

THE  
A M E R I C A N  
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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VOLUME II.

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NEW-YORK AND BOSTON:  
NEW-YORK: J. M. SHERWOOD,  
No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET,  
BOSTON: MOORE, MUNROE & CO.,  
No. 22 SCHOOL STREET.  
1860.

A. M. B. R. I. G. I. N.

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

JOHN A. GRAY,  
PRINTER, STEREOTYPER, AND BINDER,  
16 and 18 Jacob Street, N. Y.  
FIRE-PROOF BUILDINGS.

NEW-YORK: J. M. BROWN  
AND SONS, 10 NASSAU ST.  
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visional bishops, and assistant bishops, is 43; priests and deacons, 2030; parishes, 2110. There were ordained during the year 78 deacons and 93 priests. Number of candidates for holy orders, 281; churches consecrated, 69. The baptisms were as follows: infants, 24,415; adults, 5121; not stated, 487; total, 30,023. Number of confirmations, 14,596; communicants added, 14,794; present number, 35,767; marriages, 7059; burials, 12,442; Sunday-school teachers, 14,091; scholars, 118,069. Amount of contributions for missionary and charitable purposes, \$1,627,183.12.

**STATISTICS OF BAPTISTS.**—The *Baptist Almanac* for 1860 states that there are in the United States 590 associations, 12,163 churches, 7590 ordained ministers, 1035 licentiates, 992,851 communicants, and that the number baptized in 1858 was 98,508—nearly 100,000 baptisms, and a little less than 1,000,000 members. The largest number of Baptists reported from any one State is Virginia, 115,146. The largest number baptized in any one State is New-York, 10,802, and the next largest, Georgia, 7944. The *Almanac* gives the names of 33 colleges, 14 theological seminaries, 29 weekly newspapers, 16 monthlies, and 2 quarterlies, that depend on Baptists for their support. The names are also given of 64 new church edifices erected in 1858, of 238 new churches constituted, of 65 ministers deceased, and 304 ministers ordained—a number six or seven times larger than the whole number graduated in the same year, 1858, from all our theological institutions.

In Nova Scotia there are 3 Baptist associations, comprising 135 churches, with a membership of 13,057. Added by baptism, 1539. New-Brunswick has 2 associations, 113 churches, and 7703 members. Added by baptism, 1037; making a total in the two Provinces of 248 churches and 20,760 members. Five

churches have been constituted, 6 “meeting-houses” erected, and 8 brethren ordained to the work of the ministry.

**STATISTICS OF METHODISM.**—The *Methodist Quarterly Review* furnishes the following view of Methodism throughout the world:

Methodist Episcopal Church, (North,)	956,555
“ “ “ (South,)	700,000
Canada Wesleyan Conference,.....	43,672
Eastern British American Conference,.....	16,935
Methodist Episcopal Church, Canada,	13,352
American Wesleyan Methodists,....	21,000
Methodist Protestant Church,.....	70,018
African Methodist Episcopal Church,	20,000
“ “ “ Zion	
Church,.....	6,203
Albright Methodists,.....	21,076

Total lay members in America,.....	1,863,811
Add Trav. Preachers, (except Albright's,)	11,458

Total American communicants, .. 1,880,269

The Methodism of Europe, excepting the British and American colonies and the American and European missions included above, exhibits similar, though not equal vigor. The latest accessible returns show:

Wesleyan Methodists, .....	435,308
Primitive “ .....	123,863
New Connection Methodists, .....	27,000
United Free Church Methodists,.....	43,000
Wesleyan Reformers, (who remain independent,).....	12,000
Bible Christian Methodists,.....	19,068
Church Methodists in Ireland, (called Primitive Methodists,).....	9,158

Total British lay members,.....	669,397
Add Travelling Preachers,.....	3,225

Total Communicants,..... 672,622

**JEWS IN THIS COUNTRY.**—The Israelite population in the United States is estimated at about 200,000 souls, who have established 170 synagogues. Of these, 40,000 dwell in the city of New-York, and alone outnumber the entire Hebrew population resident in the British Isles. Of this aggregate, about three fourths are derived from the immigration of the preceding twenty years.

**MORMONS.**—Judge Cradlebaugh thinks that the entire Mormon popu-

lation of eastern Utah does not exceed 35,000, of whom not more than 8000 are entitled to vote. The Gentile population of eastern Utah he estimates at 3500 voters, that of western Utah he puts down at 3000 voters, and as there is an absolute certainty of an increase of 15,000 or 20,000 in the spring, he hopes to outvote the Mormons at the election next year.

**THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.**—This Institution having resolved, on account of difficulties growing out of the question of slavery, to withdraw from the Choctaw Indian territory the missionaries late in connection with it, have, on their application, been received by the General Assembly's Board of Foreign Missions of the Old School Presbyterian Church. The ecclesiastical connection of all the missionaries has been with this body, and the Board with which they have now become united has had a mission on the same field since 1846.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE AMERICAN BOARD IN THE "HARD TIMES" OF TWENTY YEARS AGO.**—The great crash of 1837 came on in March. The financial year of the American Board closed with the following July, the receipts amounting to \$252,000. The advance in donations (exclusive of legacies) beyond those of the previous year, had been \$68,000. The next year, the contributions of the churches were but about \$6000 less; and the whole amount of donations for the two years was \$147,000 more than for the two previous years of temporal prosperity.

The American Colonization Society held its annual meeting in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington City. After the report had been read, addresses were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Pinney, of New-York, Rev. Dr. Styles, of Georgia, and the Hon. Mr. Taylor, of Tennessee. The receipts during the year were about \$160,000, and the

expenditures about \$80,000. Three hundred emigrants have been sent to Africa during the past year.

The American Missionary Association held its annual meeting in Chicago, Oct. 19, 1859. From the Treasurer's report it appears that the receipts during the year had been \$50,511.76, and the expenditures, \$52,301.15.

The number of foreign missions is 8, and the number of stations and out-stations, 29. The number of laborers connected with the foreign missions is 54, and 15 native assistants. Two male missionaries and one female missionary have returned to this country from Africa. One female missionary has gone from the same mission to her home in Scotland for the benefit of her health, and three missionary families have retired from the Ojibway mission, Minnesota Territory.

The Association has 6 ordained missionaries in the Mendi mission, West-Africa, 6 in Jamaica, 1 in the Sandwich Islands, and 1 in Siam. The Coptic mission is, for the present, suspended. In the home field it employs 98 missionaries and 5 colporters, located as follows: In States east of Ohio, 9; in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, 24; in Illinois, 22; in Wisconsin, 1; in Minnesota, 15; in Iowa, 10; in Kansas, 6; in Missouri, 1; in Kentucky, 7; in North-Carolina, 2; in Washington City, 1. Three colporters in Kentucky, 1 in Indiana, and one in Southern Illinois.

**CALIFORNIA.**—The *State Register* estimates the number of Christian congregations at 216: the clergymen number 289. Of the latter, 133 are Methodists, 71 Roman Catholic. The Catholic inhabitants are reckoned at about 100,000. The Catholic property is very large. Santa Clara College at San José belongs to the Roman Catholics, and is the best endowed literary institution in the State. The Jews have 5 congregations and 3 ministers. In 1857 there



were 367 common schools, 486 teachers, 36,222 pupils. The population is estimated at about half a million : of these, 50,000 are Chinese ; about the same number are Europeans and Mexicans not naturalized. About 75,000 are children under 18 ; about the same number are women. This leaves the male population, over 18, at 350,000. Of Indians, there are probably not more than 30,000, of whom about 17,000 are on the government reservations. The whole population in 1850, not including Indians, was 92,597 ; in 1852, 264,435, of whom only 22,193 were females.

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

DISSENT IN ENGLAND. — The last London *Watchman* gives the relative numbers of Dissenters and Churchmen, as follows : *England and Wales*, Established Church, 52 per cent of the population ; Non-established, 48 per cent of the population. *Scotland*, Established Church, 34 per cent of the population ; Non-established, 66 per cent of the population. No statistics of religious worship were collected for Ireland, but the Committee of Public Instruction of 1834 made a complete census of the religious belief of that country. Its results were : Established Church, 10 per cent of the population ; Non-established, 90 per cent of the population. The returns made under the Marriage Registration Act prove these proportions to have remained unaltered up to the year of the census. The aggregate result of the above would give, for these kingdoms, in 1851, a population belonging to the two (Episcopalian and Presbyterian) Established Churches of rather more than eleven millions, and to the Non-established Churches, of rather more than sixteen millions.

#### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

—In the course of a recent debate in the House of Lords, it was stated by the Bishop of London, that out of the 8700 parishes of the Church of England, only 400 had refused to grant

rates for the maintenance and repairs of churches. His lordship also adduced the following significant fact in reference to the proportion of instruction, etc., for the poor, furnished by the Church and by Dissenters :

Church schools for the poor,.....	83 per cent
Other schools, " ".....	17 "
Children in Church-schools,.....	78 "
Children in other schools,.....	12 "

#### CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN ENGLAND.

—The statistics of the religious bodies of England, as presented to Parliament by a special committee, present some interesting facts. Calculations based on accurate data, show that 7,546,948, or 42 per cent, of the population, are actual attendants at the Established Churches. There are 5,303,609 church-goers among the Protestant Dissenters of various denominations, and 610,784 Catholics. One fourth of the population attend none of the churches. In the cities and large towns the non-church-goers are generally in the majority, and the church sittings of all denominations are only sufficient for 57 per cent of the population, and of these sittings more than half are furnished by the Dissenters. Rev. Dr. Hume, the incumbent of a parish, populous and poor, in Liverpool, and a witness before the committee, expressed his conviction, founded on long experience and observation, that the large masses of the population who attend no place of worship whatever are in danger of being lost, not only to the Church, but to religion altogether. The population of the country, always on the increase, is becoming more and more a town population. In 1851, there were 9,000,000 living in towns of 10,000 people and upwards, and only 8,000,000 in smaller towns, in villages, and in rural districts. Dr. Hume apprehends that at the close of the present century 70 per cent of the gross population will be located in large towns : and, therefore, he adds, if our large towns are left to themselves, practical heathenism must inevitably outgrow Christianity. These

facts have a home interest from the similar condition of things in this country, for which as yet no sufficient remedy is found.

UNITARIANISM IN ENGLAND.—According to the *British Quarterly Review*, the stated attendants upon Unitarian preaching in England and Wales, is less than 40,000. Unitarians have 229 chapels, of which 147 run back into the last century; the whole number of churches and chapels of all denominations is 34,467, of which 14,077 belonged to the Church of England. The Moravians have 32 churches; Swedenborgians, 50; Irvingites, 32; Independent Methodists, 20; Seventh-Day Baptists, 2. The sittings in the Unitarian chapels were 63,770; in all churches and chapels, 10,212,563. As to its hold in cities and large towns: in 73 there are no Unitarians; in 49 towns they have 71 chapels—5 in Birmingham, 4 in Manchester, 4 in Liverpool, etc. In the City of London and suburbs, with a population of over 2½ millions, there are only 4 Unitarian chapels, or 5, including the one in which the member for Oldham exercised his early ministry; in this same district are 291 Episcopal churches and chapels, and 231 Dissenting chapels. The number of Unitarians in London and vicinity, is less than they were 50 years ago; their congregations altogether do not comprise more than 1500 persons. In this same time, the other denominations have been advancing with great rapidity. The Wesleyans in England, in the last half century, have grown from 852 places of worship to 11,007; the Independents, from 914 to 3244; the Baptists, from 652 to 2789.

