect, as in Greece and Italy; or of weaving out of them a regular theological system, in which each of the popular gods is assumed to embody some attribute of the Deity, which is present in all, and which ends in conceiving of God as blended with nature in all her parts and substance, as in India; or matter being set on one side, God is set on the other, a great everlasting inactive potentiality. To an observer in the later days of such systems, the natural course of thinking led to the conclusion that monotheism was the growth of progressive culture. And the conclusion is correct as respects the one god of the pantheist; or any other mere abstract generalization. But the fact to which we now refer is one entirely different from that involved in any of those systems. It concerns neither an inactive abstraction, nor an impersonal all-pervading power; nor is it a mere superiority over other gods; but it is of a personal god, sole,

almighty, the intelligent creator and ruler of all things. The pantheist's plausible talk about his system as monotheistic—although every country where it has been popularly accepted is, or was, in reality polytheistic—and the connection of Christianity with the highest culture of modern times, readily account for the impression that monotheism has gradually developed itself out of polytheism, in the course of improvement. It is the direct reverse of that impression which we find to be proved by the ancient documents now referred to and the course of subsequent history.

Religion underwent very great changes in some of those countries, in the course of ages, which have left little or no record of themselves. And in order to reach a just conclusion, it is necessary to compare contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous authorities, and with that view to classify them, as well as we can, chronologically.

In relation to the greatest of those religious changes, the whole history arranges itself into two periods, divided by the broad belt of some two or three hundred years, the central line of which lies about the middle of the sixteenth century before Christ. In the former the *style* of religion in every country where we obtain a view of it, is one. The change which passed upon it during the transition was of the same nature in all recorded cases. But it did not in all cases proceed to the same degree. And consequently there is greater variety in the latter period than in the former. Still, the differences are all variations upon one common theme.

In that part of the world's history which preceded the supremacy of Greece, there is apparently an extreme self-contradiction. From one point of view, the people seem to have been enormously wicked; their debasing and persistent vices such that, in several cases, God employed miraculous, or specially ordained means to remove them out of his sight: from another, they seem to have been eminently religious, and to have enjoyed favours from God, such as we never hear of among ourselves, and to have done, in the work of religion, what no longer can be done.

The truth is, that from the great distance in time at which they all stand from us, several historical periods, making up

that long series of ages, blend together before our eyes. We think of the call of Abraham and that of Moses as if they were quite near one another, instead of being separated by more than four hundred years—a lapse of time longer than from now back to the opening of the Reformation. And from Noah to the Babylonish captivity, longer than from now back to the time of Christ upon earth, what changes must have taken place, which we ordinarily make little allowance for.

Declension in religion began early, and in some quarters progressed rapidly, and had little to restrain it in the prudential arrangements of society gathered from the lessons of experience. Great wickedness was allowed to become conspicuous, and to run its course until it reached the degree of being intolerable. And national religion, when once it had begun to err, being left to the hands of the nation which believed it, sank with facility into error, and became base in practice, while continuing to be reverenced as religion. Accordingly, both among individuals and nations, iniquity, in many cases, developed itself in degrees which were monstrous.

On the other hand, great attention was given to the subject of religion, through all that time. Religion—whether true or false—was, in most nations which appear in its history, the first of all concerns. The Greco-Roman period was comparatively rationalistic and infidel. Speaking generally, the people of pre-Hellenic civilization seem to have lived with a more steady eye to God than did their successors. The direction of the mind was often wrong, still it was eminently concerned with the way of meeting God's favour, and averting his wrath. The literature bequeathed to us by Greeks and Romans is recommended by its scientific and æsthetic merit; but that which has been preserved from the higher antiquity comes to us as revelation from Heaven, or as consecrated to divine service. The great works of ancient Sacred Scripture, with the single exception of the New Testament, are the product of pre-Hellenic antiquity. Then were written the sacred books of the Hebrews, and those most highly venerated in the religion of the Egyptians, of the Hindoos, and of the Persians. The esteem of those, in whose keeping ancient literature was, has extended to the preservation of no other. The remains of

ancient Greco-Roman literature are classic, those of pre-Hellenic literature are sacred.

The oldest books of the Hindoos are the Vedas, containing their sacred canon, with the forms of worship and other observances of their religion. Of those books, the oldest is a large collection of hymns called the Rig Veda. It seems to have been put together at a date prior to the established Brahminical worship. It is arranged without reference to the order of the sacrificial observances. From it hymns were selected and arranged for liturgical use in other books, in connection with the details of ceremonial worship, including all the formulas of prayer and sacrifice. The Rig Veda is the historical collection, from which the ceremonial or prayer books derive their supply of prayer and praise. The work of making that most ancient collection, "we may safely," says Professor Müller, "ascribe to an age not entirely free from the trammels of a ceremonial, yet not completely enslaved by a system of mere formalities; to an age no longer creative and impulsive, yet not without some power of upholding the traditions of a past that spoke to a later generation of men through the very poems which they were collecting with so much zeal and accuracy."

If the making of the collection belonged to the incipient period of the national ceremonial, when a particular branch of the people was only beginning to take to itself the duties, and to exercise the power of a sacerdotal class, many of the hymns themselves must date from an earlier stage in that process, if not from before it began. All the other religious books of India are of later ages, and belong to the history of the growing and matured polytheistic system, with its ceremonial and priesthood. They are entirely legal, liturgical, and sacerdotal.

The Avesta is a collection of religious books much smaller than the Vedas, but of analogous character. Their names are the Yaçna, Vendidad, Vispered, and Khorda-Avesta, of which the most ancient is the Yaçna. And that again is composed of three parts, the second of which is a collection called the Gâthas.

Such a relation as the Rig Veda holds to the other religious

books of India do the Gâthas hold to the other sacred books of the ancient Persians. They consist of the hymns, including also the prayers, of which the recitation is prescribed in the ceremonial books. By its language also and other features it is clearly evinced as older than they. The Yaçna is reverentially mentioned, or alluded to in the other books of the Avesta; and the second part of it, and especially the Gâthas, are praised as eminently holy. The Gâthas are also mentioned in the first and last parts of the Yaçna itself. Beyond question they are the oldest of the whole collection. Compared with their religion, that of the later books of the Avesta is degenerate. But the development of the ceremonial, and growth of a sacerdotal power, made comparatively little progress among the Persians. Repeated revolutions interfered, and turned the course of things back towards their earlier condition.

In Egypt, the beginning of the ceremonial, as well as of the priesthood as a separate class, goes back into antiquity beyond the reach of history. They were both fully established before the Hebrew removal into that country. On the other hand, we have upon the monuments of the ancient dynasties, evidence that the religious observances belonging to their time was the regular development of the patriarchal. The priests are of the highest rank of nobles, or princes, of their cities respectively, and the king is the high priest of the nation. And out of prayer, sacrifice, and offering, the whole elaborate ceremonial has grown, and around those elements it still circles. And the course of progress from ancient to more recent is towards a more complicated and cumbrous ritual. Although Egypt began that career earlier than her neighbours, she had begun from the same point.

Of all the authorities now mentioned, we are satisfied, even without adducing its weight of inspiration, that the book of Genesis is by far the most important, and furnishes the true key to the religious history of the whole ancient oriental world. That book, whether preserved by writing or by oral recitation, retains a more historical form than any other to which a similar antiquity is ascribed. It takes a much wider view of the world, and of human life beyond the strict sphere of religion,

than does the Veda or the Avesta. Its narrative comes down to between nineteen hundred and seventeen hundred years before Christ. The oldest Egyptian monuments, until the end of the twelfth dynasty, belong to the same period. Of the Vedas the date is quite unsettled, and the antiquity claimed by native Hindoo authorities extravagant. But it is hardly possible that the mass of the oldest, or Rig Veda, can be later than fifteen hundred years before Christ; and some of its hymns are certainly much older than the collection. The origin of the Avesta is also lost in the depth of ages; and some parts of it are demonstrably of greater antiquity than the collection. The religion which it teaches was ancient in the days of Darius Hystaspes. It had even then passed through the period of its primitive purity; had been the religion of a powerful and wide-spread people; had suffered some degree of subsequent depression, from which it is clearly the design of Darius to rescue it, and to assign it to the honour and singleness of authority which it had in the days of his ancient forefathers. Darius was a great admirer of antiquity, and thought much of his own long line of regal descent, and informs us that he was the ninth in a succession of kings. And if the religion which he desired to restore to its purity was that of his countrymen in the days of his earliest royal ancestor, which he leaves us no room to doubt was his conviction, the antiquity of its introduction among them must be carried much further back. In order to become the sole national religion, embodying all the cherished traditions of the people, it must have been observed among them from time to them immemorial, and without a rival of an older date. And whether originally written or not, some parts of the Avesta are apparently coeval with the establishment of the worship of Ahura Mazda as a national religion. For they belong to the essential forms of the worship. And whatever may be the absolute antiquity of the hymns of the Avesta and the Veda, they are beyond dispute the most ancient writings in their respective languages. Prayers and hymns prepared for worship, and inscriptions of a monumental and religious character, are the oldest materials of human history outside of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Some Assyrian monuments have been preserved from a

distance in time perhaps greater than that of Moses; but the larger number, and those the most useful for our purpose, are later, and pertain most probably to the ninth or eighth centuries before Christ. Their testimony, as far as yet understood, is to the same purport as that of the books now mentioned.

All these remains, literary and pictorial, except perhaps some of the last named, are of a date greatly anterior to the earliest extant writing in the Greek language; anterior to the earliest information that can possibly be obtained of mythology in its classical form; anterior to the subject of the Homeric poems, in which we first meet with that mythology, lying away back in the antiquity to which Æschylus refers the immediate antecedents of his Prometheus. No literature of Europe, nor of perhaps any other country, comes to us from an equal depth of ages.

From such witnesses it is highly interesting to receive testimony that the religion of the oldest nations in the world reposed upon belief in one spiritual God. Instead of beginning with the worship of various objects in nature, and gradually rising to the idea of one all-powerful God, it appears that mankind at first held a monotheistic creed; and that subsequent progress was in the opposite direction.

The testimony of Genesis, on this point, is too plain to require much exposition. In the immediate descendants of Noah, we hear of no other than the God whom their father worshipped. And that God was not a generalization, not the fruit of induction, not an ultimate step of progressive refinement, but a holy and almighty person simply and directly revealed. In it we read not a syllable about God, the soul, and the world being one. It recognizes God as all-powerful, and everywhere present; but distinguishes between him and the world, and between him and the human soul, in the most emphatic manner. The simple unity of his nature and his personality, distinct from all the work of his hands, are the primary elements of the idea of God there presented. Some of the Divine attributes were not yet unfolded; but the object of the believer's faith was single, clear, and practically presented. We are informed by God, through the pen of Moses, that the name, whereby he was known to the Hebrew patri-

archs, was *El*, a noun in the singular number. *El Shaddai* was the name by which those early fathers of the Hebrew race called the God whom they adored. From a fragment of Sanchoniathon, we learn that the Phenicians, who were Canaanites, in times very ancient to that writer, called the god, whom they deemed the son of Heaven, by the name which in Philo's Greek translation is made *Ilus;* and that his allies, or auxiliaries, were called Eloeim. He also speaks of Elioun, of whom he says that he was called Hypsistus, that is, the most high. That is, by recurring to the Semitic forms, the Eloeim are plural, corresponding to the singular *Il* or *El*, as it must have been written by Sanchoniathon.* *El* was, then, the name by which God was known to his chosen, twenty-one hundred years before Christ. And either then, or soon after, the same name was used also by their Canaanitish and Babylonian neighbours.

Whatever the origin of the plural Elohim, and the use made of it among the Hebrews, it is very clear that the Canaanites, who spoke the same language, used it, in the service of polytheism, to designate a plurality of gods; and that its use among them for that idea was subsequent to the use of the singular. It was in the rise of polytheism that it became necessary. Among the Hebrews of the time of Moses, the word Elohim was used in the plural, to designate the many gods of the heathen, that is as a natural plural; and also as a singular for the name of the only true and living God, in his general relations to all mankind, corresponding to the old patriarchal name *El*.

In considering this process in the growth of language, it is important to bear in mind that the Hebrew of the old time was not confined to the patriarchs in the descent of Terah and their families; but was spoken over all Syria and Mesopotamia, and as far east as Elam and western Persia. In other words, the descendants of Terah spoke the common language of the region where they dwelt, and to which the land of their promise belonged. They were, therefore, to some degree con-

* One of the names of the supreme god of Babylon was *Il*, which is sometimes replaced by *Ra*, an Egyptian name.—*Rawlinson*, Herod. 1. 477.

strained to take it as it existed, as it was formed by the greater public, and, until they became a nation themselves, could have but little influence in deciding its idioms.

How soon the plural Elohim came into use, as now mentioned, or why, is nowhere stated in Scripture. The earliest express declaration of the name by which God was known in ancient time, is that contained in Exodus vi. 3, where it is said that God revealed himself to the patriarchs by the singular noun El. Remains of that ancient usage appear in several passages of Genesis, as where Jacob designated *El* as the *Elohim* of Israel; and in another place, where God is said to have declared himself to Jacob as the El who was the Elohim of his fathers. It appears also in some of the proper names contained in Genesis, as in Mehuja-*el*, Methusa-*el*, Mahalale-*el*, Abima-*el*, and Beth-*el*. Now, as some of these are antediluvian names, it is plain that the name of God in the singular was in use from near the very beginning of our race. And when the plural Elohim came into general use with the rise of polytheism, *El* was prefixed to distinguish the Elohim of Israel from the Elohim of the heathen. At a later time also, the same name was used, as in Joshua xxii. 22, to distinguish the true God from the false gods, which had subsequently arisen. And also being the most ancient name of God, it became in subsequent literature the more poetic. As such it several times occurs in the Psalms.

Whatever may be said of the causes which brought the plural of Eloah into use, the fact that it is a plural, and that it is construed as such in reference to heathen gods, and that it is notwithstanding construed as singular in reference to the God of Israel, and that it was another word in the singular, by which the latter declared himself to the patriarchs, is beyond question. And this is also entirely in accordance with the otherwise clear teaching of the book of Genesis, that God revealed himself as one, to the primitive fathers of mankind, to Noah, and subsequently to the Hebrews; but that the nations in course of time multiplied to themselves objects of worship, and learned to think and speak of God as many, or at least as manifold. For the first steps towards polytheism were taken without denying the unity of God. Laban wor-

ships the same God with Jacob, and yet has idols in his house which he calls his gods.

In his revelation of himself to Moses as Jehovah, God dictated a return to the use of the singular number by a term of peculiar significance. Thus, according to the testimony of Genesis, both direct and indirect, the oldest religion of the world reposed upon one spiritual God. And when idols were introduced, it seems to have been only as adjuncts to his worship. And when the same God again reveals himself to the Hebrew patriarchs, it is under the same singular name revived, and such a use of the plural as to limit it to the signification of only one almighty Being. And when again God revealed himself to Moses, it was under a name which was not only in the singular number, but admitted of no plural.

Among the Canaanites there appears no trace of polytheism in the time of Abraham. Those of them mentioned in the life of that patriarch seemed to have worshipped the same God, but most likely in a defective or erroneous way. Some of them were shockingly wicked, but not so much by perverting religion as by leaving it entirely out of view. Others were really religious men, who reverenced the living God according to the manner of the dispensation which had been in force since the days of Noah. Abimelech of Gerar honoured the name and command of God, asked of Abraham and gave in return the solemn obligations of an oath in his name, and received and obeyed a revelation from God in respect to his own conduct, and which we learn was regarded with solemn reverence also by the heads of his people. And it is expressly stated of the king of Salem, that he was priest of the most high God.

It is clear, however, that the transition from monotheism to polytheism had, in some quarters, already commenced, and within a narrower area made considerable progress. Joshua, when addressing the Israelites, after their settlement in Canaan, enjoined them to put away the idols which their fathers had worshipped beyond the flood, that is the Euphrates, and in Egypt; and informed them definitely, that among their fathers, on the other side of the flood, it was Terah the father of Abraham and Nahor, to whom he had special reference.

But Laban, the grandson of Nahor, and great-grandson of Terah, who remained a resident in the land of his father, and apparently occupying the estate of his ancestors, when making his covenant with Jacob, mentioned the God of Abraham as also the God of Nahor, and the God of their father. Consequently, the gods to which Joshua refers as worshipped by Terah, did not occupy such a place in his worship as to render it incorrect to say that the God of Abraham was also his God, without alluding to other gods. Laban himself had minor gods, and yet worshipped the God of Jacob, received from him revelations of his will, and gave and accepted the most solemn obligations in his name alone, without allusion to the existence of any other.

It is clear that, in these cases, the gods mentioned could be only images used as helps in the worship of the one living and true God.

That most God-fearing of all generations of Hebrews, educated in the wilderness, and led by Joshua in the conquest of Canaan, still retained the images, or such images as those of Terah and Laban, and seem to have considered the use of them as not exclusive of, nor inconsistent with the service of Jehovah, until its nature was exposed before them by the expostulation of Joshua.

That such a use of images was an initiatory step of error in the service of the true God, without being viewed or intended as a departure from it, appears from several facts in Scripture history. It was a stage of transition from monotheism to polytheism, in which the former is the recognized doctrine, and the latter is only a method of symbols subordinate thereto.

Egypt was at that date only further advanced in the same career. But the next two or three hundred years wrought a great change upon the religious views and practices of all those nations. At the end of that interval, we find idol worship fully and firmly established among them all, and the true God, as far as history makes known to us, entirely lost to view. The Pharaoh of the exode insultingly asks, in the true spirit of a polytheist, who could conceive of the God of Israel as only one among many, a new god, and a stranger to his country, and whom for that reason he was under no obligation to regard,

"Who is Jehovah, that I should obey him?" And the nations of Canaan, the monotheists of the days of Abraham and of Isaac, had become base idolaters in those of Moses and Joshua. The Israelites themselves, when they came out of Egypt, had learned to think of God in the plural. When Aaron made for them the golden calf, they spoke of it as representing the plural. "These be thy gods, O Israel." And this they do without rejecting the God of their fathers. They are themselves in the transition state from monotheism to polytheism, through which by that time most of their neighbours had passed. But just at that juncture God reveals himself anew to them, to reëstablish his worship among them, and by a new name, in the singular number. Thenceforward the Hebrews used both the singular *Jehovah*, and the plural *Elohim*, and sometimes, though more rarely and poetically, the old singular *El;* as well as some other names indicative of God. But the truth contained in the name Jehovah was to be the centre of their thoughts on the subject of Deity; and whenever they turned aside to the idea of an actual plurality of gods, divine chastisement recalled them to the revealed singular.

Other nations were left to the natural use of the original common instruction on the subject, and preserved or corrupted it according to circumstances. But the highest attainments in civilization did not constitute the circumstances of the greatest purity. The Egyptians, who were certainly at the head of all social, civil, and scientific culture, were also the furthest advanced in polytheism, while the comparatively rude Persians retained until long afterwards the main features of their simpler creed.

It is not heathenism to deny a living and personal God, nor to slight the salvation which he offers; nor is it heathenism to cherish the vain hope that man is able to deliver himself by his own power and wisdom. That is infidelity. Heathenism follows the existing religion, but adds to its observances, accumulates tangible means for faith to take hold by, and loses sight of the spiritual meaning. Heathenism is not always faith in a man's ability to secure his own salvation; it may be, as it often is, a most abject renunciation of self; but it is always a misdirected faith—a faith reposing upon something else than

the God who created the heavens and the earth. Heathenism is not infidelity, but misdirected belief. It is just corruption of revealed religion carried to such extent as to leave out its vital and saving truth. The progress to that end may be long, and may pass through various degrees; and in the course of that transition, however long, there may still remain, in the midst of much error, enough of truth to save the soul which believes it.

The mistaken humility which deems God too far exalted to be addressed immediately by his mortal creature, is the first step in the career of error. When, instead of trusting God's mercy, and approaching him in person as his child, man sets up a symbol of God with the view of worshipping thereby more reverentially, he has taken his first lesson in heathenism. As far as history can reach into the matter, a symbol, taken either from nature, or from among the honoured memories of men of ancient, and, as conceived, better times, is always the first form of idolatry.

Among the early inhabitants of Iran, when their style of living was similar to that of the Hebrew patriarchs, those of whom we have most information were the residents of its north-eastern portion. There, in, and in the neighbourhood of Bactria, at a date long antecedent to the earliest history, the fathers of the Persian and Hindu resided side by side, speaking one language, and observing the duties of the same religion; facts which, although recorded by the pen of no historian, are rendered indubitable by testimony embalmed in the remains of the languages then spoken, as well as by much that still lives in the life of their descendants; and in ancient religious writings which exist to this day. On the half-desert uplands of that oldest historic home of the Indo-European race, and after many a colony had gone off to the west and to the north, and through the glens of the mountains into central Asia, in search of more productive lands, and for the sake of material profit parted company with much of the cultivation which belonged to the place of their birth, those who afterwards became the Indian and the Persian remained until some of the original lines of distinction had been drawn between them. Of the same common descent, near of kin, and speaking languages

originally one, and still in the books of their ancient literature exhibiting their near affinity, and calling themselves by the same name, they agreed in worshipping with similar simple rites the one God of heaven and earth.

The time came when colonies of the Aryas also moved away from the salubrious climate, but scantily productive land of their nativity. Instead of following their migratory kinsmen, who had gone off to the north and west, they turned their steps to the east and south, and lingered for ages on the declivities of the mountains and in the north of the Punjab, where they were not entirely cut off from all communication with their former country. Yet their religious observances were modified by the character of their new place of abode, and in process of time became more ceremonial and complicated, but long retained the features which determined their former identity with the nation which they left behind.

The Aryas, who continued to abide by the homestead, or spread themselves abroad only to occupy more widely the great table-land on which they dwelt, as they of all their branch of mankind were the most conservative in other respects, so in this, that they retained the faith of their fathers with the least amount of adulteration. True, even in the oldest parts of the Avesta, other divine beings are mentioned besides Mazda, but they are all of inferior nature as compared with him. Except space, time, and light, which are regarded as existing from all eternity, they are all creatures of Ahura Mazda, in some cases personified attributes of deity. Of all these the highest are the Amesha-Çpentas, six divine beings most intimately connected with Ahura Mazda, of whom he is sometimes represented as the lord, and sometimes as the father. Each of them separately he presented to Zarathustra as his creature. From their names they appear to be merely personified abstractions—Vohn-mano, good disposition; Asha-vahista, the highest holiness; Khsha-tha-vairya, unlimited lordship; Çpenta-armaiti, holy wisdom; Haurvat, plenty, and Ameretat, abundance. Together with all other mythological beings of the Avesta, they stand to Ahura Mazda as ministering spirits, not as gods. He alone is god, the lord of the Amesha-Çpentas, from whom they also proceed, or by whom they are created. Çpenta-armaiti is his

beautiful daughter; and from the word of his mouth the world first sprang into being. Ahura Mazda alone is praised as the creator, the resplendent, the majestic, the greatest, the best, and the fairest, the strongest, the wisest, possessed of the most perfect form, and the highest holiness, who created us, and preserves us in being. No other is honoured with such attributes. He is, wherever mentioned, exalted as God over all.

The mention of inferior mythological beings, whether abstractions personified or objects of nature, is much less in the Gâthas, or old hymns, than in the liturgical, which are the later parts of the Avesta, and the mention of Ahura Mazda proportionately more frequent. They are all addressed directly to him. Nor is there any division of the sovereignty which they attribute between equally balanced powers of good and evil. None of that dualism, which in long subsequent times prevailed in the east, appears in the Avesta. The Amesha-Çpentas and Mithra, the lord of light, are only as it were archangels in the train of Ahura Mazda. He is God, not as first, but as sole, as entirely different from them in his being and perfections. As the first chapter of the Yaçna begins with his attributes, so its last extols him as the greatest of all, the lord and master and the glorious in majesty. In the hymns, the names Ahura and Mazda, or combined Ahura-mazda, occur as frequently as Lord and God in the Hebrew Psalms.

The ancient Persian writings state that their religion was at several distant periods corrupted or repressed, and restored by succeeding reformation. It was not without effort that they maintained that particular type of religion. In the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, about five hundred years before Christ, we find it in its simplest form. It appears to have passed through some corruption, and enjoyed revival in that reign. No prince, in his public records, ever gave more distinct expression to a sense of dependence upon Almighty aid—of indebtedness to the grace of Him who rules the heavens and the earth, than that Augustus of the oriental world.

In the inscriptions which he has left carved upon the rocks of Behistan, that confession of his faith is repeated in almost every section. And he does not leave us to conceive of the God whom he worshipped as a creature. "A great God," says

he, "is Auramazda, who made the earth, who made the heaven, who created men, and provided blessedness for them, who made Darius king, the sole king over many." Little mention is made of other gods, and that of them as inferior, and as worshipped by different nations. Auramazda is declared to be the greatest over all gods. He alone is the sovereign, as well as the creator of heaven and earth and of men. And in all the success which the great king records of his reign, the praise is never taken to himself, but invariably ascribed to God. When his enemies rose against him, Auramazda became his refuge; and when he won the victory, it was by the grace of Auramazda. "Through the might of Auramazda am I king." "Through the grace of Auramazda do I rule this kingdom." These and such expressions recur frequently throughout his inscriptions. And his final lesson, yet speaking from the rocks on which he caused it to be written, is an exhortation to reverence the commands of Auramazda. There can be no doubt that the religion of Darius and of his Persian people was not polytheism, but the worship of the Creator, and in some degree according to the creed of the old patriarchal times, before the call of Abraham. In this case we behold that ancient creed brought down to the verge of Hellenic maturity. And that the doctrine was not peculiar to Darius, he informs us himself, when setting it forth as the ancient religion of his nation. It also appears in the quick sympathy of Cyrus with the monotheistic Jews, and the ridicule which Cambyses and his Persians poured upon the idols of the polytheistic Egyptians, and the favour of the Persian kings to the Hebrews throughout.

The language of Cyrus in issuing his decree for allowing all Israelites to return to their own land, is entirely analogous to that of Darius, as respects dependence upon God. He does not speak of himself as having conquered his great empire; but "the God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." *Ezra* i. 2.

In native hands the tendency of corruption in this monotheism manifested itself in the sacred use of fire as in some way symbolical of God, and which was probably connected with the idea that the noblest and most worthy symbol of the Creator

was the sun, as the material source of light and heat, and support of animal and vegetable life. But I do not find in these ancient books that God is ever confounded with the sun. That great orb is spoken of as the creature or the offspring of God. He is the fire or the son of Auramazda.

In the case of the Aryas who went into India, this symbolizing spirit had, at the date of the earliest hymns of the Veda, gone to a greater length; but still not so far as materially to obscure the doctrine of one only God. Although somewhat confused in their ideas by the incipient polytheism of their time, the poets of those ancient hymns fall into the way of addressing God as one and alone. Especially is this the case in hymns to Varuna, the oldest name of God in the Vedic language. I quote some extracts from translations by Professor Müller. We shall find them less purely and sublimely monotheistic than the inscriptions of Darius or the unfaltering declarations of Genesis; but sufficiently decided to demonstrate the existence of the habit of thinking of God as one. And the light in which to judge them truly is that of the progress of Hindu religion in succeeding time. That progress, instead of being towards monotheism, was directly the reverse. Every step in it was a growth in polytheism, until the religion of India became a wilderness of idolatry as tangled and boundless as that of Egypt. It is in the line of that progress that we find the oldest parts the nearest to monotheism.

9. "He who knows the track of the wind, of the wide, the bright and mighty, and knows those who reside on high,

10. "He, the upholder of order, Varuna, sits down among his people; he the wise sits there to govern.

11. "From thence perceiving all wondrous things, he sees what has been, and what will be done."

15. "He who gives to men glory, and not half glory, who gives it even to our own bodies,

16. "Yearning for him, the far-seeing my thoughts move onwards as kine move to their pastures."

19. "O hear this my calling, Varuna be gracious now; longing for help I have called upon thee.

20. "Thou, O wise God, art lord of all, of heaven and earth; listen on thy way."

From another hymn to Varuna, we read the declaration that under that name was adored the Creator.

"Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmament. He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven, he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth."

Again he is addressed as the god who has mercy for sinners.

1. "Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay: have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

2. "If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

3. "Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone to the wrong shore: have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

4. "Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

5. "Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offense before the heavenly host; whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, almighty, have mercy."

Were all the Vedic hymns such as these, we should pronounce the religion in whose service they were produced a pure monotheism. But there are also hymns which have equal evidence of antiquity addressed to other divine beings. In each case the god is addressed as sovereign. But I remark, in reading the translations of Professor Müller, that there is a difference between the sovereignty ascribed to Varuna and that of any other god. When adoration is paid to Indra or to Agni, the god is represented as the possessor of certain attributes of sovereignty. He is addressed as almighty; but that almighty power is invoked in reference to his own special jurisdiction. But Varuna is the absolute sovereign, the lord of all, of heaven and of earth. In the following extracts from a hymn to Indra, the feature now mentioned will be observed.

3. "Desirous of riches, I call him, who holds the thunderbolt with his arm, and who is a good giver, like as a son calls his father.

4. "These libations of Soma, mixed with milk, have been prepared for Indra. Thou armed with the thunderbolt, come with the steeds to drink of them for thy delight; come to the house.

5. "May he hear us; for he has ears to hear. He is asked for riches. Will he despise our prayers? He could soon give hundreds and thousands: no one could check him if he wishes to give."

8. "Offer Soma to the drinker of Soma, to Indra, the lord of the thunderbolt; roast roasts: make him to protect us. Indra, the giver, is a blessing to him who gives oblations."

13. "Make for the sacred gods a hymn that is not small, that is well set and beautiful. Many snares pass by him who abides with Indra, through the sacrifice.

14. "What mortal dares to attack him, who is rich in thee? Through faith in thee, O mighty, the strong acquires spoil in the day of battle."

22. "We call for thee, O hero, like cows that have not been milked. We praise thee as ruler of all that moves, O Indra, as ruler of all that is immovable.

23. "There is no one like thee in heaven or earth: he is not born, and will not be born. O mighty Indra, we call upon thee, as we go fighting for cows and horses."

26. "Indra, give wisdom to us, as a father to his sons. Teach us in this path. Let us living see the sun.

27. "Let not unknown wretches, evil-disposed and unhallowed, tread me down. Through thy help, O hero, let us step over the rushing eternal waters."

"In this hymn," remarks Professor Müller, "Indra is clearly conceived of as the supreme god; and we can hardly understand how a people, who had formed so exalted a notion of the deity, and embodied it in the person of Indra, could, at the same sacrifice, invoke other gods with equal praise. When Agni, the lord of fire, is addressed by the poet, he is spoken of as the first god, not inferior even to Indra. While Agni is invoked, Indra is forgotten. There is no competition between the two, nor any rivalry between them and other gods. This is a most important feature in the religion of the Veda, and has never been taken into consideration by those who have written on the history of ancient polytheism."

It is obvious that in these hymns we listen to the language of a people, who, inheriting the worship of one god, are passing over to the practice of paying their adoration to several. They

have not yet learned to divide, or discriminate between different kinds and degrees of worship. Whatever being is adored as god, is conceived of for the time as almighty. Their language of religion, and their predominant habit of religious thought, are those which belong to the worship of only one god. The use of the plural of God they have acquired to the extent that they worship different persons; but the correspondent style of adoration has not yet entered consistently into their religious formulas. It has not yet transformed their religious thinking into consistency with itself. Admitting the existence of various gods, they address each of them, in separate hymns, as if he were the only one. In fact most of them, translated by Professor Müller, are only personifications of divine attributes. Under different names the poets of the hymns actually sang the praise of the same god in the exercise of different attributes.

To a great extent their deification of certain objects of nature is still only the work of figurative language—a bold personification, such as a poet might indulge in without blame, were it not united to the worship of God under that particular form—one of the steps from the wonder created by observation of nature to idolatry of her objects. The following hymn to Agni (*ignis*), fire, will illustrate this remark.

"Neighing like a horse that is greedy for food, when it steps out from the strong prison: then the wind blows after his blast: thy path, O Agni, is dark at once.

"O Agni, thou from whom, as a new-born male, undying flames proceed, the brilliant smoke goes toward the sky; for as messenger thou art sent from the gods.

"Thou, whose power spreads over the earth in a moment, when thou hast grasped food with thy jaws—like a dashing army thy blast moves forth, with thy lambent flame thou seemest to tear up the grass.

"Him alone, the ever youthful Agni, men groom like a horse in the evening and at dawn: they bed him as a stranger in his couch; the light of Agni, the worshipped male is lighted.

"Thy appearance is fair to behold, thou bright-faced Agni, when like gold thou shinest at hand; thy brightness comes like

the lightning of heaven, thou showest splendour like the bright sun."

The process observable here, as in other hymns of the Veda, is that of first wonder at the mysterious operation of nature, then the ascription of it to the power of life: it is then personified as human and intelligent, and lastly conceived of as divine—as the very presence and person of God.

Comparatively the number of such objects of worship, in the most ancient Veda, is small. Subsequent development enlarged their number, until in course of time it went beyond all bounds, while degrading the practical worship to the grossest idolatry, and separating and abstracting the idea of absolute deity to the state of a great eternal negation of all limitations. On the contrary, the idea of God presented in the most ancient Vedic hymns is, like that in Genesis, a being whom man can love, who stoops to treat men as his children, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, directing Noah to prepare an ark for the safety of his family, talking with Abraham as a man talks with his friend; so "Varuna, the upholder of order, sits down among his people; he the wise sits there to govern." He listens to their wants, and from his love to them is influenced by their prayers and pleased with their songs. And they address him as one who can be so moved: "However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O god Varuna, do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious; nor to the anger of the spiteful. To propitiate thee, O Varuna, we bind thy mind with songs as a charioteer a weary steed." There are still here some features of the style of thinking of God which belonged to the early time, when God manifested his presence and revealed his will to men by theophany. He has not yet become a mere idol, nor a far-off impassive abstraction. And although other gods are admitted, the idea of the godhead being one, still holds its place. True, it is almost inevitable that even in the grossest polytheism, some god should not be esteemed above the rest; but it is one thing to conceive of a chief among gods, or over them, and a very different thing, even from the midst of incipient polytheism, to look up to one God as the alone ruler of heaven and earth, with power undivided, and all other beings as only the ministers of his will, as

everywhere present and yet personal, and as working in all and through all, without losing himself in any.

At the date of the oldest Vedic hymns, the progress towards nature worship, among the Aryans of India, had reached the stage of apotheosis of the sun, of fire, of the clear sky, of the dawn, and of some other phenomena, and yet not the length of forgetting that these are only agencies accomplishing the will of the only true and spiritual God. In each of them is adored the power of the Almighty.

A very similar stage of progress is exhibited upon the monuments of ancient Nineveh. Although many mythological objects are there depicted, yet worship is paid to only one in heaven and one on the earth, which both clearly refer to the same god. The winged wheel in heaven, and a conventional figure on earth, seeming to represent vegetation, sometimes appear together, and sometimes singly, but always as objects of worship, which is paid to nothing else.

Of the antiquity of those monuments our estimate may be very wide of the truth; but they are probably of a date less than a thousand years prior to the Christian era, and they cannot be less than seven hundred. And as the whole tendency of religious history in those lands, in those times, was to the multiplication of objects of worship, such testimony seems distinctly to declare the monotheism of earlier times.

On the oldest monuments of Egypt the progress of polytheism is further advanced; but even there the marks of an original monotheism are not entirely effaced. Of all historical countries, Egypt is the oldest in idolatry—the mother of errors and corruptions in religion, which spread abroad to her neighbours of ancient times, and many of which survive to this day. There is no date upon her monuments so ancient as to precede her idolatry. And yet even the monumental history of that idolatry evinces a progress which must have had its beginning in monotheism.

In her ancient history, Egypt was not all one country, but several; each great city being the seat of government for the adjoining district of greater or less extent. Thus Zoan, Bubastis, On, Memphis, Choïs, and Thebes, were all at one time or another seats of a monarchy. Almost every great city was at

the head of a certain jurisdiction of its own, all of which together went to make Egypt; and each of those great cities, growing up from its own proper basis by its own proper progress, as if it were a separate country, had its one god. Memphis worshipped Phtah, On worshipped Ra, and Thebes, Amun. They were each anciently monotheistic in themselves. The union of all Egypt under one crown comprehended all those cities, with their respective gods, in one country. And Egypt became polytheistic at once by the very act of union. When Thebes became the capital of the whole country, she set up her god as the chief god in all parts of it; but did not prevent the old provincial cities from each retaining their own, which were in some cases combined with Amun, thereby giving rise to new gods. Thus objects of worship were multiplied in that country by the very means whereby the nation grew. And yet, after all, certain great common impressions of God exhibit themselves in the religion of the whole people. High above all, the worship of one God, as symbolized by the sun, was supreme. In order to a just apprehension of this fact, it is indispensable to emancipate one's mind from the ideas presented by the monuments of later times, and the writings of Greeks, who knew Egypt only in her decline, and to limit attention to testimonies of the truly ancient alone.

A pervading passion of the Egyptian people was that of representing or picturing everything to the eye. Figures of the animate and inanimate, of the brute and human, were combined, blended, or transposed to subserve that end. The products of hero-worship and of nature-worship are mingled in their later mythology, incongruously and monstrously; but, over and above all, the one god everywhere recognized in Egypt is the sun, or more correctly, perhaps, God as represented by the sun. The image of the sun is the commonest of all Egyptian images, from one end of the land to the other, and in all ages of its history; and attributes belonging to the same great natural symbol are embodied in the oldest gods created by the impulse of hero-worship. And the same is evinced in the fact that the early mythology of Egypt is simpler, less numerous than the later; and the earliest the simplest.

Among the primitive Hamitic inhabitants of Syria, idolatry made great progress after the time of Jacob, and the Israelites upon their return from Egypt found them sunk in the depths of that error. And yet, for centuries afterwards, a witness and remnant of original monotheism retained its place in the almost single devotion which the Sidonians and other principal nations of Syria paid to him whom they called the Lord, pronounced in their different dialects, Habaal, Baal, Bal, and Bel.

All the most ancient extant authorities on the subject either speak to us from an actual period of primitive monotheism, or point back to it as the immediately antecedent out of which they have come. And when compared with succeeding authorities in the same line of succession, in no case do we find the progress to be in the direction of a purer monotheism, but the contrary. The progress is in all cases, where there is progress, towards a multiplication of gods, and the increase of distinctions between them; so that in some quarters they become almost innumerable, and the distance between the highest and the lowest infinite. The cases where there was no progress were those which remained monotheistic.

The doctrine of coëternally existing powers of good and evil does not occur in those ancient books. Evil is viewed simply as a violation of the law of God, by an agent free to obey or disobey. This is not more distinct in the book of Genesis than in the ancient hymns of the Veda and of the Yaçna.

From those same most ancient authorities it also appears that the early idea of God was that of his being a spirit, all-powerful and everywhere present, immaculately holy, inflexibly just, and yet tender in his love to those who forsake their sins and worship him as he requires. He is at once a being of severe justice, and yet of tender mercy to all who call upon him in truth. In all those ancient books alike is he presented as a God who hates sin, is angry with the sinner, and who loves and rewards the righteous.

Man is presented as the creature of God, as capable of righteousness; but as having sinned, and forfeited the favour of God thereby. This condition is held by all those books alike, as belonging to the whole race of mankind. Men are viewed as

guilty not only of actually committed wrong, but also as under the burden of inherited guilt. "Was it an old sin, O Varuna, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee from praise freed from sin. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies."* In the book of Genesis alone is the origin of that inheritance recounted, or the cause set forth; but in all is the fact admitted. Man is viewed in them all as a helpless sinner, dependent for any righteous act he may do, for any success he may attain, for any happiness he may enjoy, for deliverance from the penalty due to his transgressions, solely to the mercy of God.

God was expected to be merciful to those who approached him with sacrifice, with offering of something precious to themselves, or held to be acceptable to God; but especially with the shedding of blood, which was the central observance of religion. At the same time he was invoked with prayers, and with hymns of supplication, of adoration, of confession, petition, and thanksgiving. In those early days, beautiful songs newly composed were believed to be eminently prevalent with the divine mind. The same fundamental elements of worship were observed by individuals for themselves, and by the heads of families for their households, and by nations in public. Sacrifice was the radical observance alike in family and national worship. Noah, as soon as he issued from the ark, built an altar to the Lord; so Abraham, when taking up his residence in Canaan, consecrated the place of his abode; and with the successive heirs of the promise made to him, the altar was the sacred adjunct of the homestead. Among their neighbours, those who are mentioned as worshipping God, observed the same forms. No allusion occurs to a religion of any other type in that time.

The ministers of that early religion were not a separate caste, or tribe, or profession; but those whose natural relations pointed them out for that office. The individual offered prayers and sacrifice for himself, the father was the priest of his family,

* From a Vedic hymn, given in Müller's History of Sanscrit Literature, p. 541.

the head of the tribe performed the service of the tribe, and the king was the high priest of the nation; and it was through the same persons that, when God vouchsafed a special revelation, it was made. The ruler, the priest, and the prophet were one. It was a patriarchal system, falling in entirely with the primitive arrangements of social order. In Genesis this is clear and indisputable. The date at which the Vedic and Avestan hymns were collected was later, namely, that of an incipient legal priesthood; but some of the hymns themselves, and certain hereditary practices, such as that touching the Agni hymns of the Veda, whereby different families had their own proper selections for sacrifice, seem to point back to an origin in an earlier patriarchal system, when each family conducted its own religious service through its own patriarchal priest.* And the place which the king occupies on the religious monuments of ancient Egypt and Nineveh testifies to the same original state of the ministry in those nations.

The prayers and praise were unwritten, and the sacrifice performed with the simplest traditional rites, on an altar in the open air, and unconnected with any temple structure.

To what extent the early fathers of the nations understood the meaning of sacrifice, or apprehended the promise implied in it, or, if they did rightly understand it, how long their descendants retained that knowledge, does not appear; but that the radical doctrines now mentioned, and forms of worship, were the same in all those ancient nations, is now put beyond reasonable doubt.

In thus adducing the testimony of the book of Genesis with that of the ancient Vedic and Avestan hymns, we would not be understood as putting it on the same level with them; but we certainly do not rank it beneath them. If they are to be taken, as they must be, for authorities touching the oldest religion of the prophetic branch of mankind, it is as truly to be accepted for the most ancient type of religion among the Hamitic and Semitic nations. And the interesting fact educed by comparison of them, is the sameness of the original creed of all man-

* The magi are not once mentioned in the Avesta. The name for priest which occurs there is Athrava.—*Spiegel, Intro. to Yaçna*, p. vi.

kind—the most gratifying assurance that our race, for many ages in the early time, as a whole, worshipped the true God of revelation, in the way of his appointment, and held the fundamental doctrines of sin and redemption. Men were not all cast off from the beginning, except a particular family, and left to grope their way to as much of truth as they could find; but, on the contrary, were all alike put on the footing of the same revelation. The primitive dispensation of Divine mercy was one addressed to all mankind. That first way of God's dealing with men, when the king, priest, and prophet were one, in which Melchizedek was conspicuous, if he was not also the last to observe it in its purity, was limited to no specially favoured nation, but addressed itself equally to all. How long it was retained by the different nations correctly, we cannot say; but certainly in its proper features, in some quarters, until the days of Abraham. And even the corruption which fell upon it during the succeeding two or three centuries, was not greater than that which befel the Christian church in the dark ages of European history. And if, as we feel assured there was, even in the depths of papal degeneracy, still enough of truth remaining to save the soul which apprehended it in faith, is it extravagant to believe that God had his true people among those who worshipped him according to the matter and the manner of the old economy, while the old economy was in force, although they were not of the seed of Shem, nor of the family of Terah?