A NEW MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.—The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England, acting under the promptings of the African explorer, Dr. Livingstone, have determined to send a special mission to Central Africa, for the purpose of propagating the Gospel. They do not pro-

pose to form a new missionary society, but by a special effort, extending through some five or ten years, to plant the Gospel and Christian institutions, together with the arts and sciences of civilized life, in some one of those hitherto unexplored regions which Dr. Livingstone is making known, and having done this, to hand over the management and oversight of their work to some existing association, probably "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts." It is their intention to send out at once a Missionary Bishop and six ordained clergymen as missionaries, together with a medical practitioner, artisans, and skilled laborers of various kinds. The immediate outlay contemplated is \$100,000. There will also be an annual expenditure of \$10,000 for five years. After that time, it is expected that the missionary colony (for that is what it amounts to) will be self-supporting. A large part of money needed has been already raised or pledged, and altogether the indications are favorable to there being prompt and vigorous action.

LITURGICAL REVISION MOVEMENT.—A petition signed by 460 clergymen of the Church of England has been presented to the Queen on this subject. It asks for abbreviation of the services; and among other things, for the discontinuance of the Athanasian Creed and the use of Apocryphal Lessons. It also specifies certain changes desired in the burial, baptismal, and ordination offices.

#### SCOTLAND.

TEMPERANCE IN SCOTLAND.—Scotland is making a successful experiment of a temperance law against Sabbath drinking-houses. The *Scottish Journal* says, the decrease of four years is actually \$25,020,560, or nearly a fifth part of the whole previous consumption. The diminution is even greater than it appears, since the increase of the population must



byterian Board, (Old School,) was there residing with his family in a Buddhist Temple. Mr. Verback, of the Dutch Church Mission, was to spend the winter at Nagasaki. Rev. Mr. Goble and wife, accompanied by a native Japanese, Samuel Sentharo, have sailed from New-York, to commence a mission in Japan, from the American Baptist Free Mission Society.

#### CHINA.

THE most interesting intelligence from China is that of the visit of the American Commissioner, Mr. Ward, and his suite, to Peking, and the ratification of the American Treaty. Rev. Mr. Aitchison, a missionary of the American Board at Shanghai, who accompanied the Legation as an interpreter, died on his return to the coast. It is rumored that the Chinese have sought Mr. Ward's mediation with the British and French powers.

NUMEROUS conversions are said to have taken place among the British soldiers at Canton. A few native Chinese have just been baptized there. From Amoy, Fuh-chau, Ningpo, and Shanghai, come tidings also of spiritual fruits of evangelistic labor.

AN official census taken in China twice during the present century, at an interval of forty years, gives the following result: The first, taken in 1812, by order of the Emperor Kai-King, gave the number of inhabitants at 360,278,597! and the second, in 1852, under the reign and orders of the present Emperor, Hien Fung, 536,090,300. If these accounts be correct, (and there is nothing to lead to the supposition that they are not,) the Chinese population has in forty years increased 176,629,703.

SIR JOHN BOWRING, in a recent lecture in Edinburgh on China, said, in respect to the geographical extent of that vast Empire, "that the eighteen provinces of China proper ex-

tend in breadth nearly thirteen hundred miles, and in length nearly fourteen hundred; and if the dependent and tributary regions were taken into account, the distance from east to west exceeds forty-eight hundred miles, and from north to south, twenty-three hundred." He gives the population as 412,000,000.

The *Foreign Missionary* for January announces the retirement, for the present, of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board from Hang-chow, as follows: "It was a question only to be answered by experience, whether missionaries would be permitted to live and labor at Hang-chow. This is a city in the interior, at which foreigners have never been permitted to reside. Its great population, probably 1,500,000, its relations to surrounding districts, and other considerations, have made our missionary friends anxious to form a station there; and measures, well devised and well executed, were apparently attended with success, and the Gospel was about to be preached by American as well as native laborers to the multitudes of its inhabitants, when the outbreak between the Chinese and the Europeans at the Peiho occurred. This deplorable event at once endangered the position of our brethren at Hang-chow, and for the present, has resulted in the withdrawal of Mr. and Mrs. Nevius from that city. They are not without hope of being able to return, or, at any rate, to make visits there in the work of evangelization, and the native brethren were still at their work unmolested." Mr. Rankin, of the Presbyterian Board, writes respecting Ningpo: "There are several applicants for baptism, and by the next mail I hope to report four of our girls and one of our servants baptized, and perhaps others." The printing-press at Ningpo, has been doing a good work, under Mr. Gamble's efficient superintendence. He says, under date of August 31st: "We are working now at night, so as to get

the Testament finished, and each press is throwing off three thousand sheets a day."

### INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO

A SINGULAR display of the power of Divine grace among a heathen people, has recently taken place in the island of Celebes. Several missionaries of the Netherlands Missionary Society have labored there for some years, with but little apparent success. One of these missionaries, however, now describes a remarkable religious movement. A native preacher was passing through a village on Saturday, to his preaching appointment on the Sabbath, when he saw a priest who had been bitterly opposed to the Gospel and the missionaries, with a large crowd about him. Trembling with fear, he inquired what they wanted, when he was told greatly to his surprise, that he and the people had resolved to renounce idolatry and become Christians.

The movement spread from village to village, the people casting away their idols, and seeking instruction from the missionaries. The people say that they had come to the knowledge of the truth chiefly by the instruction their children had received in the mission-schools. The missionary mentions three districts, containing at the beginning of the year not less than 10,000 heathen, and adds: "But to all appearance, and with the help of God, by the end of the year there will be not one left there."

### SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN.

THE Rotumah mission is a branch of the mission on the Feejee Islands, and is sustained by English Wesleyan Methodists. The following tidings are from a Wesleyan missionary, temporarily removed from his field on the Feejee Islands. "The Rotuman mission, which I visited on my way to Sydney, illustrates the value of native agency. As the result of this labor, there are now upwards of two hundred church-members, and twelve

hundred attendants on public worship. The native teachers have had to combat with the ancient heathenism of the country, and have been opposed by clergymen of the Church of Rome; but the preaching of the pure Gospel has gained the victory.

This solitary island may yet become a nucleus for missionary operations. Already Christianity has been introduced by a Rotuman into a group of islands about two hundred and fifty miles to the north-north-east. At one of these islands, (Nukufitau,) about three hundred people collected their gods, in consequence of what they heard from their visitor, and committed the idols to the flames! It was agreed that the converts should keep holy the Sabbath, and send a deputation to Rotumah to await the John Wesley. On my arrival the deputation waited on me, and I deeply regretted my inability to respond to this urgent call for spiritual instruction."

THERE are now five missionary ships in the Pacific Ocean, the Morning Star, owned by the American Board, the John Wesley, the John Knox, the Southern Cross, and the John Williams. The last is the oldest and largest, having been in service nearly fifteen years. It sails to England every three or four years, with the children and wives of missionaries, and the contributions to the cause of missions from the natives of the South Seas; and returns with passengers, supplies of Bibles and other books, and material for printing purposes. On her special missionary work she averages more than 20,000 miles annually, among more than forty islands, with a population of about 110,000, cheerfully affording aid to all who labor to diffuse the Gospel.

### AFRICA.

THE Jews in Morocco are said to be in great distress, placed as they are between the attacking Spaniards on one side, and Moors on the other. Hundreds of Jewish families have fled



LORD STANLEY, late Secretary of State for India, sent out an order warning all British officers against compromising their official character by giving aid and countenance to missionary efforts. Sir Charles Wood, the present Secretary, has expressed himself in a more worthy manner to a deputation that waited upon him. His words were: "No persons can be more anxious for the spread of Christianity in India than we are. Independently of Christian considerations, I believe every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country, and an additional source of strength to the empire. There are political reasons in favor of spreading Christianity." Lord Palmerston, too, indorses the same sentiments: "It is not only our duty," he says, "but it is our interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity, as far as possible, throughout the whole length and breadth of India." Sir Charles Wood has replied to the anti-missionary memorial from Madras, denying its requests.

**REMARKABLE DONATION.**—News has been received from Bombay, of a contribution of 5000 rupees, to be distributed amongst four missionary societies laboring in China, from a late inspector of opium, in the Malwa district, being part of the proceeds of his former employment, which he had resigned in consequence of conscientious objections at having been connected with supplying the Chinese with so pernicious a drug.

**AHMEDNUGGER.**—Mr. Ballantine in a recent letter says: "The mission has just determined to form a class of native assistants at Ahmednuggur, who shall pursue a course of study preparatory to becoming preachers, and eventually pastors. This class is to be instructed only through the vernacular. Eight persons have been fixed upon by the mission to form the class, all of whom have been tried as Christians for two or three years, and some of whom have been, for several years, native assistants." They are

to study three years, seven months in the year, and while pursuing their studies at Ahmednuggur, are to spend at least every alternate Sabbath in preaching at some neighboring village. Four persons were received to the church at Ahmednuggur, October 30. But the most important intelligence from this field, relates to highly favorable decisions of government, of which a full account may be found in the *Missionary Herald* for March. One decision is, that the Christians have the right to take water from any of the public fountains or tanks of the city. Mr. Ballantine says of this document: "It takes very strong ground. It declares that, according to the Hindoo Shasters, the caste of the ruler is equal to the highest; and thus, at one stroke of pen, places the native Christians, no matter from what caste they may have come, at as high an elevation as the highest Brahmin." "The importance of the matter is to be found in the fact that, hereafter, the Christian convert is to be treated as belonging to the very highest class, and as entitled to all the privileges which other high classes enjoy." The other is an order in reference to the admission of pupils from low castes into the Government schools. "In reply to a letter from the mission on the subject, the Educational Inspector states, that the Government have determined that pupils from the lower castes may be admitted into all schools entirely supported by government. Where the school is supported in part by the State and in part by popular subscriptions, Government reserve to themselves the right to make the admission of such children a condition of their contributing, hereafter, to the establishment of such schools. He adds, that the Government undoubtedly do consider native Christian children as entitled to the same privileges as the children of Mohammedans, and other classes who do not regard caste."

**CEYLON.**—Sir Emerson Tennent in his recent account of Ceylon, gives the population at 1,697,975, exclud-

ing 20,500 military and strangers. The white population numbers only 4815. Of the native population, 805,537 are females and 887,573 males; and this, though polyandry is widely practised, and has been from the earliest times. Formerly the custom was universal. Women belonging to the wealthier classes often have three or four husbands, and sometimes as many as seven. Yet the proportion of males and females is preserved about as nearly as in European countries. In England and Wales there was (1831) an excess of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of females; in France, 3 per cent of males; in Ceylon, 5 per cent of males.

**TURKEY.—THE TURKS GIVING EAR TO THE GOSPEL.**—A correspondent of *The Independent*, writing from Constantinople, February 13th, gives a cheering picture of the progress of the Gospel among the Turks. The Protestants are now constituted a distinct sect, by order of the Sultan. By this act, they have all the civil rights that are enjoyed by the Greeks, Armenians, or any other Christian sect; so that, if a person from any of the nominal Christian sects now becomes a true follower of Christ, he loses no civil rights thereby, but simply leaves one sect and joins another, having equal rights in each. In describing a missionary service conducted by Rev. Dr. Schauffler, he says: "It was my privilege to be present, and though a stormy evening, ten native born Turks, or rather Mohammedans (two being Persians) were present. Of this ten, one was a colonel in the Turkish army, and whose sister is wife of the Shah of Persia. One was a Persian Sheik of great wealth and influence in his own country. One was an officer in the royal palace, a member of the Sultan's household. One was a nephew of a Pasha, who had been disowned and cast off by his relatives because he had become a Christian. And one was, a few months ago, an Imân (priest) in one of the mosques of the city, an old man, seventy years

old, and who was baptized four weeks since. With eyes fixed on the speaker, they listened with breathless attention to the end of the lecture. It was a sight worth coming six thousand miles to see."

**PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.**—A religious movement, which has Omer Effendi for its promoter, has begun at Constantinople, and gives much hope to the Christians. This venerable old man has declared for some years back the necessity of a regeneration of Islamism, and he has formed a large company of partisans. Without naming the Bible as the source of his knowledge, he has taught his disciples from it the most essential principles, and that which is the foundation of it—the incarnation of Jesus Christ. He has taught them in the words of the Scriptures, for his pupils, without having read the New Testament, nevertheless repeat passages from it word for word. At the beginning of last year this man was suspected by the Turkish authorities, and banished to Broussa. His pupils were punished by the police without being accused of any infraction of the law. Although deprived of their professor, they meet together for edification, and have invited the Turkish missionary, Selim Effendi, to assist at their reunions. A spirit of prayer reigns at these meetings. The assistants read the Bible with avidity, and are indefatigable in their questions touching salvation. Omer Effendi, who is not closely confined at Broussa, has entered into communication with the Armenian pastors, and has testified to them the joy he felt at learning that his old pupils read the New Testament. At the present time attempts are being made to recall him from exile; but, on the other hand, new accusations and persecutions are put forth against him and his pupils. May God bless the movement, the first of the kind in the history of Islamism!—*Archives du Christianisme.*

**A LARGE SABBATH-SCHOOL.**—One



of the largest Sabbath-schools in the world is now to be found at Aintab, which has been occupied as a mission-station of the American Board about 12 years. The school, connected with the Protestant church there, was re-organized in December, 1858, and in October, 1859, Mr. Coffing, one of the missionaries wrote: "Since the first of February last the average attendance has been more than nine hundred, and on not a few Sabbaths, more than one thousand have been present, participating in the lessons!"

**NORTHERN ARMENIANS.**—Mr. Schaffler still reports many cases of interest among Mohammedans. In another letter, he speaks of the late conspiracy as having been brought about by "the multitudes of literary idlers, in the shape of professors, lecturers, students, and other loafers," connected with the mosques and dervish establishments. He states that Government is taking efficient measures to reduce the power of these establishments.

**BULGARIA.**—We continue to receive very significant information from our brethren in Bulgaria, showing that the same religious process is going on among the Bulgarians in Turkey, north of the Balkan Mountains, as has been going on in Turkey, among the Armenians in Asia, and at Constantinople for a quarter of a century, through the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. We have undoubted information that there are the same signs of promise among the Bulgarians south of the Balkan Mountains, in the vicinity of Adrianople and Phillipopolis, two cities occupied by the American Board. The signs of promise among the Bulgarians in European Turkey are very cheering, and the influence of Protestantism heretofore, by their intercourse with Hungary and other parts of Europe, is a material element in our missionary prospects among the Bulgarians. Their antipathy to the Greek service and ecclesiastical dominion is increas-

ing, and they begin to understand the privileges and liberty of Protestantism when they hear our missionaries preaching the Gospel to them in their own language; and they admire and feel the power of the simplicity and directness of the forms of Protestant worship.—*Adv. and Jour.*

**EFFECT OF GOSPEL TEACHING.**—A committee of ten influential young Bulgarians, who have listened to the Gospel as it has been preached by the Methodist missionaries connected with the new mission among that people, recently visited the Archbishop to remonstrate with him upon his licentious and disgraceful life, by which, they mildly but firmly informed him, the whole community felt aggrieved and humiliated. Such was their character and standing, that he did not dare to drive them away, and in reply could only accuse them of having frequently visited the American missionaries. This they frankly admitted, stating that they intended to do so, as they had received such counsels and instruction from them as they had a right to expect from him, and that for the first time they had heard the Gospel in its simplicity and purity.

**SYRIA.**—A letter from Mr. Benton, dated December 5, mentions a visit of Hon. James Williams, United States Ambassador at Constantinople, to Syria. Mr. Benton says this visit led to a pleasant settlement of the difficulty growing out of his expulsion from Zahleh, and adds: "Indeed, all the entanglements of every case, at Jaffa, Damascus, and Zahleh, seemed to disappear at his presence, and the impression of his visit is peace every where."

**NESTORIAN MISSION.**—The *Missionary Herald*, for April, contains a letter from Mr. Cochran, who succeeded the lamented Stoddart in the charge of the seminary for young men at Oroomiah, giving an account of a general meeting of the alumni. Personally or by proxy the whole number of graduates (62) were represented. Various subjects of interest were

discussed. Of these 62 graduates, 56 are now members of the church. Two or three of the remaining six are also indulging hopes. Forty of the whole number are laboring as preachers in their respective villages, and 15 others are employed as teachers and preachers a portion of the year. They are generally young men of good abilities, having been selected from a large number of candidates, and many of them are distinguished for ardent and decided piety. Altogether, they are a group of young men from whose instrumentality and influence we may expect much for the elevation and salvation of this people. The occasion was one long to be remembered by them, and we cannot doubt all pressed the parting hand with better purposes, and higher resolves for usefulness. The afternoon of the second day was devoted to the examination and ordination of six of the young men, as evangelists and pastors of their respective flocks.

**JAPAN.**—The missionaries sent out by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches of this country, have found no obstacles to establishing themselves in Japan, so long closed against Christian teachers. Two temples were cleared of their idols and rented to them. The mayor of Nagasaki visited the missionaries, and asked them many questions about their religion, and accepted a copy of the New Testament in Chinese.

**CHINA.**—Mr. Johns, of the London Missionary Society, wrote from Shanghai, September 3: "The defeat sustained by our forces at Pei-ho, on the 25th of June, has had a most pernicious effect upon the mind of the people at large. They imagine, now, that it would be easy to drive us into the sea, and that our future stay hangs upon their good pleasure. The people who, but three months ago, were as harmless as doves, and very respectful, are now as bold as lions, and often intolerably impudent. The worst feature in the whole is, that the people associate

the coolie trade, and the imaginary work of kidnapping, with the Christian religion. Here in Shanghai, a number of placards have been posted up denouncing the religion of Jesus, exhorting the people not to enter the church, and calling upon those who have already entered to repent and leave ere it be too late. Some of these placards are written in a most malignant style."

Letters from missionaries of the Presbyterian Board at Ningpo, convey the pleasing intelligence of a continued work of grace at San-poh. Three persons had recently been received to the church at that place. The native Christians at this station are represented as improving in Christian grace, and it is believed that a spirit of inquiry is being waked up in several of the surrounding villages. The native Christians left at Hangchow are going forward with their work. It will not be best for any European resident to go there until the pending difficulties with England are settled. Mr. Inslee gives an account of a most interesting case of conversion, in an officer of the government, who had for four years been secretly reading the Bible, and every religious book and tract he could get his hands on, but had been wanting in courage to avow his religious belief until very recently.

**AMOI.**—Mr. Doty, of the Reformed Dutch Board, writes from Amoy, September 20, 1859: "We are still enjoying precious tokens that the Lord is near, and that his mercies fail not. Indeed, I would not dare to say that there has been any time, for six past years, when there was no evidence that the Holy Spirit was working with the Gospel. On the 4th ultimo, two men were baptized and welcomed to church fellowship, at Chioh-be; and last Sabbath it was our privilege to receive five more to the company of disciples here." "But it is not all encouragement we meet, free from trials. Recently we have been called to exercise discipline in the case of two or three individuals, and all for the same



offence, a return to the use of that fearful scourge of the poor Chinese—opium.”

AFRICA. ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS :

	Rom. Cath.	Prot- estants	Chris- tians.
Cape of Good Hope.....	10,000	250,000	261,000
Other English Possessions, ..	129,000	400,000	529,000
French Possessions, ..	133,000	140,000	273,000
Portuguese Possessions, ..	439,000	..	439,000
Spanish, ..	12,000	..	12,000
Angola, Benguela, Mozambique, ..	100,000	100,000	200,000
Algiers (1857), ..	160,000	10,000	170,000
Egypt, ..	27,000	2,000	29,000
Abyssinia, ..	80,000	50,000	130,000
Liberia, ..	200	..	200
Morocco and Fez, ..	10,000	..	10,000
Tunis and Tripoli, ..	..	..	..
	1,051,200	712,000	1,763,200

—*Prof. Schem's Ecclesiastical Year-Book.*

MISSIONS IN AFRICA.—From an address of Bishop Payne, who has spent twenty-five years in Africa, at a recent missionary meeting in New-York, we glean the following facts :

“Successful missionary efforts have been prosecuted in Africa only from the beginning of the present century. Sierra Leone has 20 foreign missionaries, 30 native African clergymen, over 100 native catechists and assistants of various grades, and 700 or 800 communicants. Four hundred miles above are missions of the English Wesleyans and Baptists. Forty miles down the coast are the American Presbyterians; one hundred and fifty miles further down is Liberia, extending for six hundred miles along the coast, including Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal missions, all but the last being colonists. They have 9000 communicants. The Episcopal missions were established in 1836, on Christmas day, by Dr. Savage, and their field covers 300 miles of coast

and 90 miles in the interior. There are 4 foreign missionaries and 8 female assistants, 6 ordained African clergymen, 8 candidates for orders, 30 catechists of different grades, 6 regularly built churches with regular service maintained, 300 to 400 communicants, and preaching to over 100,000. Extensive publications of missionary works have been made in the native tongues. The worship, manufacture and preservation of idols have greatly decreased. In the vicinity of Cape Palmas, vast missionary labors have resulted in wide-spread and efficient stations. The natives have been made the instruments of propagating the gospel to a great extent—no less than 200 different tribes were represented at Sierra Leone. In the vicinity of the Gambia and the Congo there are numerous stations, so that in the region of the slave-coast and gold-coast 25 dialects have been reduced to writing, 100 buildings erected, 16,000 school-children cared for, 15,000 communicants enrolled, and the gospel preached to from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 Africans.”

WEST AFRICA. — Letters from Mr. Bushnell, of the Gaboon mission, are of a character to enlist the sympathies and prayers of the churches in behalf of the missionaries so often suffering from illness, and so tried by the conduct of the people for whom they labor. He has himself been seriously ill, and he writes : “The field has become a French colony, and French power and influence are extending; and with the demoralizing influences of what is termed ‘free emigration,’ the increase of trade, and consequently the increase of intemperance, the people are wasting away, and becoming less accessible to Christian influences. Unexpected hindrances to our advance into the interior have been met, the climate does not prove to be as salubrious as we had expected, and our success, in visible results, has not been particularly encouraging. But aside from the insalubrious nature of the climate, the greatest discouragement we meet is from the fickleness of

native character and the lack of stability in those who profess to be Christians. Recently we have had a most painful case of apostasy. There seems not to be moral stamina enough in most native converts to withstand the temptations and adverse influences to which they are exposed, when withdrawn from the direct influence of the missionaries."

On the Western coast of Africa missions are now established all along from Senegal to Gaboon, and over 100 Christian churches are organized, into which more than 15,000 hopeful converts have been gathered. No less than 16,000 native youth are now receiving an education in the schools connected with these missions; and more than 20 different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing.