God had never, at any period, left the world without a valid dispensation of his mercy. The old Noachic covenant was not suffered to become void before the Abrahamic was instituted. While the former still retained the life-giving power, the latter was formed to prepare for the evil days which were coming in the sequel of the error already working. As Christ did not delay his coming until Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed, and the Jewish system utterly abolished, so the Abrahamic dispensation is opened while the preceding is still in force. God has never allowed any dispensation to become so corrupt as to completely submerge all saving truth, before setting on foot an efficient means of reforming it. Corrupt as the Jewish

church was at the coming of the Lord, it still contained the means of salvation. There were still Elizabeths, and Annas, and Simeons to welcome him when he came. And low as the idolatry to which the mediæval church descended, it still carried its sacred message to the hearts of some. And all were not lost who clung to its forms after the first step had been taken in reformation. So in the primitive period, we feel constrained to believe that God may have had his people among every branch of mankind; and that, even when much corruption had contaminated the truth, there may still have been some who saw in the forms of worship their spiritual meaning, and received its message in their hearts.

By what date corruption had progressed so far as entirely to leave out or defeat all such truth, it is perhaps impossible to determine—ancient heathenism certainly reached that degree—but in the pre-Mosaic time, we may be free to believe that multitudes were saved for God out of every land and nation, in accordance with the old Noachic covenant; that God had then his people among the sons of Japhet and of Ham, as well as of Shem—on the highlands of Iran and of Assyria, as well as in Mesopotamia and the land of Canaan. And it is pleasant to believe that the early message of salvation may have been carried, in many a heart and on many a tongue, long and far, among emigrating tribes on their protracted migrations. Corruption, in some countries earlier and in some later, but in every historical case to greater or less degree, built up her complication of falsehoods; but all upon the basis of the same original creed. Heathenism is man's development of God's revelation; and is related to the ancient dispensations as Romanism to the Christian.

ART. II.—*Les Mystéres du Desert, Souvenirs de Voyages en Asie*, &c. Par HADJI-ABD-EL HAMID BEY (Col. L. DU COURET), Membre de la Societé Orientale, &c. 2 Tomes. Paris: Dentu.

Life in the Desert, or Recollections of Travel in Asia, &c. By Col. L. DU COURET. Translated from the French. New York: Mason Brothers.

GEOGRAPHY, like most other sciences, has its as yet unsolved problems, and some of the most important as well as curious of them are connected with the Arabian peninsula. On one side it touches the region which is generally regarded as the cradle of the human race, as well as the Holy Land given to God's covenant people. Within its limits some of the grandest events recorded in the Bible occurred; its peoples and productions were described ages ago by Herodotus, and with surprising accuracy, if we except the tough stories told him by Phœnician sailors, for their own selfish ends; and most of the ancient geographers seem to have been familiar with all parts of the country. But for centuries past Arabia has been, and is at this present moment, in regard to its physical features, its antiquities, its dialects, and its commercial capabilities, almost as complete a *terra incognita* as central Africa. The traveller, the savant, the merchant, and the Christian missionary, have been as effectually shut out from it as if the whole peninsula had been girdled by a brazen wall.

Of late years, however, various attempts have been made, with more or less success, to surmount this barrier, and to penetrate into the interior of Arabia. The growing importance of the so-called "Eastern Question," which from time to time so largely occupies the cabinets of Europe, will no doubt give a fresh stimulus to these efforts, and will supply new facilities for the solution of problems profoundly interesting to the geographer, the antiquary, and the Christian. In any view of "the east," of course Arabia must be included; and it is a very noticeable fact, that within a few years the attention of various classes in Europe and America has been more and more drawn to that wonderful region, where some of the grandest scenes of

human history were enacted. Statesmen are pondering the effect which any material change in the status of the Turkish empire will have on the so-called "balance of power;" the merchant is investigating the ancient avenues of commerce, in order to find by which one of them, with the help of the steamer and the iron horse, he can get cheapest and speediest across to India and China; while to the British and American Christians, the questions that come closest home to their hearts is, how can the lands of the Crescent and the Koran be most effectually reached and subjugated by the Gospel.

The volumes whose title is given at the head of this article, are among the most interesting and valuable of those relating to Arabia which have been recently published. Their author, Col. Du Couret, is a Frenchman, whose religious faith, like that of his English brother traveller, Mr. Burton, we are sorry to say, is of an extremely easy sort. So bent was he to reach the interior of Arabia, that, as a means of gaining his object, he avowed himself to be a believer in the Koran. He went to Mecca to see the place, and to gain the prestige of a Hadji, and while there he won the confidence and warm regard of the Imaum of Sana, a large city southeast of Mecca. Through his powerful influence, fortified by his own character of a Moslem, and his thorough knowledge of the Arabic, gained during a long residence in Algeria and Egypt, he succeeded in exploring regions into which few Europeans have ever ventured to go, even in disguise. As, however, we do not propose to follow the Hadji through his perigrinations, we shall simply say here in regard to the volumes before us, that the English edition, though in some parts rather a compend than a version, is a much more readable book than the original, the extremely short paragraphs of which—many of them filling only half a line—give its pages the look of blank verse rather than of prose.

The physical structure and features of Arabia are such as render it a fitting home for a nomad and independent race, although many portions of the country are well adapted to agriculture, and have been long occupied by a fixed population. Its proper northern boundary is a point on which geographers are not agreed, nor is it one of easy adjustment, inasmuch as

the regions frequented by the Bedouin Arabs include the ancient Bashan up to the latitude of Damascus, and some of the provinces nominally belonging to Persia, around the head of the Persian Gulf. On the west, the south, and the east, Arabia is bounded by water, thus forming one of the largest peninsulas on the globe. The ordinary maps give one a very imperfect idea of its size. For example, its length, from the Syrian frontier to the Indian ocean, is about fifteen hundred miles; the breadth of the neck of the peninsula, from the head of the gulf of Suez to Bassorah, near the mouth of the Euphrates, is nine hundred miles; while in the latitude of Djiddah, near the middle of the peninsula, its breadth is set down by one of the latest authorities at twenty-two hundred and fifty miles. Unless all the maps are wrong, this last figure, however, must be an exaggeration. Murray puts it at twelve hundred miles, which, though perhaps under the truth, comes nearer to it.* This vast peninsula, from its diversified surface, contains within its bounds the climates and the vegetable productions of various and widely separated regions. The highland provinces yield wheat, barley, and other grains in abundance; the fruits of Europe, such as the apricot, peach, apple, fig, grape, &c., are raised in great perfection; and in these districts there are extensive forests, including many trees little known, or differing widely from the same genera in northern latitudes. The provinces nearer the seacoast abound in the sweet-scented shrubs for which Arabia has been celebrated during many ages. The gardens of Tayef, seventy-two miles east of Mecca, are renowned for roses of such exquisite beauty and fragrance, that they are sent to all parts of the land. Burckhardt mentions, that one morning at sunrise, when on

* "The vast country of Arabia has a superficies of above a million square miles, and is thus more than equal to one-fourth of Europe."—*Richardson's Herodotus*, I. 469. He adds, in regard to its northern boundary: "Some writers consider that a line drawn from the northeastern corner of the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea at Suez, which would pass almost exactly along the thirtieth parallel, is the proper northern boundary. Others extend Arabia northwards to the thirty-seventh parallel, and make the Euphrates and the narrow isthmus between it and the gulf of Iskenderun inclose the Arabian territory on its fourth side." The last-named line was regarded by Xenophon as the northern boundary.—See *Anabasis*, B. I. c. 5.

the road from Tayef to Mecca, every tree and shrub exhaled the most delicious aroma. Even the desert is not so barren as it seems, but yields various products on which the camel and other animals love to feed; and, what is remarkable, each district has a plant of its own, which will grow nowhere else.

The threefold division of the country into Arabia the Stony, the Desert, and the Happy, though one of long standing, having been used by some of the ancient geographers, is unknown among the Arabs. While there is some ground for this description, the terms applied to the three sections must be taken with limitation. For example, in the Stony and the Desert portions there are numerous localities as beautiful and fertile as any of those which have suggested the phrase of "Araby the blessed;" and on the other hand, Arabia Felix contains not a few ranges of rocky hills, and plains as arid as any of those in the Desert. Stony Arabia or Petræa is the smallest of the three divisions, and includes a narrow strip of coast on the Red Sea, from Mecca northward to the peninsula of Sinai, and the region once known as Idumæa. Arabia Deserta includes the northern half (or perhaps a larger share) of the remainder of the great peninsula; while Arabia Felix is the name applied to the southern portion of it.

The oriental geographers make quite a different division of the country. Some speak of only two sections, viz., Hedjaz and Yemen. Others, as Abulfeda, name five provinces, Tehama, Nedjed, Hedjaz, Yemen, and Amdh or Ared. The Baron Von Hammer, who has collected and compared a vast mass of geographical evidence from oriental sources, insists that the grand divisions of Arabia properly are: 1. *El Hadjr*, or the Stony, with natural boundaries to the east. 2. *El Hadjaz*, along the Red Sea as far south as north latitude nineteen, and having natural boundaries on the east and south. 3. *El Yemen*, the southern portion of the coast along the Red Sea, and extending east to 4. *El Nedjed*, the upland or high plateau in the centre of the peninsula, bordered on the south by the great desert *El Ahkaf*. 5. *Hadramaut*, which extends along the Indian ocean, between Yemen and 6. *Es Shehr*, a dreary desert, converted from a fertile land into a wilderness, by the curse of Nebhi Hud, the ante-Mahometan prophet of this part of Arabia. 7. *El Oman*,

at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, bordered on the west by the great desert. 8. *El Hedjer* or *El Bahrein*, extending along the Persian Gulf to its head, bordered on the west by the high central plateau. 9. *El Yemanah*, southeast of El Nedjed, and bordering on Hedjer, Oman, and the desert Ahkaf.

Since the visit of our countryman, Stevens, to the ancient capital of Edom, some thirty years ago, many Americans and Englishmen have made the tour of Arabia Petræa, and the works of Robinson, Wilson, and others, have made us tolerably familiar with the topography of the region. Of the two larger divisions of the country, Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, our knowledge is extremely limited, the few modern travellers who have attempted to penetrate the interior having been compelled to confine themselves to the caravan routes, and to assume a disguise of some sort. Burton succeeded in this way in reaching Medina and Meeca. Du Couret, as has been already mentioned, was an avowed Moslem. Dr. Wallin, Professor of Arabic in the University of Finland, starting from Akaba, was able to reach the foot of the Shammar range of mountains, and to examine some portions of the Nedjed; and the Baron Von Wude was fortunate enough to make the journey from Mokallah, on the Indian ocean, to the borders of the great wilderness of El Akhar. But the sharp and suspicious eyes of the Arabs were continually upon them, and their lives were in perpetual peril. Hence the field of observation open to each of these travellers, although many hundred miles in length, was necessarily a very narrow one, as any divergence from the beaten track of the caravan, or from the camp of the tribe under whose protection they chanced to be, was full of risk.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that these latest travellers are not agreed in regard to the physical structure of the Arabian peninsula. For example, Burton, in a communication to the Royal Geographical Society, on this subject, maintains that its most elevated portion is in the north, on the borders of Syria, and that there is a gradual and easy slope down to the Indian ocean. His theory, however, is proved to be wholly groundless by the discoveries of Wallin, Von Wude, and Du Couret, whose statements, as far as they go, confirm those of the ancient and Arab geographers. According to the latter, the central portion

of the peninsula is a vast highland plateau, across which run ranges of mountains, many of whose peaks equal and perhaps exceed the loftiest points of Lebanon. The descent from this Alpine region eastward to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and northward towards Syria is gradual, but towards the south and west it is quite abrupt, the plateau being on these two sides flanked by the mountain ranges which skirt the Red Sea and the Indian ocean, at a distance of sixty or seventy miles from the coast.

Du Couret thus describes the interior of Hadramaut, at a point twenty-one days' journey east of Sana: "The road led us through a narrow, silent valley between two abrupt mountains, where we halted for a short time to rest our animals. What a sight then met our gaze! Vast deserts to the southwest, the vision intercepted only by great rugged mountain peaks capped with heavy clouds, and washed at their base by rivers which, according to Strabo, once rolled over sands of gold. Upon the wide land stretching away from us, the eye can discern neither earth nor turf—nothing but shrubs and flowers (this was on the 9th of September) of the most gorgeous beauty. The air is loaded with the perfume of blossoms innumerable." Two days after he was "in the forests of Hadramaut. All around us stood trees of immense size. The luxuriant foliage with which the trees are crowned, is so brilliant in its varied hues as to resemble a great basket of flowers, in which gold, purple, orange, and bronze are mingled in wild confusion. . . . . Our route now led us through mountains apparently without end. Near their tops heavy vapours rolled; below, nature was one ruin. Nothing met the eye but tumbled rocks covered with the shattered debris of others that had fallen on them; tremendous precipices of confused and ghastly forms. Here was to be seen a peak whose summit was lost in the clouds; there a chain of mountains, the rugged line of which loomed against the sky, their abrupt slopes bristling with masses of granite that seemed to have been hurled down by some Titan's gigantic arm. Such are the mountains of Hadramaut."

The account of the Baron Von Wude's journey through the same region, though on a different line of travel, is even more

interesting than that just given, and fully confirms the above statements respecting the physical geography of Arabia. The Baron, disguised as an Arab, and under the protection of a sheik, started from the seaport town of Mokallah, and in eight days reached the famous Wady Doan. The heat upon the coast, especially in the valleys, was fearfully intense, (in June); but the end of the first day's journey brought him to ground about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and where the temperature had sensibly abated. Though the lower grounds in the valleys and on the plains seemed barren, the hills gave evidence of great fertility in the trees and shrubs with which they were covered. On the fourth day he reached a mountain four thousand feet high, which was also clothed with aromatic shrubs. His advance into the interior was over a succession of terrace-like ridges, until on the eighth day he gained an elevation of eight thousand feet, from whence the Indian ocean could be seen in the hazy distance. Here he entered upon a vast plain, broken here and there by wadis or narrow valleys. The thermometer at this point never rose above eighty, while the nights were intensely cold. He came so suddenly upon the Wady Doan, one of the chief objects of his journey, that he was completely taken by surprise, and was lost in wonder at the scene which it presented to his view. This wady is about five hundred feet wide, and the bottom of it six hundred feet below the general level of the plain; in a word, it is a narrow ravine extending hundreds of miles in length, bearing various names in different sections of it, and finally debouching on the seacoast. On the sloping sides of the ravine, which reached nearly half way to the level of the plain, there was a long succession of towns and villages, presenting the appearance of an amphitheatre, while the grounds below them were covered with date trees. As the Baron had succeeded so well in his endeavour to unfold the "mysteries of the desert" so far, he resolved to go still farther into them; and he accordingly set out for the Wady Haggarin, distant five days from Doan, where he found immense forests of date trees, watered by a continually running stream, which was said to take its rise amid the mountains northwest of Hota, and four days distant from it.

A two days' journey brought him to Wady Amt, which, says

he, "equals Doan in extent, and is like it in form and the proximity of its towns. From Hota, where it joins Wady Haggarin, I again ascended the high table-land, and going westward, in four days I reached Sava, a town in the Wady Rachin. It is not so populous as the others. It runs eight days to Wady Kasr, which I was told was only one day's journey from the desert of El Akhaf, and that the part which extends eight days' journey along the borders of the desert is inaccessible, the whole space being full of 'snow spots,' into which if any one fell, he would certainly perish." Having got so near to that mysterious region, which no European had ever seen, and which even the Arab dreaded to approach, the Baron determined to push on towards it, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his Arab friends. Six hours' travel in a northwest course brought him to the confines of the desert, which is about one thousand feet below the level of the plateau. "A melancholy scene," he says, "presented itself to my astonished sight. Conceive an immense sandy plain strewed with numberless undulating hills, which gave it the appearance of a moving sea. Not a single trace of vegetation animated the vast expanse. Not a solitary bird interrupted with its notes the silence of death. In the far distance I distinctly saw three spots of dazzling whiteness. My guide said, 'That is Bahr el Saffi. Ghosts inhabit those precipices, and have covered with treacherous sand the treasures buried beneath them.' On approaching cautiously to the edge of the desert, I found that the sand was an almost impalpable powder, into which a plummet sank nearly as readily as in water. I will not hazard an opinion of my own, but refer the phenomenon to the learned." Unfortunately for himself and for science, the Baron, not long after his great success, fell into the hands of a crowd of fanatical Arabs, from whom he barely escaped with his life; but with the loss of all his valuables, of most of his papers, and on the express condition of his immediate return to Mokallah. He arrived there safely, having been twelve days on the journey from the point at which he was obliged to turn back.

These accounts of Du Couret and Von Wude, in our judgment, give some help towards the solution of one of the most interesting problems belonging to the physical geography of

Arabia, namely, the question as to the existence of the river Aftan. If there is in the centre of the peninsula an Alpine region, more or less covered with perpetual snow, there must be a great flow of water in some direction, and it is reasonable to suppose that it would be eastward, down the gradual slope towards the Persian Gulf. Some scientific friends, who have travelled in Arabia Petræa, expressed to us their strong conviction, founded on the statements of Arabs from the interior, and their own personal observations, that such a snowy region does exist there. On the other hand, Edrisi and other Arab geographers positively affirm that the large river El Aftan, the course of which is laid down in some American and English maps of Arabia, rises in the central, highland region, and flowing eastward empties into the gulf or bay of Bahrein.

Captain Sadlier, an officer in the service of the East India Company, who was sent on a mission to Ibrahim Pasha, during his expedition against the Wahabees, in 1819, is indeed said to have crossed and recrossed the supposed line of the Aftan, without finding traces of any considerable river; and after the publication of his "Notes of a Journey across Arabia," the existence of the Aftan, which many had previously deemed exceedingly improbable, was pronounced by them an absolute fable. But Sadlier's journey was performed entirely by night, his opportunity to observe the country was imperfect, and limited to his line of march, over which he was forced to pass with the utmost haste and caution, and it may have been, in the main, parallel to the course of the river, and even at no great distance from the stream. This, to say the least, is possible; and hence we cannot attach much importance to his negative testimony on the subject, especially when viewed in connection with the fact that certain parts of the coast of Bahrein are remarkable for the powerful springs of fresh water, which are easily accessible at low tide. When the tide is high, they are sometimes covered with twelve feet of sea-water; but so great is their volume and power, that the water is sweet at several feet from the bottom. Indeed, the whole province of Bahrein abounds with fresh water, which, though often prevented by the fierce heats from collecting on the surface and forming permanent streams, is obtained even on sandy plains,

by digging a few feet. It also contains numerous fresh-water lakes. These facts are deemed, as we think, by some eminent physical geographers, as confirmatory of the statements of the Arabs in regard to the rivers flowing from the Alpine region of the interior towards the sea, and whose volume must be large, if, as is supposed, at the distance of hundreds of miles from their source, they continue their course beneath the sand, on a substratum of marly clay, and give rise to vast bodies of subterranean water.

But there are other "mysteries" in that hitherto inaccessible land, not less interesting than these problems of physical geography, that await solution. We have reason to believe that there are in the depths of Arabia, monuments of ancient art, and memorials of remote ages, not less important for the light they would cast on the history of the past, sacred and profane, than those which have been unearthed by Layard and Loftus on the plains of Babylonia and Persia, and whose legends have been decyphered with such marvellous skill by Rawlinson and others. An old tradition, supported by the testimonies of the Greek and Arab geographers, and the statements of intelligent natives of the present day, identifies Mareb, the chief town of the district of the same name, with the ancient Saba or Sheba. It stands on the edge of the high table-land on which the city of Sana lies. All the Arab historians agree that Mareb, though an inconsiderable town at the various periods in which they wrote, was surrounded by vast ruins, the remnants of its earlier grandeur. With the view of procuring an unfailing supply of water for the irrigation of their wady or valley, it is said that the inhabitants, in time immemorial, had constructed an immense stone wall or dam across the valley, and that the waters flowing down from the mountains in the west were collected, so as to form a large and deep lake. After a time, but at what date is uncertain, the dyke gave way, and the resistless flood destroyed not only the town below it, but also the cultivated fields of the valley; and as the inhabitants were unable or unwilling to rebuild the dam, a once fertile district was converted into a desert.

When Niebuhr was at Sana, he gathered much valuable information respecting these ancient water-works, and the

venerable metropolis of the old Himyaritic kingdom; but neither he nor any other European succeeded in penetrating to that classic spot until 1843, when Joseph Arnaud, an enterprising young Frenchman, accomplished the feat, though at the imminent risk of his life. His description of the place agrees with and confirms the accounts of Niebuhr and others. Mareb, the once splendid *Mairaba Metropolis* of Ptolemy, is now a miserable village, surrounded by a brick wall; but the extensive ruins which cover its environs mark the site of the ancient city, and attest its primeval grandeur. The royal palace, or perhaps the central portion of it, which formed the city proper, appears to have been of a circular shape, about a mile in diameter, and inclosed by a massive wall of freestone. Within and without its ruined precincts there lie scattered about numerous fragments of large buildings, huge square stones, friezes and other house ornaments, and even entire columns hewn out of the hardest limestone. West of the ancient city are found extensive remains of the outer wall of a palace which the inhabitants call Haram Bilkis, or "Palace of Bilkis," in memory of the Sabæan or Himyaritic queen, Bilkis, who is said to have founded that royal residence, and who is also believed to have been the Queen of Sheba, or "the Queen of the South, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon." Matt. xii. 42. About one-fourth of the wall is still standing, and is covered with Himyaritic inscriptions, as are also many of the large blocks of stone. The ruins of the famous dyke are on the east of the town. The portions that lean against the projecting foot of the mountains are sufficiently well preserved to indicate their original destination. In these two sections of the wall there are numerous gates or openings still in excellent preservation, constructed at different levels, and evidently designed to regulate the supply of water to the lower grounds.

The destruction of this dyke, says Sale, the translator of the Koran, "is famous in Arabian history, as the inundation of Arem, and was the first great calamity that befell the tribes settled in Yemen, soon after the time of Alexander the Great." The fact is mentioned in the Koran, chap. xxxiv: "Saba (Mareb) had heretofore a sign in their dwelling-place, viz., two gardens on

the right hand and on the left. . . . . But they turned aside; wherefore we sent against them the inundation of Al Arem, and changed their two gardens into gardens yielding bitter fruit." Sale, in his note on this passage, says that "Arem is used for that stupendous mound which formed the vast reservoir above the city of Saba, and which was broken down in the night by a mighty flood. Al Beidawi supposes this mound was the work of Queen Balkis, and that the catastrophe happened after the time of Christ."

On his journey from Sana to Mareb, and at a short distance from the last-named town, Du Couret found a small village occupied, as he thinks, by descendants of the ancient Sabeans. They were evidently of a race different from the Arabs of the vicinity, who would neither eat nor drink with them, regarding them as impure. While they spoke Arabic in dealing with strangers, they used among themselves a dialect of their own, between which and the Arabic there was some such relation as that between the modern Romaic and ancient Greek. Around the village, in all directions, he observed numerous ruins, many of which were covered with Himyaritic inscriptions. But the brevity of his stay here and at Mareb, and the fear of arousing the suspicions of the Arabs, whose sharp eyes were constantly on the watch, compelled him to be content with a cursory examination. His account of the environs of Mareb, so far as it goes, confirms the narrative of Arnaud. The governments of Europe, he adds, have been at great pains to gather the debris of ancient civilization at Meroe, Babylon, Nineveh, Palmyra, and Baalbec. Here are ruins which might be exhumed at vastly less expense and trouble, and a lost page be thus restored to the history of humanity.

If the modern Mareb is, what Arabian tradition and history assert it to be, the site of the ancient Sheba, and if the accounts which the few modern travellers who have visited the spot, give respecting the extent, condition, and character of the ruins near it are trustworthy, it offers, to the Christian antiquary in particular, a field of research as full of interest and promise as any other in the east. Beneath those mighty mounds, which for ages past have been among the most notable landmarks on the plains of Babylonia and Persia, and which cover

the once splendid capitals of the oldest empires of history, Layard, Loftus, and others, have found, in perfect preservation, monuments of ancient art, and records of ancient kingdoms, which are now the glory and the wonder of the British Museum. These archives of Babylon, Nineveh, and Shushan, have been deciphered by Rawlinson, and other eminent scholars of France and Germany, for whose toilsome but successful study of the exhumed Assyrian and Persian sculptures, every lover of the Bible may well give many thanksgivings to God. So far as Scripture professes to give the history of these great monarchies, the exact truthfulness of its narrative, often in seemingly insignificant details, is confirmed by the discoveries just noticed. Why may we not hope to find in the depths of the Arabian peninsula, other monuments of the distant past, which shall bear equally explicit testimony to the truth of Old Testament history? Whether Mareb or Saba be or be not the ancient Sheba, the home of the queen who visited Solomon must have been in some part of southern Arabia, as our Lord expressly calls her "the Queen of the South;" and as the presents which she gave to the Jewish king, "the gold, the precious stones," and especially the rare "spices,"* were among the peculiar and well-known productions of that country. During the reign of Solomon, there was, as we know from the scriptural references to it, an extensive trade carried on by himself and the merchant princes of Tyre, with the southern provinces of Arabia. Nor can there be any doubt as to the position of the chief centres of this commerce, as they have retained their ancient names to this day. The Haran, Canneh, and Eden, mentioned by Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.), in a passage of priceless value to the ethnographer, and the historian of ancient commerce, may have lost the importance which once belonged to them; but there can be little if any doubt that the localities thus designated are the same as those now bearing these names, on or near the Indian ocean. A traffic such as that described by the prophet, must have immensely enriched the country whose resources it developed, and for whose rare products it found a ready market; and it thus supplied the means of

* "Neither was there any such spice as the Queen of Sheba gave King Solomon."—2 Chron. ix. 9.

erecting monuments which, if not as magnificent as those of Egypt, were at least as capable of resisting the ravages of time.

There are, however, other parts of the Arabian peninsula which we have reason to believe would open fields of research profoundly interesting to the antiquarian and the historian, if they could be safely visited and carefully examined. A friend, who has made several journeys to the east, informed us that some Bedouins whom he met at Petra, told him, that at the distance of a few days' journey eastward, there were ruins even grander than those of the ancient capital of Edom. They asserted that there were monuments in that region, which, from their account, must be similar to the most remarkable of those on the banks of the Nile. For example, they described a double colonnade of sphinxes leading to a grand temple; yet these men had never been in Egypt, and their statements were not made with a view of inducing our friend and his party to go into the desert. Whether this story be true or false, the existence of ruined cities, as extensive and magnificent as those of Petra, between that place and the Persian Gulf, has been proved by the explorations of Dr. Wallin. Again, in the central part of the peninsula, in the region where the sect of the Wahabees had its origin, and which was long the seat of their power, there are numerous ruined cities. The fact is attested by the French officers who accompanied the army sent by Mohamet Ali against the Wahabees, in 1817, and also by Captain Sadlier, whose journey across the peninsula has been already noticed. On some of the most recent maps of Arabia, these ruins are marked on a line extending through several degrees of longitude. The district in which they occur is within the limits of the Nedjed, one of the largest of the central provinces of Arabia, and which Dr. Wallin, who traversed it in several directions, describes as exceedingly variegated in its physical character, and occupied by a permanent as well as nomad population; and where, too, he found a mixture of races evidently of Syrian and Jewish origin. Between this part of the peninsula and the chief marts of Phœnician, Egyptian, and Hebrew commerce, there must have been a constant intercourse in ancient times; and if the ruins be half as numer-

ous as they are said to be, it is by no means improbable that there may yet be discovered among them some important illustrative monuments of the past.

The glimpses which the recent travellers in Arabia enable us to get of the country and its resources, imperfect as they are, warrant the belief that if it was once more made accessible to commerce, there would be a large accession to the wealth of the world. How important a place it held among the commercial nations of antiquity is abundantly evident from the numerous references to its productions and its trade, by sacred and profane writers. The province now known as Yemen, forming part of the ancient Sheba, was famous for its spices, its precious stones, and its gold. Petra, though in the midst of barren hills, and with no natural advantages whatever, except the ease with which its rocky ravine could be defended, grew into a splendid city, simply from being one of the entrepots of traffic. According to Heeren, (*Historical Researches*, i.) who has discussed the subject very fully, Petra was the terminus of two grand commercial routes, one of which ran nearly eastward, across the Syrian desert, to Gena on the Persian Gulf, while the other ran southward, along the shore of the Red Sea to Sheba or Yemen. Intercourse was thus maintained between the capital of Idumæa and India and southern Arabia. We think it more than probable that there was also an intermediate route, travelled by a constant "stream of the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah, by the flocks of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth," (Isa. lx.)—a route which gave access to the western and central portions of what is now known as the Nedjed.

"Gold mines," says Heeren, "are no longer to be found there, but the assurances of antiquity respecting them are so general and explicit, that it is impossible reasonably to doubt that *Yemen once abounded in gold.* Why, indeed," he adds, "should not the mountains of Arabia yield this metal, which was so plentiful in those just opposite, in Ethiopia?" If these statements are true, is it reasonable to suppose that these mountain treasures have been completely exhausted? The fact that these mines have not been worked for a long period, in our judgment, is no proof of their exhaustion, as it is sufficiently explained by the political circumstances of the country, the

want of a supreme, intelligent, and enterprising government, and the semi-barbarous condition of its numerous tribes. In a word, the causes which render access to the interior so difficult and dangerous now, causes which in a greater or less degree have existed for centuries, would necessarily prevent the gold and precious stones of Sheba from reaching, in any considerable quantity, the marts of commerce. But there can be no doubt that Arabia still yields in rich abundance other valuable commodities, for which she was celebrated in ancient times. And if the science and enterprise of Christian nations had free scope in the development of her resources, there can be little doubt that vast mines of wealth would be open both in her fragrant forests and beneath her soil.

These suggestions are fully confirmed by the testimony of the latest traveller into the interior of Arabia—Mr. E. G. Palgrave. The volumes giving a detailed account of his journey are now in the press, and the interest with which their publication is looked for by all who take any concern in oriental matters, has been much increased by an address delivered by their author at a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, in which he gives a summary account of his travels and discoveries.* He was led to engage in the hazardous scheme of penetrating the central portions of Arabia, not so much by love of adventure, as from an earnest desire to obtain accurate information regarding the physical condition, the government, tribal divisions, religion and manners of that region. During a ten years residence in Syria he had acquired a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and various circumstances which fell under his observation had led him to suspect that the political and social institutions of Central Arabia were materially different from what was generally supposed. How to get there was the question. To be known as a European among the fanatical Wahabees would probably be fatal. To go as a Turk would be hardly less dangerous. A dervish would be safe if making a pilgrimage to Mecca, but if travelling elsewhere, his appearance would excite suspicion. He

* The address of Mr. Palgrave is published in the last number, for 1864, of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society."

finally concluded to assume the character of a physician, and as he spoke Arabic with perfect fluency and purity, he thought that he might pass for an Arab *de pur sang*, from Bagdad or Damascus. In all the central parts of Arabia, happily for him, physicians, though as well appreciated as in any other land, are wholly unknown, and the consequence was that our traveller found ready access to the places and the peoples that he desired to see. It is to be borne in mind that his knowledge of the healing art was very slight, yet the fame of his medicines went far in advance of his own movements, and often brought him patients from quarters ten and twelve days distant from his temporary resting places.

Mr. Palgrave started from Jaffa on the 4th of May, 1862, and from that time until his arrival at Bagdad in the summer of the year following, all trace of him was lost. His first course was nearly southward until he was within two days of Akaba, at the head of the eastern tongue of the Red Sea. He then turned in a northeastern direction to the town of Maan, where he stayed twelve days. From this point his route was in a southeastern direction, until he reached the centre of the peninsula, and the modern capital of the Wahabee kingdom. Between Maan and El Jaaf, a province of the upper Nedjd, is a waterless desert, inhabited by the most desperate sort of Bedouins, while in many and vast portions of it, not a living thing was to be seen except a few serpents and lizards. After a terrible journey of seven days, during which Mr. Palgrave and his company nearly perished in a samûm, they reached El Jaaf. His account of the town and of the adjacent region agrees with that of Dr. Wallin, whose travels we have already noticed. Mr. Palgrave says he here found groups of lovely villages, nestling under magnificent palm trees, and that the chief city of the province, in which he remained nineteen days in incessant medical intercourse with chiefs and people, is the main commercial centre for the Bedouins of northern Arabia. His next point was Hail, the capital of the independent kingdom of Jebel Shamar, distant ten days from El Jaaf. Here he stayed six weeks busily occupied as a physician, and treated in the kindest manner by King Jabel and his people. On the 13th of October, he reached Riadh the capital of the

Wahabee kingdom, and the extreme point of his journey southward. His medical fame had preceded him, and prepared the way for his kindly reception by the king, who assigned him very handsome lodgings, and almost immediately upon his entering them a crowd of patients of all classes, high and low, eagerly demanded his professional assistance. The cases which he had to deal with must have been of a very simple sort, or else he was marvellously adroit in his management of them, for in all the towns in which he "practised," his career appears to have been one of uninterrupted success. Riadh is a large and well built city; the houses are solid structures of stone, many of them being three stories high; the masses are so fanatical that the life of a foreigner would not usually be safe, and they are made to appear at least excessively strict in their religious observances, as they are all compelled "by the fear of the Lord and the broomstick," to attend prayers five times daily, the neglect of the duty subjecting persons of all ranks to a very unpleasant discipline. Mr. Palgrave was supposed to be an Arab of Damascus, but the fact of his being a Christian, was perfectly well known, his assumed medical character being his sole safeguard. He remained here until the 25th of November, winning fame, friends, and money by his "practice," and on the best of terms with the king, although a certain set of bigoted ultraists were all the while plotting his ruin. But his potent pills and powders rendered their hatred of no account, until in an evil hour he refused to give one of his medicines (an active poison) to the king, who wished by means of it to physic some of his personal enemies unto death. From this moment Mr. Palgrave knew that his position was full of peril, and he and his two companions resolved to beat an immediate retreat from the dangerous ground. This they were enabled successfully to do. Starting from Riadh they pursued a course a little north of east, avoided the large towns within the Wahabee territories, and near the close of the year, they reached El Khatif on the Persian Gulf. The remainder of the winter and the ensuing spring were spent in various voyages on the Gulf, in the course of which Mr. Palgrave examined the parts of the provinces of Oman and Muscat lying on the coast. By the Sultan of Muscat he was affably received, though his appearance and

his doctoral pretensions must have seemed very suspicious, for when he reached the country palace of the sultan near his capital Nezweh, about a day's journey in the interior from Muscat, he was shoeless, hatless, and with little else to cover his nakedness, besides a torn and dirty shirt. From Muscat he went to Bagdad, and from thence to Beirut, where he arrived on the 11th of July, 1863, to the delighted astonishment of his friends, who had given up all hope of ever seeing him again.

The intense suspicion with which the Arab looks upon strangers, especially when making notes or observations the object of which he does not comprehend, rendered it impossible for Mr. Palgrave to take any instruments with him, and dangerous even to appear over-curious in his inquiries. "I was obliged," he says, "to look as great a simpleton as I possibly could, and not to seem to care about anything but to get my fees, which was not always easy, as the Arab only pays the doctor when he has cured the patient." Hence the account of his travels is not so full, nor for scientific purposes so accurate, as could be wished, yet he has added largely to our knowledge of Arabia, and on sundry points he has corrected errors of long standing. For example,

1. *The Bedouins.* "The prevalent idea of Arabia," he observes, "is that it is a kind of home of this people, an enormous plateau of bad pasturage, over which an uncertain number of Bedouins, with their camels and other flocks, are continually roving." Mr. Palgrave discovered, on the contrary, that the mass of the Bedouin population is concentrated on the northern frontier, within the limits of the desert dividing Arabia and Syria, while in the regions south of El Jaaf the fixed population is vastly the most numerous and important, —and that this proportion increases as you advance southward. In the central Wahabee provinces, hardly a single Bedouin proper can be found.

2. *The Governments* of Central Arabia, we are told, are regularly established and well-organized monarchies with fixed laws. The Syrian companions of Mr. Palgrave, who had been all their days familiar only with the lawless rule of the Turk, exclaimed with amazement, as they well might, that they had never before known what *government* was. *Hail*, the

capital of one of these kingdoms, extending over some ten degrees of latitude and seven of longitude, is a well-built and fortified city of twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, having numerous shops, good markets, and a grand palace. Of *Riadh*, the capital of the still larger Wahabee kingdom, Mr. Palgrave says: "Except Damascus, I have never seen a town so beautifully situated as this; the word means 'gardens,' and the town is completely encircled by gardens of the most exquisite kind."

3. *The Wahabees.* The information regarding the religion and the political condition of this people given by Mr. Palgrave, is very interesting and novel, his account of them differing in some respects from those which have hitherto obtained.

The rise of the Wahabees, the rapid spread of their dogmas and dominion, and the changes wrought by them, form one of the most notable epochs in the modern history of Arabia. Nearly a century and a half ago, both government and religion, in all parts of the peninsula, had fallen into extreme confusion and laxity. A young man, named Ebn Abd el Wahab, (born in 1691,) who had been himself trained in the strictest Moslem principles, resolved to give himself to the task of reforming the religion and morals of his countrymen. For a time his experience was like that of most reformers; the governor of his native town having no relish for the rigid morality preached by the young apostle, drove him from the place. However, he found a refuge in Deraiyeh, the capital of the Nedjed, which ultimately became the chief seat of the Wahabee power, and so continued until its capture by Ibrahim Pasha, in 1818. The governor of Deraiyeh not only gave a home to the persecuted reformer, but he became a hearty and powerful agent in propagating the new faith, which claimed to be pure and primitive Mahometanism, and like a true Mahometan, he did it by fire and sword. The sect grew with immense rapidity, and with its growth the political power of Deraiyeh was proportionately advanced, so that in the course of little more than half a century, the sultan of Deraiyeh was the recognised sovereign of nearly the whole of Arabia. The original relations established between the Governor and the Reformer, the one exercising civil and the other religious functions, have been all along maintained by their descendants, and are in force at the

present time. In 1803–4, the holy cities Mecca and Medina fell into their hands, and continued in their possession until the war waged against them by Mahomet Ali of Egypt, 1817–19. His army, under his son Ibrahim, penetrated into the Nedjed, captured Deraiych, and gave a severe blow to the Wahabee power. But their strength, though weakened, was by no means destroyed, as they proved by the recapture and temporary occupancy of Mecca in 1850. While the Wahabee chief held sway over the peninsula, the country was admirably governed, the laws were administered in the spirit of even-handed justice, and life, limb, and property were as safe as they had been in the days of the best of the Caliphs.

The Wahabees are the Puritans of Mahometanism. They denounce all other classes of Moslem for their departures from the simplicity of the faith, for their idolatry in worshipping at the tombs of saints, their remissness in attending public prayer, their luxurious style of living, and especially for their use of tobacco and of intoxicating drinks.

In the lapse of a century even Wahabeeism had lost somewhat of its primitive purity, at least so far as regarded the rigid enforcement of various prohibitory laws. But about six years ago, strange to say, the cholera, for the first time in the history of that terrible disease, and after repeatedly travelling round the globe, visited the lofty plateaus of central Arabia, and made great havoc among all classes of the population. It was pronounced to be a divine judgment sent upon the land for its religious declension; it was so deemed by the rulers and the masses, and the old party of fiery fanatics was for a while so much strengthened, that the severest laws were enacted against the use of silk and tobacco, and such like articles. In their intense hatred of tobacco they even go beyond the Rev. Mr. Trask of Massachusetts. "I once asked," says Mr. Palgrave, during his stay at Riadh, "a patient who had become friendly, about great and little sins. Syrians, I said, were much divided on the point. My friend looked very grave, as those people usually do. So, putting on an exceedingly serious look, (Mr. P. it was not known used the weed himself,) graver, indeed, than usual, he said: 'The greatest and first sin is polytheism, or worshipping anything else than God.' I said, we

all knew that was the *greatest* sin, but after that, what was the next? Upon which my friend without hesitation answered, that the second irremissible sin was that of '*drinking the shameful*,' *i. e.*, smoking tobacco. I then suggested murder, theft, perjury, &c. 'O!' said he, 'God is merciful—*these are all little sins.*'"

Our limits forbid our dwelling at any length on Mr. Palgrave's account of the physical features and capabilities of the regions through which he passed. The simple fact that they are occupied not by the wandering Bedouin, but by a fixed population, rural and urban, of itself alone speaks volumes as to their fertility and wealth. As might be inferred from the structure of the great central plateau, with its plains, its deep valleys, and its girdling mountains, the climates and the products of the tropics and temperate zone are found, as we may say, side by side.

How long shall this vast and ancient peninsula be allowed to remain almost as completely shut out from the goodly fellowship of nations as if it belonged to another planet? The barriers which once encircled China and Japan, enabling them to maintain for ages a proud isolation from the outside world, are being broken down. Is there no way of removing those which surround Arabia, except by letting loose the dogs of war? These, and kindred questions deserve, and we believe will, more and more, engage the most serious consideration of the merchant and the missionary. The difficulties which the latter everywhere encounters, when attempting to approach the followers of the False Prophet, are, of course, an hundred-fold greater in the land which gave birth to the author of the Koran and its religion. Yet there must be a method of meeting and removing them. However it may be elsewhere, we are inclined to think that, in many parts of the East, and especially in Arabia, commerce and Christianity must become allied and coöperating agencies. If, for example, the caravan route suggested by Lieut. Lynch, on what he says is the shortest line between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, and "the true complement of the Isthmus of Suez canal," viz., from Joppa to Graen, were established under European and American auspices, the various depots upon it might soon be made

the radiating centres of moral and religious influences. From the experience of Mr. Palgrave, we are sure that the Christian physician would quickly have abundant work on his hands, and through his patients he might reach even the remote interior.

Such a route is deemed by those competent to judge, as perfectly feasible for a railroad. Indeed while we write, the news have reached us that arrangements have been made by an enterprising Christian German, for the construction of the first link; from Joppa to Jerusalem. From this point eastward, so far as explorations have gone, there would appear to be no serious difficulty to be overcome, the vast plain of El Hamad, over which the road would pass, having neither hill nor valley of any account. The lack of fountains, if it should be found to exist, might be more than made up by Artesian wells, affording, as they would, an ample supply of water for irrigation, as well as domestic use, and thus in many a district "the desert may be made to blossom as the rose." The importance of the stations which would gradually be built up on such a route, in a commercial point of view is too obvious to need remark. To the Christian missionary they are essential, especially in such a country as Arabia, where for centuries death has been the certain penalty of apostasy, and among such a people as the Arabs. Until that law was abrogated by the sultan of Turkey, not a single effort was made by any missionary within the limits of the Turkish empire for the conversion of Mahometans. We remember to have asked one of the secretaries of the American Board, some years ago, why this policy was pursued; he at once referred to the death penalty of apostasy as the thing which rendered it not only advisable, but absolutely necessary. In one sense, the law is now annulled, but in another, it is as much the law as ever. Away from the cities where consuls reside, in a purely Mahometan district or town, no man's life would be safe for an hour, if he went professedly and only to preach Christ, and convert Moslem.