**AFRICA AS A MISSIONARY FIELD.** — Rev. J. T. Bowen, missionary of the Southern Baptist Board in Africa, says the Africans are the most docile, friendly, heart-winning people on the globe. To the missionary they are doubly interesting, because of the intense eagerness with which they often listen to the gospel. No missionary has been even for a few days in an interior town without preaching to deeply interested people; and no one has preached for two or three months without gaining some converts. He has known cases of those who believed under the first sermon, and has met with people from the remote interior who believed in Christ and renounced idolatry, from hearing missionaries only a few times, nearer the coast.

**A HEAVY CONTRIBUTION.** — At a meeting in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Abbeokuta, a collection was taken, which was as much as eight men could carry, each calabash, when filled, being emptied on the floor near the pulpit. The collection amounted to nearly \$100, a large portion of it consisting of cowries, a kind of small shell which the

natives pass as money, over 170,000 of which were contributed.

Mr. Mackey, of the Presbyterian Board, writes from Corisco: "The indications of the continued presence of the Holy Spirit among the people here, are in the highest degree encouraging. There is no abatement in the interest manifested in divine things. In the catechism class there are now about 50 who are candidates for baptism. Among these are several men with their wives. Yesterday, which was the Sabbath, our meetings were full, and in the evening, crowded. Our Sabbath-school at Evangasimba, in the afternoon, numbered over 70 children and adults."

**MADAGASCAR.** — In spite of the determined efforts of the Queen of Madagascar to exterminate Christianity upon that island, the churches continue to grow. Though the severe decrees against Christians are unrelaxed, and many believers in Christ are suffering poverty, imprisonment, and slavery, it is gratifying to learn that the sanguinary laws have not been enforced upon *new* victims. Christian missionaries and foreigners are forbidden access to the island, and communication with the persecuted Christians is almost impossible; but notwithstanding their long-continued and still impending persecutions, the number of believers continues to increase, and the churches, both in the capital and in different parts of the island, are multiplied.

**POLYNESIA.** — There are over 7000 native Christians among the 50,000 inhabitants of the islands of Polynesia, whose free-will offerings for missions in the other islands for the last year amounted to \$5595. Their schools for training teachers and evangelists contained about 100 students. All the native pastors are supported by the people. The wife of a missionary in the Feejee islands recently translated the Pilgrim's Progress into the dialect of the quondam cannibals.



are baptized, and 1642 unbaptized or excluded. Our mission work on the plantations embraces 177 plantations, contained 11,089 baptized, and 10,092 unbaptized persons. It is now 80 years since the first negro was baptized on a plantation, and now we have 177 plantations and 11,000 baptized negroes under our care. Eighty-four years ago, the first negro was baptized in Paramaribo, and now our congregation numbers about 4000 baptized negroes."

**CHINA. CANTON.**—Rev. Mr. Turner, an English missionary in Canton, says that the facilities for propagating religious truth in that city are almost as great as could be desired. The preacher can proclaim the gospel to listening crowds in the open places, and every where finds those willing to converse about the new doctrine. Hearers will come to the chapels, children can be collected into the schools, the hospitals are popular, and religious books are eagerly received. The country round is thickly dotted with towns and villages, and the missionary in his excursions generally meets with civility and an attentive hearing.

**THE TEMPLE DESTROYERS.**—The Tai Ping insurgents in China, from the beginning of their rebellion, have displayed strong opposition to image-worship, and have every where, in their progress, destroyed the heathen temples. By a rapid march from an unexpected quarter, they recently invaded the city of Hangcheu, the capital of the rich and beautiful province of Chehkiang, retaining possession of the city for six days. While there, they took a fierce delight in destroying the magnificent Buddhist temples, which were the boast of the city, to the great consternation of the priests, thousands of whom live near the lake, on the banks of which the western wall of the city is built.

**SIAM.**—The *Record*, of the Presbyterian church, says: "We have

very cheering intelligence from Siam. A letter of the 21st of January mentions that the 'week of prayer' had not only been very refreshing to the missionary brethren themselves, but had been the occasion of awakening a deeper feeling of interest in the subject of religion among the natives of Bangkok than perhaps had ever been witnessed in that place before. The brethren of the different missions united in the services of the week. At the beginning, there were but few except professing Christians that united with them; but before the close of the week a large number of unconverted persons were present, listening to the proclamation of the truth, more than twenty of whom became deeply concerned for the salvation of their souls."

**MISSIONARY SHIPS.**—There are now five missionary ships in the Pacific Ocean: the *Morning Star*, owned by the American Board; the *John Wesley*, owned by the English Wesleyans; the *John Knox*, the *Southern Cross*, and the *John Williams*. The last is the oldest and largest, having been in the service nearly fifteen years. It sails to England every three or four years, with the children and wives of missionaries, and the contributions to the cause of missions from the natives of the South Seas; and returns with passengers and supplies of Bibles and other books, and material for printing purposes.

THE BIBLE has been translated into 260 languages and dialects, and is ready for 600,000,000 of the inhabitants of the earth; but only 160,000,000 have, as yet, received it.

**THE WEEK OF PRAYER.**—From different parts of the world the intelligence is coming of the blessings that followed the observance of the week of prayer, recommended by the missionaries at Lodianna, in Northern India. The missionaries of Ningpo, China, write that they enjoyed a season of great comfort and refreshing during the week. The mission-

aries at Bangkok, Siam, state that it was the occasion of awakening a deeper feeling of interest in the subject of religion among the natives than had ever been witnessed. A large number of unconverted persons attended, and scarcely had the united petitions of the missionaries left their lips, when a powerful work of grace commenced, in which some were truly converted, and many more were seriously seeking the way of life.

**THE TRUE VIEW OF MISSIONARY WORK.**—The London *Saturday Review*, in noticing Dr. Krapf's "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa," says: "It would be difficult to find a volume which cuts more completely across the silly popular platitude that missions to the heathen are useless, and that wise men should confine themselves to our own heathen at home. It is strange that if a man goes merely to hunt, or to make geographical discoveries, he is loudly applauded by the very people who speak slightly of missionaries. To bring home hundreds of tusks and teeth and skins, or to show where a river rises, and what is the altitude of a mountain range, is thought a noble achievement; but to have crossed the plains where the elephants range, and to have ascended those unknown heights in order to give the greatest of blessings to the men who live there, is thought quite quixotic and derogatory to the wisdom of civilized man. The real facts are just the other way."

**DEPARTURE OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY.**—The Japanese, having spent a month and a half in the Atlantic States, sailed from New York for their own country June 30, in the United States steam frigate Niagara.

Their visits were confined to the cities of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, in each of which they were warmly welcomed. It is earnestly hoped that the report of their visit to this country may lead to the introduction into their own land of the arts and sciences and religion, which have made the United States so distinguished among the nations of the earth.

**MISSIONARIES REPRESENTING THEIR COUNTRY.**—A correspondent of one of the secular journals of New York, speaking of the American missionaries in China, says: "After all, say what we may of our navy, our consuls and ministers, and our merchants and professional men who represent us in foreign lands—and I am proud to say they will not suffer when compared with those of any other nation—yet the truest and by far the best types of American civilization in this land are those pious, educated, and devoted men who represent the different religious denominations of our country as missionaries."

**CANNIBALS CHRISTIANIZED.**—A sailor who recently returned from a voyage in the Pacific, stated in the Fulton-street prayer-meeting, that he stopped at an island which in former times he had known as an island of cannibals, and was uncertain whether to land or not, as he considered it dangerous to do so. He finally ventured on shore one evening with a few of his men, and to his amazement found a prayer-meeting of sixty young people, all children of heathen parents, thirty of whom were now Christians. They had been visited by missionaries from some of the neighboring Christian islands.



THE  
AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

No. VIII.

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NOVEMBER, 1860.

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ART. I.—THE LAWS OF CIVILIZATION.

By Prof. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK.

WHILE it has been a question with some whether there be any such thing as an exact philosophy of history either attained or attainable, the fact is patent that there are very few men in any grade of culture, or in any walk of life, wholly without a philosophy of some sort, better or poorer, more or less distinctly outlined, and more or less consciously entertained, underlying all their meditations upon human character and destiny. Our choice must therefore lie, not between philosophy and no philosophy, but between the philosophies themselves. In the present essay it is proposed to investigate the laws of civilization as disclosed in the genius and achievements of the historic races and nations of the earth.

Of well-defined opinions on this subject, which must be pronounced erroneous, there are three great types. First, and most imposing of all, the Pantheistic, which rules finite freedom, in any just sense of this term, entirely out of the prob-

lem; making human history, with all its reputed blunders and abominations, a Divine, a necessary and therefore an unimpeachable process. Secondly, the Humanitarian, which, on the other hand, rules Divine Providence out of the problem; making human history a motley procession of follies, crimes and sufferings, set off here and there by redeeming heroisms, but from first to last, a mere succession without a method or a goal. And thirdly, what may be called the Materialistic, finding its most ambitious utterance in the recent remarkable work of Henry Thomas Buckle, which rules out of the problem both the freedom of man and the Providence of God, branding them as metaphysical dogmas, disowned of the inductive philosophy; subjugating all things to mere natural law, and thus making human history what is arrogantly called a "Positive Science," in the face and eyes of a vast multitude of positive facts.

These three types of opinion, so discordant in other respects, agree in this, that barbarism, or something closely akin to it, was the primitive estate of man, giving place here and there, now and then, to civilization, as worm to butterfly, as night to morning. Civilization, come whence it may, whether of Divine impulse, of human aspiration, or of mere external conditions, is, in any case, the second comer, and not the first. This is an ancient notion, plausibly suggested by a superficial inspection of history; has insinuated itself into many literatures, as for example the "*Mutum et turpe pecus*" of the Roman satirist; and is, at this moment, in the crude, lax thinking of our time, far more widely prevalent than is creditable either to our science or our faith.

The true philosophy of history stands equally opposed to all these theories, and yet accepts from each its solitary element of truth. With the Pantheistic philosophy it agrees in affirming a Divine intelligence, and the working of a Divine efficiency, throughout the historic course. With the Humanitarian it agrees in affirming a finite freedom, counterworking the Divine efficiency. With the Materialistic it agrees in admitting the force of outward circumstances, such as climate, soil, food and the general aspect of nature, conditioning the cha-



racter, institutions and fortunes of men. But these diverse forces it blends together into one, not pretending, indeed, to have reconciled them in theory, and yet not presuming to deny their harmony in fact. It detects in every civilization the flavor of the soil which fed its roots; and yet claims for man a supremacy, always potential, though not always realized, over his outward circumstances; while above all, and through all, it discerns a Divine order, holding its firm and stately march from century to century. If man has sunk to be ruled by nature, it is denounced as the shameful abdication of a sovereign. If, by his abuse of moral freedom, he has disturbed the Divine order, and threatened chaos to history, there is no fear but that the rebellion will at length be quelled and the gracious purposes of God triumphantly accomplished.

Such, in germ, is our theory of civilization: God, man and nature, its perpetually interworking factors; boundless diversity of alternate conquest and defeat, in frequently shifting theatres, its aspect; but progress, on the whole, its law, and a golden age, its end.

The development of this idea of civilization, in any proper fulness, would require a volume, or volumes rather, which could come only of a vast erudition garnered by the diligence of years. But the humblest student may sketch his rude outline of a treatise; stating his points, without being challenged exhaustively to prove them; with the dust of an actual exploration, indeed, upon his sandals, but bringing only clusters of grapes, and not professing to have gathered the vintage.

I. The first great law of civilization, every where discernible and dominant, and every where to be acknowledged by a sound philosophy, is what may be termed the Divine tuition, inspiring and shaping it.