In Arabia, more than in almost any other portion of the globe, the Christian evangelist needs to have the protecting shield of his own land or some other Christian nation extended over him, while occupied with that preliminary work, which may demand two, three, or more years, and which must pre-

cede a formally aggressive effort. If he could secure such a vantage ground, and thus be in a position to try to win confidence, to abate prejudice, and to disarm bigotry by daily acts of kindness, we are disposed to believe that he would find that even Arab Moslem were, in the main, very much like all other races of mankind. Mr. Loftus, who resided for several months among the Bedouins of the Euphrates, whose reputation has been as bad as bad could be, while prosecuting his Chaldean researches, has the following remarkable language:—"A great change had taken place in the behaviour of the Arabs. The intercourse established between us had had the effect of uprooting many fixed prejudices. The more I saw of the Arabs, the more convinced was I that, however wild or bigoted they may be, they possess at heart a disposition capable of love and respect towards the Firenghi." As one of them said to me—"We have discovered that the Firenghis have one and the same God with ourselves, and that they are just and honourable in all their dealings, a fact which they could not say for Arab or Persian."* Mr. Palgrave states another and no less remarkable fact, that, while Mahometanism is the national religion in all parts of Arabia, yet in the villages and rural districts, and generally, outside of such large towns as Hail and Riadh, the Moslem faith and Moslem observances were very little regarded.

We rejoice to believe that the new routes in the orient, which England and France are striving to create for their expanding commerce, and that the ancient ones which promise ere long to be reöpened, after having been shut for ages, will prepare the way of the Lord. "They shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations." Isa. lxi. 4. Our own country has an interest in all that concerns the development of commerce, and the spread of Christianity in the East, and but for the terrible struggle with rebellion, which has been tasking our energies, we have reason to think that the work of oriental exploration so auspiciously begun some years ago, by Lieut. Lynch, would have been followed up. Meanwhile we are gratified to learn that

* Travels in Chaldæa, p. 433.

an association has been formed in New York, akin to the Asiatic societies of Europe, whose object is to stimulate exploratory research, and to gather information in regard to all Asiatic matters that may be of interest to the merchant, the missionary, and the Biblical student. We have no doubt that if once fairly and energetically entered upon its work, the society will have the hearty sympathy and coöperation of intelligent men in all parts of the land.

ART. III.—*An American Dictionary of the English Language.* By NOAH WEBSTER, LL.D. Thoroughly Revised and greatly enlarged and improved, by CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D. D., LL.D., and NOAH PORTER, D. D. Springfield Mass.: G. & C. Merriam. 1864.

THE Dictionary of a language is a growth, rather than a work. It is not a thing which can be produced by any one man, or by any one set of men working together for a limited time, but it must grow up gradually towards completeness and perfection by the work of successive builders through a series of generations. The mere names of the men who have contributed to build up our English Dictionary would fill many pages. The massive, well-proportioned work now lying upon our table, no matter by whose name it is called, is not properly Webster's, or Worcester's, or Richardson's, or Johnson's, or Walker's Johnson's, or Todd's Walker's Johnson's, or even old Bailey's, or Phillips's, older still, but is the result of the accumulated labours of more than ten generations of builders. Tracing the English Dictionary from the old black-letter volume of Friar Fraunces, 1499, or the puny 18mo of Dr. John Bullokar, 1616, through its successive transformations and developments, down to this New Illustrated Unabridged Webster of 1864, is not unlike following an acorn, from the first putting forth of its shoots above ground, on through years, decades, generations and centuries, and through all the successive stages of its

growth and devolopment, until it becomes the wide-spreading majestic oak, beneath whose shade we are writing.

The earliest attempts at lexicography in English were bilingual dictionaries; that is, works intended to aid English boys in studying Latin, or some other foreign language. The oldest of this class is supposed to be the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, an English-Latin Dictionary, by Friar Fraunces, 1499. The first dictionary, intended for English people only, seems to have been "The English Expositor," the small 18mo, by Dr. John Bullokar, already alluded to, first published in 1616, and containing originally only 5080 words. This work continued in vogue until near the close of the century, when, in the edition published at Cambridge in 1688, it is called a "Compleat Dictionary," being "now the eighth time revised, corrected, and very much augmented." The next considerable contributor to the English Dictionary was Edward Phillips, the nephew and pupil of Milton, who was aided in his undertaking by no less than "thirty-four learned gentlemen and artists." His work, entitled "The New World of Words," appeared in 1658. It was a thin folio of 300 pages, containing 13,000 words. This again was manipulated by the author, and after his death by various others, for nearly half a century,—every new editor "revising, correcting, and augmenting."

At no one point, however, in its history, has our Dictionary made so large a single growth, as when it went through the hands of Nathan Bailey. It then passed distinctly from the condition of a sapling to that of an oak. Bailey's Dictionary, folio, 1720, was the first that could fairly claim to be, in any legitimate sense, a general dictionary of the language. The preceding works had not pretended to include all the words in the language, but only to expound the hard words.

Bailey's work, improved and augmented by himself and others, became in turn, in the next generation, the basis of the labours of Dr. Samuel Johnson, at the close of whose seven years of herculean toil, in 1755, our Dictionary had become enriched to a degree that made it for the next three quarters of a century the pride and boast of the English speaking race, and the crowning glory in this department of English literature. Johnson's work again, in the hands of Todd and others, con-

tinued to grow, some of the later editions containing at least 15,000 words more than were in it at its first appearance.

Johnson, Bailey, Phillips, and their collaborators, were engaged mainly in extending the branches and leaves of the noble tree. The next workman was one who undertook to send its roots deeper into the soil. This was John Richardson, 1838, who for the first time attempted to place our Dictionary upon a true etymological basis. Richardson's Dictionary, though sadly incomplete, is a mine of wealth, not only for its etymologies, but for its illustrations of the *usus loquendi* drawn from the older English authors, and is especially valuable for the example it gives of the true method of defining words.

Our great American workers, Webster and Worcester, took the work as they found it, enriched with the gathered spoils of more than three hundred years, and have so enlarged its scope and perfected its details, that it now, in Webster's last revised edition, 1864, contains the enormous number of 114,000 words, and has in other respects a copiousness of information, and a completeness of finish, corresponding in some good degree to its prodigious increase in bulk.

What is thus true of the English Dictionary as a whole, is true of the work of each of its main elaborators. It has steadily grown in the hands of each of its creators. The Webster of this day is as much in advance of the Webster of 1828, as that was in advance of Johnson. The work of Mr. Webster was fortunate indeed in falling into the hands of publishers as liberal and sagacious as they have been enterprising. The author, with all his acknowledged merits, was strongly wedded to certain peculiarities, which really were not necessary to the integrity of his work, and which yet greatly impeded its success. On his decease, his publishers and his heirs, after a free conference, wisely determined to make concessions on many minor points of spelling and pronunciation, which had been bones of contention; and they have taken energetic measures also, from time to time, to keep the work abreast with the rapidly advancing state of English philology, and with the continued and rapid growth of the language itself. Had they contented themselves with continuing to reprint the work as Mr. Webster left it, the Dictionary would have now been en-

tirely behind the times. The Webster of 1828 would have poorly represented either the philology or the language of the English-speaking race of the present time. We are not sure that the additions and improvements made to this work since the death of the author are not equal to those originating with the author himself, great as they undoubtedly were.

A perfect dictionary of a living language is obviously an impossibility. All that we can hope for is a good degree of approximation to an ideal standard of perfection; and it is both interesting as a matter of literary history, and an obvious act of justice to the parties concerned, to notice all intelligent and well-conducted efforts in this direction. We propose, therefore, to give our readers some account of what has been undertaken and accomplished in this latest version of Webster, and of the present condition of the Dictionary in regard to completeness.

Nothing can be plainer than that Etymology is the basis of all true Lexicography. This is one of the points which modern investigation has placed beyond question. All dictionaries in all languages are now constructed on this cardinal principle. We must know the pedigree of a word, its source, and its family connections, before we can with any safety undertake to trace its meanings. Here it was that Johnson most signally failed. He knew next to nothing of the true etymology of the language which he undertook to expound. Webster saw clearly the hiatus, and attempted to fill it. His labours in this department of his work were large and courageous, and were not without valuable fruit. His original contributions to English etymology were exceedingly numerous and important. If any one has doubts on this point, let him patiently compare any half dozen pages of Webster with the corresponding matter in Johnson, and his doubts will be at rest. That Webster was quite at sea in some of his etymological theories, and that of his tens of thousands of original suggestions in regard to the derivation and affiliation of particular words, very many were erroneous, is undoubtedly true. But it is equally true that in this very matter he did good service to the cause of English Lexicography. The etymological portion of the Quartos of 1828 was far in advance of anything which had previously existed in English. But it must be remembered that in the

thirty years and more which have passed since Webster's own active labours ceased, this department of science has made prodigious advances, especially among the nations whose languages are cognate to ours. Every sciolist now understands that in investigating an English root, it must be compared first with its nearest congeners in the group of languages immediately cognate, whether Teutonic, classic, or otherwise, and then with those in other remote branches of the Indo-European family, wherever clear traces of it can be found; and from the entire history of the word, as thus disclosed, its true original meaning and force must be inferred. However valuable, therefore, Webster's etymologies were, as compared with Johnson's, they no longer satisfied the demands of lexical science. They were crude and meagre in comparison with the present state of knowledge on that subject, especially among the Germans, who have pursued it with the greatest zeal, and whose language, as being most closely affiliated with ours, has made their researches particularly valuable to English philology. In preparing, therefore, for this new edition of Webster, its proprietors and editors wisely aimed first of all to secure a competent revision of its etymologies. This part of the work was assigned, as long ago as 1854, to C. A. F. Mahn, a philologist of Berlin, who spent five years upon it. Dr. Mahn, if we may judge from the limited examination which we have been able to make, has entirely rewritten that portion of the work assigned to him. He has of course retained such parts of the original matter as proved to be correct; but he has carefully weeded out the incongruities and mistakes, has added largely of entirely fresh matter, and finally, has thoroughly digested the facts, so that they assume a compact, organized form, instead of being, as etymological addenda often are, a mere *rudis indigestaque moles*. A few examples taken at random will best illustrate what has been done in this department of the Dictionary.

Chapman.

WEBSTER. Sax. *ceapman;* D. *keopman;* Germ. *kaufmann;* D. *kiöbmand.*

MAHN. A. S. *ceapman*, from *ceapan*, *ceapian*, to buy; D. *koopman*, Swed. *köpman*, Dan. *kiobmand*, Ger. *kaufmann.*

The alterations and additions here are small, consisting only of those quiet touches which indicate a desire to be thorough, rather than the mere aim to make changes. In the first place, A. S. (Anglo-Saxon), not S. (Saxon), is the proper term for the first language quoted. Another improvement is the referring the word in the A. S. to the verb, "ceapan," and giving its meaning, "to buy," as the main object of giving the etymology at all is to lay the foundation for ascertaining the meaning of the word. Transposing the German congener "kaufmann" to the end, and bringing in first the Swedish "köpman" and the Danish "kiobmand," is also an improvement, as the word obviously is more nearly allied to the Scandinavian than to the Teutonic branch of the family. These are small matters, but they show method and minute accuracy on the part of the reviser, and when repeated in many thousands of cases, amount in the aggregate to a large and valuable work.

Dais.

WEBSTER. No etymology given.

MAHN. Fr. *dais*, a canopy; O. Fr. *dais*, *deis*, *dois*, a dining-table, Pr. *deis*, from Lat. *discus*, Gr. *δίσκος*, a quoit, It. *desco*, Ger. *tisch*, a table. Dining-tables used to be covered with a canopy; hence it signified at last in Fr. the canopy itself.

Here the whole article is new, and is valuable with the exception perhaps of the references to the Latin and Greek, which seem of very doubtful propriety.

Dare.

WEBSTER. Sax. *dearran*, *durran;* D. *darren*, *durven;* G. *dürfen;* Sw. *dierf*, bold; *dierfras*, to dare, and *töras*, to dare; Dan. *tör*, to dare, *tör*, dry, torrid, Lat. *torrea;* Dan. *törhed*, dryness, barrenness; *törstig*, thirsty. The German *dürfen* compounded, *bedürfen*, signifies to want, to need, to lack, and this in Dutch is *derven*. The Swedish *dare*, rash, mad, sottish, *dora*, to infatuate, Dan. *daarer*, may be of the same family. The Gr. *θαρρέω*, and Russ. *derzayu*, to dare, are evidently the same word. Ar. *dhaura*, to be bold, audacious; to be angry, or adverse; to be terrified, to flee. So in Sw. *darra*, to trem-

ble. The sense of boldness, daring, is sometimes from the sense of advancing; but some of the senses of these words indicate the sense of receding.

MAHN. A. S. *dearr*, inf. *dyrran*, O. Sax. *daurran*, Goth. *dars*, *daursun*, *daursta*, inf. *daursan*, O. H. Ger. *tar*, *turst*, Dan. *tör*, *turde*, Sw. *töras*, allied to Gr. *θάρσειν*, *θάῤῥειν*.

Here the improvements are of quite a different kind from the preceding, Dr. Mahn having quietly eliminated all the heterogeneous incongruities into which Webster had been beguiled in his account of the word, making it mean to advance and to recede, to be bold and to tremble, to be brave and to be thirsty. The last sentence in Webster is curious as a mere specimen of English composition. "The *sense* of boldness, daring, is sometimes from the *sense* of advancing; but some of the *senses* of these words indicate the *sense* of receding"! In the revised etymology of the word the whole of this crude farrago is quietly disposed of, and the true genesis and affiliations of the term are given with equal brevity and clearness. If Dr. Mahn however had added to the nearest congener, *dyrran*, in the A. S., its meaning, as in the other cases quoted, it would have been still better.

Day.

WEBSTER. Sax. *dæg*, *deg*, *dag*; Goth. *dags*; D. *dag*; Ger. *tag*; Sw. *dag*; Sans. *dyu*; Celtic *di*, *dia*; W. *dydh*; Lat. *dies*.

MAHN. A. S. *dæg*, O. Sax., D., Dan., and Sw. *dag*, Icel. *dagr*, Goth. *dags*, Ger. *tag*, Ir. *dia*, W. *dydd*, *dyu*, Armor. *deiz*, *déz*, Lat. *dies*, Skr. *dyu*, from *dyu*, *div*, to shine.

In the latter of these etymologies, observe the natural historical order of the affiliations. First, the Anglo-Saxon, and its direct parent the Old-Saxon; then its first cousin the Dutch; then its second cousins of the Scandinavian branch, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic; then its grand-uncle and uncle, the Gothic and German; then its more distant kinsfolk of the Celtic family, the Irish, Welsh, and Armoric; then its southern congener of the Latin stock; and finally its remote but undoubted kinsman from the region of the Himmalayas, the venerable Sanskrit, with its primary meaning to *shine*,—the whole showing by the very order of the quotations that this primitive

word "day" is truly an Aryan or Indo-European word, extending from the Indus to the Atlantic, and as old as the great dispersion. The quotations by Webster are valuable and pertinent so far as they go, but they are arranged in an order that is confusing to the reader, whilst the quotations "Celtic" and "Welsh" indicate some confusion in the mind of the writer, Welsh not being something distinct from Celtic, but one of the four or five dialects that form the Celtic group.

Fair.

WEBSTER. Sax. *fæger;* Sw. *fäger;* Dan. *faver.* If the sense is primarily to open, to clear, to separate, this word may belong to the root of Sw. *faja*, Dan. *feger*, D. *veegen*, G. *fegen*, to sweep, scour, furbish.

MAHN. A. S. *faeger*, O. S. and O. H. G. *fagar*, Icel. *fagr*, Sw. *fager*, Dan. *faver*, *faur*, Goth. *fagrs.*

Here the unsustained conjecture of Webster is dropped, and the reliable portion of his etymology is given more fully and systematically.

Folk.

WEBSTER. Sax. *folc;* D. *volk;* G. *volk;* Sw. *folck;* Dan. *folk;* L. *vulgus.* The sense is a crowd, from pressing or collecting, not from *following*, but from the same root, as to *follow* is to press toward. It may be allied to Sax. *fela*, G. *viel*, D. *veel*, Gr. πολυς and πολλοι.

MAHN. A. S. *folc*, Icel., Sw., Dan. *folk*, O. H. Ger. *folk*, N. H. Ger. and D. *volk*, allied to Lith. *pulkas*, crowd.

The improvement here also is not so much in the additions, as in omitting what is crude and irrelevant.

Journal.

WEBSTER. Fr. *journal*; It. *giornale*, from *giorno*, a day; Corn. *jurna;* W. *diurnod;* L. *diurnum.*

MAHN. Fr. *journal*, Sp. and P. *jornel*, It. *giornale*, L. Lat. *jornale*, from Lat. *diurnalis*, diurnal, from *diurnus*, belonging to the day, from *dies*, a day.

Pinch.

WEBSTER. Fr. *pincer*, formerly *pinser;* Arm. *pinçia*; Sp. *pizcar;* It. *pizzare*, *pizzicare.* These are evidently from the

root of It. *piccare*, to prick, smart, itch, to peck, to provoke, Sp. and Port. *picar*, to sting or prick, to peck, to dig, to bite or pinch, as cold. The root, then, is that of *peck*, *pick*, *pike;* and *pinch* is primarily to press between two sharp points, or to prick.

MAHN. Fr. *pincer*, formerly *pinser;* Sp. *pizcar* and *pinchar*, It. *pizzare*, *pizzicare*, from O. D. *pitsen*, Ger. *pfitzen*, *pfetzen*, to pinch, cut.

Here again the attempt to connect "pick" and "pike" with "pinch" is abandoned as untenable, and the remaining matter is straightened out and simplified, though we must beg leave to question the validity of Dr. Mahn's closing assumption that the Italian *pizzicare* is derived from the Old Dutch *pitsen*.

Preach.

WEBSTER. D. *preeken;* Fr. *prêcher*, for *prescher;* Arm. *pregnein* or *prezecq;* W. *preg*, a greeting; *pregeth*, a sermon; *pregethu*, to preach, derived from the noun, and the noun from *rheg*, a sending out, utterance, gift, a curse, imprecation; *rhegu*, to send out, to give or consign, to curse; Heb. Chal. and Ar. ברך *baraka*, L. *praeco*, a crier, Sax. *fricca* or *fryccea*, a crier. This is of the same root as *pray*, L. *precor*, and with *s* prefixed, gives the G. *sprechen*, D. *sprecken*, Sw. *spraka*, to speak; Dan. *sprag*, speech.

MAHN. O. F. *precher*, *prechier*, *preëscher*, *preecer*, N. Fr. *prêcher*, Pr. and Sp. *predicar*, Pg. *pregar*, It. *predicare*, from Lat. *prædicare*, to cry in public, to proclaim, fr. *præ*, before, and *dicare*, to make known, *dicere*, to say; A. S. *predician*, D. *prediken*, *preken*, Dan. *prädike*, Sw. *predika*, Ger. *predigen*.

The contrast between the two articles here is striking. Dr. Mahn gives the true genesis of the word in a manner equally clear and comprehensive. To "preach" is plainly mere Latin, being simply a corruption of "prædicare;" and its forms in the several Romance languages are given in the order of the successive stages of its departure from the original Latin. The Teutonic and Scandinavian forms which follow were not original in those languages, but were foisted in from the early church Latin, which fact is indicated by the manner in which they are presented. Dr. Webster's article is a most unfortunate jumble

of facts and fancies. His attempts indeed at remote and impracticable analogies sometimes remind us of a rule we once heard propounded by a wag, that "in etymology all consonants are interchangeable, and the vowels go for nothing!"

Punch.

WEBSTER. Sp. *punzar;* W. *pyncian;* L. *pungo.* In this word, *n* is probably casual, and the root is Pg, of the same family as *peg*, *pack*, or *pike*, with the primary sense of driving or thrusting, a point.

MAHN. From *punch*, n; Fr. *poinçonner*, Sp. *punzar*, O. Sp. *punchar*, Pg. *punçar*, It. *punzellare*, *punzecchiare*, from Lat. *pungere*, *punctum*, to prick.

Shield.

WEBSTER. Sax. *scyld;* Sw. *sköld;* Dan. *skiold*, *skildt;* D. and G. *schildt.* This word is from covering, defending, Sw. *skyla*, to cover; or from separating, Sax. *scylan*, Dan. *skiller*, to separate. Protection is deduced from either, and indeed both may be radically one. (See Shelter.) The Latin *scutum* coincides in elements with the Sax. *sceadan*, to separate, and *clypeus* with the Gr. *καλύπτω*, to cover.

MAHN. A. S. *scild*, *sceld*, *scyld*, O. S. *scild*, O. Fries. *skeld*, Goth. *skildus*, Icel. *skiöldr*, Sw. *sköld*, Dan. *skiold*, O. H. Ger. *skilt*, N. H. Ger. and D. *schild*, from Icel. and Sw. *skyla*, Dan. *skiule*, to cover, to defend.

Here Dr. Webster began on the right track, but was led off by his love for remote analogies until he became quite bewildered in a labyrinth of his own creation. Dr. Mahn's etymology is clear, simple, and exhaustive, going to the root of the matter without a spare word.

Ship.

WEBSTER. Sax. *scip; scyp;* D. *schip;* G. *schiff;* Sw. *skepp;* Dan. *skib;* L. *scapha*, from the root of *shape;* Sax. *sceapian*, *scippan*, *scyppan*, to create, form, or build.

MAHN. A. S. and O. Sax. *scip*, O. Fries., Icel. and Goth. *skip*, Dan. *skib*, Sw. *skepp*, D. *schip*, L. Ger. *schipp*, O. H. Ger. *scif*, N. H. Ger. *schiff*, perhaps from A. S. *scyppan*, *sceppan*,

to mould, form, shape, Cf. Gr. *σκάφη*, Lat. *scapha*, a boat, from Gr. *σκάπτειν*, to dig, scoop out.

The above is a favourable example both of the author and the reviser. Dr. Webster has given the true etymology, and we think has made a happy conjecture in regard to the prehistorical connection between the old Norse or Scandinavian word "ship" and the classical *scapha* and *σκάφη*, while Dr. Mahn has worked out the idea very neatly and satisfactorily in its details.

Bigot.

WEBSTER. Fr. *bigot* and *cagot*, a bigot or hypocrite; Arm. *bigod*. In Italian, *bacchettone* is a hypocrite. In Spanish, *bigote* is a whisker; *hombre de bigote*, a man of spirit; *tener bigotes*, to be firm or undaunted. If the French *cagot* is connected with *bigot*, the first syllable in both is a prefix. But I am not able to ascertain the real origin and primary sense of the word. The etymologies I have seen are not satisfactory.

MAHN. Fr. *bigot*, a bigot or hypocrite, a name originally given to the Normans in France. Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, was obliged to kiss the foot of King Charles in return for the Province of Neustria. When told by his companions what he must do, he exclaimed, "*Ne se, Bigot,*" (Not so, by God): the king and court mockingly called him *Bigoth*, whence the Normans are still called "*Bigothi.*"

Dr. Mahn quotes fully his authorities for the foregoing, but it is not necessary, nor have we the space, to copy them. A curious illustration of the manner in which a phrase may thus originate a name, is found in the fact that in Paris at this time the popular name for an Englishman is a "*goddamn,*" being taken from the frequent use of the phrase "God damn" upon the English lip. The late Dr. Baird told us that once, when he was in Paris, the nurse brought in a little English child for Mrs. Baird to admire, saying, "Oh, do see this beautiful little *goddamn!*" she not having the slightest idea that the word meant anything else but *English.*

Filbert.

WEBSTER. Lat. *avellana*, with which the first syllable corresponds; *fil, vel.*

MAHN. According to Junius and Skinner, corrupted from *full* and *beard*, or *full* of *beard*, from its long beards or husks, whence it is called in German *bart-nusz*, *i. e.* beard-nut; according to Gower, from *Phillis;* "*Phillis* was shape into a nutte-tree, that all men it might see; and after *Phillis Philberd* this tree was cleped in the yerd." Cf. also Virgil's "*Phillis* amat corylos," and Spenser's "*Phillis Philbert* there away compar'de with mirtle and the bay." In German it is usually called *lambertsnusz*, O. Ger. *lamparte*, *lampertische*, or *lambertische nusz*, *i. e.* nut from Lombardy, N. Lat. *nux Lombardia*.

Schooner.

WEBSTER. G. *schoner.*

MAHN. D. *schooner*, Ger. *schoner*, *schooner*, *schuner*, Sw. and Dan. *skoner*, Sp. *escuna;*—all from the English.

The first *schooner* ever constructed is said to have been built in Gloucester, Massachusetts, about the year 1713, by a Captain Andrew Robinson, and to have received its name from the following trivial circumstance. When the vessel went off the stocks into the water, a bystander cried out, "O, how she *scoons!*" Robinson instantly replied, "A *scooner* let her be;" and from that time, vessels thus masted and rigged here have gone by that name. The word *scoon* is popularly used in some parts of New England to denote the act of making stones skip along the surface of the water. The Scottish *scon* means the same thing. Both words are properly allied to the Icel. *skunda*, *skynda*, to make haste, to hurry; Sw. *skynda;* Dan. *skynde;* A. S. *scunian*, to avoid, to shun; Prov. Eng. *scun.* According to the New England records, the word appears to have been written originally *scooner.* The origin of the term, as here given, rests on abundant and unimpeachable evidence. Babson, in his history of Gloucester, gives the following extract from a letter written in that place on the 26th of September, 1721, by Dr. Moses Prince. "Went to see Captain Robinson's lady. This gentleman was the first contriver of *schooners*, and built the first of that sort about eight years since; and the use now made of them, being so much known, has convinced the world of their conveniency beyond other vessels, and shows how mankind is obliged to this gentleman for their knowledge."

The examples already given, which have been taken at random from different parts of the volume, are sufficient, we think, to establish clearly two points; first, that the etymological parts of the Dictionary greatly needed revision, which indeed the Editors admit, and secondly, that Dr. Mahn has executed his task in a scholarly manner, with minute and conscientious fidelity, and with results that place the work in this important particular far in advance of its former position, as well as in advance of every other existing Dictionary of the English Language.

The etymological part of a dictionary, however, though important, and the true basis of the whole, is not the superstructure. The main object of such a work, after all, is the correct definition of the words in the language. Etymology has its chief value in its being a guide to the meaning. How far is the Webster of 1864 an improvement upon the previous editions, and how far does it fill the existing want, in this great cardinal point?

Before making any direct examination of particular definitions, it may not be amiss to state briefly the accepted doctrine on this subject among lexicographers at the present time. This is the more needful from the fact that, since our earlier dictionaries were written, the entire science of lexicography has been revolutionized, or rather lexicography as a science has been placed upon a clear and intelligible basis. The labours of the earlier lexicographers, in all languages, and the materials which they collected, were immense. Stephens's Thesaurus of the Greek language, for instance, under the old system of indiscriminate accumulation, reached the size of ten volumes folio. Yet this great wealth of learning was comparatively useless, for want of a proper comprehension of the thing to be done, and a proper classification of the materials in accordance with this generic idea. For the study of the Greek language, the work of the least practical value probably that one could have in his library, would be this same Thesaurus. Horne Tooke seems to have been the first to make known the great leading idea which must lie at the root of all true and rational lexicography. The principle for which he contended in the "Diversions of Purley," and which he successfully established, was this: That every

word has one primary, radical meaning, and one only; and that all other meanings must be derived from this in some logical and historical order.

A necessary inference from this principle is, that the only sure way to ascertain the meaning of a word is to study it historically, that is, first to collect, and compare its congeners in affiliated languages, which is the etymological part of the process, and secondly, to collect in its own language passages in which the word occurs, from writers of different ages, and to arrange these passages in chronological order, beginning with the earliest and coming down in regular succession. The historical usage, when thus traced, points in almost every case to one literal primary meaning, connected usually with some material and external act, or object, with which all the other meanings are clearly connected by metaphor, metonymy, or other figure of speech. An example or two will make this point perfectly clear. Thus the word "sad," in our early English writers, is used in a way which shows its derivation, the primary meaning of the word, and the logical connection and dependence of its various secondary meanings. Wickliffe translates the Latin *petra*, "a *sad* stone." He also renders *firmitas*, *firmamentum*, *immobilitas*, of the Vulgate, by "*sadness*," as "the sadness of your belief," where the common version has "the *steadfastness* of your belief." These facts point to the historical origin of the word. It is the past participle, *sæt*, *sæd*, or *sad*, of the Anglo-Saxon verb *settan* or *sætan* (*sedere*, *sedare*,) and it means *set*, or *settled*. A "*sad* stone" (Wickliffe) is a *set*, *fixed*, *firm* stone. *Sadness* (Wickliffe, for firmitas) is *settledness*, fixedness, stability. Robert of Brunne also, a little older than Wickliffe, uses *setness*, another form for *sadness*, in the sense of *settlement*, settled agreement. A few quotations from Wickliffe's New Testament will show that the idea here suggested is no conceit.

"It was founded upon a *rock*." (Common Version, Luke vi. 48.) "It was founded upon a *sad* stone." (Wickliffe.")

"The foundation of God standeth sure." (Com. Vers.) "The *sad* foundation of God standeth." (Wickliffe.)

"We then that are *strong* (Vulgate, *firmiores*) ought to bear

the infirmities of the weak." (Com. Vers.) "We *sadder* men." (Wickliffe.)

"If we hold the beginning of our confidence *steadfast* unto the end." (Com. Vers.) "If we hold the beginning of his substance *sad*." (Wickliffe.)

"Joying and beholding your order, and the *steadfastness* of your faith in Christ." (Com. Vers.) "The *sadness* of your belief in Christ." (Wickliffe.)

"Fell from your own *steadfastness*." (Com. Vers.) "Fell away from your own *sadness*." (Wickliffe.)

Now, taking this historical basis as the true one, we find the primary, literal meaning of "sad" to be *fixed*, *steadfast*, as applied to material objects. When by metaphor the same word was applied to express a certain state of the mind, it acquired the present, common idea of *sedate*, *grave*, *gloomy*, &c., derived in logical order from the primary, literal notion.

Let us take another instance. The word "dull" may be traced to a primary, literal meaning, that of bluntness or thickness in the edge of any sharp instrument, such as a knife. An instrument thus "dull" is slow and inactive in accomplishing its appropriate work. A state *similar* to this may be supposed to exist in the mental or moral powers. The blade is dull literally, the man metaphorically. Again, by the common figure of speech known as metonymy, putting cause for effect, &c., we call anything "dull" which makes us feel dull, as the weather. And so, by various figures of speech, the word acquires a variety of meanings; but through them all, the one leading, primary, pervading idea may be, and in all proper lexicography is, clearly traced.

This then is the true business of the lexicographer, so far as it relates to the definitions. His office is to ascertain and set forth, in an intelligible manner, the meaning of the words. To do this he must first of all investigate their history, both in the cognate languages and in our own language, and must give the usage of each word at successive periods, as shown by extracts from the writers of the language, arranged in chronological order. Such a method produces clearness and certainty. It enables the author to bring together into a small compass all that can be usefully said on each topic. What is of still greater

importance, it enables the student to take in the full meaning and usage of a word at a single glance. By the old method of stringing together a confused and irregular mass of epithets, without any logical dependence, or any apparent connection, except that which arises from numbering the so-called different meanings, the mind becomes perfectly bewildered. It is like "looking for a needle in a hay-stack."

We repeat, then, the only true method for a dictionary is to trace each word to one primary, literal meaning; and to do this, not by fanciful conjectures, but by rigid historical research. Johnson's definitions have acquired great celebrity. But it is in spite of his method, not by virtue of it. It is in consequence of the masculine grasp of his intellect, and his extraordinary facility in the use of language. He had a rare gift for seeing the exact meaning, as used in any particular case, and for stating that meaning with clearness and point. But his philological acquirements were scanty, being almost limited to an ordinary knowledge of Greek and Latin; and he had no conception of the truth, so clearly developed since, that a word has really but one primitive meaning, to which all its secondary and distinctive meanings may be traced, and under which they should be arranged in some orderly and logical manner. He gives, for instance, ten different meanings of the word "dull," thrown together pell-mell, without any recognized order, logical or historical, but on the principle apparently of "take your choice," as a boy would empty his bag of marbles on the floor for the use of his playmates. Here is the list.

1. Stupid, doltish, blockish, unapprehensive, indocile, slow of understanding.
2. Blunt, obtuse.
3. Unready, awkward.
4. Hebetated, not quick.
5. Sad, melancholy.
6. Sluggish, heavy, slow of motion.
7. Gross, cloggy, vile.
8. Not exhilarating, not delightful.
9. Not bright.
10. Drowsy, sleepy.

Why the great lexicographer stopped at the tenth, unless he

himself had become "drowsy," it would be difficult to say. It would have been just as easy to string together a hundred loose epithets and vague circumlocutions for "dulness," as to pause at the tenth. In some cases he has gone, and others have followed his footsteps, to the enormous absurdity of giving twenty, thirty, or forty unconnected definitions of a single word. This is sheer nonsense. Each word has, and can have, but one independent meaning. If it appear to have two, historical research will generally show that there are in reality two independent words, which in the progress of the language have been incidentally reduced to the same form. We have an instance of this in the word "rack."

The common word "rack," meaning "torture," is from the Anglo-Saxon *wræcan*, to wreck, (Lat. *exercere*, *agitare*, *affligere*, *infligere*, *punire*.) The literal meaning, and its various metaphorical meanings, are so obvious, that no illustrations are required. But there is another word, spelled, in its modern form, with the same letters, and pronounced in the same way, which the older commentators *racked* their brains to torture into some meaning akin to the former. This other "rack" is the Anglo-Saxon *reac*, or *réc*, meaning smoke, steam, vapour, from the verb *recan*, or *reócan*, to smoke, *reek*, cast forth vapour. Hence the word to reek or rack (two modes of spelling the same word) means to send forth vapour or smoke, to move like vapour or smoke; and the noun "rack" is that which is "racked" or "reeked,"—vapour, steam, exhalation, fume. Three or four quotations will put this beyond doubt.

"The winds in the upper regions, which move the *clouds above*, (which we call the *rack*) and are not perceived below, pass without noise.—*Bacon, Nat. Hist.*

> "Full many a glorious morning have I seen
> Flatter the mountain tops with sovran eye,
> Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
> Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy,
> Anon permit the basest *clouds* to ride
> With ugly *rack* on his celestial face."—*Shakespeare's Sonnets.*

> "And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,

And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a *rack* behind."—*The Tempest.*

"That which is now a horse, even with a thought
The *rack* distimes, and makes it indistinct
As water is in water."—*Anthony and Cleopatra.*

"A thousand leagues I have cut through empty air,
Far swifter than the sailing *rack*, that gallops
Upon the wings of angry winds."—*Beaumont and Fletcher.*

"As when loud Boreas, with his blustering train,
Stoops from above, incumbent on the main;
Where'er he flies, he drives the *rack* before,
And rolls the billows on the Egean shore."—*Dryden.*

"The headed Erne,
Climbs on strong winds the storm, and screaming high,
Rides the dim *rack* that sweeps the darkened sky."—*Leyden.*

The foregoing quotations make it evident that "rack," vapour, and "rack," torture, instead of being two independent meanings of the same word, are two independent words, derived from different roots, and having no connection, except that in their later forms they have been incidentally reduced to the same spelling. In like manner, all the apparent cases of two or more independent meanings to one word may be solved, without infringing the principles already insisted upon, namely, that each word has but one leading, primary, independent meaning.

The first, so far as we know, to announce this principle, was Scaliger. His language is: "Unius namque vocis *una* tantum sit significatio, propria ac princeps; cæteræ, aut communes, aut accessoriæ, aut etiam spuriæ." Although, however, Scaliger here clearly recognizes the principle, he did not insist upon it, nor so enforce it, either upon his own mind or upon the minds of others, as to produce any visible results upon the labours of scholars. Lexicographers still went on, heaping up definitions, till it became next to impossible to find out from a dictionary what a word really meant. Horne Tooke, on the other hand, not only announced the principle, but discussed it, and argued it, and enforced it, with so much learning and acumen, that it arrested the attention of the learned, and has finally become among critics a part of the established faith.

Perhaps the most complete example of the new mode of lexicography is to be found in the Greek. The first scholar who

ventured to construct a dictionary of the Greek language avowedly on this principle, was Passow, whose work was the basis of that of Liddell and Scott. The success of Passow's work gave rise to a lexicon of the Latin on the same principle, by Freund, which was the basis of the one now in current use in this country, by Dr. Andrews. The first English dictionary, in which this principle was fairly carried out, was Richardson's, 1838. For the fulness of its quotations from the earlier authors, the severe and logical exactness of its definitions, and, we may add, for the absence of mere rubbish under the name of definitions, Richardson's dictionary was unparalleled. The great defect, which effectually prevented its attaining general popularity, was the incompleteness of its vocabulary. Thousands upon thousands of words in common use, upon which the reader might want information, were not to be found in this work. Partly, being a professed purist, he had excluded them by design, and partly he had omitted them by oversight.

Webster, in his preface, insisted with earnestness that it is the duty of the lexicographer to give first the primitive signification of a word, and then to develope and arrange the dependent meanings in the order in which they were derived, and he criticised very properly the defective method of Johnson in the matter. But Webster's theory in this respect was better than his practice, nor did he succeed in emancipating himself entirely from the pernicious influence of Johnson's example. Whoever will recur to any of Webster's earlier editions, will find examples in abundance of this vexatious fault,—words with long lists of definitions, so called, strung together like the tail of a kite, with no logical or historical dependence, and altogether so numerous as to be bewildering. We have no intention, in this remark, to detract from the merits of Dr. Webster. He had fine powers of discrimination, and he was a most patient, painstaking, conscientious, and successful observer. He collected, by his own personal observation, a large number not only of words, but of uses of words, which had escaped the notice of Johnson and his editors, and by this means he made an important original contribution to our English Dictionary. At the same time, the Dictionary, as it came from his hands,

had grave defects in this radical matter of the definitions. His editors were fully aware of these deficiencies, and in this last edition have endeavoured to remedy them.

On the death of Dr. Webster, the work was committed to the editorial supervision of his son-in-law, Professor Goodrich, of New Haven. After considerable hesitation, and with a just conception of the amount of labour it involved, Professor Goodrich organized a corps of assistants, and undertook the formidable task of recasting this portion of the dictionary, and of moulding the valuable materials which had been collected into forms more consonant to the present demands of lexical science. The death of Professor Goodrich, in 1860, left the work in a very unfinished state. It was then committed, by an arrangement of the heirs and the publishers, to the supervision and editorship of Professor Noah Porter, of New Haven, and it now appears in its present completed form under his auspices.

In the execution of his work, Dr. Porter has had a large number of assistants, who are carefully enumerated in his valuable preface, with the particular parts assigned to each. Professor Lyman and Alexander L. Holley, a civil engineer of New York, revised the terms in mathematics, physics, technology, and machinery; Captain Craighill, U. S. Engineer, revised those in military science, engineering, and gunnery; Professor Dana, and Dr. William C. Minor, those in geology and natural history; Lowell Mason and John S. Dwight, those in music; Professor Stiles, those in physiology and medicine; Professor Perkins, those of law and jurisprudence; Rev. E. B. O'Callaghan, a learned Jesuit, those that have any special meaning in the Roman Catholic church; and J. H. Trumbull, those of Indian origin. Besides these collaborators for special scientific and technical departments, there were two on whom the main labour fell, that namely, of revising the great body of the words in the language. These two were Professors Whitney and Gilman, of Yale College. In discharging the task assigned them, they aimed, as we are informed, at two things; 1. To contract and condense the definitions into as few general heads or numbered divisions, as was practicable. 2. To develope and arrange the several meanings and groups of meanings in the order of their actual growth and history, beginning, if possible,

with the primitive signification, as indicated by the etymology. Some few examples, as in the case of the etymologies, will show how far the definitions in this new edition are an improvement upon those of the old. The comparison is made between the edition of 1828 and that of 1864. As a matter of interesting literary history we transcribe also the expositions of Bailey and Johnson.

Habit.

BAILEY. 1. The constitution or temper of the mind or body.

2. The state of anything; as, a *habit* of body.

3. Inveterate use, custom. "A fixed confirmed *habit* of sin."—*South.*

4. Attire, dress, accoutrement. Dressed in the same English *habit.*—*Dryden.*

Habit (in metaphysics) is a quality that is superadded to a natural power, that makes it very readily and easily perform its operations.

Habit (with logicians) one of the ten predicaments.

JOHNSON. 1. State of anything; as, *habit* of body.

2. Dress; accoutrement.

"I shifted
Into a madman's rags, t' assume a semblance
The very dogs disdained; and in this *habit*
Met my father."—*Shakespeare.*

"If ye have any justice, any pity;
If ye be anything, but churchmen's *habits.*"—*Shakespeare.*

"Both the parts being dressed in the same English *habit*, story being compared with story, judgment may be compared betwixt them."—*Dryden.*

"The scenes are old, the *habits* are the same
We wore last year."—*Dryden.*

"There are among the statues several of Venus, in different *habits.*"—*Addison.*

"The clergy are the only set of men who wear a distinct *habit* from others."—*Swift.*

3. *Habit* is a power or ability in man of doing anything, when it has been acquired by frequent doing the same thing.—*Locke.*

"He hath a better *habit* of frowning than the Count Palatine."—*Shakespeare.*

4. Custom; inveterate use.

"This is the last fatal step but one, which is, by frequent repetition of the sinful act, to continue and persist in it, till at length it settles into a fixed con-

firmed *habit* of sin; which being properly that which the apostle calls the finishing of sin, ends certainly in death; death not only as to merit, but also as to actual infliction."—*South.*

WEBSTER. 1. Garb; dress; clothes or garments in general.

"The scenes are old, the *habits* are the same
We wore last year."—*Dryden.*

"There are among the statues several of Venus, in different *habits.*"—*Addison.*

2. A coat worn by ladies over other garments.

3. State of anything, implying some continuance or permanence; temperament or particular state of a body, formed by nature or induced by extraneous circumstances; as a costive or lax *habit* of body; a sanguine *habit.*

4. A disposition or condition of the mind or body acquired by custom or a frequent repetition of the same act. *Habit* is that which is held or retained, the effect of custom or frequent repetition. Hence we speak of good *habits* and bad *habits.* Frequent drinking of spirits leads to a *habit* of intemperance. We should endeavour to correct evil *habits* by a change of practice. A great point in the education of children is to prevent the formation of bad *habits.*

Habit of plants, the general form or appearance, or the conformity of plants of the same kind in structure and growth.—*Martyn.*

"No civil broils have since his death arose,
But faction now by *habit* does obey;
And wars have that respect for his repose,
As winds for halcyons when they breed at sea."—*Dryden.*

"The force of education is so great, that we may mould the minds and manners of the young into what shape we please, and give the impressions of such *habits* as shall ever afterwards remain"—*Atterbury.*

WEBSTER REVISED. 1. The usual condition of a person or thing regarded as that which is had or retained; ordinary state, either natural or acquired; especially, physical temperament; as, a full, lax, or costive *habit* of body.

2. Fixed or established custom; ordinary course of conduct; hence, prominently, the involuntary tendency to perform certain actions which is acquired by their frequent repetition; as,

habit is second nature; also, prevailing dispositions, feelings, and actions which are right or wrong; moral character. "A man of very shy, retired *habits*."—*Irving.*

3. Outward appearance; attire; dress; habiliment; hence, a garment; a particular kind of outward covering, especially a closely fitting coat worn by ladies; as, a riding *habit.*

> "The scenes are old, the *habits* are the same
> We wore last year."—*Dryden.*

"There are among the statues several of Venus, in different *habits*."—*Addison.*

Habit of plants. (*Bot.*) The general form or aspect of plants, or of their mode of growth; the conformity of plants of the same kind in structure and growth.—*Martyn.*

Synonyms. Practice; mode; manner; way; custom.

HABIT, CUSTOM. *Habit* is an internal principle which leads us to do easily, naturally, and with growing certainty, what we do often; *custom* is external, being habitual use or the frequent repetition of the same act. The two operate reciprocally on each other. The *custom* of giving produces a *habit* of liberality; *habits* of devotion promote the custom of going to church. *Custom* also supposes an act of the will, selecting given modes of procedure; *habit* is a law of our being, a kind of "second nature" which grows up within us.

> "Upheld by old repute,
> Consent, or *custom*."—*Milton.*
>
> "How use doth breed a *habit* in a man."—*Shakespeare.*

Here is an obvious growth and improvement in the account of this word, from the meagre and defective statement of Bailey to the complete and carefully digested exposition in the Webster Revised. In the original Webster, the true primary meaning, which should have been the starting point of the whole, is hinted at in No. 4, in the expression, "*Habit* is that which is *held* or *retained*," alluding evidently to the etymology, *habitus*, held, from *habere*, to hold. In the Webster Revised, this idea is firmly grasped at once, and rightly incorporated into its No. 1, as the root of the whole matter; "The usual condition of a person or thing regarded as *that which is had or retained.*" Nos. 2 and 3 flow logically and naturally from this idea. It

is worthy of note also to see how the minor shades of meaning are grouped under appropriate heads, instead of being numbered as independent meanings. Thus No. 2 in the original Webster becomes very properly a part of No. 3 in the Revised, the use of the word to express a lady's *habit* being obviously subordinate to its use to express dress in general. It is noticeable also that while the Revised exposition has fewer heads, and is in every respect more simple, it really is more full, and contains several new uses of the word or shades of meaning not contained in any of the preceding works. Johnson's statement is encumbered with a large number of quotations to establish a use of the word which is of familiar and every-day occurrence, that namely in which *habit* means dress, or some particular article of dress. Of all the large array of citations to prove this familiar point, the Revisers wisely retain but two, and those the shortest.

The article appended to the whole, illustrating the use of the various *synonymous*, or rather interchangeable words, is well done, and is a valuable feature in the dictionary. This part of the work was completed by Professor Goodrich before his death. It was printed as a detached essay in the partially revised edition of 1859, but in this edition is inserted in the body of the work, each article being attached to its appropriate word.

Hair.

Bailey. 1. A flexible substance growing out of the skin of animals, one of the common integuments of the body. It is found upon all the parts of the body except the soles and the palms. With a microscope we find that each hair hath a round bulbous root which lies pretty deep in the skin, and that each hair consists of five or six others wrapt up in a common tube. They grow as the nails, each part near the root thrusting forward that which is immediately above it, and not by any liquor running along the hair in tubes, as plants grow. —*Quincy.*

2. A single hair. Like the courser's *hair.*"—*Shakespeare.*

3. Anything proverbially small. "He judges to a *hair.*" —*Dryden.*

4. Course, order, grain, the hair falling in a particular

direction. "You go against the *hair* of your profession."—*Shakespeare.*

JOHNSON. 1. One of the common integuments of the body. It is to be found upon all the parts of the body, except the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands. When we examine the hairs with a microscope, we find that they have each a round bulbous root, which lies pretty deep in the skin, and which draws their nourishment from the surrounding humours; that each hair consists of five or six others, wrapt up in a common integument or tube. They grow as the nails do, each part near the root thrusting forward that which is immediately above it, and not by any liquor running along the hair in tubes, as plants grow.—*Quincy.*

2. A single hair.

"My fleece of wooly *hair* uncurls."—*Shakespeare.*

"Shall the differences of *hair* only, on the skin, be a mark of a different internal constitution between a changeling and a drill?—*Locke.*

"Naughty lady,
These *hairs* which thou dost ravish from my chin,
Will quicken and accuse thee."—*Shakespeare.*

"Which, like the courser's *hair*, hath got but life,
And not a serpent's poison."—*Shakespeare.*

3. Anything proverbially small.

"If thou takest more
Or less than just a pound; if the scale turn
But in the estimation of a *hair*,
Thou diest."—*Shakespeare.*

"He judges to a *hair* of little indecencies, and knows better than any man what is not to be written."—*Dryden.*

4. Course; order; grain; the hair falling in a certain direction.

"Mr. Doctor, he is a curer of souls, and you a curer of bodies; if you should fight, you go against the *hair* of your profession."—*Shakespeare.*

WEBSTER. 1. A small filament issuing from the skin of an animal, and from a bulbous root. Each filament contains a tube or hollow within, occupied by a pulp or pith, which is intended for its nutrition, and extends only to that part which is in a state of growth.—*Cyc.*

When a *hair* means a single filament, it has a plural, *hairs.*

2. The collection or mass of filaments growing from the

skin of an animal, and forming an integument or covering; as the *hair* of the head. *Hair* is the common covering of many beasts. When the filaments are very fine and short, the collection of them is called *fur*. *Wool* also is a kind of hair. When *hair* signifies a collection of these filaments, it has no plural.

3. Anything very small or fine; or a very small distance; the breadth of a *hair*. He judges to a *hair*, that is, very exactly.—*Dryden.*

4. A trifling value. It is not worth a *hair*.

5. Course; order; grain; the hair falling in a certain direction. "You go against the *hair* of your profession."—*Shakespeare.*

6. Long, straight, and distinct filaments on the surface of plants; a species of down, or pubescence.—*Martyn.*

Webster Revised. 1. The collection or mass of filaments growing from the skin of an animal, and forming an integument or covering for a part of the head, or for the whole of the body. In this sense it has no plural.

2. One of the above-mentioned filaments, consisting of a long, tubular part, which is free and flexible, and a bulbous root imbedded in the skin. "And draweth new delights with hoary *hairs*."—*Spenser.*

3. (*Bot.*) An external prolongation consisting of one or more cells of the vegetable cuticle, of any form, as globular, elongated, or stellated; sometimes containing poison, as in the nettle; sometimes an odorous product (then called *glandular hairs*,) as in the sweetbrier; especially, a long, straight, and distinct filament on the surface of plants.—*Martyn.*

4. (*Mech.*) A spring or other contrivance in a rifle or pistol lock, which, being unlocked by a slight pressure on the trigger, strikes the tumbler catch, and unlocks the tumbler.

Against the hair, in a rough and disagreeable manner; against the grain. [*Obs.*] "You go against the *hair* of your profession."—*Shakespeare.*

To split hairs, to make distinctions of useless nicety.

Not worth a hair, of no value.

To a hair, with the nicest distinction.

Here the improvement is not so marked and radical, as in the example first quoted, still it is manifest. In regard to the two

leading uses of the word, it seemed optional whether to begin with a single hair, and having defined it, employ that definition in explaining the word when used to express the whole mass; or, to begin with defining the mass of filaments as a whole, and from that to define the word when signifying a single filament. Bailey and Johnson took the latter plan. Webster took the former. The Revisers reverted to the original method of Bailey and Johnson, and have succeeded in making the explication more complete and intelligible than any of the previous ones. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 of Webster, and the corresponding 3 and 4 of Johnson, are very properly not regarded as distinct uses, but are thrown together at the close and explained as proverbial expressions. In regard to one of these, "against the *hair*," we think the Revisers would have done well to have retained the explanation first suggested by Bailey and retained both by Johnson and Webster, "the hair falling in a particular direction," and to have given the full extract from Shakespeare, as Johnson gives it, instead of the single phrase quoted by the others. Johnson encumbers his explanation, as usual, with an unnecessary amount of quotations on points perfectly clear and undisputed, and at least two out of the three passages cited to prove that the word is used to mean a single hair, are not pertinent. The most decided improvement in the Revised Webster is the separate and distinct treatment of the technical uses of the word in Botany and Mechanics, numbered 3 and 4.

In making some additional comparisons, we shall limit ourselves to the Webster of 1859 and the Webster of 1864.

Absolute.

WEBSTER OF 1859. 1. *Literally, in a general sense*, free or independent of anything extraneous. Hence,

2. Complete in itself; positive; as, an absolute declaration.

3. Unconditional; as, an absolute promise.

4. Existing independent of any other cause; as, God is *absolute*.

5. Unlimited by extraneous power or control; as, an *absolute* government or prince.

6. Not relative; as *absolute* space.—*Stillingfleet.*

7. In *chemistry*, pure, unmixed; as *absolute* alcohol.

In *grammar*, the case *absolute* is when a word or member of a sentence is not immediately dependent upon the other parts of the sentence in government. A clause independent.

Absolute equation, in astronomy, is the sum of the optic and eccentric equations.

Absolute numbers, *in algebra*, are such as have no letters annexed; as, $2a+36=48$. The two latter numbers are *absolute* or pure. *Encycl.*

Absolute space, in physics, is space considered without relation to any other object.—*Bailey.*

Absolute gravity, in philosophy, is that property in bodies by which they are said to weigh so much, without regard to circumstances of modification, and this is always as the quantity of matter they contain.—*Bailey.*

Webster of 1864. 1. Completed, or regarded as complete; finished; perfect; total; as, *absolute* perfection, *absolute* beauty.

> "So *absolute* she seems,
> And in herself complete."—*Milton.*

2. Freed or loosed from any limitation or condition; uncontrolled; unconditional; as, *absolute* authority, an *absolute* monarchy, an *absolute* promise or command.

3. Positive, clear, certain.—[*Rare.*]

> "The colour of my hair he cannot tell,
> Or answers dark, at random; while, be sure,
> He's *absolute* on the figure, five or ten,
> Of my last subscription."—*Mrs. Browning.*

4. Authoritative; peremptory.—[*Rare.*]

> "The peddler stopped, and tapped her on the head,
> With *absolute* forefinger, brown and ringed."—*Mrs. Browning.*

5. Loosed from, or unconnected by, dependence on any other being; self-existent; self-sufficing.

☞ In this sense God is called *the Absolute* by the Theist. The term is also applied by the Pantheist to the universe, or the total of all existence, as only capable of relations in its parts to each other and to the whole, and as dependent for its existence and its phenomena on its mutually depending forces and their laws.

6. Capable of being thought or conceived by itself alone; unconditioned; unrelated.

☞ It is in dispute among philosophers, whether the term, in this sense, is not applied to a mere logical fiction or abstraction, or whether *the Absolute*, as thus defined, can be known or apprehended by the human intellect. "To Cusa we can indeed articulately trace, word and thing, the recent philosophy of the *Absolute*."—*Sir William Hamilton.*

7. (*Chem.*) Pure; unmixed; as, *absolute* alcohol.

8. (*Gram.*) Not immediately dependent on the other parts of the sentence in government; as, the case *absolute.*

Absolute equation. (*Astron.*) The sum of the optic and eccentric equations. *Absolute* terms (*Alg.*), such as are known, or which do not contain the unknown quantity.—*Davies and Peck.*

Absolute space. (*Physics.*) Space considered without relation to material objects or limits.—*Davies and Peck.*

SYN. Positive; peremptory; certain; unconditional; arbitrary; despotic.

The treatment of this word in the revised edition is so manifestly an improvement, that no comment seems needed to point it out. The two uses (Nos. 3 and 4) quoted from Mrs. Browning, are quite new, as well as apt, though running so closely into each other that we doubt the propriety of giving them a separate numbering. Number 4 is only a slight modification of number 3, and might be so given. The important uses of the word in theology and metaphysics, in such phrases as *the absolute*, which have sprung up since the time that Dr. Webster wrote, are here accurately observed, being those numbered 5 and 6.

The article, with all its improvements in method and matter, is still open to criticism. The starting point of the whole obviously should be that which the etymology so clearly indicates, namely, *free from limitation.* This is the primary, radical meaning. All the other meanings spring directly from this, and should be traced logically to it. This meaning is here given as the *second.* Another criticism that we are disposed to make, refers to the numbering 5, 6, 7, 8. If these numbers are proper, the word, as used in Astronomy, Algebra

and Physics, should likewise have been numbered, giving us Nos. 9, 10, and 11. It seems to us that the word should have but three numbered meanings; namely, 1, that which is here given as No. 2, being the primitive etymological meaning; 2, that use of the word which is illustrated by the extract from Milton, and which is given as No. 1; 3, the meaning or meanings in the extracts from Mrs. Browning. The other uses are all special, and might be grouped together at the end, as, *The Absolute*, in Theology; *The Absolute*, in Logic; *absolute*, in Chemistry; in Grammar; in Astronomy; in Algebra; in Physics. Perhaps this is hypercriticism. But when a thing is so good, it increases one's desire to see it still better, and one cannot but feel that it is capable of further improvement.

Ache.

WEBSTER *of* 1859. Pain, or continued pain, in opposition to sudden twinges, or spasmodic pain. It denotes a more moderate degree of pain than *pang*, *anguish*, and *torture*.

WEBSTER *of* 1864. Continued pain, in opposition to sudden twinges, or spasmodic pain. "Such an *ache* in my bones."—*Shakespeare*.

This word was formerly pronounced *ake*, as now. This is proved by the spelling *ake*, which is of frequent occurrence in old books. But the *ch* often had its common English sound, as in the following couplet:—

> "Or Gellia wore a velvet mastic patch
> Upon her temples when no tooth did *ache*."—*Bishop Hall.*

In the plural, the word was used as a dissyllable, and that too as recently as the time of Butler and Swift. The examples are very numerous:

> "Sharp *ach-es* in thick troops it sends,
> And pain, which like a rack the nerves extends."—*Oldham.*

> "Can by their pains and *ach-es* find
> All turns and changes of the wind."—*Hudibras.*

The final *e* is sometimes improperly omitted in the spelling.

Here, besides the filing down of the original statement into more exact shape, the important and valuable information con-

tained in the note is entirely new and fresh matter, not found in the original.

Clam.

WEBSTER of 1859. The popular name of a certain bivalvular shell-fish, of many species, and much valued for food.

WEBSTER of 1864. [See *Clamp.*] 1. (*Conch.*) A bivalve shell-fish of different genera, as the *Venus mercenaria*, or round clam of North America, the *Mya arenaria*, or long clam, and others. *S. F. Baird.*

"You shall scarce find any bay or shallow shore, or cove of sand, where you may not take many *clampes*, or lobsters, or both, at your pleasure."—*Captain John Smith.* 1616.

"*Clams*, or *clamps*, is a shell-fish not much unlike a cockle; it lieth under the sand."—*Wood*, 1684.

"*Clam*, or *clamp*, a kind of shell-fish, a white muscle."—*Jocelyn*, 1672.

2. Clams (pl.) (*Ship carp.*), strong pincers for drawing nails.

3. Clams (pl.) *Mech.*), a kind of vise, usually made of wood.

The examples which we have cited are by no means the strongest that might be named. We have aimed rather to give a fair average. Some of the words that we had marked for quotation show a degree of improvement far exceeding anything which we have exhibited. The reader who is curious in the matter may refer to some of the following very common words: Be, Come, Do, Draw, Go, Make, Put, Run, Set, Wit, Work; or to some of the simple uncompounded prepositions, as By, For, From, Of, Out, &c. The treatment of these words in the Revised Webster is not only immeasurably superior to that in the previous editions, but is such as to leave almost nothing to be desired. The discussion of such primitive words is the most difficult part of the lexicographer's work, and the Revisers have herein achieved a signal success. They have been very successful also in the treatment of some of the prefixes and parts of compounded words. Take, for instance, the prefix

Un-

WEBSTER REVISED. A negative prefix of Anglo-Saxon origin, equivalent to the Latin prefix *in*. The latter, in its English use, is restricted to words directly or indirectly derived

from the Latin, and for the most part to representatives or derivatives of words which have the same prefix in the Latin or French, or else to words formed by Latin suffixes, and closely conformed to Latin analogies; *un* is of much wider application, and may be attached at will to almost any English adjective, or participle used adjectively, from which it may be desired to form a corresponding negative adjective, while it is also prefixed to less numerous classes of nouns and verbs. Its uses may be classified as follows:

I. It is prefixed to adjectives, or to words used adjectively; as,

(*a*) To adjectives, to denote the absence of the quality designated by the adjective; as, *unambitious*, *un-American*, *unmindful*, &c.

(*b*) To past passive participles, to indicate the absence of the condition or state expressed by the participle; as, *unabated*, *unabridged*, &c.

(*c*) To present participles which come from intransitive verbs, or are themselves employed as adjectives, to mark the absence of the activity, disposition, or condition implied by the participle; as, *unaccommodating*, *unavailing*, *undeserving*, &c.

This class of words is unlimited in extent, and such compounds may be formed by any writer, or speaker, at will, from almost all the adjectives or participles in the language, excepting those which have a recognized and usual negative correspondent with the prefix *in*. No attempt will be made, therefore, to define them all in this Dictionary; many will be omitted from its vocabulary which are negations of the simple word, and are readily explained by prefixing a *not* to the latter. Derivatives of these words in *-ly* and *-ness* will also, for the most part, be omitted for the same or similar reasons. There will be inserted as separate articles, with definitions, only such as the following: 1. Those which have acquired an opposing or contrary, instead of a merely negative meaning; as, *unfriendly*, *ungraceful*, &c.; or else an intensive sense, more than a prefixed *not* would express; as, *unending*, *unparalleled*, &c. 2. Those which have the value of independent words, inasmuch as the simple words are, either not at all or rarely, or at least much less frequently, used; as, *unavoidable*, *unruly*, &c.; or, inasmuch as

they are used in a different sense from the usual meaning of the primitive, or especially in one of the significations of the latter; as, *unaccountable*, *unalloyed*, &c.; or, inasmuch as they are in so frequent and familiar use, that they are hardly felt to be of a negative origin; as, *uncertain*, *uneven*, &c. 3. Those which are of an anomalous and provincial character, not desirable to be used, and so marked; as, *unpure*, *unexpressible*, &c.

II. *Un* is prefixed to a much smaller class, consisting of verbs, to express the contrary, and not the simple negative, of the action indicated by the verb. Their participles not unfrequently coincide in form with compounds of *un* with participles or participial adjectives; as, *undone*, from *undo*, meaning *unfastened*, or *ruined;* but *undone*, from *un* and *done*, means *not done*, *unfinished.*

III. *Un* is prefixed to a few nouns to express the absence or the contrary of that which the noun signifies; as, *unbelief*, &c.

Compounds of the last two classes are given in full in their order.

No account of this important prefix in any other dictionary of the English language is at all comparable to this. In fact, it is exhaustive of the subject, leaving nothing to be desired. Under each of the numerous heads, a large number of examples is given, amounting to some hundreds. We have not quoted one tenth of them.

Having occupied so much space with the etymology and the definitions, we must pass more briefly over some remaining topics. Next in importance to the two points upon which we have been dwelling, is the completeness of the vocabulary. Indeed, for the general popularity of a dictionary, this feature is of the first importance. A living language, differing in this respect from a dead language, is in a continual state of flux. It is no more in the power of lexicographers to fix a language, that is, to select a certain number of words and say, these and no others are what people shall use in writing and speech, than it is for moralists to fix the style of dress. New words and new uses of old words are coming into being every day, and the more advanced a people is in civilization and intellectual culture, the more active is this tendency. Here was Richardson's

great mistake. He seems to have regarded the English language as something fixed and permanent, like the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and he steadfastly ignored all words not found in a certain favourite class of authors. There could not be a greater mistake. Men of the nineteenth century have the same right to coin a word that men of the tenth century had. The grammarian might as well say that Shakespeare's "I *had* as lief *be*, as not to be" is illegitimate, because it cannot be parsed, as for the lexicographer to say that "outsider" is not a legitimate word, because it cannot be found in Addison. *Usus norma loquendi.* There is no higher law of language than use. What men generally accept as legitimate in speech, is legitimate. Its acceptance as legitimate, makes it so. The office of a lexicographer is not that of a lawgiver, but of an observer. He is to note what words men do use, and in what sense they use them, and so record them. Of course he is to exercise some discrimination as to the kind of use. He is not bound to recognize slang, nor is it the office of the ignorant and illiterate to give legitimacy to words. A word becomes a part of the language when it has been adopted into general use by educated and intelligent people. If it be technical or scientific, it acquires a legal status when once adopted by the few who make that particular art or science their special study. A general dictionary of a language should contain all the words in the language that are in actual, and reputable use. The more complete it is in this respect, the more it will be in demand, because the more it will satisfy the want which makes a dictionary valuable.

The publishers of Webster, therefore, have done wisely in providing for the enlargement of its vocabulary. Words are created by the score and the hundred every year, to meet the changing wants of society, and no general dictionary will be satisfactory which does not keep itself in this respect abreast with the times. The word "outsider," for instance, according to Marsh, dates back only to the year 1844, having been coined at the political convention in Baltimore which nominated Mr. Polk for the Presidency. It is a good word, and is now unquestionably a part of the English language. No dictionary of the language would be complete which should exclude it from its

vocabulary. One of the common uses of the language is to form nouns in *-ation* from verbs or verbal roots in *-ate;* as prostrate, prostration; agitate, agitation; augment, augmentation. Another tendency is now springing up, namely, to make similar formations from almost any nouns ending in *-ment*, whether from verbal roots or not. One such formation, (argument, argumentation,) has long been in use. Instrument-ation, ornament-ation are among the new products recently adopted. Others after the same analogy will doubtless be formed as they are wanted. Among the new words which we find in the Revised Webster we may mention the following by way of illustration of our point; columbiad, conative, dilation, diphtheria, emanent, gorilla, harmonium, hegemony, ideation, laryngoscope, miscegenation, octoroon, phonetist, quantic, secessionist, &c., &c. Scholars and scientific men know the meaning of such words from their etymology. But the common reader is often sadly at a loss and needs a dictionary, and the dictionary requires revision about as often as the census tables.

Having the curiosity to see by actual inspection the growth of the English vocabulary, we have taken the pains to collate a series of dictionaries, arranging them in chronological order, and dipping in at various points pretty much at random. The volumes consulted were Bailey's folio, 1720; Johnson's folio, 1755; Webster's original quarto, 1828; Richardson's quarto, 1838; Webster's revised quarto, 1847; Worcester's quarto, 1859; and Webster's last revised quarto, 1864. The result of the examination has been to satisfy us as to the following points: 1. The vocabulary of the language in Bailey's hands had acquired a very respectable volume, and was for that day tolerably complete. The great bulk of the words which do not appear in his work are words which did not then exist. 2. Johnson collected comparatively few new words. His main work consisted in revising and enlarging the definitions, and in collecting illustrative examples. 3. Webster has been the greatest single collector since the time of Bailey. 4. Webster's Revised (1864) is the fullest of all in its vocabulary, Worcester is the next, and Richardson is the most meagre of all.

There are several points on which we had proposed to remark, such as the spelling, the pronunciation, the pictorial

illustrations, and the various important vocabularies in the appendix. But this article has already grown upon our hands, and we must bring it somewhat abruptly to a conclusion. Our general opinion of the work is so incorporated in the body of our remarks that it is not necessary to make a formal statement of it here. Our English Dictionary doubtless is capable of receiving, and is destined to receive, still further elucidations and improvements. But the Revised Webster of 1864 is by far the most complete exposition of our language that we now have, and is a greater advance upon any previous edition of the same work, even upon that of 1859, than Webster's original work was upon his predecessors.

Art. IV.—*The First* Miracle *of Christ.*

The first miracle of our Lord is recorded by St. John the Evangelist, who, as will be shown below, was an eye-witness, and characterizes our Lord's miraculous turning of water into wine a manifestation of his glory. It is on this account that the miracle of Cana was from the earliest times reckoned among the great *Epiphanies.* The precise *time* when it took place is indicated by the notice that it took place on the *third* day. The question from what point of time this third day is to be reckoned has been variously answered, but a thorough and careful examination of all the data of the events recorded by the Evangelist from ch. i. 19, onward, gives the result that the reference is to the day of our Lord's departure from Galilee. A brief review of those events will make this clear. On the first day we have the interview of the deputation of Priests and Levites sent by the Jews at Jerusalem to interrogate the Baptist concerning the nature and object of his mission (John i. 19–28); on the second day our Lord returned from the wilderness of Quarantana to the banks of the Jordan, and John pointed him out as "The Lamb of God, which taketh away

the sin of the world" (v. 29–34); on the third day the Baptist repeated his testimony of Christ to John the Evangelist and Andrew, Simon Peter's brother; on the same day John the Evangelist, Andrew and Simon Peter became the disciples of Christ (v. 35–42); on the fourth day our Lord, accompanied by said three disciples, departed for Galilee and added Philip of Bethsaida to the number of his disciples (vs. 43, 44); the fifth and sixth days were spent on the journey, and on the seventh day, Jesus and his four companions reached Cana, near or at which place Nathanael also was received as a disciple. Two days were ample for the journey from Jordan to Cana, the distance being in any position of Bethabara (Bethany?) not more than about fifty miles (*Robinson*, Bibl. Res. in Pal. 3, p. 204). It is noteworthy that the beginning and end of our Lord's ministry exhibit striking chronological coincidences. Forty days he spent in the solitude of the desert submitting to temptation, and forty days intervened between his resurrection and ascension. The events of the first seven days subsequent to his return from the wilderness are recorded with the same minuteness of detail which characterizes the account we have of the seven days immediately preceding his crucifixion. The minute particularizing of every circumstance connected with the seven days preceding the miracle of Cana, and with the miracle itself could only have been supplied by an eye-witness, and that eye-witness was none other than the Evangelist St. John, who had particular reason to be thus explicit, for he records the history of his own conversion to Christ and of the events of the first week of his discipleship. It will be observed that on the third day when the Baptist repeated his testimony concerning Jesus, the Evangelist states that there stood with John two of his disciples. One of these, he says, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, the name of the other he suppresses. This suppression is the more remarkable because he informs us that the two disciples followed Jesus. From this circumstance, as well as from the one already named, it has been inferred that this anonymous disciple was John himself, who with characteristic delicacy of reserve is thus wont to conceal not only his own name, but also

the names of his mother and brothers.* The five disciples who were with our Lord at Cana were consequently John, Andrew and Simon Peter, Philip and Nathanael.†

Leaving the banks of the Jordan, Nazareth was in all probability the immediate destination of our Lord. On his arrival there he learned that Mary had gone to the marriage festival at Cana. At Nazareth our Lord found an invitation to come to the festival gathering. It is not clear whether the invitation named the disciples or not; or how and when the invitation was tendered. The use of the singular (ἐκλήθη John ii. 2) intimates that the original invitation was to Jesus only, and that afterward the same courtesy was extended to the five disciples, one of whom, Nathanael, was a native of Cana. *Ewald's* conjecture that the family of Joseph had already changed their domicile from Nazareth to Cana (?) is purely arbitrary and upset by two facts: 1. Philip in conversation with Nathanael describes our Lord as Jesus of *Nazareth;* 2d, Nathanael, a native of Cana, knew nothing of Jesus. We may however reasonably suppose that Joseph was already dead, for nothing is said of his having been invited, and at the end of the marriage festival Jesus, his mother, brethren and disciples, went down to Capernaum, and again no allusion is made to Joseph.

The site of Cana has been disputed. Two villages, both in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, the one called *Kefr Kenna*, the other Kâna el-Jelîl are respectively claimed as the Cana where Christ wrought His first miracle. The claims of *Kefr Kenna*, about four and a half miles north-east of Nazareth, are the following. It is the traditional site. It existed in the time of *Willibald* (the latter half of the eighth century), who visited it in passing from Nazareth to Tabor, and also in the time of *Phocas* (twelfth cent. see *Reland*, p. 680). Its present

* Cf. Jno. xiii. 23; xviii. 15: xix. 26; xx. 3; xxi. 20; xix. 25.

† He was probably identical with *Bartholomew*. Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13. Bartholomew signifies the Son of Tolmai (Βαρθολομαῖος, i. e., בַּר תַּלְמַי). His *own* name is not mentioned by the Synoptics; Philip and Bartholomew appear together in the first three catalogues of the Apostles; Philip and *Nathanael* become disciples almost simultaneously and were certainly friends (John i. 45, etc.); Nathanael seems to have been an apostle (John xxi. 2); it is hence inferred that Nathanael and Bartholomew are identical.

inhabitants, members of the Greek church, point out the ruins of a church which they affirm to occupy the site of the house in which the miracle was wrought, and a fountain made of an ancient sarcophagus, from which the servants are said to have drawn the water. In the church, fragments of the six water-pots are shown. *De Saulcy* saw two enormous stone vases, and maintains that they are as old as the period at which the miracle took place (*Andrews*, Life of Christ, p. 151). They were also shown to *M. Lamartine;* but their antiquity and genuineness may be estimated by the following considerations. When *Willibald* visited the spot in the eighth century, he saw only one (*Early Travels*, 16); in the time of the Crusades, the six jars are said to have been removed to France, and one of them is said still to exist in the Musée d'Angers (see M. Didron's Essays in the Annales Archéologiques 11, 5; 13, 2). It must be conceded that these are slender grounds *per se* in favour of *Kefr Kenna*; add to this the etymological difficulty of the name, which can only with difficulty be twisted into Cana, the *Kefr* having first to be dropped altogether and in *Kenna* the first radical changed and the second left out; *Robinson* moreover points out, and it would seem conclusively, that the mistake is of recent origin. He gives the testimony of *Quaresmius*, who was in Palestine as a monk from A. D. 1616–1625, and again as a guardian of the holy sepulchre from 1627–1629, showing that at that period the inhabitants of Nazareth and the vicinity knew two Canas, one called simply Cana of Galilee (Kâna el-Jelîl) on the northern side of the plain el-Bŭttauf, about N½ E. from Nazareth and not far from three hours distant, the other Sepher Cana (Kefr Kenna) an hour and a half N. E. from Nazareth. *Quaresmius* decides however in favour of the latter (yet without venturing to reject the other tradition) on the ground of its vicinity to Nazareth and the church erected at Kefr Kenna. *Adrichomius*, near the close of the sixteenth century, places Cana three miles north of Sepphoris, and describes it as having a mountain on the north, and a broad, fertile, and beautiful plain toward the south; all which corresponds to the position of Kâna-el-Jelîl and not to Kefr Kenna. *Anselm*, about A. D. 1057, assigns to Cana the same site; so also *Breydenbach*, A. D. 1483. "But the most distinct

notice of the Cana of those days is from *Marinus Sanutus* about A. D. 1321. He describes it also as north of Sepphoris, adjacent to a high mountain on the north, on the side of which it was situated, and having the same broad, fertile, beautiful plain on the south extending to Sepphoris. In coming from Ptolemais (Akka), he says, the usual course was to proceed first eastward to Cana; and thence south through Sepphoris to Nazareth. All this leaves no doubt that the site of Kana el-Jelîl is here meant. At that time the place was professedly shown, where the six water-pots had originally stood; and also the triclinium where the feast was held; but the whole was in a crypt or cavern under ground, like the grotto of the Annunciation and of the Nativity. *Brocardus*, if he was not the original author of this account, gives nothing more. The few earlier notices go to confirm the same. *Salwulf*, about A. D. 1103, describes Cana as nearly six miles N. of Nazareth on a hill, and nothing then remained except a monastery called Architriclinium. *Willibald* in the eighth century found here a large church, in which was shown one of the six water-pots. *Antoninus Martyr* near the close of the sixth century was likewise at Cana; he speaks of no church, but saw two water-pots, and seems to say that he filled one of them with water and brought forth from it wine. (Impleri unam aqua, et protuli ex ea vinum)! The only other account of Cana later than the first century, is that of Eusebius and Jerome, who merely mention it as, in their day, a small town of Galilee (*Robinson*, Bibl. Res. vol. iii. pp. 204–208)."—It will be seen that the testimony of *Willibald* is claimed both for *Kefr Kenna* and Kâna el-Jelîl, the same may be said for that of *Phocas*, as given above. On the whole *Robinson's* conclusion is too strongly supported to be affected by what is said in favour of Kefr Kenna, which on account of its more ready access from Nazareth, is pointed out by idle guides, anxious to spare themselves and travellers fatigue and time, as the true Cana. *Thomson* is somewhat undecided on the subject, although he says, "I think Dr. Robinson has about settled the question in its favour (i. e. in favour of Kâna el-Jelîl)." We may add in further evidence of its identity with Kâna el-Jelîl, that this is the exact form in which it is referred to in the Arabic version of the New Testa-

ment, and although *Osborne* heard his guides and Arabs call *Kefr Kenna* in answer to his inquiries Kenna el-Jelîl, and one of the natives simply Jelîl, his opinion that this was a new name, devised to preserve the character of the place as Cana of Galilee, seems to be well founded.

Kâna el-Jelîl is now completely deserted; it abounds in ruins and many ancient cisterns, and its immediate neighbourhood is so wild that it is in the favourite hunting-ground of the Kefr Kennits. (*Thomson*, The Land and the Book, vol. 2. p. 125). This Cana is not mentioned in the Old Testament; but Josephus refers to it twice and describes it as situate in Galilee. (Vita, 16, 64, Bell. Jud. l. 1, c. 17, § 5). The Old Testament has only Kanah in Asher (Josh. xix. 28) S. E. of Tyre.

With the family which Jesus honoured with his presence at their marriage festival, Mary seems to have been on intimate terms. She acts throughout as one who feels herself at home, and this circumstance gives colour to the supposition that she was related to one of the parties. Tradition, as usual, has supplied the information concerning which the Evangelist maintains silence. The Mohammedans have a tradition that John the Evangelist himself was the bridegroom; they received it of course from the Christians, who said that the Evangelist was so impressed with the greatness of the miracle that he forsook his bride and followed Jesus. The author of the prologue to St. John, attributed to *Jerome*, relates: "Joannem nubere volentem à nuptiis per Dominum fuisse vocatum," (cited by *Trench*, Mir. p. 84. See *d'Herbelot*, Biblioth. Orient. s. v. *Johanna*). According to another tradition, adopted by *Lightfoot*, the marriage took place in the house of Mary the wife of Cleopas, and was that of one of their sons; *Greswell* makes it the marriage of Alphæus (Cleopas) and Mary themselves. *Nicephorus* says Simon the Canaanite was the bridegroom, who from that hour followed Christ; but *Κανανίτης* does not designate his residence but his character, that word being the Grecized derivative of the Hebrew קַנָּא, Aram. קַנָּאָן, zealous, and having the same meaning as *Ζηλωτής*, the *Zealot*, the title which elsewhere is given him (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13. cf. Matt. x. 4). The surname or epithet Canaanite has probably occasioned this tradition, just as it has given rise to the traditional site of his house at Cana,

which is one of the sights shown at Kefr Kenna. (But cf. the remarks of *Greswell*, Dissert. v. 2, p. 128 sq. against taking *Ζηλωτής*=*Καναίτης*).

The festivities of ancient Jewish weddings were protracted for seven or even fourteen days (Judges xiv. 12, Tob. viii. 19; a similar custom obtains to this day in Persia, where the festal rejoicings last from three to ten days; see *Rosenmüller*, Morgenland, v. 97,) and constituted so essential a part of the marriage ceremony that *ποιεῖν γάμον* acquired the special meaning "to celebrate the marriage feast," (Gen. xxix. 22; Esth. ii. 18; Tob. viii. 19; 1 Macc. ix. 37, x. 58, LXX; Matt. xxii. 4; xxv. 10; Luke xiv. 8), and sometimes to celebrate any feast (Esther ix. 22, see *Smith*, Dict. of the Bible, art. "Marriage," and *Winer*, R. W. Art. *Hochzeit.*) We cannot determine with certainty on which day of the festival our Lord wrought the miracle; it probably took place towards the end.

Our Lord's presence at a marriage feast, and that at the very commencement of his public ministry, is very significant. It illustrates not only his sanction of the marriage state in opposition to the fabled superiority of celibacy, but also the characteristic of the new dispensation he had come to inaugurate, to give to all true and pure human relations the hallowing recognition of Heaven, and to infuse into the affairs of common life a new element destined to purify and ennoble them. His sacred presence on that festal occasion teaches us, moreover, that the influence of Christianity should be felt at our festive gatherings and prevent their degenerating into pagan excesses. The Christian religion does not frown at demonstrations of joy, it does not banish gladness from the social assemblies of men; on the contrary it smiles on them, and would fain sanctify them one and all to the honour and glory of God. Its key-note is "Rejoice evermore" (1 Thess. v. 16); it would impress its adherents, that that joy can neither be pure nor Christian which ignores or banishes Christ. And if this is true of all our festive gatherings, it applies more especially to marriage festivities and to marriage itself. "Happy is that wedding, where Christ is a guest! O Saviour, those that marry in thee, cannot marry without thee. There is no holy marriage whereat thou art not, however invisible, yet truly present by thy Spirit,

by thy gracious benediction. Thou makest marriages in heaven, thou blessest them from heaven. O thou that hast betrothed us to thyself in truth and righteousness, do thou consummate that happy marriage of ours in the highest heavens." (*Bp. Hall*, Contemplations, vol. 3, p. 82).*

Can we doubt that our Lord foresaw the dishonour in which men would afterward hold the divine institution of marriage, and that this was probably one reason why he "adorned and beautified with his presence" a *marriage*, and wrought at it his first miracle?† The reflections of *Trench* (Mir. p. 85) in this connection deserve notice. "How precious a witness have we here in the conduct of our Lord against the tendency which our indolence ever favours, of giving up to the world, or still worse, to the devil, any portion or passage in man's life, which, in itself innocent, is capable of being drawn up into the higher world of holiness, as it is in danger of sinking down and coming under the law of the flesh and of the world! How remarkable a contrast does Christ's presence at this wedding feast, with his mother and his disciples, offer to the manner in which a man even of Cyprian's practical strength and energy, gives up these very marriage festivals on occasions where, from the still surviving heathenism of manners, purity must suffer—where the flesh must have its way; so that his counsel is, not to dispute them with the world, not to indicate them anew for holiness and for God, but only to give them up, and to avoid them altogether (de hab. virg. c. 3). *Et quoniam continentiæ bonum quærimus perniciosa quæque et infesta vitemus. Nec illa præterco quæ dum negligentiâ in usum veniunt, contra pudicos et sobrios mores licentiam sibi de usurpatione fecerunt. Quasdam non pudet nubentibus interesse.* And presently, after describing the disorders of such seasons, he adds, c. 4: *Nuptiarum festa improba et convivia lasciva vitentur, quorum periculosa contagio est.* Compare the picture which Chrysostom gives of marriage festivals in his time (v. 3, p. 195, ed. Bened.),

* *Augustine*, or another using his name, Serm. 92, Appendix: "Nec dedignatus est conversationem hominum, qui usum carnis excoperat. Nec secularia instituta contempsit, qui ad hæc venerat corrigenda. Interfuit nuptus, ut concordiæ jura firmaret."

† *Epiphanius*, Haer. 67, *Augustine* (In Ev. Joh. Tract 19); "Quod Dominus invitatus venerit ad nuptias, etiam exceptâ mysticâ significatione, confirmare voluit quod ipse fecit."

melancholy witnesses, yet not, as some would have us believe, of a church which had fallen back into heathen defilements, but of one which had not as yet leavened an essentially heathen, though nominally Christian, society, through and through with its own life and power."

We cannot altogether agree with these sentiments. The humble marriage at Cana and the wild nuptial revels to which *Cyprian* and *Chrysostom* refer present no analogy. At such scenes, we may safely conclude, our Lord would not have appeared. *Cyprian's* advice was sound and truly Christian. His reference is not to the innocent parts of man's life, but to grossly immoral scenes. With regard to the former there can be but one opinion and one course of action among Christians, but with reference to strictly immoral gatherings, no matter by what euphemisms they may be called, the Christian rule is equally decided: "*Shun them, have no part with them.*" The presence of individual Christians on such occasions is more likely to result in moral injury to themselves than in moral benefit to others. We would rather recommend the opposite course. Let Christians invite worldlings to their festive gatherings, and impress them by the force of example with the superiority of Christian rejoicing and moderation to the boisterous and degrading carousals of the worldly-minded, and with visible proof that true rejoicing is perfectly compatible with the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. In this way prejudice may be disarmed, true Christian morality inculcated and the blessed Saviour exalted.

The unexpected addition of *six* guests to the festive assembly interfered considerably with the provision the bridegroom had made for the entertainment of the company. This need not cause surprise, for the persons then married were probably "of indifferent fortunes, richer in love of neighbours than in the fulness of rich possessions, having more company than wine," (*Bp. Taylor*, Life of Christ, p. 178). This probability is strengthened by the consideration that in a country, like Palestine, where wine is a cheap commodity, a further supply of it for six additional guests might have been easily procured for money. We merely suggest a probability, although other circumstances may have prevented the purchase of wine; the day

may have been a Sabbath, on which traffic was illegal, or Cana may have been without a wine-merchant, a supposition likely enough in a village of Palestine, although, unfortunately, most improbable in the case of any American village. It has already been intimated that the invitation to the wedding was primarily addressed to Jesus and by courtesy extended to his disciples, so that while he was expected, his companions, at least to the number of five, may not have been looked for. The embarrassment of the hosts was confided to Mary, who both here and afterward in her directions to the servants appears in the character of one moving with the perfect freedom of intimacy. Doubtless sympathizing with their domestic distress and anxious to devise ways and means to enable them to fulfil the customary duties of hospitality, she communicated the embarrassment of the family to Jesus, saying: "They have no wine." It is doubtful whether her words meant more than this; at all events it is difficult to determine their precise import, and the Lord's reply gives us no clue towards their interpretation. *Chrysostom* and others see in the words of Mary a request that Jesus should work a miracle, founded on her previous experience of his miraculous power, of which she had had evidence in private; others construe them into a suggestion that he should make a contribution of wine at his charge according to the modern custom prevalent among oriental Jews of guests adding contributions to similar entertainments; others again interpret her words as a hint for Jesus and the disciples to leave, and thus to lead in the breaking up of the assembly before the embarrassment of the hosts should appear. None of these explanations appear satisfactory. We prefer indulging in the reasonable supposition that the mother of Jesus, who had lovingly kept and pondered in her heart all the wonderful and mysterious incidents connected with his birth, and was doubtless aware of the object of his visit to the Baptist, seeing him now return accompanied by five disciples, and having probably received an account of what had transpired on the banks of Jordan, thought that the time of his public appearance, so eagerly looked for by her, had at last come, and that by some display of his hidden power he might be willing to disclose his real character. "It is a delicate trait that she does not more than call her son's attention

to the deficiency. She feels such confidence in him, that she believes that she neither need nor ought to say anything further. Of his benevolent nature she has already had many an experience; and that he is full of wisdom and can find ways and means, where others mark them not, she knows full well. More, however, was not necessary,—especially where there was this in addition, that the presence of Jesus and his followers had helped to cause the deficiency—than with humility to direct his attention to it (*Luthardt*, Johannes Evangelium, i. p. 115)."