We encounter at the threshold the question of the original estate of man. Was it, as the infidel theories assume, sheer barbarism? Was it, as Bushnell has recently suggested, mere "crude capacity," involving, perhaps, a protracted feebleness of pupilage? Or was it only infancy, more fresh than crude, infolded in the Divine arms, breathed upon by a Divine inspiration, and at once aroused and informed by the lessons of a

Divine tuition? These are the three suppositions, or assumptions, if you please: which of them is the right one? Surely, not the first, which propounds barbarism as the primitive estate, since, as Niebuhr, with all the authority justly belonging to such a scholar, has affirmed, there is not in history the record of a single indigenous civilization; there is no where, in any reliable document, the report of any people lifting themselves up out of barbarism. The historic civilizations are all exotic. The torches that blaze along the line of the centuries were kindled, each by the one behind it. Nor yet can we accept the second supposition, which assumes a crude capacity, somewhat tardily developed. It offends our moral sense, to imagine the human race lying, even for a night, like a poor foundling on the cold door-sill of its future habitation. The third assumption must therefore be the true one. Humanity, we are constrained to believe, was born into its home and passed at once into its Father's arms, taken up, not sternly as Sparta lifted the new-born babe to see whether it might live, or be sent to die on the Taygetus, but with infinite tenderness, immediate provision being made for all its wants. The first man, made outright, must have been more than a puling infant, staring and stammering at what he saw. We need not reckon him a philosopher, but we must believe him to have been a man; somewhat infantile, doubtless, in tone, but not in capacity, nor in the method of his mental growth. Robert South, it may be conceded, has gone too far in asserting, that: "An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise." And yet he was nearer the truth than some in our day, who speak with condescending, but supercilious, pity of the primal pair. Be it granted, that in the first man, as we may well believe, there was more of intuition than of analysis; more of poetry than of science; more of the passion to acquire than of positive acquirement. Still there remains the problem of mature human faculties, fresh from the hand of the Creator, unclouded as yet by sin, and put to school in a universe, teeming with wonders, and all alive with stimulants to thought. But the great teacher was God himself, who must not, in any scheme of phi-



losophy, be so defined as to rob him of his paternal solicitude for man. What shall be said of human language, that mysterious, subtle, cunning instrument of thought? Science hesitates about its origin, whether to call it Divine or human, and is best satisfied, perhaps, to call it both. The conviction is irresistible, on the basis of any generous conception of God, that man, his "offspring," as Aratus and Cleanthes called him, cannot have been put to his lessons without a teacher, and can have had no other teacher than his Heavenly Father. Civilization, consequently, was no belated and painful achievement of ages, but appeared immediately, as the joint product of God and man, the teacher and the taught. Precisely what form it took, in what lines it moved, and to what lengths it went, it were idle, of course, to ask. Suffice it know, that every just postulate in philosophy invites us to the conclusion that human history must have had its beginning, not in barbarism, nor yet in mere crude capacity, but in a sensitive, athletic humanity, taking its lessons, whence its life was kindled, from above. All this may be called hypothesis; but surely it is hypothesis resting upon the solid ground of rationality, and not discredited or weakened by any known analogies of history.

But self-consciousness reports a schism within us; a dismal and tragic dissension between the conscience and the will. In the technics of theology, this is known as sin; under its two aspects of generic and individual, distinguished as original and actual. Theology, however, is not responsible for the fact, and is not alone in reporting it. The Greek and Latin classics abound with confessions of human depravity. Plato, in his Dialogue concerning virtue, declares that those who are good are not so by nature, but by what he terms *θεία μοίρα*, a "Divine fate." Aristotle, in his Nicomachean Ethics, assumes the capacity of man for virtue, but recognizes the universality of those evil desires which hinder it. "It is the nature of man to sin," says Thucydides, "both in public and private." Cicero and Seneca are equally emphatic in their confessions. In the Poets, the confession becomes a wailing; as in that famous passage of Ovid: "I would be wise if I could. But a

strange power bears me along against my will, desire advising one thing and reason another." Indeed, it was a common saying amongst the Romans: "*Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.*"

The origin of this inward schism, as a matter of mere human science, is confessedly ante-historic. Plato wavered in his opinion concerning it, but gravitated towards a sort of Dualism; as, indeed, he was compelled to do, recognizing evil as evil, and not willing to make God the author of it. Philosophy herself must therefore advise us to fly for relief from our perplexity, whither Plato would have rejoiced to fly, to the revelations of Scripture. Here we learn, what no secular history can tell us, but what alone enables us to solve the great riddle of secular history, that the first human pair, in the early morning of their career, by an abuse of moral freedom, inscrutable to us, fell away from their rectitude, and carried the human race, then in their loins, down with them into sin. This was the beginning of social decay, the beginning of barbarism, and, had no check been put upon it, would have issued, in no long time, in the utter extinction of the race. Barbarism is not a youthful crudeness, but a decrepitude, of society, not a wild exuberance, but a consumption, of life. Only this consumption, like that of a man's lungs, has its stage of hectic glow, and undiminished fulness of fibre, separated sometimes, by quite an interval, from the hollow cough, the sunken cheek and the fatal night-sweat. Sometimes, however, the consumption gallops. But slow or quick, it kills. Such is barbarism. Its law is violence, and its end is death. The noblest race of Barbarians who have a name in history, the Germans, overpraised no doubt by Tacitus, would never have civilized themselves, and, but for Christianity, which had as much as it could do to civilize them, would long ago have perished; just as, in spite of Christianity, the Hawaiians of the Pacific, and perhaps, the Aborigines of our own Continent, are now perishing, the physician having arrived too late to save them.

We have thus touched upon that specific form of Divine tuition, which has been the actual inheritance of the race as such. The earlier form of mere paternal superintendence was



cut short by sin, before as yet the race had begun to be cradled. Then came that other form, the redemptive, which was at once inaugurated, and which, from then till now, has inspired and determined the whole course of human history. The Serpent-Bruiser was not yet born, was only promised, and foreshadowed by type and symbol; but the Logos economy began to work, and, like the central wheel of some gigantic machinery, sent its motion to the farthest points. Christ began to rule the world long before he entered it through the Virgin's womb. It was he that vitalized the pious civilization of Seth. It was he that cursed the godless race of Cain, and drowned the reeking plains of Western Asia beneath the Deluge. It was he that divided the earth amongst the three great races that came of Noah. It was he that elected the race of Shem as the special nurse and guardian of the great religions of the world. It was he that appeared to Abraham, and evoked, through him, the Hebrew people to their stupendous destiny. From that hour, till he appeared in person to tread its mountains and its valleys, Palestine became, and remained, the central country of the globe. Diminutive in territory, hardly larger than our own New Hampshire, which it resembles in shape, embraced by the glowing arms of the Desert on the South and East, sentinelled on the North by the rugged mountains of Lebanon, washed on the West by the Mediterranean, with scarcely a single harbor to break the line of its inhospitable coast, it lay apart from the nations, and yet in the midst of them, to be the pivot of their policy, the tempting prize of their ambition, the end for which they flourished, though they knew it not, and through its Prophets, the angel of their doom. Egypt bloomed just in time to adorn the Nomadic Hebrews with science, arts and arms. The Kingdom of Syria was strong just in time to tease, the Assyrian Empire just in time to break in pieces, for Providential ends, the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Then Babylon arose just in time to crush the Southern Kingdom of Judah. The Medo-Persian Empire, intensely hating idolatry, next rushed upon the scene just in time to bear the repentant Hebrews back to Palestine. Then Greece appeared, advancing her breast of flint to shiver the

Persian lances, just in time to weave a fitting garment of language for Christian thought. Followed by iron Rome, lacing the conquered world with imperishable roads, teaching the nations law, and shutting the Temple of Janus, to await the coming of the Prince of Peace. Thus all things pointed towards this one issue. There is the unity as of a perfect drama; and the conclusion of every healthy judgment is, that it must have been designed. Rightly, then, did Augustine, thus surveying the grand procession of races and nations, pronounce the history of the world, the history of redemption. No other philosophy of history will answer; no other solution of the problem is valid. Blind must be the student of ancient history, who cannot trace in every land the footprints, and deaf his ears who cannot hear, in every century, the footfalls, of the coming Christ.

None of those antique civilizations were native to the soils that nourished them. Rome took her light from Greece; Greece from Egypt; Egypt from Western Asia; and Western Asia was where the race was twice cradled, where Adam lived and died, and where the Ark rested. Each of these civilizations, it is true, had something peculiar to itself, in obedience to other laws, which are presently to be considered; but they all proceeded, by natural descent, from one original; and that original was a survivor of the Deluge, the bequest of an elder, perished world, and, in its last analysis, an inspiration of God himself.

The only civilizations, of much historic interest, which failed to play an important part in preparing the way for Christianity, were the Hindoo and the Chinese. Why these had nothing to do, is obvious: They stood apart, outside of the line of march. But neither were *they* indigenous. They both proceeded from Western Asia, shooting eastward, as the more important historic civilizations shot westward, from the central stem.

As to the ordering of these events, thus roughly sketched, the fact of a general Divine superintendence, one would think, is hardly to be questioned. Such adaptations indicate design; and such design necessitates the inference of a competent designer. The only point open to question, is in regard



to the mode and measure of that superintendence. The Persian Cyrus, if we allow the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, was certainly quickened to his work by the touch of prophecy; while the Hebrew history throughout, which, as we have seen, was central to the world, was alive with inspiration. How was it with other nations? But particularly with Greece and Rome? It was a belief of some of the best of the early Fathers of the Church, that, before the coming of Christ, the Logos was busy even amongst the heathen nations of the earth, shining on their altars, guiding their statesmen, inspiring their poets and their sages. St. John was thought to have furnished a warrant for this belief, in what he says of "that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Certain is it, that the ancient heathen systems of philosophy and worship had an air of majesty about them wholly wanting in the modern. From these and other tokens, we think it no idle play of fancy to conclude, that the historic civilizations of the ancient world were all of them, not merely branches from a common stock, but were all nourished by a common sap.

The modern civilizations, of which we have not yet spoken, require, in this connection, no elaborate elucidation. Two of them, to which we have barely alluded, the Hindoo and the Chinese, are ancient as well as modern. But these are perishing. The one really puissant civilization, now advancing to universal dominion, is the Christian. Not in its arts, its letters, or its arms, but in its faith, is the hiding of its strength; its banner, the Gospel of Christ; and its motto, that of Constantine: *Ἐν τοῦτῳ νίκα*.

II. The second great law of civilization, is what may be called its dependence upon the Genius of Race. Of this, Buckle makes no account; but the importance of it is immense.

In speaking of different races of men, we are not to be understood as denying to mankind either unity of species, or unity of origin. Indeed, unity of species is now hardly denied by any one. But we affirm also, with equal decision, unity of origin. It is not enough that we are all of one kind; the instinct of human brotherhood yearns also for a common cradle.