Mary hastening to Jesus, and confiding to him the trouble of the family, seeking counsel at his hands, sets us an example which we should studiously and constantly imitate. Let us make Jesus the depositary of all our troubles and perplexities. He will not disdain our suit; his wisdom and munificence are more than enough for our necessities; and his seeming refusals are only concealed blessings. He blesses in giving and he blesses in withholding; and blessed are all that hold continual converse with Jesus; seek him in gladness and fly to him in sadness.

The reply of Jesus presents even greater difficulties than the words of Mary. "*Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.*" The word "*woman*," instead of "*mother*," however harshly it may sound in our ears, does not necessarily convey the severity of reproof. The holy Jesus doubtless selected it to mark the now altered relations between himself and Mary, although he uttered it, without any tone of censure, in tenderness and love—(*Hall*, l. c. p. 84); it was the same term in which he addressed her from the cross when he commended her to the care of the beloved disciple, saying: "*Woman*, behold thy Son; the same word he used twice in his conversation with Mary Magdalene on the morning of the resurrection, "*Woman*, why weepest thou?" (John xix. 26; xx. 13, 15). On those two occasions the word imported tender pity, and although it seems to mean more here, it denotes rather solemnity of address than harshness. The Greek γύναι has a more stately and solemn sound than the English "*woman*," although even the apparent harshness of this may be softened into solemn tenderness by the full vocative form "O woman." The seeming harshness of the word lies not in the word itself,

for that must ever remain a noble word "where the dignity of woman is felt and recognized," (*Trench*, l. c. p. 87), but rather in our perverted use of it; etymologically *woman* is a more noble word than *lady*, *woman* denotes the native dignity of the gentle sex, *lady* merely its human elevation; the artificial substitution of the seemingly more polite term *lady* for the really more honourable word *woman*, has however been unable entirely to obliterate the superiority of the latter, for the highest praise that can be given to a lady is to declare her to be a *true woman*.

The phrase "What have I to do with thee?" however, contains confessedly more or less reproof or blame. It is an elliptic phrase and the ellipsis may be supplied by the word *common* (*κοινὸν*). An examination of the passages in which this phrase occurs leads to the result that in its mildest form it cannot be made to signify less than "What is there in common between us? Our relations are altogether different." (*Trench:* "Let me alone; what is there common to thee and me? We stand in this matter on altogether different grounds." *Grotius* on Matt. viii. 29. "Hoc si ex usu Latini sermonis interpreteris *contemptum* videtur inducere. Ita enim Latini aiunt, *Quid tibi mecum est?* At Hebræis aliud significat, nimirum, cur mihi molestiam exhibes? Quod clare apparet, 2 Sam. xvi. 10; 2 Par. xxxv. 21." *Irenæus*, con. Hær. *l.* 3, c. 16. "Properante Maria ad admirabile vini signum, et ante tempus volente participare compendii poculo, Dominus *repellens* ejus intempestivam festinationem, dixit, etc." *Chrysostom*, Hom. 21 in John: "'Ἐβούλετο . . . . ἑαυτὴν λαμπροτέραν ποιῆσαι διὰ τοῦ παιδός, therefore was it that Christ *σφοδρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο*." The last two citations are produced by *Trench*, l. c. Cf. on *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* the following passages. Judg. xi. 12; 1 Kings xvii. 18; 2 Kings iii. 13. LXX. Josh. xxii. 24; 2 Sam. xvi. 10. LXX. Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke viii. 28). Our Lord plainly intimates to Mary that the duties of the filial relation were altogether independent of and separate from his character as the Messiah. This consideration mitigates the apparent *harshness* of the repulse, but does not remove the repulse itself. To reduce the words of Jesus to a lesson teaching us that only the highest interests of the kingdom he had come to establish could move him to work a miracle, is stating the truth, but not

the whole truth;* we were to learn that lesson, but first and foremost it was designed for Mary, who as the mother of Jesus was especially liable to forget it. "She had not yet that opinion of him which she ought, but because she bare him, counted that after the manner of other mothers, she might in all things command him, whom it was more fitting for her to reverence and worship as her Lord." (*Chrysostom*). This thought is beautifully unfolded by *Hall* (l. c. p. 84): "He whose sweet mildness and mercy never sent away any suppliant discontented, doth he only frown upon her that bare him? He that commands us to honour father and mother, doth he disdain her whose flesh he took? God forbid: love and duty doth not exempt parents from due admonition. She solicited Christ as a mother, he answers her as a woman. If she were the mother of his flesh, his Deity was eternal. She might not so remember herself to be a mother, that she should forget she was a woman; nor so look upon him as a son, that she should not regard him as a God. He was so obedient to her as a mother, that withal she must obey him as her God. That part which he took from her, shall observe her; she must observe that nature which came from above, and made her both a woman and a mother. Matter of miracle concerned the Godhead only; supernatural things were above the sphere of fleshly relation. If now the blessed Virgin will be prescribing either time or form unto divine acts, 'O woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.' In all bodily actions his style was, 'O mother:' in spiritual and heavenly, 'O woman.' Neither is it for us in the holy affairs of God to know any faces; yea, 'if we have known Christ heretofore according to the flesh, henceforth know we him so no more." The idea and the feeling embodied in the words of Christ, as well as the great lesson he enforced by his own blessed example that all human and earthly consideration must give place to the supreme claims of God, are best illustrated by the conduct of our Lord when, while talking to the people, one said to him: "Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand

* *Maldonatus:* "Simulavit se matrem reprehendere, cùm minimè reprehenderet, ut ostenderet se non humano, non sanguinis respectu, sed solâ caritate, et ut sese, quis sit, declaret, miraculum facere."

without desiring to speak with Thee," He replied: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth His hands toward His disciples, said: "Behold my mother, and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister and mother." (Matt. xii. 47–50).

Although the written words clearly intimate a repulse and a refusal, they are altogether inadequate to convey the tone and manner in which our Lord uttered them. That He pronounced them lovingly and tenderly accompanied by a look betokening compliance, is evident from the effect they produced on Mary, who construed his seeming refusal as a real granting of her request. He said "Mine hour is not yet come," but she forthwith told the servants, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." The critics differ as to the precise meaning of this saying of the Lord. *Euthymius:* "The hour for working miracles;" *Ewald:* "The hour for the full Messianic sense of power;" *Lücke* and others: "The hour for the display of my glory." *Baur* maintains that the hour of Jesus always designates the hour of his death. *Tholuck* says "that the hour he had fixed upon for his public appearance had not yet come."* The word *οὔπω* clearly contains the key of the interpretation. It is as if he had said, "although the time for the *public* exhibition of my Messianic power and dignity has not yet come, yet I will grant thy request in the present emergency." If this be so, we have here a beautiful and touching manifestation of the perfect Godhead and manhood of Christ. As God, he

* *Trench* sees in *οὔπω* a reference that the wine was not yet wholly consumed, that it was only failing, and that it would be time to act, when by its complete failure, manifest to all, the miracle would be above suspicion. His view is substantially that of Augustine, Cyril and al. It deserves consideration, although we prefer the construction of the text. It assumes a state of things which is not recorded by the Evangelist; Mary said distinctly "They have *no wine*," not "the wine is *failing*."

The author of a sermon in the Appendix to *Augustine* (Serm. 92): "Hâc responsione interim debemus advertere quod de nuptiali vino pars aliqua adhuc fortè residerat. Ideo nondum erat Domini plena hora virtutum, ne miscere magis elementa quàm mutare videretur [ne aqua viuo admixta crederetur:" *Grotius*].

Maldonatus: "Cur ergo miraculum fecit, si tempus non venerat? Non venerat, cum mater petivit; venerat eum fecit, modico licet intervallo."

uttered a rebuke, as a son, he complied with the mother's request. And hardly less beautiful is the language of Mary addressed to the servants: "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." We may well exhort one another with her words. Those that hear his voice and follow him, can never go astray; they that *do* what he says are sure of his love and protection. Evermore let us do what He saith unto us!

It is impossible for us to speak *positively* of the motives which induced the Lord to work this miracle, although we may conjecture several as not improbable. He complied with his mother's request, he strengthened the faith of his disciples, and he spared the bridal pair the disgrace that was likely to befall them in consequence of the failure of wine.* This tender regard for the feelings of others, this gracious condescension to the wants and troubles of men, this readiness to supply not only their necessaries but even superfluities, meets us at the very threshold of our Lord's ministry, and holds out to us precious encouragement to go to him under all circumstances and to confide all our cares to him who careth for us.

The remark of *Chrysostom*, that everything is here narrated, so as to exclude any possible semblance of collusion, is most just, and illustrates the difference with which faith and unbelief judge the evangelical record. Faith sees in every circumstance a coincidence establishing the historical fidelity of the account, while unbelief twists everything into an argument for its own overthrow; faith acts on the Christian principle of believing things true and honest until proof has been furnished to the contrary, whereas unbelief proceeds on the supposition that everything is false and fraudulent until evidence has been produced which establishes the contrary; and even in this respect, unbelief is dishonest and unfair in the highest degree, for the kind of evidence it asks for, it well knows, cannot be produced. It simulates a candour and affects a fairness, which, however specious in appearance, are simply hypocritical. We shall have occasion to illustrate this as we proceed.

There stood in the house, where the festival took place, "*six water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the*

* *Hilary:* (de Trin. l. 3 § 5) "Sponsus tristis est, familia turbatur, solemnitas nuptialis convivii periclitatur."

Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece." Concerning these vessels, notice that they were jars of stone, used for a particular purpose, and of enormous capacity. These jars stood not in the room where the festival took place, but in the hall; they were water-jars used for the specific purpose of washing; for it was customary among the Jews to wash their hands before and after meals (Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 3; Luke xi. 39). These jars were never diverted to other uses than those connected with washing; it is well known that the scrupulous observance of cleanliness, for which the Jews were noted, would have prevented these vessels to be filled with wine; the particularity with which the Evangelist mentions this circumstance refutes the silly explanation that the vessels had been filled with wine, of which the sediment remained, that water was then poured into the emptied vessels, which received from the sediment a vinous flavour, and might be passed for the thinnest kind of wine. Those who offer this explanation of the miracle forget that the ruler of the feast pronounced the new wine superior to the first supply (v. 10), which is of course incompatible with such an extremely diluted kind of wine. We suspect, that if there is room for an explanation on the principle of dilution, a full share of it must be conceded to the reason of those who offer it. If it be asked "Why did Christ use these vessels, set apart for purposes of purifying, and thus violate the regulations of the synagogue?" we answer, that Christ was not bound by them, he came to convert their burdensome observance into the freedom of the gospel, and to teach them that purity must be of the heart, and that unless the heart were washed, outward washing would be of no avail.

The capacity of the vessels was enormous. They contained two or three firkins apiece. The word *firkin* represents the Greek *μετρητής*, which may either stand for the Attic *μετρητής* or the Hebrew *Bath*. The Attic *μετρητής* was equal to 8·6696 gallons; each of the water-jars contained two or three firkins, that is on the average $2\frac{1}{2}$ *metrêtæ* each, which would make the six jars to have contained 15 *metrêtæ* or about 130 gallons. This calculation assumes the equality of the Attic metrêtês and the Hebrew *Bath*, but even at the lowest estimate of the latter

the quantity of liquid contained in the six vessels would be about 60 gallons. In either the quantity was such as to preclude the possibility of the wine having been privately introduced into the house. These vessels were either *empty* or emptied at the instance of Christ, who told the servants: "Fill the water-pots with water." As charged by Mary, they obeyed implicitly and "filled them up to the brim." Here again the statement of the Evangelist is so particular as to render collusion impossible. The servants were throughout active witnesses in the transaction, and their positive knowledge of what had actually occurred is in the sequel contrasted with the ignorance of the ruler of the feast. They knew that the water-jars had been empty; that they had drawn water and poured it into the vessels; and that, when bidden by the Lord to draw out of the contents and to carry the liquid to the ruler of the feast, the water they had poured in had become wine. The servants therefore could not have been mistaken concerning the reality of the miracle. *Semler's* remark, endorsed by *Olshausen*, that it is not said here that the water of *all* the jars had been changed into wine, is not correct; the servants filled the vessels to the brim; the use of the plural without any qualification implies that the pronoun refers to *all* the water-jars that had been specified; otherwise the accurate Evangelist would hardly have failed to say so. This remark is intended to meet the objection, which describes the miracle of Cana as "a miracle of luxury," but we hope to answer it by a better argument than one founded on an ungrammatical inference.

The *ruler of the feast* is thought by some to have been a superior servant or sort of chief butler, put in charge of the feast and having authority over the other servants. There is no evidence to support this assertion. The ἀρχιτρίκλινος mentioned here answers to the συμποσίαρχος of the Greeks and the *magister convivii* of the Romans. He was usually chosen from the company by the throwing of astragali or tali, but we find in Plato (Symp. p. 213, e), Alcibiades constituting himself Symposiarch. The whole company were bound to obey his commands, and he regulated the whole order of the entertainment, proposed the amusements, superintended the mixing of the wine, etc. (*Smith*, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquity, art. Sympo-

sium).* The ἀρχιτρίκλινος of the Gospel was doubtless one of the invited guests on whom this office was conferred as a mark of distinction. We know from the book of Sirach (xxxii. 1, 2), that the office of master of the feast was common among the Jews; the advice there given runs thus: "If thou be made the master of a feast, lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest; take diligent care for them, and so sit down. And when thou hast done all thy office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for thy well ordering of the feast." The duties of the Jewish governor of the feast were similar to those above described; *Whitby* adds that it belonged to him to bless what was prepared, and having drunk of the cup thus blessed, to send it round among the whole company. The familiarity with which the ruler of the feast addressed the bridegroom corroborates the view we take that he was one of the invited guests.

Jesus bade the servants take of the contents of the six water-jars to the ruler of the feast, observing even in this matter the usual etiquette. "And they bare it." Up to the time of the governor's exclamation they seem to have been in ignorance of the miraculous change. They knew that they had filled the vessels with water, and implicitly did what the Lord told them. The assertion of Lange (on John ii. 8), that they *believed* although they knew not yet the miracle that had been wrought, cannot be proven; nor is it easy to agree to his interpretation, which supposes these servants to have been impelled by a lofty faith in obeying Jesus, and sees in this drawing and carrying of the contents of the vessels an act of faith everyways answering to the greatness of the miracle. Such an explanation is not without poetical beauty, but hardly admissible on sound exegetical principles. We have seen that it was the duty of the ἀρχιτρίκλινος to taste and distribute the wine. "When he had tasted the water which was made wine, and knew not whence it was: (but the servants which drew the water knew), he called the bridegroom." He was in absolute

* A similar custom prevailed among the Persians; compare the account of Ahasuerus' banquet, Esth. i. The Syriac paraphrase renders ἀρχιτρίκλινος by ריש סמכא, *caput regiminis*. The Jews called the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, רב המשקים, literally, *præfectus pincernarum*.

ignorance as to the source of this new supply of wine, but the servants who had drawn the water from the well knew thus much, and their astonishment must have been great, beyond expression, when they heard the governor of the feast extol as superior *wine* what they had drawn from the well. We cannot tell whether they enlightened him with their knowledge; at all events, he was so struck with the excellent quality of the new supply of wine, that he exclaimed to the bridegroom in words of mingled surprise and mirth: "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now."

The word φωνεῖ does not necessarily signify that he actually summoned the bridegroom to his side, but that he called out to him, addressed himself to him; for φωνεῖν with an accusative denotes both τὸ λαλῶ καὶ τὸ καλῶ "both to speak to and to call." The phrase τι φωνεῖς; "What sayest thou?" occurs in *Sophocles;* and the words ὑμεῖς φωνεῖτέ με Κύριον, in John xiii. 13, signify, "Ye say I am your master." (Cf. also Isaiah viii. 19; xix. 3; Psalm cxiii. 15. LXX.) This is also the view of *Maldonatus:* "Non quod ad se venire jusserit, quod minimé fuisset urbanum, sed quod recumbentem appellans interrogaverit, quid optimum vinum in finem reservasset." It seems to us that the governor of the feast suspected the bridegroom to have prepared the company a surprise in keeping this choice wine in reserve, and intimated his astonishment both at the bridegroom's supposed reservation, and at the choice quality of the wine, in words that sound like a humorous reprimand, or give his astonishment a jocose turn. The force of the word μεθυσθῶσι needs bringing out: μεθύσκω (from μέθυ wine, cf. μέθη strong drink), Mid. μεθύσκομαι, signifies to become drunk, to be drunken, like Engl. to get drunk; it is occasionally used in a milder sense like the Hebrew שכר, but its ordinary meaning is more than to drink enough, or to drink freely. There is nothing gained by an attempt to soften the word. Those who advocate the milder form do so with a view to forestalling the inference that the words of the ἀρχιτρίκλινος had reference to the conduct of the guests at the marriage festival. But such an inference is altogether unwarranted and wholly inadmissible. We may safely assume that under

such circumstances the Lord would not have been present, and still less would he have sanctioned the excess, and actually ministered to it by the further supply of wine. The ruler of the feast alludes to the practice of the world to bring out good wine first, and worse afterward; for when men have freely drunk, and lost the power of discriminating between good and bad, they will as readily drink bad wine as good. This does not necessarily describe a corrupt practice of questionable hospitality, but may be explained by the moral instincts of men, which, to prevent the further degradation of those who have already passed the bounds of moderation, induces them either to present wine diluted with water, or wine of a poorer quality. The remark of the ruler of the feast contrasts the ordinary conduct of men with the supposed conduct of the bridegroom, and if there is any latent inference in his words, it is one which is complimentary to the bridegroom and the assembled company, whose deportment had been so exemplary that the bridegroom felt justified in now producing the best wine.

Whichever construction we put on the words of the ruler of the feast, they point a moral, which he certainly did not intend to convey. They contrast the world's way with that of Christ. The world produces its best gifts at the beginning, it brings out the *good wine* first, dispenses it with lavish prodigality and verily intoxicates its victims with the copious draughts of its good wine; but when they have *well drunk*, when their moral sensibilities have been blunted and vitiated, it gives them the vile beverage of its sad reality. It intoxicates to reduce them to its base vassalage, to ruin them for time and for eternity. Far different is the way of Christ. In his service, hardships, trials, sorrow and tribulation go before the *good wine* of his heavenly banquet.* "The world presents us

* *H. de S. Victore* (de Arc. Morali, l. 1, c. 1). "Omnis namque homo, id est, carnalis primum vinum bonum ponit, quia in suâ delectatione falsam quandam dulcedinem sentit; sed postquam furor mali desiderii mentem enebriaverit, tunc quod deterius est, propinat, quia spina conscientiæ supervcniens mentem, quam prius falsò delectabat, graviter cruciat. Sed sponsus noster postremò vinum bonum porrigit, dum mentem, quam sui dulcedine amoris replere disponit, quâdam prius tribulationum compunctione amaricari sinit, ut post gustum amaritudinis avidius bibatur suavissimum poculum caritatis."

Corn. à Lapide: "Hic est typus fallaciæ mundi, qui initio res speciosas oculis objicit, deinde sub iis deteriores et viles inducit, itaque sui amatores decipit et illudit."

with fair language, promising hopes, convenient fortunes, pompous honours, and these are the outside of the bowl; but when it is swallowed, these dissolve in an instant, and there remains bitterness and the malignity of coloquintida. Every sin smiles in the first address, carries light in the face and honey on the lip, but when we have '*well drunk*,' then comes '*that which is worse*,' a whip with six strings, fears and terrors of conscience, shame and displeasure, a caitiff disposition and diffidence in the hour of death. But when after the manner of purifying of the Christians, we fill our water-pots with water, watering our couch with our tears, and moistening our cheeks with the perpetual distillation of repentance, then Christ turns our water into wine, first penitents and then communicants, first waters of sorrow, and then the wine of the chalice; first the justification of correction, and then the sanctifications of the sacrament, and the effects of the divine power, joy and peace, and serenity, hopes full of confidence, and confidence without shame, and boldness without presumption; for Jesus keeps the best wine till the last; not only because of the direct reservation of the highest joys till the nearer approaches of glory, but also because our relishes are higher after a long fruition than at the first essays; such being the nature of grace, that it increases in relish as it does in fruition, every part of grace being new duty and new reward." (*Taylor*, Life of Christ, p. 184).

As we intend to consider objections by and by, we pass on to the end of the evangelical account, which is silent as to any explanation of the miracle beyond the intimation that it was wrought by Jesus, and was his "*beginning of miracles.*" We are led to infer from the words that "he manifested forth his glory, and his disciples believed on him;" that the ruler of the feast and the company were made acquainted with the miraculous source whence flowed this copious supply of superior wine. The express statement that this was the beginning of Christ's miracles is conclusive against the authenticity of the pretended miracles, recorded in the apocryphal gospels, and against the insinuation that Mary urged Jesus on this occasion to the working of a miracle because she had already

made experience of his wonder-working power in private. The words of the Evangelist have from the earliest times been viewed in this connection. E. g. *Euthymius* (in loco) says that St. John *ἱστόρησεν αὐτὸ, χρησιμεῦον εἰς τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις παιδικοῖς θαύμασι τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Cf. *Chrysost.* Hom. 16, 20; 22 in Joh. and *Thilo*, Cod. Apocryph. p. lxxxiv. seq. cited by *Trench*, p. 95). "All those miracles which are reported to be done by Christ in his infancy, and during the interval of his younger years, are apocryphal and spurious, feigned by trifling understandings (who think to serve God with a well-meant lie), and promoted by the credulity of persons, in whose hearts easiness, folly and credulity are bound up, and tied fast with silken thread and easy softnesses of religious affections, not made severe by the rigours of wisdom and experience." (*Taylor* l. c. p. 179). But by this first miracle Jesus "*manifested forth his glory.*" This is an express declaration of his divinity. The act he performed was a creative act; it was so stupendous an exhibition of latent power and majesty, that it was regarded as an effulgence of his divine *glory*. For (*δόξα*) glory, is an attribute of the Godhead. It answers to the Hebrew כָּבוֹד, כְּבוֹד, the glory or majesty of Jehovah, denoting in the latter case the fiery effulgence surrounded with dark clouds in which Jehovah is represented as appearing, or Jehovah himself as surrounded by this effulgence, such as he manifested himself at Sinai to Moses, Exod. xvi. 7, 10; xxiv. 16; cf. v. 17; xxxiii. 18; Levit. ix. 6, 23; or appeared in the tabernacle, Exod. xl. 34; or in the temple, 1 Kings viii. 11; 2 Chron. vii. 1; cf. Ezek. xliii. 2, 5; xliv. 4; or was seen in prophetic visions, Isaiah vi. 3; Ez. i. 28; iii. 12, 23; viii. 4; x. 4, 18 (see *Gesenius* s. v.) This high and exalted sense belongs to the word *δόξα* as applied to our Lord. This glory of Christ appeared not only in the mount when he was transfigured, in the memorable circumstances which attended his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, but also in his miracles, in his works of power, and his words of grace and truth; hence St. John does not hesitate to say of his whole earthly abode, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory,

the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." (John i. 14). The miracle at Cana was such a manifestation of his Divine glory, and had the effect of increasing the faith of his newly made disciples, who had now received a powerful illustration that the Teacher whom they had followed was the Son of God. This miracle of our Lord served therefore the double purpose of supplying the family with a truly royal gift of wine, and of being to the disciples a means of grace.

This miracle has from the earliest times been invested with a symbolical and prophetical meaning. Retaining the distinctive feature of this miracle, we may say that the great work our Lord came to perform was the transmutation of the water of earth into the wine of heaven. The substratum of the elementary substance of water which Christ changed into wine, is of course the starting-point of this symbolism. An analogy has been traced between the first miracle of Moses and the first miracle of Christ. The one turned water into blood, the other changed water into wine. This contrast agrees with the difference between the two economies of the law and the gospel. The law was the ministration of death; blood was therefore its appropriate sign; the gospel is the ministration of life, and wine "which maketh glad the heart of man" is consequently its apt symbol. Moses, moreover, who was a type of Christ, turned the bitter waters of Marah, in the wilderness of Shur, into sweet; but Christ, during his abode in this wilderness-world, changed the water of earth into the wine of heaven; Moses, the Reformer, it will be perceived, merely corrected the *same* substance, whereas, Christ the Regenerator, changed one substance into another. Moses could only improve upon that which he found; Christ changed the whole nature of things, and *re*created the world. This thought suggests many variations. Christ, the Regenerator, who brought life and immortality to light, changed the dispensation of the law, which may justly be described as weak and watery, into the economy of the gospel, so rich and ennobling that we may well call it the new wine of a higher faith, the good wine of the glad tidings of great joy. (Cf. *Trench*, l. c. p. 97;

Lange on John ii.)* "God gave first the old wine of the law without strength, spirit, or taste; and in the fulness of time he gave the new wine, of a strong and powerful grace, which enables us to fulfil the law, which inebriates the heart in a holy manner, and causes it to forget all present things. Let us desire, pray for and taste this wine of our heart, which is so necessary to our salvation. This is the wine of the marriage of the Lamb, a marriage begun in the incarnation, by the union of the Word with our nature; continued and brought to perfection in the sanctification of sinners by their being incorporated with Christ; finished and consummated in heaven by the union of all the elect with their Head, and the completion of the adoption of God's children in the bosom of the Father." (*Quesnel*, in loco.) In the use of the six water-pots which Christ ordered to be filled with water, has been recognized his purpose not to destroy but to fulfil the law. For "had he ordered the water to be poured out and had then introduced the wine, as a new creation, he would seem to have rejected

* The following authorities cited by *Trench* will be found useful for reference.

Corn. à Lapide: "Christus ergo initio suæ prædicationis mutans aquam in vinum significabat se legem Mosaicam, instar aquæ insipidam et frigidam, conversurum in Evangelium gratiæ, quæ instar vini est, generosa, sapida, ardens et efficax."

Bernard, (Bened. ed. p. 814): "Tunc (aqua) mutatur in vinum, cùm timor expellitur à caritate et implentur omnia fervore spiritûs et jucundâ devotione."

Eusebius (Dem. Evang. l. 9. c. 8): Σύμβολον ἦν τὸ παραδοξον μυστικωτέρου κράματος, μεταβληθέντος ἐκ τῆς σωματικωτέρας ἐπὶ τὴν νοερὰν καὶ πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην τοῦ πιστικοῦ τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης κράματος.

Augustine (In Ev. Joh. Tract 9): "Tollitur velamen, cùm transieris ad Dominum . . . . et quod aqua erat, vinum tibi fit. Lege libros omnes propheticos, non intellecto Christo, quid tam insipidum et fatuum invenies? Intelligi ibi Christum, non solùm sapit quod legis, sed etiam inebriat." He illustrates this from Luke xxiv. 25–27. (*Trench*).

Gregory the Great (Hom. 6 in Ezek.): "Aquam nobis in vinum vertit, quando ipsa historia per allegoriæ mysterium, in spiritalem nobis intelligentiam, commutatur.

An unknown author (*Bernardi*, opp. v. 2. p. 513): "In futurâ enim vitâ aqua omnis laboris et actionis terrenæ in vinum divinæ contemplationis commutabitur, implebunturque omnes hydriæ usque ad summum. Omnes enim implebuntur in bonis domûs Domini, cum illæ desiderabiles nuptiæ Sponsi et sponsæ celebrantur, bibeturque in summâ lætitiâ omnium clamantium Domino et dicentium; Tu bonum vinum servâsti usque huc."

the Old Testament. But converting, as he did, the water into wine, he showed us that the Old Testament was from himself; for it was by his order that the water-pots were filled."

The number six also has been symbolically interpreted. Six is the number of labour, toil and distress; six days of the week are working days; on the sixth day before the Passover Christ reached Bethany; a multiple of six is the number of the beast.* The toil, labour, and distress of the old life are changed by Christ into the rest, peace, and joy of the new life.

Similar references have been found in the presence of Mary, the ready obedience of the servants, and other features of the miracle.

The miraculous supply of wine may also be regarded as a sign of the glory of Christ, which ever turns the old into the new, and graciously quickens the dead in trespasses and sins to newness of life, transforms sinners into saints, the outcasts of the world into the children of God, beggars into kings, and converts sorrow into joy, evil into good, and the curse of the earth into the blessing of heaven.

This miracle in connection with that of the loaves has also been explained as a type or prophecy of the Lord's Supper; e. g. *Irenæus* (contra Hær. l. 3. c. 11), in refutation of the Gnostic notions of a creation originally impure, says: "The Lord might have created with no subjacent material the wine with which he cheered the guests, the bread with which he fed those multitudes; but he rather chose to take his Father's creatures on which to put forth his power, in witness that it was the same God, who at the beginning had made the waters and caused the earth to bear its fruits, who did in those last days give by his Son the cup of blessing and the bread of heaven."

"In very early times (this miracle) was a favourite subject for Christian art. On many of the old sarcophagi Jesus is seen standing and touching with the rod of Moses, the rod of

* *Nork*, Etym. Symbol. Mythol. Real-Wörterbuch; "Six is the threefold discord (ἔρις); hence 666 the number of antichrist. According to Rabbinical tradition Satan was created simultaneously with the woman on the evening of the sixth day of creation. The cabbalistic book of Sohar warns men of the threefold six as the number of punishment."

which is generally placed in his hand when he is set forth as a worker of wonders, three vessels resting on the ground,—three, because in their skilless delineations the artists could not manage to find room for more. Sometimes he has a roll of writing in his hand, as much as to say, this is written in the Scripture: or the master of the feast is somewhat earnestly rebuking the bridegroom for having kept the good wine till last; having himself tasted, he is giving him the cup to convince him of error." (*Munter*, Sinnbilder des Alt. Christenthums, v. 2, p. 92, quoted by *Trench*, l. c. p. 98).

Thus far we have followed the evangelical record without entering upon the discussion of the miracle itself, and the consideration of the objections that have been raised. Want of space compels us to stop here, and to reserve for discussion in the October number of this Review the explanations that have been given, the examination of objections, and the principle on which this miracle and all the miracles of the New Testament should be treated by believers in the Divinity of Christ and the Inspiration of the New Testament.

Art. V.—*President Lincoln.*

The scriptural doctrine of Providence assumes: 1. The real existence of the external world. 2. The efficiency of secondary causes. That is, that created minds as agents, originate their own acts; and that material substances have properties or forces inhering in them, which make them the efficient and necessary antecedents of their effects. 3. That all events, whether in nature or history (supernatural events excepted), have their proximate and adequate causes in the agency and properties of created substances, spiritual or material. 4. That God, as an infinite and omnipresent spirit, is not a mere spectator of the world, looking on as a mechanist upon the machine which he has constructed; nor is he the only efficient cause, so that all effects are to be referred to his agency, and so that the laws of nature are only the uniform methods of his operation; but he is everywhere present, upholding all things by the word of his power, and controlling, guiding, and directing the action of second causes, so that all events occur according to the counsel of his will. An abundant harvest is proximately due to the operation of second causes, but God so determines and directs those causes as to secure the designed result. The prosperity of individuals, of communities, and of nations, is due to secondary causes, but those causes are so determined by God, that he is to be acknowledged as the Giver of all good. This is equally true of all events, whether prosperous or adverse, whether in themselves good or evil. Nothing happens by necessity or by chance. God governs all his creatures and all their actions. This universal and absolute control of Divine Providence is, on the one hand, consistent with the character of God, so that he is, in no sense, the author of sin; and, on the other hand, with the nature of his creatures. He governs free agents with certainty, but without destroying their liberty, and material causes, without superseding their efficiency.

It is impossible to express or to conceive the importance of

these familiar principles of scriptural truth. They are not the discoveries of human reason; neither philosophy nor science (when divorced from the Bible) even accepts them. They are however the foundation of all religion, of all order, of all Christian civilization; and the only ground of confidence or hope.

Every great event therefore is to be viewed in two different aspects: first, as the effect of natural causes; and, secondly, as a design and result of God's providence. The interpretation of Divine providence is indeed often a matter of great difficulty and responsibility. It requires humility and caution. Some of his dispensations are, as to their design, perfectly clear, others are doubtful, and others to us and for the present inscrutable. In one thing however we are safe; we have a right to infer that the actual consequences of any event, whether great or small, are its designed consequences; whether intended in judgment or mercy to those affected by them must be determined partly by their nature, partly by their attendant circumstances, and partly by the course of subsequent events. Why the Reformation was suppressed in Italy and Spain, and allowed to succeed in Northern Germany and Great Britain, we cannot even now determine; but it is none the less our duty to recognize these events as due to the ordering providence of God, and to study them as such.

No Christian can look upon the events of the last four years without being deeply impressed with the conviction that they have been ordered by God to produce great and lasting changes in the state of the country, and probably of the world. Few periods of equal extent in the history of our race are likely to prove more influential in controlling the destinies of men. Standing, as we now do, at the close of one stage at least of this great epoch, it becomes us to look back and to look around us, that we may in some measure understand what God has wrought.

Although at the South, and by the partisans of the Southern cause at the North, the cause of the desolating war just brought to a close has been sought elsewhere than in the interests of slavery, the conviction is almost universal, both at home and abroad, that the great design and desire of the authors of the late rebellion were the perpetuation and extension of the system

of African slavery. That this conviction is well-founded is plain, because slavery has been from the formation of the government the great source of contention between the two sections of the country; because the immediate antecedents of secession were the attempts to extend slavery into the free Territories of the Union; the abrogation of the Missouri compromise, in order to facilitate that object; the Dred Scott decision, which shocked and roused the whole country, because it was regarded as proof that even the Supreme Court, the sacred palladium of our institutions, had become subservient to the slave power. The reaction produced by these attempts to perpetuate and extend the institution of slavery, led to the election of Mr. Lincoln, on the avowed platform that while slavery was not to be interfered with within the limits of the States which had adopted the institution, its extension to the free Territories belonging to the United States was to be strenuously resisted. The success of the party holding this principle was the immediate occasion of secession, and the formation of the Southern Confederacy. Besides these obvious facts, it is notorious that the public mind at the South had been exasperated by exaggerated accounts of the anti-slavery feeling at the North, and inflamed by glowing descriptions of an empire founded on slavery, where all property and power should be concentrated in the hands of slaveholders, and all labour performed by slaves. This was advocated as the best organization of society, as the only secure foundation for what was called free institutions, and the only method in which the highest development of man was to be attained. Accordingly slavery was declared to be the corner-stone of the new Confederacy; slaveholders were called upon by the Richmond editors to sustain the burdens of the war, because the war was made for them; and the editor of the leading journal in Charleston, South Carolina, declared that the South sought and desired independence only for the sake of slavery; that if slavery were to be given up, they care not for independence. It cannot therefore be reasonably doubted that the great design of the authors of the rebellion was the extension and preservation of the system of African slavery.

As little can it be doubted that this was a most unrighteous end. Without going to the unscriptural extreme of maintaining

that all slaveholding is sinful, two things are, in the judgment of the Christian world, undeniable; first, that however it may be right in certain states of society and for the time being to hold a class of men in the condition of involuntary bondage, any effort to keep any such class in a state of inferiority or degradation, in order to perpetuate slavery, is a great crime against God and man; and, secondly, that the slave laws of the South, being evidently designed to accomplish that end, were unscriptural, immoral, and in the highest degree cruel and unjust. It is self-evident that only an inferior race can permanently be held in slavery, and it is therefore unavoidable that the effort to perpetuate slavery involves the necessity of the perpetual degradation of a class of our fellow-men. Such was the design and effect of the laws which forbade slaves to be taught to read or write; which prohibited their holding property; which made it a legal axiom that slaves cannot marry; which authorized the separation of parents and children, and of those living as husbands and wives. These laws, which no Christian can justify, had been for more than a century operating at the South. The state of the slaves therefore in 1860 was little, if any, better than it was a hundred years before. Household servants, and, to a certain degree, the slaves in the Border States, had made advances in knowledge and in their social condition; but the great mass of the bondmen in the cotton, rice, and sugar plantations was to the last degree degraded. The journal of Mrs. Fanny Kemble, written a few years ago, photographs these Southern plantations, the slaves, their habitations, their food, dress, and social state, their sufferings and wrongs, in such a way as to compel faith in the fidelity of the picture, while it revolts and horrifies the beholder. To lament over this system as an evil entailed by former generations, to admit that it ought not to be perpetuated, and to acknowledge the obligation to labour for its removal, is one thing; to maintain that the system which necessitates this degradation of millions of our race, is a good system, which ought to be continued and extended, is a very different thing. It is the great revolution which the high price of Southern productions, and the consequent profitableness of slavery, wrought in the opinions and feelings of Southern men on this subject, which is the true

cause of the terrible evils which have rendered the South a desolation. It could not be that an offence so great as the indefinite perpetuity of a system so fraught with evil, and the avowal of the purpose not only to perpetuate but to extend it, could long continue without provoking the Divine displeasure. There is not one man in a thousand who will not be more or less corrupted by the possession of absolute power, even when that power is legitimate. But when it is illegitimate, and requires for its security the constant exercise of injustice, no community and no human being can escape its demoralizing influence. This is evinced in the cast of character which it produces; the arrogance, insubordination, recklessness of the interests and rights of others, the loss of the power to restrain the passions which have few external restraints, which it unavoidably engenders. The moral sense becomes perverted by the necessity of justifying what is wrong, so that we see even good men, men whom we must regard as children of God, vindicating what every unprejudiced mind instinctively perceives to be wrong. It is enough to humble the whole Christian world to hear our Presbyterian brethren in the South declaring that the great mission of the Southern church was to conserve the system of African slavery. Since the death of Christ no such dogma stains the record of an ecclesiastical body. We are not called upon to dwell on the manifold evils, which, until recently, even Southern statesmen and Christians acknowledged to be the inevitable fruits of slavery. It is enough that it operates so unfavourably on the character of the masters, that it dooms the slave to degradation, that by rendering manual labour derogatory, it consigns a large class of the white inhabitants of slave countries to poverty and ignorance. The picture drawn by Southern men of the class known as the "poor whites," is the severest condemnation of slavery which has ever been exhibited to the world.

The first and most obvious consequence of the dreadful civil war just ended, has been the final and universal overthrow of slavery within the limits of the United States. This is one of the most momentous events in the history of the world. That it was the design of God to bring about this event cannot be doubted. Although sagacious men predicted that such must be

the result of secession and an attempt to overthrow the constitution, it was not contemplated at the beginning, and for a long time after the commencement of the war it did not appear to be probable. Almost all foreigners, and a large class of our own people predicted the success of the South, and the chances were, so to speak, in favour at least of a compromise, which would leave slavery untouched within the limits of the States. But God has ordered it otherwise. Resistance to the constitutional limitation of slavery to the States in which it already existed, resistance to all plans of gradual emancipation, the insane purpose to dissolve the Union and overthrow the government in favour of this system, have led to its sudden and final overthrow. The inevitable difficulties and sufferings consequent on such an abrupt change in the institutions and social organization of a great people, must be submitted to, as comprehended in the design of God in these events.

Although the destruction of slavery seems to have been the great end intended in our recent trials, it is plain that this war was designed to affect other important changes in the state of the country. It has settled some of those political questions which kept the public mind in a state of constant agitation. It has determined the limits of State sovereignty. Sovereignty is independence; freedom from any control which is not inward or subjective. He is a sovereign who has the right and the power to do as he pleases. A ruler is sovereign when his own will is his only law; a State is sovereign when it has the right to regulate all its affairs, internal and external, according to its own good pleasure. It is plain that sovereignty is a matter of degrees. Absolute independence belongs only to God. There is no ruler on earth who is not more or less bound by the usages, traditions, and rights of the people whom he governs. There is no nation that is not restricted by the common law of nations. The war has not destroyed the sovereignty of the States; it has simply defined it. It has not obliterated State lines nor abrogated State rights; it has only settled the fact that we are a nation, and not a confederacy of nations, from which any member or any number of members may withdraw at pleasure. The United States are an indissoluble whole, composed of many self-governing communities, whose rights and sovereignty are limited in an

equal degree by a common constitution. The great point decided is, that the allegiance of every American citizen is primarily due to the United States, and not to the particular State to which he may belong. This is only saying that the constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties made in accordance therewith, bind the conscience of the people, anything in the laws, constitution, or acts of their own States to the contrary notwithstanding. To this conclusion the war forced the South itself. It was seen that the self-defence of their Confederacy as a whole was impossible on the theory of the independent sovereignty of its several parts. To this conclusion, therefore, the whole country has been brought. We are one nation henceforth, so long as it shall please God to grant us his favour.

Another consequence of the war, nearly allied to the one just mentioned, has been the development of the sentiment of nationality. This sentiment was deeply settled in the public mind; but it was in a measure dormant. The war has called it into vigorous and conscious exercise. When the assault on Fort Sumter roused the nation from its slumber, the people started to their feet in the full consciousness of their nationality. That sentiment has nerved their arms, sustained their faith, courage, and patience through four terrible years. It made them willing to send fathers, sons, and brothers to the battle-field, and cheerfully to bear the heavy load of taxation required by the exigencies of the country. It cherished in the popular mind the settled purpose to save the life of the nation at whatever cost. No one can doubt that this sentiment is stronger and more general now than it ever was before. Nor can it be doubted that it must tend to strengthen the bonds of our government, and to give consistency and power to our government, both at home and abroad.

Another no less obvious effect of the war has been the astonishing development of the power and resources of the country. It never entered the imagination of any man that the United States would be able to raise, equip, and sustain, year after year, an army of from five to eight hundred thousand men; a navy of several hundred armed vessels; to raise from the voluntary contributions of the people three thousand millions

of dollars; to provide the immense stores of ordnance, arms, and other munitions of war necessary for such a conflict; to organize the vast material of the quartermaster, commissary, hospital and ambulance departments; in short, no one dreamed that we could rise in four years from one of the lowest to the very highest of the military powers of the earth. What are to be the effects of this astonishing development of power, or what the design of God in thus rousing the nation to exhibit its giant strength in the face of the whole world, we can but conjecture and hope. The effect must necessarily be to increase our self-respect. We have earned the right to place ourselves in the rank of the foremost nations of the age. God grant that the consciousness of strength may not render us arrogant, unjust, or aggressive. It will be a great blessing if this giant should now seek repose, or devote his strength to the works of peace; to conquering the wilderness, to developing the resources of the country, and to making it the refuge of the oppressed and the home of the free. The impression produced on foreign nations by this exhibition of the power and resources of the United States, must be no less profound, and tend, it is to be hoped, to lead them to be less disparaging and contemptuous in their language and spirit, and more disposed to cultivate the relations of amity and peace. If such power and resources are possessed, and capable of being called into action by a moiety of the nation, what may be expected from its energy as a whole, from the united North and South, should any great emergency call for the manifestation of our combined strength?

Another consequence of the war, for which we are bound to be deeply grateful to God, is the astonishing exhibition of benevolence of which it has been the occasion. The history of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions will constitute one of the brightest pages in the records of the human race. Never before were millions of money raised annually by voluntary contributions for the alleviation of human suffering; never before were so many persons of both sexes found willing to devote their time and labour, and risk life and health to carry relief to the suffering, and instruction and consolation to the dying. Our land was covered with ministering angels, and our armies and hospitals everywhere attended and followed by these messengers

of mercy. Still further, at no period of our history has there been such a religious spirit generally manifested by the people of this land. More prayer has probably been offered to God during the past years, from sincere hearts, than in any ten years of the previous history of our country. Never before have there been such frequent, open, and devout recognitions of the authority of God as the Ruler of nations, and of Jesus Christ, his Son, as the Saviour of the world, by our public men, as during the progress of this terrible war.

The war has closed. It has done its work for the present, both of judgment and mercy. While it has reformed some great evils, and conferred upon us some great national blessings, it has left us a heritage of new and difficult problems, in the solution of which the character of the nation and the welfare of this and of coming generations is deeply involved. Among these problems are, 1. The proper treatment of those who have been engaged in the rebellion; 2. The reorganization of society necessary on the sudden transition from slave to free labour; 3. The means to be adopted to secure the rights of the freedmen, and to promote their mental, moral, and social improvement; 4. How far they are to be admitted, and by what degrees, and on what terms, to the right of suffrage and all other privileges of citizenship. These are subjects on which extreme opinions are zealously advocated by earnest and powerful parties. Just when these momentous questions arise for decision, the man who, of all others, by common consent was the best qualified, both by his character and adventitious circumstances, to deal with them, has been called away. The government has changed hands, not by the expiration of the term of one chief magistrate and the election of another; not even by the death of the President in the course of nature, but by the sudden, unexpected blow of an assassin. This is the event which summoned the nation to humiliation and prayer. Never were these duties more incumbent. The fact that all things are ordered by God, and must work out his wise designs, does not change the nature of afflictions, or modify the duties which flow from them as afflictions. When God brings any great calamity upon us, he means us to feel it. He designs that we should be humbled, that we should mourn and pray. It is thus that he makes our

trials the means of good. If we harden our hearts under his chastising hand; if we refuse to mourn and to humble ourselves in his sight, our afflictions become punishments, and work out for us only evil, however they may minister to the good of others.

The violent death of such a man as President Lincoln in such a crisis, was therefore a proper occasion for national sorrow, humiliation, and prayer.

It is, in the first place, a most mysterious event. We cannot see the reason for it, nor conjecture the end it is designed to accomplish. We can see the reason for many of our recent national disasters. Had we been as overwhelmingly successful at the beginning as we have been at the close of the war, none of the great results to which we just referred would have followed. Slavery would not have been overthrown, and nationality would not have been vitalized; our power would not have been developed, and our stand among the nations of the earth would have been very different from what it is at present. But why Mr. Lincoln should have been murdered just when he was most needed, most loved, and most trusted, is more than any man can tell. God however is wont to move in a mysterious way. It was mysterious to the struggling church of the first centuries, when the apostles, and afterwards one great leader, and another, and another were cut down. It was and is a mystery why the early Reformers had their voices, when raised to proclaim the gospel in a corrupt age, choked in the flames; why Henry IV. of France, who stood between the cruel fanaticism of the Romanists and the Protestants of that fair land, should be the victim of assassination; or why the pious and lovely Edward VI. of England, should have been taken away at the dawn of the Reformation; or why the graceful head of the godly Lady Jane Grey should have fallen on the scaffold. These are things we cannot, even after the lapse of centuries, understand. There is a use in mystery. What are we, that we should pretend to understand the Almighty unto perfection, or that we should assume to trace the ways of him whose footsteps are in the great deep? It is good for us to be called upon to trust in God when clouds and darkness are round about him. It makes us feel our own ignorance and impotency,

and calls into exercise the highest attributes of our Christian nature. It is therefore doubtless a beneficent dispensation which calls upon this great nation to stand silent before God, and say, It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good in his sight. The Judge of all the earth must do right.

The death of Mr. Lincoln is not only a mysterious event; it is just cause of great national sorrow. The leader in the opposition in the British House of Commons recently said, in reference to this event, that on rare occasions national calamities assume the character of domestic afflictions. This is eminently true. When Mr. Lincoln died, the nation felt herself widowed. She rent her garments, she sat in the dust, put ashes on her head, and refused to be comforted. Never in our history, seldom if ever in the history of the world, has the heart of a great people been so moved as when, on the 15th of April last, the intelligence flashed over the country that our President had been murdered. It was not merely sorrow for the loss of a great man when most needed, or of one who had rendered his country inestimable services, but grief for a man whom every one personally loved. It was this that gave its peculiar character to that day of lamentation. Still more remarkable in the annals of the country and of the world was the 19th of April—the day of the President's funeral. At 12 o'clock, noon, of that memorable day, the whole country was draped in mourning; our palaces and cottages, our public buildings and private residences, our cities, and villages, and isolated dwellings. Wealth veiled herself in crape, and poverty sought some symbol of sorrow, however insignificant. All our churches at that hour were filled with weeping worshippers. Millions of people were on their knees before God. The sun never shone on such a spectacle. Where, moreover, can history point to a funeral progress of fifteen hundred miles through countless myriads of uncovered mourners? The past cannot be recalled. It was truly said by the Rev. Dr. Dix, of New York, "Abraham Lincoln has been canonized and immortalized by the blow of an assassin." No effect is without its adequate cause. Such an unparalleled movement of the heart of this great people; such an answering cry of indignation and sorrow from foreign, and even unfriendly nations, prove beyond contradiction that Abra-

ham Lincoln deserved to be reverenced, loved, and lamented, as few rulers of men have ever merited the confidence and love of their fellow-men.

It was his character, his public services, and the avowed principles of his administration which gave him this hold on the heart of the people, and renders his death so great a national calamity.

As to his character, little need be said. He was a plain man. His early life was passed in the self-denial and toil of poverty. He was in great measure a self-educated man; the simplest rudiments of learning were all that he received in the schools. Education however is not learning; it is the exercise and development of the powers of the mind. There are two great methods by which this end may be accomplished. It may be done in the halls of learning, or in the conflicts of life. Mr. Lincoln's education was effected by the latter method. He was born in 1809. In his twenty-seventh year he was elected a member of the Legislature of Illinois, where he served for several years in succession. In 1837 he was admitted to the bar; in 1846 he was chosen a member of Congress; in 1848 he was a delegate to the national convention; in 1858 he sustained on equal terms his protracted struggle with Mr. Douglas before the people of Illinois and under the eyes of the whole nation. Thus for twenty-three years before his election to the Presidency in 1860, his mind was taxed to its utmost, and was in constant contact with the great questions and principles which agitated the public mind. During the four years of his first term of office, which of all the colleges or universities of Christendom could have afforded him such an educational discipline? He grew in those years probably more than in all his previous life. As an intellectual man, therefore, for his natural mental endowments, for the acquisition of knowledge gained in all these struggles and political conflicts; for the discipline to which he was subjected during his official career, he deserves the high admiration of his country as a man of sterling ability. None but pedants can look on Mr. Lincoln as an uneducated man. He had a culture a thousand times more effective than that usually effected in the schools of learning. He was remarkably sagacious; perceiving intuitively the truth, presenting it clearly, and sustaining it

with arguments pertinent and conclusive. Some of his state papers and public letters are masterly; they can hardly be excelled as means of accomplishing the end he had in view. He was reticent of his plans and purposes. He weighed long and deliberately his own measures, with little consultation. Facile and easily influenced on minor matters, he was immovable on all great questions on which he had once made up his mind. He was therefore consistent in all his plans and principles. He kept a steady hand on the helm of state, and never suffered the ship of the nation to swerve from its course. His moral character was unimpeachable; his integrity was proverbial; he was known among men as honest Abraham Lincoln. The crowning trait of his character however was his tenderness of heart; it was this more than his talents, position, or services that endeared him to the people. A volume might be filled with illustrations of this feature of his character. There is not an instance on record in which an application for mercy or relief was not either granted or tearfully declined. It was a standing order at the White House, that no matter how he was engaged, day or night, no one who came to him with a petition for pardon should be either turned aside or delayed. He has risen at midnight, and ridden several miles to a distant post, for fear that a reprieve should not reach its destination in time. A father applied to the proper authorities for permission for a son in the rebel service to return home, and was refused. A younger brother, a mere boy, determined to make a personal appeal to the President. He was readily admitted, and presented his petition. "Ah, my son," said Mr. Lincoln, "that is a case in which I cannot interfere." "But, sir," replied the boy, "my mother is ill, and will die if my brother does not come home." This the President could not stand, and without a word wrote and signed the order of release. If this were a weakness, God bless the weak! We should remember that Jesus Christ never refused to relieve the sufferings or hear the prayers of any child of sorrow, no matter how unworthy or sinful he might be. And if God were not thus merciful, we should all perish. This trait in Mr. Lincoln's character was so conspicuous, it is not necessary to dwell upon it. It was made a complaint against him by sterner men, that he often stood in the way of justice. How-

ever this may have been, it cannot be denied that the people loved him for his tenderness. God poured on his head the excellent oil of mercy, and its fragrance fills the land.

No one of our Presidents so frequently and devoutly acknowledged his dependence upon God, or so earnestly requested the prayers of God's people in his behalf. The Hon. Mr. Colfax, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and one of the most intimate of Mr. Lincoln's personal friends, has given public sanction to the report, which has been so extensively circulated, of his avowal of his personal faith in Christ, and love for the divine Redeemer. There is much therefore in the mental and moral character of our late President, and in the integrity, purity, and kindness of his heart, to account for the deep reverence and love universally manifested for him throughout the country and the whole civilized world. A man who retained in the highest post of honour and power the native simplicity of his character, without affectation or assumption; who was never dismayed by disaster nor elated by success; who bore insult and injustice without enmity or retaliation; who laboured to the last to do good to his enemies; who never exulted over a fallen foe; who felt "malice for none, and charity for all," assuredly deserves the epithets of both good and great. As such, Abraham Lincoln will be known in all coming time.

His public services cannot yet be fully appreciated. He was called to the administration of the government at the outbreak of the greatest rebellion of modern times. The task which he had to accomplish was pronounced by all the leading statesmen of Europe to be impossible. To reduce to submission to the constitution and laws a population of seven or eight millions of men, occupying a territory of a thousand miles in extent, with a seacoast of more than double that amount; animated by one spirit, inflamed with the deadliest passions; whose pride, power, possessions, and cherished institutions were all staked on the issue; led by men of the highest courage and culture, and sustained by the avowed sympathy and secret aid of almost all foreign governments, was indeed a herculean task. This work had to be undertaken without preparation, without an army, without a navy, without adequate supplies of any kind. Everything had to be created, and when prepared, had to be used

under every disadvantage arising from the number and distance of the places to be guarded or assailed. The work however has been done; the Union is restored; the constitution is preserved; the rights of property, the liberty of speech and of the press remain intact. No breach has been made in our fundamental law; no encroachment allowed on the charter of our rights. We are as free a people at this moment as when the war began. We have risen immensely in power and influence among the nations of the earth. Four millions of slaves have been emancipated by the course of events, and without infraction of the constitution. Mr. Lincoln's administration bids fair to form one of the most important epochs in the history of the world. The man who entered on the epoch aware of the tremendous responsibility he assumed, and begging his fellow-citizens to pray for him; and who so conducted the affairs of the government, that the struggle, under the blessing of God, has resulted in the complete success of the national cause, has rendered a service to his country and to the world which few men have ever rendered to the generation in which they lived.

As to the principles of his administration, a religious journal is not the place for any extended discussion. Our only object is to indicate in few words what we regard as those principles of his policy which constitute a part of his claim on the love and gratitude of his country.

The first thing to be noticed under this head is, that while Mr. Lincoln had definite and avowed objects in view, he with singular wisdom kept himself free as to the means to be adopted for their accomplishment. He was no fanatic, wedded to one idea, or to any abstract principle. If one plan would not do, he would try another. He formed the simple determination to do the best he could; but what *was* best he did not attempt to decide beforehand, but left to be determined by the circumstances of the country and the state of the public mind. The object of the war from the beginning, he declared to be the preservation of the Union and the authority of the constitution. To this object he steadily adhered. It was not, and it never became an anti-slavery war. The abolition of slavery was no more a legitimate object of civil war than the abolition of false religion. Mr. Lincoln distinctly declared, that if he could save

the Union with slavery, he would do it; if the destruction of slavery was necessary to the preservation of the Union, he would do all he lawfully could to overthrow that system. It was not until he became convinced that, as the war had been inaugurated for the preservation and extension of slavery, it could not be successfully terminated without emancipating the slaves, that he resolved upon that measure. God has evidently so overruled the course of events that the destruction of slavery is the inevitable consequence of the triumph of the national arms. The wisdom of the President was however conspicuously displayed in his adhering to the legitimate object of the war, and allowing emancipation to follow as a consequence, instead of making it an end to be distinctly aimed at.

Another prominent feature of Mr. Lincoln's administration was a spirit of conciliation. From first to last he endeavoured to persuade the revolted States to return to their allegiance, in order to save them from the miseries of war. And in the process of reconstruction his ruling idea was to disturb as little as possible existing relations, to inflict as few penalties as possible, and to restore all rights and privileges as fully and as rapidly as was consistent with public safety. He made a clear distinction between sin and sinners, between the offence and the offenders. This is a distinction which is not commonly made, for the obvious reason that generally there is no legitimate ground for it. In ordinary cases of theft and murder all the criminality and turpitude which belong to the offence attach also to the offender. But in other cases, especially in the offences of nations or communities, the distinction is legitimate and important. Idolatry is a great crime; it is apostasy from God. It is denounced in the Bible as the greatest of all sins; it is declared to be always inexcusable. And yet no man can doubt that had we been born in India or Africa, we too would have been idolaters. Popery, the worship of the Virgin Mary, the adoration of the Host, are justly regarded by all Protestants as great offences against God and Christ. But had we been born in Italy or Spain, we too had been papists. Slavery, as it existed at the South (meaning by slavery the whole system of slave laws there in force) is also a great moral evil. And yet had we been born and educated under that system, we doubtless

would either have acquiesced in it or defended it. Rebellion is a great crime (unless for just cause,) and the rebellion of the South was wanton and wicked; yet we must be strong in our self-conceit if we take for granted that had we been South Carolinians or Georgians, we should have resisted the overwhelming tide of popular feeling. This is not apologizing for idolatry, popery, slavery, or rebellion. It is only saying in other words what our blessed Lord himself says, when he declares it will be more tolerable in the day of judgment for the heathen than for us. This is true, not because heathenism is not the sum and essence of all moral evil, but because there is in such cases a great distinction between the criminality of an offence in itself considered, and the responsibility of the offender. The reason for this is obvious. A man's character, his opinions, feelings, and conduct are determined in part by the inward principles of his nature, and largely by the external influences to which he is subject. If kept in ignorance of the truth; if error is constantly inculcated, and all the power of education and example be brought to bear in favour of evil, it is almost unavoidable that the judgment will be perverted and the mind corrupted. Men thus brought up to regard idolatry, popery, slavery, or any other form of evil to be right, and surrounded by those who support and defend it, will not, by a righteous judge, as our Lord teaches, be dealt with according to the heinousness of the offence in itself considered, but according to the circumstances and opportunities of the offender. That Mr. Lincoln recognized this obvious principle of justice is plain from his official declarations and acts.

It is no less plain that he made another distinction equally important, viz., that between moral and political offences. Mr. Lincoln was not an advocate for impunity in crime. He did not refuse to allow the law to take its course when men were convicted of slave-trading, of arson, or murder. Executions for all these offences occurred under his administration, and with his official sanction. But he declared his aversion to the infliction of capital punishment for any political offences. If any of the rebel commanders, or other officials, should be convicted of burning cities, of murdering our soldiers, or starving our prisoners, he would have acquiesced in their being punish-

ed to the full extent of their criminality. In this the public conscience, as well as the public feeling, would fully have sustained him. But he saw clearly that there is a great difference between moral criminals and political offenders. This is a distinction which is made by all enlightened and Christian people. Great Britain and our own country have entered into treaties with other nations for the delivering to justice, of forgers, murderers, thieves, but not of rebels. Political refugees find a secure asylum under the flag of England, and of the United States, wherever it floats on land or sea. Even the Turks have acted on this principle, and refused to deliver to their Russian neighbours those who had rebelled against the authority of the Czar. This is not done on the assumption that rebellion is not often, perhaps generally, a great moral offence, but because whether it is an offence against morality or not, depends on circumstances. The right of revolution is a sacred right of freedom. It is a right which, if Englishmen and Americans had not claimed and exercised, despotism had now been universal and inexorable. It is of special moment in times of popular excitement, that great principles of moral and of civil policy should be kept constantly in view. It is plain that rebellion, as homicide, may be an atrocious crime, or justifiable, or commendable, according to circumstances. Whereas moral offences are always, and under all circumstances, evil. A good thief, or a good murderer, is as much a solecism as good wickedness. But a good rebel is no such solecism. Hampden was a rebel, so was Washington; they and thousands of other good men have risen in armed resistance to constituted authority, and such resistance has been justified by the verdict of the enlightened conscience of the world. But even when rebellion is not justifiable; nay, when it is not only a great mistake, but really a great crime in itself considered, it does not necessarily follow that those who commit it must be wicked men. It is often the effect of wrong political theories. In the protracted wars in England, between the houses of York and Lancaster, good men were found on either side. So also, in the war between Charles I. and the Parliament; between the adherents of the Stuarts and the house of Hanover. It did not follow that a man was wicked because he conscientiously believed that the Pretender

was legally entitled to the British throne. A man might be a Christian, and believe that the Salic law bound the Spanish nation, and rendered it incumbent on him to be a Carlist. In like manner it cannot be doubted that thousands of our Southern brethren religiously believed that their allegiance was due first to their several States, then, and only conditionally, to the Union. This does not infer moral depravity. No sane man can believe that all the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist clergy and laity, who entered into the rebellion, were unrenewed, wicked men. There is, therefore, a distinction between political offences and ordinary crimes, and to treat both alike would be a violation of the plainest principles of justice. This is not saying that rebellion, except for adequate cause, is not a moral offence; nor is it saying that the late Southern rebellion was not a great crime, for such it assuredly was; nor is it saying that because a man thinks a thing is right, to him it is right; but it is saying that there may be a great difference between the criminality of an act in itself, and the blameworthiness of the offenders. Men forget what a strange anomalous thing human nature is. There have been pious persecutors, and pious slave-traders. The Scotch Covenanters believed that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to suppress false religions, and therefore they felt justified in treating their opponents as their opponents treated them. As Samuel hewed Agag in pieces, they believed heretics should be put to death. John Newton (author of hymns still sung in all our churches,) was a slave-trader after his conversion. Why, then, must we take it for granted that every man who aided the rebellion was in heart a reprobate.

The reason why the people join in the clamour for the judicial condemnation of the rebels, is that they do not discriminate in their own minds between the indignation excited by the atrocities committed during the rebellion and the political offence itself. That our prisoners were massacred, or deliberately starved to death, that cities were burned, and hundreds of Union men persecuted to death, may well excite the greatest abhorrence, and call for the severest condemnation. Let the authors of such offences be arrested and tried for these atroci-

ties, and no voice will be raised in opposition. But this is very different from calling for the judicial execution of the abettors of the rebellion for their crime against the state. We believe indeed that the authors of the rebellion were, to a great degree, controlled by a wicked ambition and the desire to perpetuate slavery. Men however can be tried only for overt acts. One man may commit the same act from one motive and another for another. One may act under the influence of the worst feelings of our nature, and another from a mistaken sense of duty, and from a wrong political theory. We join, therefore, in denouncing the late rebellion as a great crime; we believe that its authors and abetters, in many cases, were influenced by bad motives; that there is no apology for the spirit of pride, arrogance, malice, and hatred, which so generally characterized all classes at the South during this struggle; we abhor the cruelties, the murders, confiscations, and violence of all kinds of which loyal men were made the victims; and we believe our late President would not have shielded any of the authors of these acts of cruelty and violence from the just punishment of their crimes. All this may be admitted, and it remains none the less true, that the political offence of rebellion is to be distinguished from these crimes by which it was attended. Good men shared in the rebellion, but not in these acts of violence. Mr. Lincoln's avowed purpose not to inflict the extreme penalty of the law upon political crimes was, therefore, perfectly consistent with his condemnation of the rebellion, and his abhorence of the spirit and conduct of its authors.

Another reason on which this purpose was founded was that, while the punishment of ordinary crimes is indispensable to the well-being of society, the punishment of political offences is often unnecessary. In many cases treason and rebellion, when confined to a few persons, must be severely punished, as the only means of deterring others from the commission of the same offence. But when a rebellion involves a great multitude of men, and leads to a civil war which issues in the establishment of the legitimate government, no such necessity ordinarily exists. The misery and loss consequent on the suppression of such outbreaks answers all the ends of punishment as a means of prevention. In the present case, no man can esti-

mate the amount of suffering which the rebellion has entailed upon the South. The loss of property must amount to many thousands of millions of dollars; all productive industry has been interrupted for four years; cities have been destroyed; whole districts of country laid waste; the great body of the property-holders have been impoverished. To this must be added the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. Fathers, sons, and brothers have been swept away. Almost every family is in mourning. Besides all this, the South has lost its prestige and preponderance. They are no longer masters. They are humbled in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the whole world. If all this is not sufficient to prevent rebellion for centuries to come, no number of executions for political offences can have any effect. We might as well empty a cup of water into the ocean to increase its volume.

Thirdly, all unnecessary punishments are positive evils. They exasperate instead of subduing; they exalt criminals into martyrs. The sympathy felt for the victims is transferred to the cause for which they suffer. Unnecessary punishment degrades justice into vengeance; all history proves its impolicy. Ireland, Poland, and Venetia, stand as examples and warnings. It is as necessary to conciliate the South as it was to subdue it. If we fail in this, we cut the locks of our own strength, and prepare millions of allies for any foreign enemy by whom we may hereafter be assailed. Nothing would better please the despots of the Old World than that we should pursue such a course as to make the South to us what Ireland is to England and Poland to Russia. The cry for blood and confiscation which has been raised in so many quarters, and which has desecrated so many sanctuaries, is insensate as well as anti-Christian. It is a cry for the nation not only to degrade but to enfeeble itself, and to entail upon our posterity a burden which it will be hard for them to bear. Our only security is in doing right. Let us be as magnanimous and generous in victory as we were brave and constant in conflict. The character of our country, and its influence for good over other nations depends more perhaps on the way in which we use our victory than upon success in securing it. This our friends abroad all see, and therefore with one voice they deprecate all judicial vengeance,

and call upon us to give to the world an example of leniency as imposing as our exhibition of courage and strength.

Once more, the divinely appointed method of overcoming evil is to return good for evil. If thy enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for by so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. All that is necessary is that we should act as the Christian Commission did in dealing with the rebel wounded and prisoners. They fed, clothed, nursed, and tended them, without making it an antecedent condition that they should renounce their political heresies, or profess repentance for their rebellion. All they had to do was to be submissive and quiet. The consequence was that thousands were converted from enemies into friends.

President Lincoln however was no weakling. Although his avowed policy was that of conciliation; although he earnestly desired to make the South cordially loyal and submissive to the government, and win them back to the love of the Union which their fathers had cherished, his main object nevertheless was the security of the government and of our national institutions; and therefore it was only so far as was consistent with that object that he favoured the restoration of the abettors of the rebellion to the rights of citizenship and to the possession of political power. But his views of what was consistent with the public safety were of the largest and most liberal character.

The principles which regulated his action regarding slavery, constituted a third distinguishing feature of Mr. Lincoln's policy. On this subject he held, 1. That all men are the children of Adam; made of one blood and possessing the same nature; and therefore are all entitled to be regarded and treated as men. No symptom of permanent slavery can be justified, except on the assumption that the enslaved class are a different and inferior race of beings. If all men are by nature one, if all have the same essential attributes of humanity, there can be no just reason why one class should be for ever condemned to inferiority and bondage. It was the great scriptural truth of the unity of the human race as to origin and species, which lay at the foundation of all President Lincoln's opinions and policy in regard to slavery.

2. This being the case, neither the colour of the skin, nor

unessential differences in the varieties of men, is any just ground for a permanent distinction between one class of men and another. He held that every man fit to be free (and not otherwise) was entitled to be free; that every man able to manage property had the right to hold property; and that every man capable of discharging the duties of a father is entitled to the custody of his children. From this it would follow, by parity of reason, that every man who has the intelligence and moral character necessary to the proper exercise of the elective franchise is entitled to enjoy it, if compatible with the public good. In other words, these rights and privileges cannot justly be made dependent on the colour of the skin or any other adventitious difference. On the other hand, it is a dictate of common sense that no man, whether white or black, has a right to exercise any privilege for which he is not qualified. A child, or a criminal, is not entitled to the liberty due to an adult or to a virtuous man. An idiot or a lunatic is not entitled to the control of property or the custody of children; nor are the grossly ignorant or vicious entitled to the exercise of any civil prerogative which they cannot enjoy with safety to society.

Once more, it is plain that Mr. Lincoln was opposed to all sudden revolutionary changes. These were to be avoided, and he strove to avoid them so far as was consistent with the paramount aim of his administration, the preservation of the national life.

Such we regard as a correct, although very imperfect view of the character, the services, and principles of our lamented President. The profound grief occasioned by his death, the abiding sense of the loss which the nation has sustained in his being called away at this important crisis of our history, not only prove the high estimate entertained of his character and services, but the almost universal approbation accorded by the people to the distinctive principles of his administration. This public judgment cannot be reversed; nor can it be safely disregarded. Popular excitement may cause the public mind to swerve for a time from the course marked out by this great and good man, but the national heart, having once approved of his policy, will be sure to revert to it, and pay him the highest honour a people can render a ruler, by carrying out his prin-

ciples, and doing what he would have done, had God spared his life.

We are called upon to humble ourselves before God under a great national bereavement, but, at the same time, we are bound to render thanks to the Giver of all good, for having raised such a man as Mr. Lincoln to the presidency in the day of our trial, and also to pray that the mantle of the dead may fall upon the living; that the Spirit which was on him who led us through the wilderness, may be given in double measure to him whose office it is to give the nation rest.

ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly met in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 18, 1865, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and was opened with a sermon by James Wood, D. D., from Daniel ii. 44. In the afternoon, John C. Lowrie, D. D., was elected Moderator, and Rev. Thomas S. Vail reading clerk. The attendance was large, two hundred and forty members appearing on the roll.

Appellate Courts.

The Rev. Dr. Craven read extracts from the report of the Committee on Appellate Courts, of which he is chairman. The report is an able and lengthy one, and was printed and distributed among the members.

It concludes with the recommendation of the following:

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE ASSEMBLY'S COMMISSION OF APPEALS.

I. The supreme appellate jurisdiction of the church shall, in all cases, save those of prosecutions for heresy, be exercised by a court consisting of eight members, one-half of whom shall be ministers, and one-half ruling elders, who shall be elected by ballot by the General Assembly, and whose term of office shall be four years. This court shall be styled "The Assembly's Commission of Appeals."

II. Immediately after the first election, (which shall be by the General Assembly that shall adopt this chapter as a part of the constitution of the church,) the Assembly shall divide the members of the Commission in alphabetical order into four classes, each class consisting of one minister and one ruling elder. The places of those of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of one year; of those of the second class at the expiration of two years; of those of the third class at the expiration of three years; so that one minister and one elder may be elected, each for the full term of four years, every year after the first election. It is hereby provided that any member, who may not be otherwise disqualified, may, upon the expiration of his term of office be re-elected.

III. No two members of the Commission shall be appointed from the same Synod, and should any member thereof, after his election, become connected with a Synod already represented therein, his term of office shall be regarded as vacated at the meeting of the General Assembly next succeeding his change of connection, and his unexpired term shall be filled by the election of some person by the Assembly next succeeding such death, or by which such resignation shall be accepted.

IV. Any member of the Commission may, for good cause, be removed by a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly, upon motion of any preceding Assembly, or upon petition from any Synod, Presbytery, Session, or private church member. In all such cases he shall have an opportunity of being heard by the Assembly in his own defence, either in person or by such member of the Assembly that considers the case as he may select for his counsel; and in the last four cases, one month's notice in writing shall be given him of such intended application, and the grounds thereof, by the body or person so petitioning. In case of the removal of any member, his unexpired term shall be filled by the Assembly that removes him.

V. The Commission shall meet at least once in every year, at such place and time, not exceeding one month before the annual meeting of the General Assembly, as may be designated by that body. And if no designation be made, they shall meet at the place appointed for the next meeting of the General Assembly, two weeks before the day appointed for such meet-

ing. They shall also meet at such other time and place as the General Assembly may direct, and on their own adjournment. Special meetings shall be called by the president upon application made to him in writing by a majority of the Commission; for this purpose he shall send a circular letter, specifying the particular business of the meeting, to every member of the Commission in due time previous to the meeting, which shall not be less than thirty days; and nothing shall be transacted at such special meetings beside the particular business on which the Commission was convened. In case of the death or disability of the president, special meetings shall be called by the clerk.

VI. Any four members of the Commission, of whom at least one shall be a minister and one a ruling elder, convened at the time and place appointed, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business, but a less number may adjourn from time to time until a quorum be present. At the first meeting, which shall be at such place and time as the Assembly appointing them may designate, they shall organize with prayer, and by the election of a president and clerk of their own number, who shall serve until the regular annual meeting next ensuing. And thereafter, at every annual meeting, the president shall organize the Commission with prayer, after which they shall immediately proceed to the election of a president and clerk of their own number, who shall serve for the ensuing year. In case of the absence of either president or clerk, his place may be supplied by the appointment of some member present. It shall be the privilege of the Commission to employ an assistant clerk, not of their own number, who shall receive such compensation as the Assembly may direct. Every special session of the Commission shall be opened and closed with prayer.

VII. To the Commission shall be committed all appeals and complaints for Synods or Synodical Commissions, and all references from those bodies of cases brought before them by appeal or complaint; and their decision shall be final in all cases save those of prosecution for heresy, and in cases of heresy their decisions shall be final on all questions of order and evidence. An appeal however shall always lie from their decisions as to

the fact of heresy, and as to the degree of censure proper to be inflicted therefor, to the General Assembly.

VIII. When an appeal or complaint is taken from the decision of the Commission as to the fact of heresy, or as to the degree of censure proper to be inflicted, they shall submit the facts as acknowledged by the parties, or as found by them, with their judgment thereupon, to the General Assembly; and that body shall, upon the facts so presented (after the parties litigant have been heard, if they so desire,) proceed to consider said judgment, which they shall confirm or reverse in whole or in part as to them may seem just.

IX. The constitutional rules for the reception and issuing of appeals, complaints, and references, shall, so far as applicable, be the rules of the Commission; but it shall be their privilege to establish other rules for their own guidance, not inconsistent with rules already established, subject to the rules of the General Assembly. It is here expressly provided, however, that no decision of any inferior judicatory shall be reversed but by the vote of a majority of the members of the Commission present throughout the trial and entitled to vote; and in all judicial cases, the President shall vote with the other members, and in such cases shall have no casting vote.

X. Should it appear to the Commission, in a case regularly brought before them, that members of any inferior Court have acted irregularly or corruptly therein, or that any appellant or complainant has manifested a litigious or other unchristian spirit in the prosecution of his appeal or complaint, they shall inflict such censure as to them may seem just.

XI. The Commission shall have the power of summoning and examining witnesses and sending for papers whenever irregularity or corruption is charged against the body appealed from or complained of, and whenever else in their judgment the interests of justice may require the introduction of new testimony; always acting, however, in such cases, under the provisions of Chapter IX. of the Book of Discipline. The powers and duties of the Commission in obtaining and receiving testimony shall be those laid down in Chapter V. of the Book of Discipline.

XII. No member of the Commission shall sit in judgment on

any case in which he has been interested as party, or counsel, or judge, in any inferior judicatory, nor where he may be related to either of the parties within the third degree computed according to the rules of the Common Law.

XIII. It shall be the privilege of the Commission to submit to the Assembly such amendments to the Constitution, on the subject of discipline, as they may deem proper; and it shall be their duty to give their opinion in writing to the Assembly on all subjects touching discipline that may be submitted to them by that body.

XIV. It shall be the duty of the Commission annually to report their proceedings to the General Assembly, and the report shall be published in the appendix to its Minutes.

XV. The necessary expenses of the members of the Commission when attending meetings of the body, and such other compensation as the Assembly may see fit to allow them, shall, in all cases, be defrayed by the treasurer of the Assembly out of the Contingent Fund.

XVI. Each Synod shall appoint a similar Commission consisting of the same number of members, and possessed of similar powers and privileges, and under similar restrictions and liabilities. No two members of the Synodical Commission shall belong to the same Presbytery, unless the Synod consist of less than eight Presbyteries; and, in such case, at least one member shall be appointed from each Presbytery. In cases of prosecution for heresy, no appeal nor complaint shall be taken from the Commission to the Synod, but all appeals and complaints shall be carried immediately to the Assembly's Commission. No member of the Assembly's Commission shall be appointed on any Synodical Commission; and should any member of a Synodical Commission accept an appointment on the Assembly Commission, his place in the Synodical Commission shall be regarded as vacated from the date of such acceptance, and the Synod shall, at its next meeting, proceed to fill his unexpired term by the election of some other person.

At a late period of the sessions this matter came up for discussion. It was opposed by Dr. S. R. Wilson, Messrs. Harris and Vail, and sustained by Judge Leavitt, Dr. Craven, Mr. Waller, and others. Finally, the motion of Judge Leavitt to

refer the report to the Presbyteries for their action, was adopted. There seemed to be a general conviction in the house that some provision, other than we have at present, for the despatch of judicial business, is absolutely necessary. Fears, however, were expressed lest a Commission constituted as the report proposes, might prove a too powerful, and therefore a dangerous body. Such fears, however, do not seem to have any solid basis. The people are accustomed to look on the Supreme Court of the United States, a smaller body with much larger powers than the proposed Commission, as a palladium and not as an object of dread. We trust this subject will secure the earnest and favourable attention of our Presbyteries.

Freedmen.

Dr. Craven, from the Committee on the Reports of the Eastern and Western Committees on the Education of Freedmen, made the following report:

The Committee to whom were referred the reports of the Committees for the Education of Freedmen, report:

They have had placed in their hands the minutes of both these Committees, and also a full statement of their accounts of money received and disbursed. They have examined the same, and recommend their approval to the Assembly.

They have also carefully examined the reports of the Committee, and have listened to statements from members thereof, and other gentlemen who have been engaged in the great work committed to their supervision.

Several important questions presented themselves to the attention of your Committee, upon which, after much deliberation, they were enabled to arrive at unanimous conclusions.

The first of these questions was—Should the Assembly continue to conduct its operations by an agency or agencies distinct from existing Boards? In view of the vast fields suddenly opened to the church by the emancipation of four millions of our race from bondage, and the peculiar nature of the work to be performed by them, in a great measure, indeed, the same as that now conducted by three of our Boards, and yet in some respects diverse therefrom—your Committee are unanimously and decidedly of the opinion that a separate agency should be em-

ployed, temporary in its character, to be continued only so long, as, in the judgment of the Assembly, the exigencies of the work may require.

The second question that presented itself was—Should the work be conducted as at present, by two distinct agencies, or by one central Committee? In view of the superior efficiency of one Committee, arising from unity of action and greater comprehensiveness of view, and also the greater economy of such a Committee—your Committee decided to recommend that one central Committee be empowered to employ two Secretaries, one being in charge of the Eastern, and the other of the Western field.

Two other papers were placed in the hands of your Committee, the one an overture from the Presbytery of Leavenworth, in reference to the establishment of a school (of a normal and theological character) in connection with the existing Western Committee, the other a memorial in reference to the establishment of "The Lincoln Memorial College."

Whilst your Committee fully recognize the importance of such institutions as are contemplated in these papers, and especially the importance of giving theological training to the recognized but ignorant ministry of the Freedmen, and whilst in reference to the last named paper they recognize the deep obligation of the country and the African race to the late venerated and beloved President, and also the peculiar fitness of such a monument as is contemplated to his memory, they are not prepared to recommend to the Assembly any immediate and definite action on the subject. The character of the higher institutions to be established must, in a great measure, depend on the general policy to be inaugurated by the church in reference to the African race. What that policy should be, your Committee do not feel that they have data sufficient to determine, or time, if they had the data, sufficient properly to digest. They therefore determined to recommend that these papers be referred to the Committee on Freedmen, with directions to consider the whole subject of the policy of the church in reference to the African race, and report to the next Assembly; empowering them, however, to make such temporary arrangements for

higher instruction during the current year as to them may seem necessary.

Your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That the General Assembly recognizing and rejoicing in the adorable providence that has given civil liberty to nearly four millions of the enslaved African race; recognizing also that the hope of that race, not only for the world to come, but also for this world, is in their possession of the gospel, that only by its influences can they be elevated to the proper standing of freemen, and that without its influences they must still further deteriorate physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually. Recognizing further that the elevation of that people in our midst is essential to the highest interests of our own race and of our beloved country, and is in order to the evangelization of the land of their fathers and the consequent fulfilment of the prophecy that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God—in the belief also that the system of truth taught by our church, and the policy established by her in church extension, are in order to the highest development of that now degraded people—hereby declares that, in its judgment, it is the duty of the Presbyterian Church, as patriots, as philanthropists, as Christians, at once to enter upon and vigorously cultivate the field that God has opened before them.

Resolved, 2. That a Committee consisting of nine ministers and nine ruling elders be appointed by this Assembly, to be styled the General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen, and whose location shall be in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., to whom shall be committed, during the existence of present exigencies, and until the Assembly shall otherwise order, the religious and educational interests of so many of that people as may be brought under their influence.

Resolved, 3. That the members of this Committee be arranged in three classes, consisting each of three ministers and three elders, the places of the members of the first class to be vacated at the termination of one year, those of the second class at the expiration of two years, and those of the third class at the expiration of three years, so that these ministers and these elders

may be elected each for the full term of three years, every year after the present.

Resolved, 4. That the Committee be directed to organize the third Wednesday of June next, at ten o'clock, A. M., in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg, Pa., and that the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly be directed to give official notice to each of his appointment. And thereafter the said Committee shall hold its annual meeting on the third Wednesday of June, at ten o'clock, A. M., in the city of Pittsburg, and a majority of its members shall always be a quorum for the transaction of business.

Resolved, 5. That the Committee be empowered to receive, hold, and disburse all funds that may be contributed by the church and by individuals to the end contemplated; to employ such missionaries and teachers, and to secure such buildings as to them may seem necessary; and, in general, to take supervision of the whole field, yet so as not to interfere in their operations with the work already committed to the different Boards of the church.

Resolved, 6. That to this Committee be referred the overture of the Presbytery of Leavenworth, and the memorial on the establishment of the "Lincoln Memorial College," with directions to consider the whole subject of the policy of the church in reference to the education of the African race, and report to the next Assembly.

Resolved, 7. That the Committee be empowered to make such temporary arrangements for the higher instruction of the freedmen during the current year, as to them may seem necessary.

Resolved, 8. That this Committee, as fast as in their judgment they deem it consistent with the interests of the cause committed to them, be and hereby are directed to transfer to the Boards of the church such parts of their work as may belong to the specific objects of their several Boards.

Resolved, 9. That until the organization of the Committee, the existing committees be directed to continue the supervision and direction of the work as already inaugurated by them, and that they be instructed, upon their organization thereof, to transfer to them all papers, documents, property and moneys then in their hands, or under their control pertaining to their work.

Resolved, 10. That two pages of the *Home and Foreign Record* be set apart to the use of the Committee.

The Committee recommended as the Assembly's Committee on Freedmen the following ministers and ruling elders:

Ministers—Rev. Messrs. Breed, Nixon, Colt, Logan, Howard, Paxton, Wilson, Allison, and Murray.

Ruling Elders—Messrs. McKnight, Cameron, McCord, Bakewell, Patterson, Leonard, and Greyson.

This report was adopted, and on a subsequent day Dr. Wood, from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported on the memorial of John A. Jacobs, Esq., of Kentucky, in relation to his offer of $5,000, to found an institution for the education of freedmen, and with special reference to training suitable persons among them for the ministry. The memorialist requests that, as certain preliminaries are to be arranged, the whole matter be referred to a special committee, of which the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., shall be chairman, which shall take it into consideration, and report to the next Assembly. As this is all the memorialist expects at present, the Committee on Bills and Overtures recommend the appointment and reference asked for.

The report was adopted, and the Moderator appointed the following committee: Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D. D., Rev. W. L. Breckinridge, D. D., Rev. R. L. Stanton, D. D., J. A. Jacobs, Esq., Rev. James Wood, D. D., A. E. Chamberlain, Esq., S. A. Bonner, Esq., and Professor O. Beattie.

As the Ashmun is an institution already established and in successful operation, organized for the special object contemplated in the foregoing resolution, it is to be hoped that the Committee may consider whether, in the present state of the country, it would not be wiser to concentrate the efforts of the church on that institution, than to attempt to found two or more seminaries for the same purpose.

Church Extension.

Rev. John G. Riheldaffer, chairman of the Committee on the Board of Church Extension, made the following report:

States that since April 1, 1864, seventy-two churches have applied for aid, amounting in the aggregate to $42,272.44;

adding to these the applications on file and undisposed of, the Board had under consideration during the year one hundred and fourteen applications, asking for $64,382. During the year, fifteen applications, asking for $3,700, were stricken from the file, because they had not furnished the requisite information in the two years allowed for that purpose. There remained on file and undisposed of April 1, 1865, applications from thirty-six churches, amounting to $35,389. During the year appropriations were made for sixty-two churches, amounting in the aggregate to $24,127.26. Appropriations amounting to $2,662.50 were during the year withdrawn from eleven churches, which had not called for them in the two years to which they were limited. From April 1, 1865, fifty-three churches drew their appropriations, amounting to $17,694.26. In the ten years of the existence of the Board, appropriations have been made to five hundred and sixty-six different churches; eighty of these were aided by special appropriations, for which the Board took no responsibility. As nearly as can be ascertained, the remaining churches cost $976,577, or an average of $2,009.42 each. The balance unappropriated, on hand April 1, 1864, was $33,051.26. The receipts from all sources during this year were $38,796.98, of which sum $21,927.20 were from seven hundred and fifty-one churches. The available means therefore of the year were $71,848.24. The expenditures of the year were $20,326.42. Balance in hand April 1, 1865, $51,521.82. There were however unpaid at that time liabilities amounting to $27,473.17, leaving as the unpledged balance $24,048.65. Ten years of church extension work through this Board. In that time its receipts have been $252,366.89, and formal appropriations amounting to $203,316.27 have been made to five hundred and sixty-six different churches, being an average of $359.22 to each. For nearly eleven years prior to the organization of the present Board, the General Assembly conducted the work of church extension through a committee of the Board of Domestic Missions, and in that time made appropriations to three hundred and eighty-two churches, and received donations amounting to $68,544.06. Since 1844 the church has aided in the erection of nine hundred and forty-

eight different churches, and has raised $320,910.93 for that purpose.

The Rev. H. I. Coe, Secretary of the Board, said he considered the past year one of progress. The contributions have risen from $25,000 to $29,000. The number of churches aided from forty-seven to sixty-two. The appropriations have risen 122 per cent. over the appropriations of last year. So that notwithstanding the civil war our work has kept pace, and more than kept pace, with our expectations and hopes. We need your contributions, brethren, but not more than we need your prayers for this Board, that it may have wisdom to direct all its affairs aright.

Board of Publication.

Dr. Howard, from the Committee on the Board of Publication, submitted the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Board of Publication, report: That they have examined the Report of the Board, and the minutes of the Board and of the Executive Committee, and recommend the approval of these minutes, and respectfully submit the following resolutions as an expression of their judgment in relation to this important enterprise of the church.