With the zoologists, few in number, but of great and deserved repute, who deny unity of origin, our issue must be, that the point in controversy does not belong exclusively, or mainly, to their department of science. Man is, indeed, an animal, but an animal, self-conscious, immortal and accountable; and the adjectives thus employed to describe him, do so exalt the noun they qualify, as to leave the great bulk of the animal kingdom completely under foot. Marshal what analogies you will, they cannot be decisive, so long as the being, towards whom they are directed, transcends their range. From bears and wolves, of several varieties, proceeding from several centres, it cannot be safe to reason up to man. The question must, therefore, be carried higher. Some would make it a question of theology. And so might we in other connections; reasoning backward from the second Adam to the first. But here, and now, we are well content to entertain it simply as a question of history. Historic certainty is, of course, impossible, because the documents are wanting, but, clearly, it is an historic probability, that mankind are all descended from a single stock, and that that stock was planted in Western Asia. Human traditions, so far as any such traditions are extant, from every point of the compass, all run inward towards Western Asia, as the spokes of a wheel to its hub. And these traditions are strikingly corroborated by the present distribution of the population of the globe. At this hour, more than half our race are in Asia, and more than a fourth in Europe, closely contiguous to Asia, leaving less than a fourth for all the remoter portions of the globe; thus indicating decisively whence these human masses swarmed. Could plurality of origin in any way be *proved*, that, of course, would end the debate. But no proof is offered; only a plausible hypothesis, supported by certain zoological analogies, these analogies irrelevant, and, above all, overruled by the more potent probabilities of history. Hence our faith in the unity of the race; its unity of species, and its unity of origin.

But while there is thus a human race, one in origin, in constitution, and in ultimate destiny, there are also human races, marked by signal diversities of character, leading on to equal diversities of fortune. So great are these diversities, that faith



in unity of origin is often sorely staggered. It is a long way down from the merchants, statesmen and scholars of Northern Europe, to the clicking Bushmen of Southern Africa, and the Papuans of the Eastern Archipelago. While all the way along the scale, from top to bottom, are ranged varieties of men, with characteristic peculiarities of color, form, temperament and genius, so positive and constant, that science not only permits, but requires, us to give them the name of races. As to the number of these distinct varieties, or races, of men, ethnologists are not agreed. Cuvier would fix the number at three; Blumenbach at five; Buffon and Prichard at seven; some go as high as fifteen; while Pickering, who sailed round the globe to solve this problem, reports eleven distinct races of men, and declares he does not know where to look for others. Guyot, in recent and as yet unpublished lectures, reckons three "physiological races:" Caucasian, Mongolian and African; with three sub-races: Malay, American and Australian.

For our purposes, still another classification is called for. There are historic races, named by Guyot "psychological races," outnumbering the races of physical science, and consequently not coincident with them. As, for instance, in Northern and Central Europe, which has been swept by four successive waves of population: the Iberian, the Keltic, the Teutonic, and the Slavonic, as distinct as so many successive geological formations. While each one of these four great races is, in turn, composed of several subordinate tribes, no more to be confounded than the larger divisions to which they belong. How unlike each other, for example, the Laplander and the Basque; and yet both of them Iberian. How unlike each other the Gael and the Briton; and yet both of them Keltic. How unlike the Saxon and the Norman; and yet both of them Teutonic. How unlike the Croat and the Russian; and yet both of them Slavonic. So, too, in Asia, the Arab and the Hebrew; closely related, yet easily distinguished. So, indeed, the world over. Physical science may deal with these tribes of men as it pleases. Historical science, employing at once a more spiritual standard of judgment, and having more

regard to practical results in social and civil life, requires us to treat them as races. Each of them has a genius of its own; a subtle something, which almost eludes analysis, hiding itself away in the depths of character, as heat is hidden in a sun-beam, and yet as ineradicable as the olive complexion of a Chinaman. Belgic bravery, winning the praise of Cæsar, reappears, after sixteen centuries, in the heroism of the Dutch Republic. Strabo's description of Gallic character, published eighteen hundred years ago, would answer well enough for the Frenchman of to-day. In each case, it is the same old blood, beating to the same old measure.

As to the number of these historic races, no estimate need now be offered. In the perpetual flux of history, great changes occur. Old races disappear, and new ones take their places. If a classification were adventured, it must be, as in Gfrörer's *Urgeschichte*, on the basis of the 10th chapter of Genesis. The three great lobes of humanity, Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic, dating back to the Deluge, are still distinctly discernible. Minor divisions presently appear, sharpening their outlines, clashing, overlapping, blending, until the historic canvas is gay with colors.

The origin of races, is one of the mysteries of science. The material we know: our common humanity, body, soul and spirit. And the forces we know: partly of nature, such as soil and climate; partly of spirit, such as letters and religion. But when the product appears, if we are thoughtful, we stand in awe of it. No augur announces its coming, or can tell its errand. It has a secret, which no interrogation extorts. It is not fully explained by any statement, however exhaustive, either of its outward conditions, or of its impelling ideas. There is also in the problem an element of Providential purpose, which must by no means be overlooked. The ingredients are mixed, and the hour is struck, by an unseen hand. Between the human race in its unity, and the human races in their diversity, there is a difference as great as between the sunlight and the rainbow. With no change of contents, there is a vast change of aspect and of office. Had there been no fall of man, there would have been, perhaps, only the race, in its un-



troubled, normal development, with only such slight diversities, as might have come from diversities of outward condition. Now, instead of the race, there are races; intensifications, all of them, of certain fragmentary portions of our nature, involving the loss of wholeness and of symmetry. Breaking the unit, we exaggerate the fractions. Losing in weight, we maintain the momentum by increasing the force. Or losing in force, we maintain the momentum by increasing the weight. Power in one direction is purchased at the cost of weakness in another. "Non omnia possumus omnes." And so each race, by Divine appointment, has its own work to do, its own errand to accomplish. The Hamitic race, hot, quick, versatile, leads off for a time in arts and arms; but, presently the glow becomes a fever, imagination masters the judgment, passion debauches conscience, and the plunge is made into barbarism. The elder Babylonian Empire soon passes away, and Egypt becomes in time the basest of kingdoms. The Semitic race, finer in fibre, of purer tastes, more thoughtful, intuitive and reverent, gives birth, indeed, to Phœnician commerce, and, from the shores of Carthage, thunders at the gates of Rome; but, in the main, prefers, even at the risk of historic immobility, to hold its original seat away from the sea, and there nurse the religions which are to rule the world. The only cosmopolitan religions are the Semitic: Judaism, Christianity and Moham-medanism. Heliopolis was for Egypt, and Delphi for Greece; but Mecca is for millions of men not Arabs, and Jerusalem is the mother of us all. The Japhetic race, of iron muscle and of iron will, stirred by a mysterious impulse, turns its back upon the seats of rising empire, pushes off northward and westward, into less hospitable climes, and there awaits the later call of Providence. In due time we behold the language and letters of Greece; Roman roads, legions and laws; and, finally, the whole life of modern Europe and America, now striking for the dominion of the world. Just now, the race that was first, is last; and the one that was last, is first. But the day is coming, when all shall enjoy together what each has contributed in its turn to win.

What is thus true of the larger divisions of mankind, is

equally true of all. There is that in the Keltic race, for example, distinguishing it from every other, which has always distinguished it, and which inevitably qualifies the career of every nation which has the Keltic blood very largely in its veins. Better was it than the Iberian, or the Iberian would not have retired before it ; but inferior to the Teutonic, or the Teutonic would not have overborne it. Between the Teutonic and the Slavonic, the issue is still impending.

The best races are the amalgams. An unmixed race will never hold its own ; and ordinarily, the deterioration is rapid. Within certain limits, the mixing of races has a tendency to multiply the good points, and eliminate the bad ones. As in France, where the modern Frenchman is better than either the Kelt, the Frank, or the Norman, of whom mainly he has been composed. As in the England of to-day, so greatly in advance of the England of Arthur, of Alfred, or of the Norman Conqueror. As in North America, where Providence is now preparing a new amalgam, which appears to have forces in it, and a destiny before it, more grand than either of its European ingredients.

Unquestionably there is much in blood. There are things which can never be taught, and never learned ; but if ever put into men, must go into them before they are born. The proper use of the ballot-box is one of these things. The Frenchman and the German try in vain to learn it. The born Englishman or American takes to it, as the lark to the morning-sky. Germany, overrunning with scholars, fails to beget a Parliament. France with the stamp of her foot calls splendid armies to the field ; but her colonies are imbecile. As Lieber has lately shown, the only proper self-government in the world, is Anglican. This comes in part of the happy blending of races ; but comes also of time gradually working its lessons into our very marrow and our blood.

III. The third great law of civilization, is what may be termed the shaping pressure of its outward conditions ; which have been reduced to four : climate, soil, food and the general aspect of nature.



Physical *causes*, these are ordinarily called ; but if man be really endowed, as he appears to be, with moral freedom, they are not properly causes, but only conditions, of human development. A material embodiment like this of ours, involves, of necessity, more or less of dependence upon nature. The earth and sky must, in any case, have played their forces upon us, belting humanity, as they have belted the globe, with zones. But man was made to be superior to nature, successfully achieving his destiny on any continent, or island, in any latitude he might select for himself between the equator and the poles. It was no part of the original economy of things, that the Tropical man should become a Hottentot, or the Arctic man an Esquimau. The iron will of the youthful Kane, enshrined in a delicate body, defying the rigors of an Arctic winter, may help us to imagine, what might have been our relations to nature, but for the damage done us by the fall. But now it is an impaired humanity which has peopled, and is peopling, the globe. The will of man, in succumbing to moral evil, has succumbed also to nature. He trembles in her presence like a king dethroned, and dragged through the streets of his capital by an angry mob. He is overawed by whatever is grand in nature : the ocean, the desert, the mountain, the forest, the cataract and the starry night. He is appalled by whatever is terrible : the earthquake, the drought, the deluge, the lightning and the hurricane. And seduced by whatever is soft and fragrant : the languid sky, the billowy landscape and the spicy breeze. Hence the bondage of man to nature ; sometimes nearly complete, as in those human races, which have gone down so nearly to the level of the brutes, indolently taking for their food the spontaneous products of the earth, with no bridle upon their appetites, and no end to the madness of their lusts but in rottenness and death ; sometimes only partial, but always more or less in exact proportion to what remains of the original humanity.

There is a proper influence of nature upon man, which may be permitted without abasement. Adam himself, in Paradise, must needs have been responsive to the outward conditions of his lot. But he should have paced his garden as a king. And

when his offspring went abroad in quest of other climates, milder or sterner, they should have borne the sceptre with them. Even sin, when it fell upon the nascent race, followed and balanced, as it was so promptly, by redemption, was no annihilation of the royal prerogative. Humanity was not destroyed, but only deranged and weakened. The derangement, it is true, was great. The regal estate was menaced, the dominion over nature disputed, and a stern conflict imposed as the price of victory. The temperate zone offered, no doubt, the easiest and most auspicious theatre for man; at once requiring and rewarding his toil; neither coaxing him into a relaxed and effeminate barbarism, nor frowning him into a hard and brutal barbarism. Even there, under the happiest conditions, infirm as he was, the battle was liable, of course, to go against him; but quite sure to go against him, if he plunged precipitately, either into the lap of fire, which waited for him in the South, or into the lap of frost, which waited for him in the North. Both these plunges were made: into the lap of fire, by a portion of the descendants of Ham; into the lap of frost, by a portion of the descendants of Japhet. And the penalty of both was barbarism: to the descendants of Ham, a barbarism not yet conquered; to the descendants of Japhet, a barbarism, whose conquest has been one of the proudest trophies of our religion. Universal conquest, we know, is possible, because the two extremes have already been touched. The torrid home of the Zulu, and the icy den of the Greenlander, have both resounded with the accents of our Christian worship.