Resolved, 1. That every successive year affords additional evidence that the Board of Publication is a most efficient agency in disseminating and defending Divine truth, and whilst the General Assembly rejoices in the increasing usefulness of the Board, it approves of the fidelity, discretion, and vigour with which its affairs are conducted.

Resolved, 2. That it is specially gratifying to the Assembly that the Board, in obedience to the calls both of piety and of patriotism, has continued to make liberal contributions of its publications to the army and navy, to the sick and wounded soldiers and sailors in our hospitals, to military prisoners, and to many among those whom God, in his righteous providence, has delivered from bondage, and affectionately urges upon the churches the importance of a still more liberal co-operation in a work which, in itself, is so excellent, and which has been so signally favoured by God.

Resolved, 3. That the endeavours of the Board to furnish the children and youth of our church and country with a literature not only adapted to interest them and beget a love of reading, but to cultivate their taste, to improve their understandings, and, by the grace of God, to purify their hearts, meets with the heartiest approval of the Assembly; and it is recommended, with special emphasis, to all who love our beloved Zion, and desire the improvement and salvation of our dear youth, by every means to aid the Board in this most important department of labour.

Resolved, 4. That the Assembly, following the example of former Assemblies, renews its recommendation of the *Home and Foreign Record* and the *Sabbath-School Visitor*, and while it desires the Board to make these periodicals, especially the former, if possible more attractive, it urges our people to use every means to give them a wider circulation.

Resolved, 5. That the temporary increase of salaries authorized by the Board, on account of the continued increased cost of living, be approved; whilst, at the same time, the Assembly reminds the Board of the urgent necessity of husbanding its resources, and as speedily as possible, in regard to salaries and all other expenses, returning to the lower rates of former times.

Resolved, 6. That the General Assembly direct the attention of the Board to the importance of a more extensive distribution of the books, tracts and papers of the Board throughout all the churches of our connection, and urges every pastor and church session to see that the pure literature of our church, subject as it is in advance of issue to careful examination, is circulated in preference to any other. To this end prominent laymen and the superintendents and teachers of Sabbath-schools should be furnished with the well-arranged Descriptive Catalogue of the Board; and in many instances care should be taken to secure the occasional visits of a colporteur. While not depreciating the merits of other religious publishing societies, we are sure that the Presbyterian Board of Publication, judged by its works, has no superior; and it is due to the interests of religion and of the church, that preference should be accorded to it.

It has come to the notice of your Committee, that in the city of Cincinnati there is no full supply of our publications, and

even in the city of New York the tracts of our Board cannot be obtained unless directly ordered from Philadelphia. In all the central cities it would be well that there should be a depository, where all the publications of the Board could be procured; and if the Board itself has not the means at its command to secure this, the churches of these large cities should establish such depositories, that the members, and especially the youth of the church, may become more familiar with the products of our Presbyterian press, and be brought more thoroughly under the influence of the doctrinal and practical culture thus afforded.

Resolved, 7. That the Board be authorized to hold their annual meetings on the fourth Tuesday in June of each year, instead of the second Tuesday, as heretofore directed by a resolution of the Assembly.

The Rev. Dr. Schenck, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, upon invitation, addressed the Assembly. He remarked that the printed Report of the Board, now in the hands of members, gives a synopsis of its work. He would, therefore, select but a few points which he desired to press upon the attention of the Assembly. The members of the Board all feel grateful for the success of the past year—a year during which an advance has been made in every department of the Board's work; and it has received greater evidences of favour from pastors and churches than ever before.

The Board has during the past year issued fifty new volumes, besides many tracts and smaller publications. He would call attention to the new alphabetical and descriptive catalogue of the Board's publications—a neat volume of about five hundred pages—now in the hands of members.

He would first direct attention to the recent additions made by the Board to its Sabbath-school literature. We feel that this department of our work greatly needs the increased attention of our churches. Many painful facts bearing upon this subject come constantly to his knowledge. Manuscripts are often rejected by us because there is not enough religion—enough of Christ in them. Yet these same manuscripts go to other publishers and societies. They are published; they become popular. He has even seen them in the libraries of our own Sabbath-schools. Yet many of these books contain teach-

ings directly antagonistic to our faith. He therefore besought ministers and elders to endeavour to circulate *our own books.* We endeavour to teach our children our own faith and the doctrines taught in the catechisms and standards of our church.

The Board has had before it the question of employing fiction and narratives in its Sabbath-school publications. At first, as you are aware, it adopted the rule of publishing no book that was not made up entirely of facts. But our books were not read, they remained unsold. Perhaps this was *one* extreme. Another is reading which tends to debauch and enfeeble the minds of children. We try to pursue a middle course. We reject everything like love tales of the sentimental novel style; everything that is unnatural and unreasonable. We try in this matter to follow the Saviour's example. He used parables. Bunyan wrote in allegory. We use narratives, conversations, incidents that are probable and natural, and founded on familiar things. And we are adding to these books month by month.

One word as to the *Sabbath-school Visitor.* Other societies publish their children's papers by thousands, and they are taken in Presbyterian Sunday-schools, where ours is never seen. We do not always get ours into our own schools, though it is just as good, and though we try to make it instructive and useful.

A few words as to distributions. During the year we have had in commission one hundred and twenty-six colporteurs—not as many as we wanted and would have employed. We want more men—men of sound health, ardent piety, and correct judgment, and we are ready to commission such. We ask you not to recommend to us feeble, indiscreet men.

We have had a little army of non-commissioned colporteurs. Officers, chaplains, hospital stewards and nurses, have engaged in this work voluntarily. It is estimated that at least seven hundred and fifty thousand soldiers have received our publications since the beginning of the war. And God has blessed this work in the conviction, conversion, and salvation, of these our beloved defenders. A great work has also been done in our hospitals. We constantly receive letters describing most touchingly the eagerness with which the sick in our hospitals stretch out their hands for the tracts and books taken to them. We have also supplied from thirty thousand to forty thousand

prisoners with religious reading. It has always been most gratefully received, and has deeply affected the minds and hearts of those who have received it, leading them to believe they were among men who loved, instead of hating them. We have received many a letter from rebel officers, thanking us, and saying:—"When we get home we will tell our people what has been done for us;" and I doubt not that in this way much has been done to make Southern men feel more kindly towards the North.

We have also supplied the two Committees on the Education of Freedmen with what they wanted, and have assured them that we would continue to supply them to the extent of our ability.

We have co-operated cordially with the Christian Commission, having given it sixty thousand volumes of our publications, and $2,000 worth, in addition, were voted to it a few days since.

He adverted to the great field now open to us in the South. Already demands come up from it for our publications, and we have three or four colporteurs there. We have one in New Orleans, one in Newbern, and another along the Southern coast. He hoped to be able to send a flood of our publications all over that country. Our Southern brethren, after their secession, organized a Southern Board of Publication. When the war broke out, we had $15,000 or $16,000 worth of stock in that section. This was gathered up and taken to Richmond. It was burned there when the city was evacuated, and now there is nothing there—none of our publications, except old ones, in the South. So, brethren, give us funds, that we may meet these pressing demands upon us. He closed by urging members to read the last Annual Report.

Board of Education.

The Rev. D. J. Waller, from the Committee on the Board of Education, presented the following report:

The Committee on the Annual Report of the Board of Education would respectfully report, that every facility has been afforded them for a thorough examination of the proceedings and financial condition of the Board. After perusal of its minutes, and careful consideration of the whole subject, your Committee are unanimously of opinion that the administration

of the officers of this important arm of the church's service has been faithful, efficient, and judicious.

Having reached this conclusion, the Committee were startled, and deeply grieved, by the announcement that the Corresponding Secretary of this Board, Rev. William Chester, D. D., had been removed by death. His labours and his life were terminated on Tuesday afternoon of the present week, in the city of Washington. We fondly anticipated meeting him on the floor of this Assembly; but alas! his familiar form shall be seen and his voice be heard no more in earthly courts.

The interests of the Board have been much less injuriously affected by the great rebellion than might have been feared. Yet we hope the return of peace will bring a brighter day of prosperity to this, in common with all the organizations of Christian effort.

Your Committee would most respectfully recommend the following resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That the Assembly commend the Board of Education to the confidence and renewed liberality of all our churches.

Resolved, That Christian parents are exhorted renewedly and prayerfully to consider their duty to the Lord in training their children for his service in the ministry of the gospel.

Resolved, That the Board be charged by the Assembly with the duty of looking carefully over the claims of the colleges which may apply for aid or endowments, and in view of their location and prospective success and usefulness, to recommend to Christian liberality only those which, in the deliberate judgment of the Board, give encouraging promise of speedy and permanent usefulness.

Resolved, That the Assembly earnestly recommend to our congregations in which circumstances will permit, the establishment of parochial schools. And for the encouragement of such, the Board is hereby directed to send a copy of its last Annual Report to each church session in our connection.

Resolved, That in view of the marked manifestation of God's favour and blessing upon the observance in the past, that this General Assembly recommend that all our churches unite with other Christian bodies in setting apart the last Thursday in February as a day of prayer for the outpouring of the Holy

Spirit upon our children and youth, and especially upon those assembled in the schools, colleges, and all institutions of learning in our land; and that a collection be taken on that day for the College Fund of the Board.

Mr. Waller remarked that, in behalf of the Committee, he would briefly call the attention of the Assembly to two—and only two—features of the Report. The first was the resolution on the recommendation of colleges by the Board. We all feel that it is a great evil, and one from which the church has severely suffered, to plant colleges unnecessarily. In this way we get many of sickly growth. Some overlooking seems necessary, by which those promising to be useful, and only such, may be recommended for endowment. The second feature was the subject of parochial schools. This is an important matter, and one to which the attention of church sessions should be more generally directed. Hence the recommendation of the circulation of the last Annual Report of the Board. Many of our elders never see these reports.

Rev. Thomas McCauley, Assistant Secretary of the Board, was then invited to address the Assembly. He said:—Mr. Moderator, I thank the Assembly for its kindness in changing the order of the day for my convenience. An overwhelming providence necessitates me to represent the Board of Education upon this occasion. When I parted from Dr. Chester in Philadelphia, as he was leaving for Washington, he said, "I will meet you at the Assembly in Pittsburg." I was greatly surprised to hear from him that he would be unable to be present at the opening session. "But," said he, "get matters for our Board in train, and I will be there to attend to the public presentation of the cause." You all know how we were startled yesterday by the announcement that he died in the city of Washington, on Tuesday afternoon, at half-past three o'clock, of typhoid pneumonia. [The speaker here paid an affecting tribute to the memory of the late venerable Corresponding Secretary of the Board.]

In reference to the report and resolutions, he would not detain the Assembly at length, but he would call attention to two points. The first was, the number of candidates for the ministry. It is true that we can congratulate ourselves that

this Board has sent over three thousand men into the ministry. But the number of candidates has been less during the last than in the preceding year. Why is this? Evidently because our young men do not receive a proper presentation of the claims of the ministry upon them, and of their duty to enter it. When we call to mind the number of our young men who have entered the army, have we not a right to expect the church to appeal to parents to instruct and teach their children that the claims of the gospel ministry upon them are urgent? Will you not go home and press this matter upon them, that the increase in the number of our candidates may be as great as the demands of the country are urgent? A mother, when condoled with on the loss of two sons, who had died in the service of their country, replied that she had a *third*, whom her country could have if it needed him! Christian parent, have *you* no son for Christ? Will you not urge the claims of the ministry upon your sons? I do not mean to lay down the rule that every converted and pious young man should enter the ministry; but I *do* mean that its claims should be earnestly presented to every one with suitable qualifications for the office.

My second point is: The duty recommended to be imposed upon the Board in the way of recommending institutions of learning. The difficulty is just here: Every congregation or community which thinks that its field demands an institution feels that it has a right to demand a recommendation from the Board, and to hold it responsible for its endowment. So it comes for our recommendation. Heretofore we have not felt it our province to give such sanctions. We have thus been brought somewhat in contrast with the Western College Society, which endorses or disapproves as its judgment dictates. This is a grave and important question. By this resolution you give us a right to say what institutions shall be allowed to apply to our churches for aid, and what shall be denied that privilege.

The past year has been one of unusual prosperity. Our finances were never in a better condition, and so it is with our schools and colleges. During the year appropriations have been made to twenty-four institutions, with 2000 students. We could just as easily have disbursed $50,000. Take away the contributions of one man, and our fund for schools and colleges has not however received $2000. Could we increase

our interest in this work, we could effectually occupy the destitute fields before us. Let us arise and address ourselves to this work; let us realize that God is giving us opportunities, and let us wipe away the reproach that is sometimes cast upon the Old-school Presbyterian Church, that it is not aggressive. We have not been loyal to our own system. Strip the Papacy of her school power to-day, and it would have no existence in a generation. *Our* machinery is better than hers. Let us use it, and accomplish what God has designed us to achieve.

Fund for Disabled Ministers.

The Committee on the Report of the Trustees of the Assembly, in relation to the Fund for Disabled Ministers, &c., would respectfully submit the following resolutions to the attention and consideration of this body:

Resolved, 1. That it is a matter for congratulation that each succeeding year shows a growing attachment on the part of our churches and members to this important cause of benevolence, which is manifested by increased contributions.

Resolved, 2. That we express our pleasure in view of the fact that our disabled ministers, and destitute widows and orphans of deceased ministers, have had their wants readily and cheerfully supplied by the officers of this fund, so far as proper applications for aid have been presented to them.

Resolved, 3. That the friends of this cause throughout our churches be encouraged to continue their liberality, inasmuch as the demand upon this fund will no doubt be considerably increased the present year.

Resolved, 4. That the report on this subject presented by the Trustees be appended to the Minutes of the Assembly, and be printed by the Board of Publication for the use of the churches and ministers.

On motion, Rev. Dr. Jones, the secretary of the Trustees, was invited to address the Assembly. He said he came to give an account of his stewardship, but had no time for extended details. The report of the Trustees would be sent to members, and he hoped they would do what is not always done—*read it.* The distributions have amounted, during the past year, to $17,530—an excess of $4570 over any previous year. Aid

has been afforded to fifty-eight widows, forty-three ministers, and four families of orphans—in all to four hundred persons. He had letters from disabled ministers and widows, with large families of children, expressing their gratitude for the aid afforded them. He noticed the fact that increased contributions to the Permanent Fund evinced an increased interest in the work, and noticed the liberal conditional offers of several benevolent persons to that fund. Although those propositions had not met with the favour expected, he hoped they would be more favourably received. This fund is already exerting a good influence in inducing many of our ministers to engage in domestic missionary work, who would not otherwise do so, for fear that, when broken down, their families and themselves would be left in poverty. They now know they will be provided for. The Trustees are more and more confirmed in the opinion that the present method of raising and disbursing these funds is the best that can be adopted. It was approved by the last Assembly. The Assembly can have no conception of the amount of relief afforded in this way, and he earnestly invoked an active and extended co-operation.

Foreign Missions.

The Rev. Dr. Bannard presented the following report from the Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions:

The Standing Committee on the Board of Foreign Missions respectfully report to the Assembly that their examination of its records impresses them with the conviction that the church is called to devout thanksgiving to God for his special favour to this cause. The past year has been marked by extreme anxiety and threatened embarrassment, and also by hopeful progress and happy deliverances. No operations of the Board have been suspended, no missionaries recalled from their fields nor detained at home, as seemed at one time probable; but, on the other hand, the work has gone forward, though in some cases on a restricted scale. All who have been ready have been sent forth, the claims of the Board have been met, and the year ended with a small surplus in the treasury. Friends abroad, and the churches at home, have contributed with unprecedented liberality to its funds, so that a larger amount has

been received than in any previous year of its history, while its affairs have been conducted with the marked prudence, economy, and skill, which have prevailingly characterized its official management. For these things the Assembly is called to thank God, while it ascribes to him all the glory.

The report also calls for a devout recognition of the hand of God in the removal by death of an unusual number of the efficient friends and servants of the Board—two of them prized and faithful missionaries, who fell suddenly at their posts by the hand of violence—two of them valued members of the Executive Committee, and another the first corresponding secretary of the Society which was the germ of this Board, and who continued its warm friend to the close of his long and honoured life. While the Assembly rejoices in the marked favour shown this cause during the year, they also mourn the loss of these and others of its active friends and faithful labourers.

In view, further, of the condition and claims of this Board, as indicated by its Report, the Committee recommend the following action to the Assembly:

Resolved, 1. That the work of Foreign Missions calls for *expansion*. The results achieved encourage the church to greater efforts. The success secured imposes the necessity of more labourers and larger expenditures. Past retrenchment demands liberal outlays now that our civil war is ended. The prayers and wants of our brethren in the field, the field itself white to the harvest, the loss occasioned by age, infirmity and death among its labourers, all appeal for an increase of men and means; while the voice of God's providence, in his favour to this work, clearly says to his church, "Go forward."

Resolved, 2. That the contributions of the church the past year have proved her ability to sustain this cause with increased liberality in the future. Her resources have multiplied as her bounty has abounded. While she has responded with a generous hand to the many and pressing calls of the home and foreign field, especially for the army, God has fulfilled his promise to "them that honour him with their substance," and thus placed at her disposal larger means, and encouraged her to larger liberality.

Resolved, 3. That the promptness, energy, and abundance with which our young men have come forward during the past year to engage in our armies for the defence of our nation in its war against rebellion, should encourage Christians to pray for that increased devotion of our sons to the service of Christ, which is demanded to provide ministers and missionaries to go into the fields which are now open to hear the gospel. And it is our earnest hope that the church may testify her gratitude to God for the great deliverances and blessings which he has vouchsafed to our nation by increased efforts for the extension of Christ's kingdom in foreign lands.

Resolved, 4. That the General Assembly is impressed with the vital necessity of fervent and effectual prayer for the Holy Spirit to give success to the agencies employed by this Board for the spread of the gospel. The truth is preached, the seed sown, schools planted, churches formed, and the Bible distributed; but what is needed beyond all other things, and to give effect to all the plans pursued, is the mighty power of God's Spirit. The efficacy of prayer for home interests, as well as the Divine promise, encourages the church to more importunity for God's blessing on the work abroad; while all the interests of that work, and all the labourers in it, unite in the entreaty, "Brethren, pray for us!"

The Moderator, being Corresponding Secretary of the Board, was invited to address the Assembly. He would not detain the Assembly by any extended statements, but would touch briefly upon one or two points only. And the first is one which comes up in all our thoughts. We say never before was it the deeper duty of the church to put forth efforts to spread the gospel among the whites and freedmen of the South. That is true, and these objects do not conflict. We are called to both. Missionary piety—that which brought our Lord from heaven—will alone save the church. And yet we are doing one hundred-fold more to spread the gospel at home than abroad. Our missionary work embraces all kinds of evangelistic labour—education, church extension, publication, and missions—and the people abroad have few friends to plead for them. But foreign missions are popular, we say. So they are with some—others call them fanatical.

It is also true that we are called to enlarged efforts abroad. Four years ago we felt this. Then everything looked gloomy. It seemed as if we were to be overtaken in a storm, and we reefed sails. From that day to this we have not been without anxiety. Yet, praise to God's grace, the work has gone forward, in some respects more prosperously than ever. The result is a call for a great enlargement of our efforts. [He here read a letter from the Rev. Mr. Mackey, of Corisco, Africa, urgently appealing for additional labourers, for the purpose of occupying new stations.] Brethren, we should hear this call of God's providence. We need more labourers also in New Grenada, Brazil, and other countries. After all, what are five or six millions in our country, compared with the millions in Siam, India, and China? I do not wish to make an argument on this subject. I merely lay the facts before you.

We were touched to tears as a brother alluded to the graves of our brethren in the South, calling us to preach the gospel there. But surely the bones of those who have left the endearments of home to preach the gospel to the heathen, have linked us to India and China and other lands, and call us to preach Christ there also. I would like to speak upon the subject of training a native ministry, and of establishing native schools, but time will not permit. Not at all satisfied with what he had said, he would leave the subject, with the remark, that we must enlarge our efforts, respond to the calls of Providence, and move forward.

Domestic Missions.

The Rev. J. C. Lord, D. D., from the Committee on the Board of Domestic Missions, presented the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Board of Domestic Missions, would represent to the General Assembly, that, in their judgment, no report since the organization of this Board has been fraught with deeper interest, or furnished more satisfactory evidence of the wisdom and vigour with which its affairs have been prosecuted. It is manifest that the Board have been mindful of the signs of the times, and have been preparing to meet the enlarged responsibilities which God, in his wondrous providence toward our beloved land, has devolved upon them.

The Committee recommend the adoption, by the Assembly, of the following resolutions, viz.

1. That in view of the vast field for missionary labour opened up before the church by the termination of the war, and the re-establishment of the government, the Assembly enjoin upon the churches under their charge, renewed effort and increased liberality to meet this great enlargement of the missionary work to which God in his providence so manifestly calls them; and particularly, by every means in their power, to increase the number of labourers in this field, now white for the harvest, and the occupation of which is hindered more by a deficiency of men than of means.

2. That the Assembly approve of the action of the Board in the extra appropriation of twenty-five per cent., which they have been enabled to send to our missionaries at a time when it was demanded by their necessities, and when their faithful and devoted labours in their distant fields were under the pressure of a monetary crisis now happily passed.

3. That this General Assembly direct the Board of Domestic Missions to take prompt and effectual measures to restore and build up the Presbyterian congregations in the Southern States of this Union, by the appointment and support of prudent and devoted missionaries.

4. That none be appointed but those who give satisfactory evidence of their loyalty to the national government, and that they are in cordial sympathy with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in her testimony on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom.

5. That special efforts be made to instruct and evangelize, and gather into churches, on a credible profession of faith, the coloured population.

6. That in view of the extensive and urgent demand for pious and loyal ministers, elders and teachers in the Southern States, such be earnestly recommended to direct their course to that now opening and inviting field, as presenting a loud call from the Lord Jesus Christ to pass over and help to rebuild that part of the American Zion which has been so sadly laid waste by the rebellion and civil war.

7. That the Board of Domestic Missions be and are hereby authorized to substitute the word *Home* for Domestic, in title of said Board, and take the measures necessary to secure from the Legislature of Pennsylvania a change in the charter.

8. The Committee would further respectfully report, that agreeably to the order of the General Assembly, the books of the Board have been presented to them, and examined and approved.

The Rev. Dr. Lord did not desire to consume time, but would briefly advocate the principles of the report. Divine Providence has now opened before this Board such a field as the world never saw before, and yet he felt that it was one of great complication and difficulty. He alluded to the ignorance of the slave population. Their masters never objected to the presentation of the word of God to their slaves; and the inculcation of moral truth, unless in some rare cases. Yet this oral instruction was not enough. These persons now need something of a different character. And then there is a white population at the South which needs the gospel. They have never had it. The system of domestic slavery prohibited this. He never heard any harm of these men. They are seldom seen in courts. They are courageous—Southern men *are* courageous—and they have proved their courage on many a hard-fought battle-field. Their claims upon us are at least equal to those of the blacks. I think our duty is—1st. To the whites. 2d. To the blacks. But the whole field is now open, and we must attend to both. I understand—though I cannot vouch for the fact—that our New-school brethren have just directed ten pastors of their communion to enter this field. The work of this Board seems almost, if not quite, equal to that of the Board of Foreign Missions.

A few words as to the resolution specifying the qualifications of domestic missionaries sent South. The church looks to the Assembly for guidance and direction in this matter, and we should move in it. We should send none but loyal men—men heartily in sympathy with us and our utterances. We want no men who sympathize with the monstrous doctrines, practices, and teachings of the South. I thought I would not,

but I will read an extract from a tract which I have in my possession. But I will not give the name of the author. The tract was published by the Evangelical Tract Society, Petersburg, Virginia. Its number is 215, and its title is, "Our Danger and our Duty." Dr. Lord then read the following extract:

"Public spirit will not have reached the height which the exigency demands, until we have relinquished all fastidious notions of military etiquette, and have come to the point of expelling the enemy by any and every means that God has put in our power. We are not fighting for military glory; we are fighting for a home and for a national existence. We are not aiming to display our skill in tactics and generalship; we are aiming to show ourselves a free people, worthy to possess, and able to defend the institutions of our fathers. What signifies it to us how the foe is vanquished, provided it is done? Because we have not weapons of the most approved workmanship, are we to sit still and see our soil overrun, and our wives and children driven from their homes, while we have in our hands other weapons that can equally do the work of death? Are we to perish, if we cannot conquer by the technical rules of scientific warfare? Are we to sacrifice our country to military *punctilio?* The thought is monstrous. We must be prepared to extemporize expedients. We must cease to be chary, either about our weapons or the means of using them."

Dr. Lord continued. We must have men purged of such sentiments as these, and must use extraordinary and special efforts to occupy this field. The North has paid millions of money, and poured out rivers of blood, in behalf of the poor men—white and black—of the South, and now we must give them the gospel.

It was the decided conviction of the Committee that the care of the Freedmen, for a time at least, should not be left to the Board of Domestic Missions, but to a committee acting in coöperation with it. And the general opinion of the Committee was, that such committee should be located at Pittsburg.

The Rev. Dr. Janeway, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, by request, next addressed the Assembly. He remarked

that, after writing a long report, he did not feel like making a long speech. He would briefly state a few facts. The Board has recently appointed an exploring agent to visit the South and South-west, and collect and report facts and the condition of matters there to the Board, that it may be able to act intelligently. We do not intend to commit ourselves to questions of policy as to church property. The churches at New Orleans and other places are held in trust, to be disposed of hereafter as may seem right and proper. Dr. Palmer's church is in this condition. The receipts of the Board during the last year were within three thousand dollars of what they were during any year when the Southern churches were acting with us. Our great want is *men*. Our New-school brethren took three men from one Presbytery, and sent them to California, while we cannot get men for the same field and others in that section of the country. Offers are made to support men, if we will only pay their expenses out. Yet we do not get them. What, under such circumstances, can we do?

Dr. W. L. Breckinridge said he had no objection to the fourth resolution, so far as concerns the qualifications of missionaries to be sent South, but he was opposed to all interfering with church property. Property secured to us must be ours,—what legally belongs to others is theirs. To obviate this difficulty, Mr. Preston moved to substitute the word "congregations" for "churches" in the third resolution, so that it might be understood that the people, and not buildings, were contemplated. This amendment was adopted. As was also that proposed by Dr. Monfort, to substitute the words "restore and build up" for the word "reclaim." The Rev. Mr. Allen, of Nashville, argued strenuously in support of the resolution. He spoke feelingly of the desolation of the Southern churches, and insisted that none but loyal men could be usefully employed in their restoration. Dr. F. Buel urged the claims of California on the attention of the Board, and the Rev. Mr. Adams, of Connecticut, presented New England as an important field for Presbyterian effort. He referred to the liberality and energy of the Unitarians in disseminating their sentiments, and the numerous infidel tracts issued from the Eastern States, to prove the necessity of

the friends of truth directing their efforts to that quarter. With regard to the fourth resolution, C. A. Preston, Esq., said he did not wish it to be understood that the Kentucky delegation were opposed to it; he was in favour of it, heart and soul. "What," he asked, "had so alienated Northern and Southern people and separated churches? If we had never had a disloyal ministry, we should have been saved from the horrors of the rebellion." As to the question what is loyalty, Dr. John C. Lord said it was defined in the resolution before the house to be "Cordial sympathy with the Presbyterian church in her testimony on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom." Dr. S. R. Wilson, of Kentucky, made a powerful argument against the resolution under debate. In his introductory remarks, he pronounced a glowing eulogy on the late Dr. J. H. Thornwell, the supposed author of the tract published by the Evangelical Tract Society, Petersburg, Va., quoted by Dr. Lord. He denounced the interpretation put upon that tract as favouring assassination, as utterly unauthorized and slanderous. In explanation of the passage cited by Dr. Lord, he quoted the following paragraph, which stands in immediate connection with it, and which he contended shows that nothing was intended by the author beyond the use of the authorized mode of warfare. The paragraph reads thus:

"The end is to drive back our foes. If we cannot procure the best rifles, let us put up with the common guns of the country; if they cannot be had, with pikes, and axes, and tomahawks; anything that will do the work of death is an effective instrument in a brave man's hand. We should be ready for the regular battle or the partisan skirmish. If we are too weak to stand an engagement in the open field, we can waylay the foe, and harass and annoy him. We must prepare ourselves for a guerrilla war. The enemy must be conquered, and any method by which we can honourably do it must be resorted to. This is the kind of spirit which we want to see aroused among our people. If we cannot meet the enemy in the plain, we must betake ourselves to the swamps and the mountains, from whence we can pounce upon him at an unexpected moment. We must imitate the prowess of such patriots as Marion, Sumter, and Davie."

He objected to the resolution, that it made the Executive Committee of the Board the judge of loyalty. What standard was to regulate their judgment? What was loyalty at one time, is disloyalty at another; and what was loyalty in the judgment of one man, was disloyalty in the judgment of another man. In illustration of this vacillation and uncertainty, he referred to the fact that Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, whose devotion to the country no man doubts, in 1861, as chairman of a committee of the Synod of Kentucky, introduced a resolution, which the Synod adopted, pronouncing the action of the Assembly of that year, on the state of the country, to be "contrary to the word of God, as that word is interpreted in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church;" and that being purely political, it was incompetent to a spiritual court, as well as injurious and divisive in its tendency. He also adduced the fact that the present Attorney-General of the United States, appointed by Mr. Lincoln, and retained in office by President Johnson, signed an address to the people of Kentucky in favour of maintaining an independent position, neither with the government nor with the seceding States; but in case an attempt was made to coerce the Southern States, then they should immediately take up arms against the government. This was loyalty in Kentucky in 1861. On the other extreme, he referred to the declaration of Dr. Musgrave, in the Assembly of 1864, to the effect that "he fully justified the government in all they had done in the way of military arrests, orders, and restraints;" which would seem to imply that his standard of loyalty, at least for himself, was not merely fidelity to the government, but approbation of all its acts. With such divergent views as to what loyalty is and requires, the speaker urged that it was wrong to commit the power of decision to any committee. He further objected that hitherto the rule was that the Board should appoint as missionaries—provided they had the means—those recommended by the Presbyteries, but now a new and invidious rule was to be adopted, and this rule operates unequally. If loyal men only are to be sent to the South, why should not the same rule be applied to the North? Besides, the resolution gives the Committee an inquisitorial power, calling upon them to sit in judgment, not only on overt acts, but on thoughts and

feelings; and exalts a conclave of half a dozen men in Philadelphia above all the presbyteries of the church. For these and other reasons, Dr. Wilson not only opposed the resolution, but after its adoption, entered his protest against it on the minutes, in which he was joined by Messrs. Robert Morrison, Rutherford Douglass, and W. Scott Harbison.

There does not seem to us to be any real objection to the resolution in question, except that it is unnecessary and likely to give needless offence. Some discretion must, of necessity, be lodged in the hands of every appointing Board; and every such body must act on the rule of sending men into fields to which they are suited, and in which they are likely to be useful. No sane man would send, even before the rebellion, such a man as Dr. Palmer to labour in New England, nor such an one as Wendell Phillips to preach in South Carolina. No matter how orthodox or zealous such men might be, they could not be useful among those who refuse to listen to them. We take for granted that the Board of Domestic Missions, without any such instruction from the Assembly, would be very slow to send into the Southern States any men who would labour to keep alive dissatisfaction with the government, and to fan the dying embers of the rebellion.

Union and Reunion.

The subject of promoting a greater degree of unity of fellowship and action among evangelical denominations was introduced before the Assembly.

Rev. Dr. West, after reading the proceedings and resolutions of a public meeting held in the city of Pittsburg, on the evening of the 22d May, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the following committee be appointed to act in concert with other committees similiarly appointed by other evangelical denominations, for the purpose of giving expression to our desire for *more visible fellowship*, and for securing a *more vigorous co-operation* in the defence of Protestant Christianity, as against the encroachment of Roman Catholicism and infidelity in our land:

New York—Rev. Dr. Rice, Robert Carter; Philadelphia—Rev. Dr. Breed, John McArthur; Brooklyn—Rev. Dr. West,

Professor Eaton; Jersey City—Rev. Dr. Imbrie; Newark—Rev. Dr. Craven, William Rankin, Jr.; Princeton—Rev. Dr. Green, Professor Stephen Alexander; Baltimore—Rev. Dr. Dickson; Pittsburg—Rev. Dr. Paxton, J. D. McCord; Allegheny City—Rev. Professor Wilson, Hon. Robert McKnight; Cincinnati—Rev. Dr. Andrew, A. E. Chamberlain; Danville—Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge; Covington—Elder C. A. Preston; St. Louis—Rev. Mr. Niccolls, Charles D. Drake; Chicago—Rev. Dr. Lord, Charles Crosby; Buffalo—Rev. Dr. Lord, Henry Howard; Washington—Rev. Dr. P. D. Gurley.

Dr. West did not desire to consume the time of the Assembly by remarks. He presumed the Assembly felt the importance of the subject. He briefly sketched the movements of the Papacy during the present century. France is to-day more thoroughly papal than ever before. In our own country copies of Strauss and Renan are everywhere found on ferry-boats and in railway cars, and Catholicism is more potent than it has ever been since our existence as a nation. It is strong at the extremities—its power is weakest at its heart. The prospect now is that it will ere long control the great State of New York, and the cry from all quarters is for a union of all evangelical denominations against our two-fold common enemy—Romanism and Rationalism. The church of God needs to be waked up to this matter.

Elder Herron gave an account of the rapid and alarming progress of Catholicism in Washington. The heart of the nation is in danger and must be cared for. He hoped the Committee would meet there.

The resolution was adopted.

Dr. Wood, from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported

Overture No. 8, from the Synod of the Pacific and several Presbyteries, on the subject of a reunion of the Old and New-school branches of the Presbyterian Church. The Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly reiterate their former expressions of fraternal feeling towards their brethren of the other branch of the Presbyterian Church, and their desire

for still more intimate relations, when the providence of God shall make it clear that this measure is expedient.

2. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, an attempt to force a general reunion before there is evidence by the action of the presbyteries, that the two branches of the church are fully prepared for it, will be likely to retard this result, and incur the danger of the formation of three bodies instead of two.

3. *Resolved*, That in order to strengthen the feeble missionary churches belonging to each, and enable them to become self-sustaining, the presbyteries under our care be recommended to take such action as to them may be deemed wise and expedient, [to unite those churches, and to permit them when so united to place themselves under the care of either Assembly, according as a majority of each united church shall elect, and also that they discourage the organizing of another church in a field already occupied by our brethren of the other branch, unless a second church can be sustained in that field without aid from the Board of Missions.*]

4. *Resolved*, That the essential condition of organic reunion is an agreement in Scripture doctrine and ecclesiastical order, according to the standards of the Presbyterian Church.

5. *Resolved*, That in the meantime fraternal intercourse, both personal and official, be encouraged between us and them, for the purpose of cultivating friendly feelings, and of learning, by a more intimate acquaintance, whether an organic reunion will probably be cordial and beneficial to the cause of Christ.

This is a satisfactory disposition of the subject. No one doubts that bodies which cordially agree in doctrine and order should, if circumstances permit, be bound together in ecclesiastical, organic unity. On the other hand, it seemed to be admitted on all sides in the Assembly, that where this cordial agreement does not exist, such organic connection is not only inexpedient but in violation of important scriptural principles. The only question, therefore, appears to be a question of fact. Do the Old and New-school churches so agree in doctrine and order as to make their union in one church expedient and obligatory? Some members of the Assembly are doubtless persuaded that such agreement does actually exist. We are of

* The clause in brackets was not adopted.

opinion that the majority of both the Old and New-school churches take a contrary view of the case. It is undeniable that the most trustworthy representatives of the public sentiment among our New-school brethren are opposed to any such union at the present time. It is also undeniable that men and doctrines which the Old-school strenuously endeavoured to subject to discipline before the division, have ever remained, and do still remain, uncensured and honoured in the New-school body. It is also undeniable that no formal, authoritative separation of Congregational and Presbyterian churches has been attempted or generally effected by that body. It is a fact, as we were informed by one of the oldest and most respected ministers of Western New York, that there are presbyteries in that region in which the Congregational element altogether predominates, and in the presbytery around him there was but one Presbyterian church. We are satisfied that any attempt to bring the two bodies together at the present time would not only reveal differences which would render such union impossible, but increase the difficulties already existing, and postpone the consummation which the enlightened friends of Presbyterianism have at heart.

Systematic Benevolence.

The Rev. J. K. Wight presented the report of the Standing Committee on Systematic Benevolence. The report expresses the gratitude of the Assembly, that during the past year increased contributions have been made to all the Boards of the church, and the conviction of the Committee that all that is necessary to a more successful prosecution of our work is the more manifest presence of the Holy Spirit, and an increase in the spirit of benevolence. The report then adverts to the melancholy fact, that of our 2600 churches, only 1500 have, during the past year, contributed to the Board of Foreign Missions; only 1270 to the Board of Domestic Missions; only 780 to the Board of Education; only 750 to the Board of Publication, (Colportage and Distribution Fund;) and only 690 to the Fund for Disabled Ministers. Our churches, containing 230,000 communicants, have given only $430,000—less than an average of $2 for each communicant—to all our church

Boards, while we have given an hundred times as much to support the national government. The report closes with three recommendations:—1. Frequent collections in our churches, and collections for the Boards, &c., at the times heretofore recommended by the Assembly, unless others are preferred. 2. Urges contributions by our Sabbath-schools to all our Boards. 3. That as only twenty-three such reports had been sent in this year, the Statistical Reports from Presbyteries of the number, &c. of churches contributing to benevolent objects be discontinued.

The report was adopted, ordered to be published in the Minutes, and printed separately in numbers sufficient to furnish one to each church member. It was also ordered, that each minister be requested to read it to his congregation on the Sabbath.

Theological Seminaries.

Dr. Monfort presented a report from the Committee on Theological Seminaries, containing the following special recommendation: 1. As to Princeton: (1,) That the salaries of the Professors be increased thirty-three per cent.; (2,) That the Board of Trustees be authorized to employ an agent to raise funds to repair scholarships, pay salaries, and for other purposes; (3,) That the Assembly approve the extension of the course of study from three to four years, and authorize the other Seminaries to make the same change, if they deem it expedient. 2. As to Danville: (1,) Advises that efforts be made to continue the exercises of the Seminary during the ensuing term; (2,) Assures the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of the approval of his course during the past three or four years; (3,) Expresses regret that the failure of the health of Drs. Breckinridge and Humphrey has compelled them to retire from the Seminary for a season, and advises that Drs. Landis and Jonathan Edwards be employed to supply their places temporarily. As to the other Seminaries the report has no special recommendations.

These recommendations were all approved and sanctioned by the Assembly, except that relating to the extension of the course of study in the Princeton Seminary to four years. The want

of time for the full discussion of that measure led to its being referred to the favourable consideration of the next General Assembly. The Rev. Dr. Green, of Princeton, spoke in support of the recommendation of the Committee. It was, he said, an acknowledged fact that the Presbyterian Church has always aimed at a high standard of ministerial education. This feeling was manifested by the action of the Assembly upon an overture in 1785. In 1799 there was action in the same direction, and from that day to this the attitude of the church has been the same. It has wished to have its ministers competent to stand at the head of their flocks. We have aimed to carry out the spirit of these deliverances, but now find ourselves unable to do so fully for want of time, and we have found ourselves driven to make this request, by the necessities arising in the course of instruction. Desiring our course of instruction to keep pace with the advance of science, we have been compelled to add study after study till it is no longer possible to pursue the course in three years. The labour that is necessary is too severe for the health of the students, and there are yet studies which should be introduced into the course. It has now become no uncommon thing for students to plead the number of their studies as an apology for deficiency in some.

It has become the settled policy of the church, superinduced upon its original policy, that some considerable portion of the term of study should be spent by the student in colportage and missionary work, and in practical training for efficient ministerial labour. The want of this was the original difficulty with many when seminaries were first started. The regret is, that the idea is not fully worked out by the church, and only by those students needing pecuniary assistance. If the vacation is to be a period of relaxation, it is too long; if it is to be devoted to the work intended, practical work, it is not. If our young men were sent to pastors, and employed by them during vacations, in such work as they could do, the results would be valuable. This was the idea; and the aim of those favouring this extension is to afford facilities for carrying it out. These long vacations were no part of the original plan, and the addition of another year is only, in effect, a restoration of the time of study to what it was before they were made part of the plan

of ministerial training. The constitutional rule, that students may be licensed after two years of study, is not affected by this extension. There is also a demand for this extension from students, many of whom complete their course at a time when they feel they are too young to undertake the duties of the pastoral work. They desire to study for another year. In fact, many of them do so; so that the adoption of the resolution will only give form to what has been for some time in practical existence.

Success of our National Arms and the death of President Lincoln.

Rev. Mr. Senour, Chairman of a Select Committee appointed to prepare a paper expressing the sentiments of the Assembly in view of the triumphs of our national arms and the assassination of President Lincoln, presented a report which was accepted; and, when it came up for consideration, gave rise to considerable debate. It was recommitted to the same Committee for modification, and when a second time before the house, it was objected to as still too long. Rev. Mr. Cross presented a substitute, which, with the report by Mr. Senour, were referred to a committee, consisting of Revs. Drs. Elliot, Green, W. Y. Brown, and ruling elders Ewing and Strong. This committee submitted the following paper:

This General Assembly, recognizing the special providence of Almighty God, the Ruler of nations and Redeemer of men, in all the events connected with the terrible civil war which for four years has desolated our land, would here record our devout thanksgiving and gratitude to Him, by whom "kings reign and princes decree justice," for his divine favour to us as a nation in filling the hearts of the loyal people of these United States with an inextinguishable love for our national Union, and an unconquerable resolution to preserve it:

In raising up a mighty host of valiant men, ready to give their lives in defence of our national government.

In blessing the various departments of that government in their work of organizing, equipping, and maintaining throughout the entire conflict, our vast army and navy.

In providing leaders of wisdom, courage, and skill, suited for every emergency.

In calling forth such unwonted benevolence, in promoting the physical comfort and spiritual welfare of our soldiers and sailors, and in bringing so many of them to a saving knowledge, as we trust, of the plan of salvation through a crucified Redeemer.

In bringing to confusion the counsels, and overwhelming the power of our enemies, and in crowning our arms with triumphant success.

We would also render hearty thanks to Almighty God, that in this crisis of our nation's history, he gave us, in Abraham Lincoln, a Chief Magistrate who acknowledged his dependence on him for wisdom and strength, and who eminently illustrated in his life and character the virtues of fidelity to official duty, integrity and uprightness, firmness of purpose, patient endurance, courage and hope in disaster, moderation in victory, sympathy with the suffering, and kindness to foes.

One who exhibited that wisdom, sagacity, and mercy in administering the affairs of the nation, which secured for him the confidence and esteem of friends, silenced the calumnies of enemies, and constrained from malignant opposers and rebels expressions of respect and admiration, and which will cause his name and memory to be honoured and revered by the pure and good in all time to come. While we deeply deplore the loss of such a Chief Magistrate, and bow in humble submission to that mysterious providence which permitted treason, as its culminating act of atrocity and wickedness, to terminate his life by the hand of an assassin, we would render devout thanksgiving to God that he was protected from all the machinations of his relentless enemies until he was permitted to see the power of the rebellion crushed, its strongholds repossessed, its conquered armies forced to surrender, the national honour untarnished by acts of barbarism or cruelty vindicated, the integrity of the Union preserved—that scheme of emancipation which he had the wisdom to devise and the courage to execute, made effective to the deliverance from bondage of four millions of slaves, for whose perpetual enslavement the rebellion was inaugurated—and peace, upon principles of righteousness and universal freedom, already dawning upon the land.