As we have said before, Noah, the second father of mankind, was no barbarian. He brought forth out of the Ark, what he had carried into it, the civilization of the elder world, which had come down, through sharp conflicts, from the gates of Paradise. The problem was, to keep it; and not to keep it only, but also to enrich it with the spoils of every clime, into which its victorious banner might be carried. The struggle will be severe, and the theatre of this civilization must, therefore, be wisely chosen; not in the extreme North, where eternal winter will freeze it, nor in the extreme South, where eter-



nal summer will dissolve it, into barbarism; but in the temperate middle zone, neither North nor South, where man and nature may wage a more equal strife.

And so it was. The historic civilizations have been neither Tropical, Arctic, nor Antarctic, but Temperate. And, furthermore, for ages, till Persia and Greece succeeded to the inheritance, they clung tenaciously to the fertile valleys of the globe. The Babylonian civilization struck its roots on the banks of the Euphrates; the Assyrian, on the banks of the Tigris; the Egyptian, on the banks of the Nile. And had we time, it would be easy to show the indebtedness of all these civilizations to the valleys, in which they flourished. Only there, and thus, could they have run their course. The garden was sheltered, the soil was rich, and the growth was rank. But the fibre was soft, and the lordly trees, struck by tempests from the hills, went down with a resounding crash.

With the fall of Persia, the grand historic drama was shifted to another continent. Europe is now its theatre. And with this change of theatre, there is also a change of method. The Asiatic civilizations have been too passive, too much enthralled by nature, tasting too rankly of the soil. In Europe, a harder soil must drive the life of the race more up into the air for nutriment. Man must get the better of nature, ceasing to adore it as Divine, even at the risk of making himself a god. He must cease from his idolatry of the stars, the mountains, and the streams, even at the risk of worshipping the dead heroes of his own mortal race. Such was the mission of Greece. And yet the Grecian civilization, intensely human as it was, was conditioned by its geography. A little kingdom, not larger than the State of Maine, but enriched with every variety of soil and surface; deeply pierced on either side by the Adriatic and the Ægean, as though they would sting it into life; lifting itself in mountain ranges to be crowned with eternal ice; stooping, in its valleys, to be decked with eternal bloom; its hill-sides yielding honey to the bee, and marble to the sculptor; its nineteen districts, or counties as we should call them, so divided from each other by the hand of nature,

as to give to the inhabitants of each institutions and a genius of their own ; sometimes so confederated as to be a unit, and defy the world ; but oftener chafing, in fatal rivalry, which invites aggression from abroad, till at length the Macedonian phalanx trampled them like grass ; never, in all the tide of time, was there a kingdom, whose history was more indisputably conditioned by the theatre in which it moved.

The other leading civilizations of Europe—Italian, German, Gallic, British—had we time to analyze them, would yield a similar result. With a life in them superior to nature, such as no Asiatic civilization ever had, they have yet been colored by the soil from which they sprang, and bent to their shape by the winds which have played upon them out of the sky, into which they have shot their majestic growth.

Crossing the Atlantic, in the wake of the European migrations, it would be easy to show how our own history has been conditioned in the past, and must be conditioned in the future, by the great features of the continent on which we dwell. The vast oceans on either side of us, highways to Europe and Asia, towards which, by the line of our mountain ranges, we slope eastward and westward ; the Lakes above and the Gulf below us ; our gigantic rivers clasping the continent from North to South with their shining arms ; our imperial prairies, teeming with more than Egyptian plenty ; and, over all, our keen and eager climate ; these are features which must set their seal upon our destiny.

No where and never can it be a matter of indifference, whether a civilization be continental or insular ; whether its theatre be flat or mountainous ; its soil sterile or fruitful ; its productions few or various ; its climate Boeotian or Attic. It is true, man is no vassal of nature. With a civilization in his soul, he can root it where he will ; in the sands of a desert, or amidst the snow-banks of Greenland. But it is also true, that he can root it better on a broad and fertile continent, over-arched by a brilliant and genial sky.

IV. The fourth great law of civilization, is its dependence upon moral stamina.



That which first impresses every youthful observer, is the frequent shifting of the historic theatre, consequent upon the decay of nations and races. From the Euphrates to the Nile, from the Nile to the *Ægean*, from the *Ægean* to the Tiber, from the Tiber to the Rhine, the Seine and the Thames, through more than four thousand years, there has been a steady drift, as if upon some mysterious electric tide, following on after the sun in his westward march. Civilization, it is true, has never perished; but many civilizations have foundered. New races have appeared, and new nations have come to the rescue, only in their turn to be struck by decay, and stagger to ruin. The earth is a vast graveyard of institutions, politics and cultures, as well as of men. And we have heard it said, that the law is the same for both; that as the individual is born, advances to manhood, declines and dies, so races and nations tread their appointed round of youthful vigor, proud maturity, and pitiful decay.

But this is a totally false conception of history. It is only the individual that dies, not the race. Generations come and go, but the vital continuity survives. Constant dying is there; but also a constant succession of renewed and ever renewing life. The drops run past us, but the river stays:

*Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

If thus the race continues, why may not a nation likewise? It surely may. Certainly there is nothing inherently forbidding it. If it be true, as in a certain sense it is, that the human race is as young and fresh to-day as ever it was, and can never be old, so long as new generations continue to be cradled in its arms; it is equally true, that a nation also need never be old. This human race, it is said, is old; but it is also young. The child that is born to-day, comes just as plump and eager to its mother's bosom, as the child, that was born a thousand years ago. Its manhood, too, may be as robust, and its destiny as grand. And, in the nature of things there is no reason whatever, why this renewal of lusty life may not keep on repeating itself interminably; no reason whatever, why a nation in all the functions, and for all the purposes, of national existence,

may not be as ruddy and athletic at the end, as at the beginning, of a hundred, or a thousand, or even ten thousand, years.

Why, then, do races and nations perish? Why have the names of Chaldea, Assyria and Egypt been starred upon the Catalogue of nations? Children still continue to be born, and lullabies may still be heard upon the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nile. Why, since the people are living, have the nations died? One verdict will answer for them all; one verdict, and one epitaph. To say all in a single word, they died of immorality; and immorality is suicide. Seldom do nations die in any other way than by suicide. National assassination is a rare atrocity. There may be here and there an obscure exception, but, in general, the nations that are dead, have died by their own hands. Suicide is the method; poison, the instrument; and the poison, lust. The agony may be longer or shorter, but the end is certain. Sooner or later, they all take the advice of Job's wife, which Job did not take: "Curse God, and die."

Sin, it can hardly need to be said, is the fontal beginning of national decay; sin in the heart, sending out immorality into the life. But sin is human; and more or less of immorality must always attend the career of nations. Somewhat of immorality, doubtless, there may be without a fatal result. But the one offence, which is never pardoned in history, and which no nation ever survives, is the offence of gross and universal unchastity. Just this, preëminently, is the rottenness, of which the nations have died. Not this alone, for it never can be alone; but this as the type at once, and the culmination, of their depravity. So died all the Asiatic civilizations; sliding down a slimy path into a slimy grave. So died Rome, in spite of her Christian baptism. The Teutons, who found her tottering, weak in the loins, behind her battlements, and smote her between the joints of her harness, with all their barbaric vices, had this one conspicuous virtue, that they were chaste. Even when they rushed to battle, the tribe went all together, moving in families; and their women were revered as oracles. The Keltic race were not thus chaste. Hence the election of



Providence, bringing in the Teutonic blood to reinvigorate a decaying Christendom, and transmit to modern times the intellectual and æsthetic treasures of Greece and Rome.

The prolonged prosperity of races and nations essentially demoralized, so frequently alleged, would, if it were true, completely overturn our faith in the divine justice. If there be no righteous judgment in history, we have no rational ground, on which to expect it any where else. If the tree does not fall when rotten from bark to core, then rottenness is not abhorrent to nature. If nations do not perish of lust and violence, then lust and violence are not offensive to God. But there are no such facts. The rotten tree does fall; the debauched and cruel nation does die. There is a Nemesis in history, never cheated of its vengeance. Nations that are bad may be employed by Providence, as every nation has been employed in its turn; but it may be only as brooms to sweep the streets of the Holy City. The service rendered, not being a voluntary service, brings no honor to the instrument. The use God made of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, was nothing for them to boast of. They stood simply upon their own moral character; and when this, by steady decline, had reached a certain point of baseness, they collapsed and fell.

How much there must be of moral putrefaction before the vultures of Providence begin to scent their prey, it is not easy to say. The problems of history are all complex. Nations sometimes hold out longer than we should think they could. There may be reasons of state on the part of the King of kings, withholding the bolts, which might justly fall. There may be a hidden vigor of stock, maintaining a stout resistance to decay. There may be outward conditions, conspiring to prolong the shattered and sinking life. But the tendency is always to ruin; and sooner or later must the goal be reached.

The civilization of China is frequently spoken of as one of the marvels of history. A marvel surely it is, but no impeachment of a wakeful and jealous Providence. As old, almost, as the time of Noah, this singular civilization, though doubtless decaying, is hardly yet in its decrepitude. What

means it? Doubtless, some account must be made of blood. Some account must also be made of geographic isolation, shielding the nation from the shocks and surges of war. But the main secret of this unparalleled longevity, is moral stamina. The Chinese are not a religious people. The system of Confucius is merely ethical. But the ethics are good, inculcating reverence for parents as the beginning and basis of all virtue. Hence the nation endures, rooted in the family; and its hoary age is but the blessing promised to filial obedience.

Traverse now the map of the old world, and look on England. More than fourteen hundred years have passed since the last of the Roman legions sailed away, leaving that little Keltic island to its fate. More than a thousand years have passed since Egbert moulded the eight little kingdoms into one. Do you call that kingdom old? As Brownson has lately said, there is not a single wrinkle upon its brow. Whence, now, this green old age? It comes, in part, of the Divine purpose, electing whom it will for the grand achievements of history. Partly of race, composed and attempered as never any race in Asia, or Europe, was composed and attempered before it. Partly of position, climate and physical resources,

For ocean, 'mid her uproar wild,  
Speaks safety to her island child.

But, above all, it comes of a moral stamina, unequalled in Europe, which, in the hiding of its strength, is first Christian and then Protestant.

But we are Americans. And what is the horoscope of that future, to which our continent belongs, and for which we live? We are here, by the ordering of Providence, in charge of the final theatre and the final problems of history. In race, we are an amalgam of more and better constituents than were ever before subdued and welded together. Attenuated in physical constitution we doubtless are, in obedience to certain physical influences operating upon us, but supple, athletic and forceful beyond all European rivalry; in peace, prolific of all useful inventions looking towards the mastery of nature and the accumulation of wealth; in war, when war is forced upon



us, uniting the spring of the panther with the stroke of the thunderbolt. In the outward conditions of our lot, we have all that history could ask. It is for ourselves to say, whether, for our frivolities, our follies and our crimes, the Providence, that set us here, shall pluck us up and dash us in pieces against our own mountains; or, whether, by a generous culture of ourselves in all liberal arts, preferring substance to show, worth to wealth, and above all, by those sturdy moral virtues begotten only of a positive Christian belief, we may not hold our ground here, puissant and respected amongst the nations of the earth, till the trumpet of God's providence announces the final triumph of universal justice, freedom, truth and love.

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## ART. II.—OBJECTIVE PREACHING.