In closing this record we would invoke the Divine blessing upon our present Chief Magistrate, and would ask for him the

prayers of all Christian people, that he may be endowed with the fear of God, and with the spirit of wisdom and of a sound mind, and be enabled, through wise counsels and by just and prudent measures, to secure to this nation the full enjoyment of that peace which has been obtained at the price of so much blood; and we commend all our rulers and all the people, to the gracious favour of Him, who, by his recent providences, has given renewed assurance that though "clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

The paper was unanimously adopted, by a rising vote, and it was ordered that a copy be signed by the officers of the Assembly, and transmitted to the President of the United States.

The State of the Country.

This subject occupied a large portion of the time of the Assembly, and gave rise to protracted and excited debates. It was not introduced incidentally in the discussion of other subjects, but was formally presented in three different ways. First, a memorial was laid before the house, signed by some forty names of members of the Assembly, and other ministers and elders of our church, calling for the following action on the part of the Assembly, viz.

I. An order to all the presbyteries and church sessions under its care, requiring them to examine every minister and member (and take testimony, if need be) who may apply for reception into any presbytery or church from any presbytery or church in any of the said "Confederate States," or which may have been claimed as such by the so-called "Confederate authorities" on the following points:

1. Whether he has in any way, directly or indirectly, of his own free will and consent, and without external constraint, been concerned at any time in aiding or countenancing the authority claimed by the said "Confederate States," or in aiding or countenancing the war which they have waged against the government of the United States; and if it be found from his own confession, or from sufficient testimony, that he has been so concerned in one or both these respects, that he be

required to acknowledge and forsake his sin in this regard before he shall be received.

2. Whether he holds that the system of negro slavery in the South is a "Divine institution" and an "ordinance of God," as taught and practised in the said "Confederate States;" or holds to the doctrine of the Southern General Assembly "that it is the peculiar mission of the Southern church to conserve the institution of slavery," as there maintained; and if it be found that he holds either of these doctrines, that he be not received without renouncing and forsaking these errors, or either of them, as the case may be.

II. An order to all Synods under the care of the General Assembly, that, upon the application of any Presbytery to be received into any Synod, where such Presbytery is or has been connected with the Southern General Assembly, or where it or any of its members may have willingly countenanced the usurped authority or aided the said "Confederate States" in their war against the United States, such Synod shall examine all the members of such presbytery, and take testimony, if need be, upon the points before-mentioned relating to the application of individual ministers and members, and the reception of such presbytery, or any of the ministers thereof, by such synod, shall depend upon compliance with the conditions before mentioned relating to individual ministers and members who may apply to be received into any presbytery or church.

And furthermore, whereas, There are certain ministers who are still members of some of our presbyteries, and who, from sympathy with the rebellion or from disloyal acts, have voluntarily left some of the loyal States, or have been sent out of them, or from their places of residence therein by the civil or military authorities of the United States, some of whom have joined the armies of the rebellion, or have otherwise aided that cause; and others of whom are exerting a baneful influence through the press and in other ways against the peace and harmony of the country, and against the purity, peace, and unity of the church, while some of whom, in consequence of the acts of the General Assembly during the last four years upon slavery and the rebellion, have pronounced the Assembly "corrupt," "apostate," and "dissolved," as a bond of union

among the churches, and have thereupon pronounced the ministers, members, and lower judicatories of the church "absolved from their allegiance to the General Assembly," and denounced the said Assembly as having "covered itself with eternal infamy;" *And whereas*, There are ministers now holding pastoral relations and other positions of influence in some of our presbyteries, who countenance, defend, support, and propagate the aforementioned teachings concerning the General Assembly, thus openly violating their ordination vows in promoting insubordination to the most solemn decisions of the highest court of the church, and tending to bring its judicial authority into contempt in the eyes of the people of God, and to the great scandal of religion before the world, and thus disturbing the peace and threatening the unity of the churches, especially in some of the Border States;

And whereas, Since the recent disbanding of the rebel armies, many of their officers and soldiers have returned to their homes in the Border States, some of whom are officers and members in some of our churches, and who still, so far as any action of their church sessions is known, remain in good and regular standing therein, to the great scandal of religion, in consequence of their unrebuked public sins of treason, rebellion, and war against lawful civil authority, and to the great detriment of the purity, peace, and unity of the church.

And whereas, Some of our church sessions and presbyteries, perhaps by reason of doubt of their authority in the premises, or from fear of giving offence, or from other causes, are apparently delinquent in duty, and in danger of failing to meet their manifest obligations to the truth and to the adorable Head of the church;

Therefore, In order to strengthen the hands of all judicatories that may have occasion to act in such cases, and to secure the ends of justice, truth, and purity, the General Assembly is further respectfully requested to issue—

III. An order to all Church Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, where such irregularities and offences may now or hereafter exist, requiring them—

1. To bring all such offenders to justice, whether individuals or judicatories, before the proper church courts, in order that

they may acknowledge, repent of, and forsake their sins, and discharge their manifest duties; or, failing to do so, may be admonished, suspended, excommunicated, or deposed, as their offences or delinquencies may demand.

2. That where such notorious offenders are beyond the reach of any church judicatory to which they are amenable, either by having fled, or having been sent beyond the jurisdiction of the United States, or any of its civil or military authorities, or who may be within any of the said Confederate States, and in sympathy with, or aiding and abetting them in their rebellion and war against the United States, or who may heretofore have been so concerned, such judicatory shall take action, and declare upon its records that the functions and privileges of such persons are suspended, as church members and ministers, until their cases can be regularly issued; and if, after two years, they shall still remain beyond the reach of such judicatory, the names of all such persons shall be erased from its roll, and they shall thereupon no longer be deemed ministers or members of the Presbyterian Church under the care of, or in connection with, the General Assembly.

IV. An order requiring that, where any judicatory shall neglect or refuse to take action as herein directed, upon any of the offences hereinbefore mentioned, where such offences are brought to or may be within its knowledge and jurisdiction, or within the knowledge of any of its members; or where it shall neglect or refuse to make the examination herein required, when application is made for membership, as before stated, the judicatory next above shall require the delinquent judicatory to show cause for such neglect of, or disobedience to the injunctions of the General Assembly, and to take such action as the case may require; and, if deemed advisable, may report the case directly to the General Assembly.

V. An order requiring that a full record of all proceedings by any judicatory under any of these several orders of the General Assembly shall be kept, and a full report thereof shall be made each year to the judicatories having the power of review and control, or directly to the General Assembly.

This memorial was referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures.

The second mode in which the subject was introduced, was by an overture from the Presbytery of Richland, and from members of the Presbytery of Madison, asking the Assembly to drop from the roll the names of Synods, Presbyteries, and Ministers in the so-called Confederate States. In answer to this question, the Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended the adoption of the following minute, viz.

Whereas, During the existence of the great rebellion which has disturbed the peace and threatened the life of the nation, a large number of presbyteries and synods in the Southern States, whose names are on the roll of the General Assembly as constituent parts of this body, have organized an Assembly, denominated "The General Assembly of the Confederate States of America," in order to render their aid in the attempt to establish by means of the rebellion, a separate national existence, and to conserve and perpetuate the system of slavery, therefore,

Resolved, 1. That this Assembly regards the civil rebellion for the perpetuation of negro slavery as a great crime, both against our national government and against God, and the secession of those presbyteries and synods from the Presbyterian Church, under such circumstances and for such reasons, as unwarranted, schismatical, and *unconstitutional*.

2. That the General Assembly does not intend to abandon the territory in which *these churches are found*, or to compromise the rights of any of the church courts or ministers, ruling elders, and private members belonging to them, who are loyal to the government of the United States and to the Presbyterian Church. On the contrary, this Assembly will recognize such loyal persons as constituting the churches, presbyteries and synods, in all the bounds of the schism, and will use earnest endeavours to restore and revive all such churches and church courts.

3. The Assembly hereby declares that it will recognize as the church, the members of any church within the bounds of the schism, who are loyal to the government of the United States of America, and whose views are in harmony with *the doctrines of the Confession of Faith*, and the several testimonies of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of domestic slavery. And where any three ministers, who entertain the views above-mentioned, belong to the same presbytery, such ministers are hereby au-

thorized and directed to continue their organization as a presbytery, or any two such ministers are authorized to receive any minister of the same views, regularly dismissed to them, and thus continue their organization with the churches above described in the same bounds, in connection with this Assembly. But if a sufficient number are not found in one presbytery, they are authorized to unite with the loyal ministers and churches of one or more adjacent presbyteries, retaining the name of one or both such united presbyteries, as shall be deemed expedient. A similar course is also authorized with regard to synods.

4. In cases where there is not a sufficient number of loyal ministers and churches within a convenient district to form a presbytery, such ministers are directed to supply churches and other places around them, as God may open the way, with the preaching of the gospel; and such churches are exhorted to use all diligence to secure the stated means of grace, and both ministers and churches are directed to report to the next General Assembly what has been done in these respects, that further order may be taken by the Assembly in the premises, as the interests of Christ's cause may require.

5. The General Assembly furthermore gives counsel to the presbyteries and churches which may be revived and restored under the provisions of the above action, to treat with kindness ministers and churches, or parts of churches, who are disloyal, or who are not in sympathy with the former deliverances of the General Assembly on the subject of slavery, and to inform such persons of their readiness to receive them into ecclesiastical fellowship, when they properly acknowledge and renounce their errors.

6. The Board of Domestic Missions is hereby authorized and requested to give special attention to the Southern field, in providing missionaries and appropriating pecuniary aid, in order to carry into effect the measures contemplated in this minute. And the Board is also authorized to employ any loyal minister whose residence may be in the South as a missionary, provided he shall furnish satisfactory evidence of his fitness for the work, though circumstances may render it impracticable for him to obtain a Presbyterial recommendation.

This was adopted as above printed.

Thirdly, there was an overture from the Presbytery of California, asking what course was to be pursued in receiving ministers or church members from the rebellious States. To this the Committee at first proposed the following answer: "That the memorial (above-mentioned) be inserted on the minutes, and the orders asked for be adopted by the Assembly, and enjoined on the synods, presbyteries, and church sessions." Subsequently the Committee substituted the following paper:

I. The right of every presbytery to examine ministers asking admission into their body, as to their soundness in the faith has been long acknowledged and practised by our presbyteries, implies their right, by parity of reasoning, to examine them on all subjects which seriously affect the peace, purity, and unity of the church.

II. The exercise of this right becomes an imperative duty in the present circumstances of our country, when, after the crushing, by military force, of an atrocious rebellion against the government of the United States, for the perpetuation of slavery, many ministers who have aided and abetted this revolt may seek admission into presbyteries located in the loyal States. Therefore,

III. It is hereby ordered that all our presbyteries examine every minister applying for admission from any presbytery or other ecclesiastical body in the Southern States on the following points:

1. Whether he has in any way, directly or indirectly, of his own free will and consent, or without external constraint, been concerned at any time in aiding or countenancing the rebellion and the war which has been waged against the United States; and if it be found by his own confession, or from sufficient testimony, that he has been so concerned, that he be required to confess and forsake his sin in this regard before he shall be received.

2. Whether he holds that the system of negro slavery in the South is a Divine institution, and that it is "the peculiar mission of the Southern church to conserve the institution of slavery as there maintained," and if it be found that he holds either of these doctrines, that he be not received without renouncing and forsaking these errors.

IV. This injunction to presbyteries is in like manner applicable to synods, and it is hereby ordered that upon the application of any presbytery to be received into any synod where such presbytery is or has been connected with the Southern General Assembly, such synod shall examine all the members of said presbytery on the points above named, and the reception of such presbytery, or any of the ministers thereof, by such synod, shall depend upon their compliance with the conditions before-mentioned.

V. Church sessions are also ordered to examine all applicants for church membership by persons from the Southern States, or who have been living in the South since the rebellion, concerning their conduct and principles on the points above specified; and if it be found that of their own free will they have taken up arms against the United States, or that they hold slavery to be an ordinance of God as above stated, such persons shall not be admitted to the communion of the church till they give evidence of repentance for their sin, and renounce their error.

VI. The General Assembly give counsel to the several church courts specified in these orders, that in discharging the duties enjoined therein due regard be paid to the circumstances of the case, and that justice be tempered with mercy. Especially is this counsel given to churches in the Border States, where many impulsive and ardent young men, without due consideration, have been led away by their superiors, or seduced from their loyalty by their erroneous interpretation of the doctrine of State Rights. Such persons, though highly criminal, are far less so than their unprincipled and ambitious leaders. While in the treatment even of these the honour of religion ought to be fully vindicated, more tenderness may be properly exercised than duty requires or admits in dealing with their guides and deceivers. By kind and faithful instruction and admonition, and by the presence of the Holy Spirit, most of them, it is hoped, will be reclaimed from the error of their ways, and become loyal citizens and valuable church members.

VII. It is further ordered that if any minister or ministers belonging to any presbytery or presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly, have fled or been sent by civil or military authority beyond the jurisdiction of the United States, on

account of their disloyalty, or who may have gone for the same reason to any of the Southern States, and have aided in this rebellion, such presbytery or presbyteries shall take action on the subject, and unless they obtain satisfactory evidence of the repentance of such ministers, they shall declare and enter upon their records that they are thenceforth suspended from the functions of the gospel ministry until their cases can be regularly issued. And if, after two years, they shall still remain beyond the reach of such presbytery or presbyteries, the names of such ministers shall be erased from the roll, and they shall thereupon be no longer deemed ministers of the Presbyterian Church.

After some debate Mr. A. E. Chamberlain moved to substitute the "Memorial" for the paper offered by the Committee; that the Memorial be spread upon the minutes, and the orders asked for therein be made the orders of the Assembly. A motion to lay the motion of Mr. Chamberlain on the table was lost by a vote of 64 to 130; his motion was then adopted. This brought the Memorial again before the house. Subsequently however, on motion of Rev. Mr. Erskine, the Memorial was postponed, and the report of the Committee taken up, which was then adopted.

After its adoption, the Rev. Dr. Wood moved an amendment, as an independent proposition. He proposed to insert in Section V, defining the duties of Sessions, after the words "concerning their conduct and principles on the points above specified," the words "and to take cognizance also of members of their own churches who have offended in like manner."

To amend a paper after its adoption was certainly an extraordinary proceeding. If the house were dissatisfied with it, the proper course would be to reconsider the vote to adopt it, with a view to its amendment. This, however, was overruled, and Dr. Wood's motion discussed. It was sustained by himself, the Rev. Mr. Hart, (who maintained that the same rule ought to be applied to the Northern as to the Southern churches,) Dr. Howard and others, and strenuously opposed by Rev. Mr. Riheldaffer, Rev. C. H. Taylor, Dr. West, &c. This motion of Dr. Wood seems to have been rather more than the

house could bear, it called forth a severe rebuke from Judge J. K. Ewing, who said:

"Moderator, I hoped we were done with this question. I have been in many political conventions—and I wish you to understand they were Republican conventions, for I have never been in any other—yet I must say I have never before seen such a spirit of relentless persecution as is here manifested. Have we not had enough of this talk about loyalty? Are we not ready to quit and be done? I have heard of nothing else since I came into this Assembly. If the members of a church live in sin, it is the duty of the session to call them to account. It will be done, if sessions are loyal, without this action. If they are not, this action will do no good. It is useless—it is worse than useless—for its only tendency is to irritate and to drive away those whom we desire to see repent and return to the fold. Before asking them to come back, we prescribe the penance. It is useless to pass this amendment. Let the thing alone—let the thing alone, and give these brethren time."

The amendment was lost by a vote of, ayes 64, nays 83.

Popular bodies, whether ecclesiastical or secular, are in a great measure the organs of public spirit. They give utterance to the opinions, temper, and feelings of the communities to which they belong, and in which they act. This can hardly be avoided. Their members are members of the body politic. The life of the community is their life. They read the same papers, entertain the same opinions, and are animated by the same feelings. When, therefore, they come together, they speak and act under the same influences which control those around them. It is also a law of our nature that numbers increase excitement. A multitude of sparks, when combined, make a great heat. In all popular assemblies, in times of public agitation, we may expect violent language and extreme measures. The members may think themselves very independent, and very heroic, it may be, but they are none the less swayed by outside pressure, and made the organs of the spirit around them. We see the Baptist and Methodist conventions at the South bowing in prayer, rising, and unanimously endorsing the action of Southern politicians; giving utterance to the most extreme, and, to Northern minds, most

obnoxious opinions and unchristian feelings. We see even staid Episcopalians among the foremost and most violent in asserting Southern dogmas, the ministers in many cases going beyond the politicians in their zeal and extravagance. Southern Presbyterian Synods and General Assemblies, to the great sorrow and chagrin of their Northern brethren, have been among the foremost in the assertion of extreme Southern doctrines and in the manifestation of sectional animosity. Even men from the North living at the South, who were even avowed technical abolitionists, have, in many cases, become the most thorough-going advocates of the desirableness of slavery, and of the wisdom and rectitude of a war for its extension and conservation. Such is our poor human nature.

It would betray great self-ignorance and self-conceit, to assume that we here at the North, and our Northern Synods and Assemblies, are free from the operation of this law; that we are so elevated, so enlightened, so self-possessed, that we can rise above these disturbing elements, and think, speak, and act simply under the guidance of right principles, and of correct feeling. If we are disposed to cherish any such self-complacency, the experience of all northern conventions, whether of New-school or Old-school Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, or Episcopalians, would prove that we and our ecclesiastical bodies are as much swayed by the spirit of the time and of the community, as our brethren of the South. If we see and deplore the effects of this subordination in them, we should at least be charitable, from the fact, if not the consciousness, that we are in the same condemnation. It is easy to say that we are right and they are wrong. This in the present case is, no doubt, in a great measure, true. But it is not because we are right, that we go with those around us, any more than it is because the South is wrong, that Southern ecclesiastical bodies go with the people of whom they form a part. It is largely in both cases, because every man, and every body of men, are more or less subject to the controlling influence of public opinion, and of the life of the community to which they belong. It is nothing more, therefore, than what might be reasonably expected, if our late General Assembly should be found to have

been carried beyond the limits of propriety in their deliverances and acts.

It is obvious that the debates and some of the measures of the Assembly indicate the spirit of intolerance and impatience of diversity of opinion which are so apt to reveal themselves in times of excitement. It was even proposed to censure the Synod of Kentucky, because that body had expressed its disapprobation of the action of the previous Assembly, respecting slavery and the state of the country. Yet every member of the Assembly would, on reflection, readily admit that it is the right, not only of subordinate ecclesiastical bodies, but of the humblest member of the church, to express in respectful language their judgment on the acts of our highest court. This is a privilege which we all claim, and which we all freely exercise, and which no Presbyterian ever will give up. If, as citizens, we may express our opinions of the acts of Congress; if, in fact, those who desired to censure the Synod of Kentucky, did doubtless vehemently condemn those acts under the administration of Mr. Buchanan; if, before the division, when the New-school had the majority in the Assembly, the Old-school freely protested against many of their measures, surely no one can pretend that all men are now precluded from this liberty of judgment and freedom of speech. What would become of the state or the church, if minorities could not say a word in opposition to the acts of the majority. How long did the evangelical party protest, condemned publicly and privately, the course of the moderates in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland? It is not necessary to argue such a point as this, and its being called in question at all is an evidence how soon men in power, and under the pressure of strong feeling, forget the plainest principles of constitutional liberty and right.

Another illustration of this same tendency is found in the Assembly's making its own deliverances the test of orthodoxy and loyalty. Dr. John C. Lord said, that if Kentucky needed a definition of loyalty he would give it. It was "*cordial* agreement with the deliverances of the Assembly on doctrine, loyalty, and freedom." This amounts to saying, orthodoxy is my doxy. Yet not only individual members, but the Assembly itself insists in authoritative acts, and requires this agreement as

the condition on which the Southern ministers and presbyteries are to be received into our church. We are persuaded that not a member of the body, when he comes calmly to consider the matter, will hesitate to admit that the Assembly, in so doing, transcended its power. They allow their own members to protest against their acts, to enter their protests on the minutes; they cannot deny the right of inferior judicatories to record their dissent, nor hinder private ministers and members from condemning their action and arguing against it, and yet they declare agreement with it to be a condition of ministerial and church fellowship.

It is an axiom in our Presbyterianism that the General Assembly can make no law to bind the conscience. It cannot alter by adding thereto or detracting therefrom the constitutional terms of ministerial or Christian fellowship. Those terms are laid down in express words in our Form of Government, which we are all bound to obey. Assent to the truth or propriety of the deliverances or testimonies of the Assembly is not one of the terms prescribed. If the Assembly may make agreement in their testimony on slavery a term of communion, they may make their deliverances on temperance, colonization, or any other subject such a term. This was often attempted during the temperance excitement. We have seen a minister rise in one of our synods and say that the time had come when the church would not tolerate any man in the ministry who refused to take the pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. This was done by a man who, if not at that time secretly a drunkard, soon became notorious for his addiction to that vice. We have no security for liberty of conscience, no protection from the tyranny of casual majorities, if the principle be once admitted that the Assembly can make anything beyond what the constitution prescribes, a condition either of admission into the ministry of our church or of continuance in it. This is too plain to be questioned. Yet this plain principle is obviously violated in the minute adopted on the Report of the Committee of Bills and Overtures.

Again, we make bold to express our conviction that the majority of the Assembly will admit, on reflection, that their action in reference to the Southern synods and presbyteries

was altogether unnecessary. The object of that action was to prevent the admission of unworthy or undesirable ministers or members into our church. It was said that many, especially in the Border States, had not only taken part in the rebellion, but had joined the guerrillas, committed acts of violence, or been the guide of depredators, pointing out to them as objects of vengeance the friends of the Union. How, it was asked, could such men be recognized and received without repentance? How could Christian people be expected to sit at the Lord's table or receive the consecrated elements from hands red, it might be, with the blood of their friends and brothers? It is plain that sessions and presbyteries did not need any act of the Assembly to authorize them to deal with such crimes as these. Joining the rebellion on the part of citizens of States which had not seceded, was a civil as well as a moral offence. It was without any colour of law. It was just as much a violation of morality as riot or resistance to the magistrates in the public streets. And as to acts of robbery and violence, said to have been of such frequent occurrence, of course the church courts were bound to deal with them before, as much as after, the order of the Assembly. But the power of our presbyteries go much beyond the right to punish notorious offenders. They have the right to judge of the qualifications of their own members. If a man is eccentric, imprudent, fanatical, or for any other reason, unsuited to a particular part of the country, the presbytery on that ground may refuse to receive him. By so doing they do not affect his ecclesiastical standing. They do not impeach his orthodoxy or his Christian character. They simply say that they believe that his admission to membership would be injurious to the interests of their churches. A householder is not bound to receive every applicant into his family. He may decline for reasons which affect no civil or social right of others. He only guards his own. Our presbyteries have always acted on this principle, and it is universally recognized. The very putting it to vote whether a man coming with clean papers should be received, implies the right to say No, as well as Yes. This being the case, there was no necessity for the General Assembly issuing an order to the presbyteries as to whom they should receive and whom they should reject. They have a right to exercise their own discre-

tion in the matter, and therefore this action of the Assembly is not only unnecessary but nugatory. The presbyteries are not bound to obey it. If the Assembly had no right to give the order; if they had no authority to alter the constitutional terms of membership in our churches or presbyteries, the lower courts are under no obligation to regard the injunction. The Assembly has the right to order the presbyteries to see that all those whom they receive have the qualifications prescribed in the constitution, and therefore little objection has ever been made to the act passed some time ago, enjoining the presbyteries to examine every minister from another presbytery as to his soundness in the faith before admitting him to membership. But beyond this it has no right to go.

It may be said however that the action of the Assembly virtually amounts to nothing more than a declaration, that taking part in the rebellion and dissent from the deliverances of the Assembly respecting slavery, are moral offences, which are proper grounds of exclusion from church privileges until confessed and repented of. The Assembly of course has the right to express its judgment and give instructions on all points of truth and duty. So has every presbytery and every minister or Christian. But such judgments and instructions have only the authority due to the advice or opinions of those from whom they proceed. They have no legal force on any man's conscience or conduct. If a presbytery should admit a minister who had favoured the rebellion, or dissented from the Assembly's deliverance on slavery, and any one should bring the matter before the higher court by a complaint, the Assembly would have the right to give a judgment which would be binding on all the lower courts. But every man would be entitled to his opinion as to the correctness of that judgment, and the next Assembly would have a perfect right to pronounce a decision of a directly opposite character. The Popish doctrine of the infallibility of church courts does not suit Americans. It is high time that these simple principles of religious liberty should be clearly announced and openly asserted. It is no new thing that the greatest advocates of liberal doctrines should become intolerant and tyrannical when invested with power. If a man makes up his mind always to go with the majority, it will be a miracle if he do not often go wrong.

It is, moreover, very obvious that the action of the Assembly with regard to the Southern churches is founded on a disregard of two plain distinctions. The one is the difference between political offences and ordinary crimes. As this point has been considered in a previous article of this number of our journal, we shall not dwell upon it here. It is enough to repeat, what no one can deny, that a man's taking the wrong side in a civil war, is no proof that he is not a Christian. His course may be determined by a wrong political theory, or by a regard for those actually in authority over him. We are bound to obey a *de facto* government, although it be that of a usurper. The apostle in enjoining submission to the "powers that be," meant those in actual possession of the authority of the state, whether a Nero or any one else. This obligation is, of course, limited by the higher obligation to obey God rather than man. But it is not necessary that every man should investigate the title of a ruler's authority before believing in its validity. The present inhabitants of France are bound to recognize Louis Napoleon as emperor, whatever they may think of the revolution which placed him in power. The fact, therefore, that a man or minister supported the late wicked rebellion, is not to be assumed as a proof that he is unworthy of Christian fellowship, even if that support was voluntary on his part.

The other distinction to which we referred, is that between sin and ecclesiastical offences. Every day sad exhibitions are made by those whom we are obliged to regard as Christians, of the imperfection which belongs to our present state. How often do we see manifestations of pride, covetousness, maliciousness, arrogance, to say nothing of idleness, sloth, lukewarmness, and worldly-mindedness in ministers and church members? It is seldom that a meeting of the General Assembly itself occurs without some exhibition of unholy temper. All these things are great sins. They are heinous in the sight of God, and offensive to all good people. Yet they are not matters for formal church discipline. We may, therefore, see and feel that the conduct of the Southern ministers and members has been exceeding wrong; that the spirit of pride, contempt, and animosity which they have in so many cases exhibited towards their Northern brethren and fellow-citizens, are great sins in the sight of God; but so also are the evil tempers, the worldly-mindedness, avarice, and other

sins which we have so much reason to lament in ourselves and others. Church courts cannot visit all kinds of sin with ecclesiastical censure. We are obliged to receive all into the fellowship of the church who give evidence that they are true Christians, however imperfect they may be; otherwise the best of us would be excluded.

Another thing must force itself on the minds of the majority of the Assembly, as it has already strongly impressed outsiders. The demand that all who favoured the rebellion should give evidence of repentance of that sin and openly confess it, goes beyond all previous action of the Assembly, and all demands of the civil government itself. When the New-school seceded from our church and erected another and rival body, it was an unjustifiable act, as all Old-school men believe. It was done in favour of false doctrine and in disregard of our constitution. When the separation was effected, the Assembly opened the door for the return of all who were disposed to come back. The only conditions prescribed were, adoption of our standard of doctrine and conformity to our form of government. No man was called to repent of the sin of schism, to confess sorrow for having favoured the secession, nor to approve of the exscinding acts. Yet if the principle or feeling which governed this Assembly had prevailed in the excited controversies of 1837 and '38, these requisitions would certainly have been made. It will hardly be maintained that a rebellion against church authority is not as sinful as rebellion against the state; or that a secession in favour of doctrinal error is not as serious an offence in the sight of God as secession in favour of African slavery. Whatever may be thought of the relative evil in the two cases, the principle is the same in both. Yet the Assembly of 1838 adopted one principle, and that of 1865 another. The prominent advocates of the reunion of the Old and New-school Church were the most zealous in pressing through these extreme measures with regard to the Southern ministers. They insist that all who are willing to adopt our standards of doctrine and order should be welcomed back to our fellowship. They do not require that they should repent of their sin in breaking up the union of the church, in supporting or tolerating false doctrine. Nor is it demanded that they approve of all the acts and deliverances of the Assembly in 1837 and 1838. One rule is adopted with

those who have gone off from us in the South, and another to those who, with no better excuse, seceded in the North.

The United States authorities require of those who participated in the rebellion, no expression of contrition, no renunciation of political theories, no avowal of approbation of the measures of the government for the preservation of the Union and abrogation of slavery, but the simple promise of obedience to the laws and allegiance to the government. It seems rather incongruous that a church court should assume to be more loyal than the government which it desires to support.

Again, it is hard to see why, if favouring the rebellion is a crime calling for confession and repentance, it should not be visited upon Northern as well as Southern offenders. The fact is undeniable that thousands of men, many of them members and officers in our own church, have sympathized with the South in this whole conflict. They openly rejoiced when our armies were defeated, and mourned over our successes. Many faithful pastors have been driven from their churches, because they felt in conscience bound to pray for the President and the success of our national arms, and to give thanks over our victories. If these are overlooked, and if the Assembly refused to direct their being made the grounds of church censure, with what consistency can Southern men be rejected for the same thing. If there be a difference in the case, it is in favour of Southern men who espoused the Southern cause which they regarded as the cause of their country, and not of Northern men who sided against what they knew to be their country, and took part with those who were seeking its destruction. We are bound by our ordination vows to promote the peace and unity of the church, to endeavour to bring into harmony and Christian fellowship, both external and inward, all who agree with us in the adoption of the same faith and discipline. It matters not whether they be the New-school men at the North or Old-school men at the South. Whatever therefore tends to alienation and division is contrary to the spirit of the gospel. On this ground we are persuaded a very general objection to the action of the Assembly on the state of the country will be entertained, as well as very profound regret. That action can only serve to increase instead of allaying unfriendly and unholy feelings; to retard

rather than to promote that visible union which all profess to regard an important duty.

Manses.

Rev. Dr. Wood presented the report of Joseph M. Wilson, Esq., on the subject of manses, made in pursuance of a resolution of the last Assembly. The report states that circulars containing the interrogatories suggested in the resolution of the last Assembly were issued in the autumn of 1864, but that up to the present time the returns have not been sufficient to warrant any special classification of them. The letters accompanying the returns manifest a lively interest in the subject, and hope it may be pushed forward with zeal. The report suggests to the Assembly, through the Committee on Bills and Overtures, the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the churches under the care of this General Assembly, that have not yet responded to the circular referred to in this report, be requested to do so at their earliest convenient opportunity, sending said report to Joseph M. Wilson, at Philadelphia, Pa.

Resolved, That in order more fully to awaken the attention of the churches to the importance of this subject, the stated clerks of each presbytery, be instructed at all the semi-annual meetings of their presbytery to ascertain of each church under its care, what they have done in times past, what they are now doing, or what they propose to do towards building a manse, thereby securing a comfortable home for their minister.

Resolved, That the stated clerk of each presbytery, in their annual report to the General Assembly of 1866, be requested to make known the condition of their presbytery in this particular, showing what churches have manses, what churches are building them, and what churches are without them.

Resolved, That the returns from the presbyteries concerning manses be added to the presbyterial narrative of the state of religion, which is usually handed in by the commissioners from the presbyteries, and the Assembly to take such action on the subject as may seem proper.

Mr. Wilson and Dr. Wood addressed the Assembly, and the report and resolutions were adopted.

SHORT NOTICES.

A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments. By the Rev. Robert Jamieson, D. D., St. Paul's, Glasgow; Rev. A. R Fausset, A. M., St. Cuthbert's, York; and the Rev. David Brown, D. D., Professor of Theology, Aberdeen. Vol. IV. Jeremiah to Malachi. By the Rev. A. R. Fausset, A. M. Glasgow & London, 1864. 8vo. Pp. 728.

We have been able to bestow but a cursory examination upon this large and well-filled volume, but as the result of it, have no hesitation in commending it warmly to the attention of ministers, theological students, and intelligent laymen. It goes far toward meeting the want which has been long and seriously felt of a good critical commentary upon the prophets of the Old Testament. The exposition which it contains, is brief, perspicuous, and, for the most part, satisfactory. It is relieved, too, from that mass of superfluous or irrelevant matter which encumbers the pages of so many otherwise valuable commentaries. It does not enter into the plan of the work, and it would not be possible in the compass within which it is restricted, to present even in a condensed form, the history of interpretation. It gives evidence, however, of an acquaintance with the best authorities, English, Continental, and American, whose names appear scattered here and there upon its pages; although opinions are not infrequently cited under names of secondary rank, when it would have better pleased our taste to see them referred at once to the primaries from whom they have been adopted, by whom they have been more ably defended, and to whom they characteristically belong. The original is throughout the ultimate basis of appeal; but there is no display of misplaced ingenuity in tampering with the text, and no straining after novel readings, but rather a disposition to abide by the current English version whenever it is fairly defensible. We are particularly pleased with its doctrinal soundness, its decidedly evangelical and Calvinistic sentiments, and with the practical exhibition it affords of Christian union in the combination of an Episcopal rector with a Presbyterian pastor and professor in the preparation of a commentary on the word of God.

This volume represents, though with a degree of wavering that seems to us to amount to inconsistency, the literalistic

school of interpretation. Hosea's marriage is not literally understood, nor Joel's locusts; and several of Ezekiel's symbolic actions are not supposed to have been outwardly performed. The promises of restoration to Moab, Ammon, and Elam, denote not the re-establishment of these specific nationalities, nor the bringing back of the lineal descendants of these dispersed populations to their ancient seats, but "gospel blessings, temporal and spiritual, to the Gentiles in the last days," page 161. In Micah v. 5, "Assyria is made the representative of all the foes of Israel in all ages, who shall receive their final destruction at Messiah's appearing," page 601. But Judah, Israel, Jerusalem, must be understood in their strict national and local sense, even when this is at variance with their proper religious meaning and the sacred idea which they severally embody or represent. The cast-off shell, the inanimate form is firmly grasped, regardless of the fact that the living reality which it once enclosed, has entered upon a new stage of its being, in virtue of which it has put on another covering and assumed a different shape.

The author does not even shrink from the notion that the temple of Ezekiel is a material erection of future days, and that the sacrificial service is to be restored, and the land of Palestine redistributed to the tribes, who must hereafter be recognized afresh in some mysterious if not miraculous manner. Though admitting (page 356) that "there are things in it [Ezekiel's prophetic description] so improbable physically as to preclude a purely literal interpretation," and that "Christ's sacrifice superseded the law-sacrifices," he yet rests in the conclusion that "these difficulties may be all seeming, not real." He confesses (page 349) that the details respecting Gog's invasion and overthrow are not, and cannot be literal; and yet contends that these very details, impossible as they are acknowledged to be when thus understood, give probability to "a definite and *generally* literal interpretation." And he cites, with a hesitating sort of approbation, the opinion that the cleaving of a valley by Messiah for the escape of his beleagured people, (Zech. xiv. 5.) indicates a physical convulsion by which the waters of the Mediterranean shall be poured through the valley of the Arabah into the Dead Sea, and the commerce of Petra and Tyre be made to centre in the Holy City. "This theory," he thinks, page 708, "if true, will clear away many difficulties." And the only censure, if such it can be called, which he has for this gross materialistic perversion of a grand spiritual truth into an affair of merely commercial and secular advantage, is that it is "very conjectural, and *seems* to push literalism of interpretation rather far."

A minor blemish in this truly excellent commentary, whose solid worth we have no disposition to decry, is an occasional vacillation, or inaccuracy in philological and archæological points. Thus, on page 468, "Teraphim" is derived from טָרַף *to cut off*, and it is thence inferred that they "were tutelary household gods, in the shape of human busts, cut off at the waist." On page 204 it is explained as the Chaldee form of "Seraphim," and the conclusion is thence drawn that they were modelled after the cherubim originally stationed at Eden, from which "the human-headed winged bulls and eagle-headed gods found in Nineveh, sculptured amidst palms and tulip-shaped flowers," are likewise declared to have been "borrowed by corrupted tradition." "So the Aaronic calf . . . . so the ox figures of Apis on the sacred arks of Egypt." On page 692 it is further connected with the Egyptian Serapis, רָפָא *to heal*, and the *θεραπεύω*. On page 527 Carmel is derived from כֶּרֶם *a vineyard*, and מָלֵא *full*.

On the whole, though we could wish some things altered, we regard this volume and the commentary of which it forms a part, as an important addition to our theological literature. For those who confine themselves to works in the English language, it is well-nigh indispensable to a complete biblical apparatus.

History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth By John Anthony Froude, M. A., Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Volumes I. II. New York. Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

This work, being a History of England through the period of the Reformation, is of necessity also a History of the Reformation in that country. The two volumes thus far published carry us from the administration and fall of Cardinal Wolsey to the execution of Anne Boleyn, the marriage of Henry VIII. to Lady Jane Seymour, and the second act of succession, giving the sovereign, in the absence of lawful issue, authority to designate his own successor. The great problem of the History of the Reformation in England has been to define precisely the relative influence of politics, diplomacy, court amours and intrigues, and religious conviction, in effecting the complete separation of the Crown and Church of England from Rome. All these elements were strangely intermingled in the development of Protestantism in England.

Mr. Froude has addressed himself to the solution of this problem, and, in our judgment, with great success. He has thrown new light on this great chapter of English political and ecclesiastical history. The religious and moral condition of the people and the ecclesiastics, before and during the Reformation

in its successive stages, the temper and attitude of the Pope, and of the various continental sovereigns, Romish and Protestant, the chief personages in the English church and state, with the leading measures and events which hastened their emancipation from Rome, are presented with judicial calmness and gravity, while the narrative is fresh and graphic enough to awaken the reader's unabated interest. The author has made a new contribution towards solving the mystery that has overhung the life, character, and death of Anne Boleyn. Altogether he has given us a work of standard value. The luxurious paper, typography, and general style in which Mr. Scribner has arrayed these volumes, and those we are now about to notice, deserve the highest commendation.

Lectures on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in February, March, April and May, 1863. By Max Müller, M. A., Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford: Correspondent de L'Institut de France. Second Series. With Thirty-One Illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner, 1865. [Published by arrangement with the Author.]

The first series of Lectures on Language by this author assured his celebrity in this department, and served to whet the appetite of scholars and thinkers for further contributions to it from his pen. This second series fully sustains the reputation so well earned by the first. The literary and philosophic world are coming to estimate language, and all that pertains to it, as endued with powers which have been too much overlooked. As the vehicle and articulation of human thought, of all the activities and products of the soul, it is the highest exponent of the nature, progress, opinions, manners and institutions of men. It is the chief key to ethnology, while it interpenetrates psychology, logic, metaphysics, ethics, theology, and, in its degree, all science. Articulate speech is the organ that distinguishes man from the brutes. We often speak of words as if they were mere vapours or shadows. But, in a sense more than mere hyperbole, "words are things," at least so far as this, that they are the outflowings of the soul that utters them. The vital connections of language, with the highest developments of humanity, are traced with great ability in these lectures. Scholars and cultivated men will certainly crave them for their libraries, especially in the elegant dress given them by the publishers.

The Iliad of Homer rendered into English Blank Verse. By Edward, Earl of Derby. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1865.

His Lordship has produced a literary wonder, creditable alike to his scholarship, his industry, his classical and poetical

taste. Though advanced in life and engrossed with public duties as the veteran leader and representative orator of the Tories in Parliament, he has in less than three years accomplished this marvellous work by way of diversion and pastime. We call it marvellous, for it is surely so, whether we consider the intrinsic character of the work itself, or the circumstances of its production. It is a successful attempt to give a scrupulously exact translation of the Iliad, in pure idiomatic English verse, transfusing both the spirit and matter of the original; in short, as he himself states it, "to infuse into an almost literal English version something of the spirit as well as the simplicity of the great original." In this he has succeeded far beyond any other English translator of Homer. Pope's is not so much a translation as a magnificent paraphrase. It is not Homer's, but Pope's Iliad.

In this refined classic culture, we find one secret of Lord Derby's brilliant and vigorous oratory. His keen and penetrating style has, like that of Pitt, Peel, Webster, Everett, Choate, and other great orators, been tempered and polished by profound study of the ancient classics. We hope this will be noted by those who are disposed to depreciate classic studies as an element of liberal education. His Lordship speaks, not without reasons, when he says, "I fear that the taste for, and appreciation of, classical literature are greatly on the decline." We hope that such productions as this, joined to the growing interest in the science of language, will aid in reviving a proper interest in the ancient languages, as an essential element in liberal culture and discipline. The exuberant toryism and intense antipathy to our nation, with vehement devotion to the late rebellion against it, now suppressed, are quite relieved by this remarkable contribution to literature, that *commune vinculum*, which binds together nations, sects, and parties otherwise most opposite.

A Treatise in Astronomy. By Elias Loomis, LL.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College: Author of "An Introduction to Practical Astronomy;" and of a Series of Mathematics for Schools and Colleges. New York: Harper & Brothers, publishers, 1865.

In the want of time to examine this volume, we are obliged simply to call the attention of our readers to it; observing 1. That the high reputation of Professor Loomis, as a man of science, and successful writer of text-books, mathematical and scientific, together with the aid of Professor Newton in revising the proof-sheets, raise a strong a-priori presumption, almost amounting to a guaranty, of the character of the present

work. 2. Its general form, structure, size, and apparent arrangement, are adapted to supply a desideratum in those of our higher institutions, which, not relying exclusively on teaching by lectures in this department, call in the aid of text-books.

Hours among the Gospels; or, Wayside Truths from the Life of our Lord. By N. C. Burt, D. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1865. Pp. 215.

Dr. Burt is a man of learning and ability, of which this work affords clear evidence. It shows familiarity with the recent researches into evangelical history, and without display furnishes the result of much study in a form attractive and useful for all classes of readers.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for the year 1865. Edited by David M. Wells, M. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. London: Trübner & Co. Pp. 346.

This Annual is well known and of established reputation. It is of great value to that large class of men who have not access to scientific journals or time for their perusal. It contains the cream of many such receptacles of knowledge, and presents, in a limited compass, what can be found elsewhere only in a multitude of volumes.

Trübner's American and Oriental Record; a Monthly Register of the most important Works published in North and South America, India, China, and the British Colonies, &c., &c. London: 60, Paternoster Row.

The object of this publication is to form a medium of communication between American and Oriental authors and publishers and the English public, and to make American and Oriental works better known in Europe. This work commends itself specially to the American public and authors. It serves to diffuse literary information and to promote the interests both of writers and scholars.

A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer. By Rev. W. Denton, M. A. Edited and enlarged by Rev. Henry J. Fox, M. A. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

Expositions of the Lord's Prayer, like expositions of the Bible as a whole, numerous as they have been, do not supersede new ones, which shed some new light of analysis, illustration, or application, reflected from the individuality of each commentator. The present instance is no exception. Many, by its aid, will see in the model prayer of our Lord, new treasures of meaning, and breadth of application.