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To many minds this phrase will carry with it its own explanation. To preclude all mistake, however, and for fulness of impression, some little *éclaircissement* may be called for. We use the term objective here, first, in its ordinary sense—much the same as obtains commonly in the psychological nomenclature. Truth, in general, is spoken of, in relation to the mind, as either subjective or objective. As it pertains to ourselves simply, to thought or feeling of which we are the subject, and which is verified only by consciousness, it receives aptly the former designation. As it invokes not consciousness but attention, presenting things apart from ourselves, it comes properly under the latter. As the philosopher discusses the emotion of taste, for example, or taste as a state of mind, it is a subjective view he takes. As he sets forth the outward things suited to awaken the emotion, his discourse is objective. We may, it is true, apply this last-named term to a given thought or feeling as reproduced by memory, and as thus standing, in some sense, without our present selves. As thus apprehended, it no longer pertains, if we use words in

their strictest import, to the category of the subjective. This nice distinction, however, the end we have in view hardly requires us to regard. We may hold the two terms as synonymous, in a general way, with internal and external. Repentance, for instance, as it stirs within us, is subjective. As enjoined, commended, or exemplified—above all, as the Being against whom we have sinned comes before us, whether in his character or his law, it is objectively inculcated. Turn the thoughts of men to the inward operations of faith—to faith as it works in their own souls—and you speak subjectively. Hold up the cross, rehearse the promises, point to such portraits of the grace as the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews presents, and your discourse becomes objective. So of love. It is a subjective appeal that addresses mainly our consciousness, that goes searching for this chief element of Christian excellence through all the chambers of the soul. To speak objectively, you must dwell on the divine excellency, on God's unspeakable gift, on Gethsemane, on Calvary, on the Mediatorial throne. So, of all that pertains to the life of God in the soul of man. Experimental preaching, as it is usually termed, is apt to follow the subjective method. It is often too strictly and exclusively of this cast, passing into a hard, dry, metaphysical form. Doctrinal discourse, so called, has the opposite tendency. Yet even here, as we shall show in the sequel, there may be a serious defect.

So much for the first and more limited sense of the term we employ. Our purpose requires, and both etymology and analogy permit, a still wider range. Our thoughts may be carried, in a manner, without ourselves, and yet fail of the highest sort of objectivity. The highest, we mean, in relation to the *religious* nature. There may be an excess of analysis, reducing the truth presented to such a fragmentary or atomic state, that it loses inevitably not only its proper form, but its most important use. As transformed thus into your own thought, it may well be called subjective. It is really no longer truth as God gave it. You have the valley of dry bones before you—very many and very dry; not the living forms as they came from the Creator's hand. You have the products of the chemist's



## ART. VI.—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

By Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, D.D., Boston, Mass.

THIS detestable traffic, having steadily diminished for a number of years under the combined naval action of Great Britain and the United States for its repression, has suddenly revived. A single small cargo—that of the “Wanderer”—has been stealthily landed in the United States. Other importations have been reported, but none of the reports are known to be true, and some of them are known to be false. Many slave-ships have been captured near the coast of Cuba, and more are said to have landed their cargoes. The capture of three by American cruisers, and the necessity of providing for the welfare of their rescued victims, brought the subject before Congress at its last session; and a call of the House of Representatives on the President for information, to be communicated to Congress at its next session, will bring it up again. Meanwhile, from many motives, some of which are political and others pecuniary, the public mind, on both sides of the Atlantic, has been industriously and skilfully misinformed in relation to many parts of the subject; and some of the ablest, and many of the best men, both in England and the United States, have been led to assign false causes for the continuance and revival of the traffic, and to propose useless measures for its repression. There is, therefore, a special demand, just now, for reliable information; and, to such extent as the limits of this article permit, we shall attempt to give it, on unquestionable authority. Several recent official documents settle some important points conclusively. We give them entire, as they deserve this mode of diffusion and preservation for future reference.

First, we give a Circular, addressed by Lord John Russell, her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to several British Ambassadors, to be communicated to the governments to which they are accredited.

“FOREIGN OFFICE, July 11, 1860.

“MY LORD: I transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of a correspondence relating to the emigration of Chinese Coolies, which has been presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty; and I have to desire that you will call the attention of the United States government to these papers, as bearing upon the important question of the suppression of the slave-trade, and the supply of labor to those parts of the world, the climate of which is unsuited to white labor.

“Great Britain has for more than fifty years made unremitting efforts to put down the slave-trade, and her Majesty's government rejoice to think that those efforts have not been without their fruit. The number of slaves exported from Africa has fallen from 135,000, the average number exported annually from 1835 to 1840, to 25,000 or 30,000, the number estimated to have been exported during the past year. And, in proportion as the slave-trade has diminished, lawful commerce with Africa has increased, until the value of exports from the west coast of Africa now amounts to nearly £3,000,000 sterling annually. From the Bight of Benin alone, where, twenty years ago, not a single puncheon of palm-oil was exported, during the past year the exportation of oil was estimated at nearly 17,000 tons, and the value at between £700,000 and £800,000; and this, it should be stated, owing to the disturbed state of the country, caused by slave-hunts, is a diminution as compared with the exports of the two previous years; and from Lagos, which, until the slave-trade there was destroyed by the operations of the British squadron, was one of the greatest slave-markets on the west coast of Africa, the exportation during the last year of palm-oil, ivory, and cotton amounted in value to about £220,000. In short, wherever the slave-trade has been put down, honest trade has sprung up, and Christianity, and civilization, and peace have begun to produce their natural effects. On the other hand, where the King of Dahomey and other chiefs continue to gain an unrighteous profit by selling men, wars, and misery, and heathen darkness prevail.

“But it is a lamentable fact that during the last two years the slave-trade has again increased. At the present moment it is actively carried on for supplying slaves to the Island of Cuba; and recent intelligence which has reached her Majesty's government proves that preparations are being made for prosecuting the trade on a most extensive scale by means of an association. Under these circumstances, her Majesty's government appeal to the nations of Christendom to endeavor, in obedience to the dictates of humanity and religion, to efface, by a final effort, the stain which the slave-trade inflicts on the Christian name.

“Brazil has set a noble example of perseverance in the suppression of the slave-trade, once so vigorously carried on to her shores; and what the Brazilian government, in the face of great difficulties, has successfully accomplished, may be equally accomplished elsewhere. The Island of Cuba is now almost the only place in the globe by which and for which the slave-trade is maintained. Her Majesty's government have a treaty with Spain of the year 1835, by which the Spanish Crown undertook to abolish the slave-trade, and accepted a sum of £400,000 to enable it the more easily to do so.

“Her Majesty's government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labor afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises. It must be painful to the Spanish government to find their good name stained, and their efforts to comply with the obligations of



treaties, and to put down this wicked traffic, frustrated by worthless and unprincipled men who speculate in the lives and bodies of human beings.

"It appears to her Majesty's government that some remedy for this state of things might be found in an improvement of the laws of the United States respecting the equipment of slave-ships, and in the increased employment of cruisers, in the waters surrounding Cuba, by Spain, Great Britain, and the United States, and in the enactment by Spain of a law enforcing the registration of slaves in Cuba, and inflicting severe penalties upon the proprietors of estates within which newly-imported slaves are found.

"But no doubt the difficulties of suppressing the slave-trade arise mainly from the demand which exists in Cuba and similar countries for laborers suited to a hot climate; and if this demand could be lawfully supplied, the incentives to engage in an illegal traffic in African laborers would be greatly diminished, and the price of a slave might be enhanced far beyond that of a free laborer.

"This supply her Majesty's government confidently believe may be obtained from China. The state of society in that vast empire, where the population is superabundant, and at the same time civilized, where regular laws can be enforced, and the hiring of laborers for the purposes of emigration may be reduced to methods, affords peculiar opportunities for organizing a system of emigration by which the wants of those countries which have heretofore looked to Africa for laborers may be fully supplied. Great abuses have, unfortunately, prevailed in the Chinese ports where the emigration of coolies has been carried on. Men have been kidnapped by unscrupulous agents employed by European contractors to collect coolies; and the scenes of oppression and misery which have taken place in the barracoons, where the coolies have been assembled, and on board the ships in which they have been conveyed across the sea, have borne only too close a resemblance to the corresponding circumstances connected with the African slave-trade. If such abuses were suffered to continue unchecked, the exasperation created thereby among the Chinese population would seriously endanger the safety of the lives and property of the whole European community in China.

"But happily it has been proved by recent experience at Canton, that Chinese emigration may, under proper regulations and superintendence, be conducted in such a manner as to prevent the occurrence of the evils complained of. The Chinese authorities, who had hitherto been most adverse to the emigration, have at Canton recognized the advantages which may be derived from it under a proper system; and I have to direct your particular attention to the proclamation of the Governor-General Laou on this subject, which you will find at page 136 of the papers herewith sent. Moreover, under the regulations which have been introduced by the agent in China of her Majesty's government, in conjunction with the Chinese and the allied authorities at Canton, it has been found practicable to induce whole families of Chinese to emigrate. A considerable number of such families have emigrated to Demerara, and there is every reason to hope that, with time and care, the prejudices which have hitherto prevented Chinese women from emigrating may be entirely overcome. It is scarcely necessary to say anything as to the efficiency of the Chinese coolies as laborers, as that is admitted by all who have had experience of them; indeed, the impossibility of inducing the Chinese women to emigrate has been the only serious obstacle to Chinese colonization on an extensive scale.

"These fair prospects will, however, be marred, if the various European and American governments interested in Chinese emigration do not com-

bine to enforce stringent regulations upon those who are engaged in conducting it; and her Majesty's government earnestly hope that the United States government will take the necessary measures for this purpose. By judiciously promoting the emigration from China, and at the same time vigorously repressing the infamous traffic in African slaves, the Christian governments of Europe and America may confer benefits upon a large portion of the human race, the effects of which it would be difficult to exaggerate.

"Her Majesty's government, therefore, propose, with a view to the final extinction of the slave-trade:

"1st. A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba, by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain and the United States;

"2d. Laws of registration and inspection in the Island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities;

"3d. A plan of emigration from China regulated by the agents of European nations in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.

"Lastly, I have to call your attention to the following passage in the message of the President of the United States, of May:—

"It is truly lamentable that Great Britain and the United States should be obliged to expend such a vast amount of blood and treasure for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and this when the only portions of the civilized world where it is tolerated and encouraged are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico."

"I have to instruct you to communicate to General Cass copies of this dispatch, and of the papers by which it is accompanied."

"I am, etc.,

J. RUSSELL."

We have a manuscript copy of this dispatch, obtained from the Department of State at Washington; but for the convenience of the printer, we use a printed copy of that addressed to Lord Cooley, at Paris; substituting only "the United States Government" for "the French Government" in two places, and "General Cass" for "M. Thouvenel" in the last paragraph. With these changes they are the same, word for word. We may be sure, therefore, that this is a well-considered document, and was sent, with these three variations, to several other powers.

We must notice in it, however, one chronological inaccuracy—the confounding of two treaties of different dates.

By a treaty signed at Madrid, September 23, 1817, Spain agreed to abolish the slave-trade for £400,000, as follows:

*Article I.* His Catholic Majesty engaged that the slave-trade shall be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain on the thirtieth day of May, 1820.

*Article III.* His (Britannic) Majesty engaged to pay, in Lon-



don, on the twentieth day of February, 1818, the sum of £400,000 sterling, to such person as His Catholic Majesty shall appoint to receive the same.

*Article IV.* This payment shall be in full “for all losses which are a necessary consequence of the abolition of the said traffic.”

Other articles state the mode agreed upon for the suppression ; conceding the mutual right of search and capture ; providing for “ Courts of Mixed Commission,” to adjudicate on the legality of the captures, and on other questions of the kind. (See British Statutes at Large for 1818. 58 Geo. III., chap. xxxv. preamble.)

This treaty proving ineffectual, another was made, dated June 28, 1835. See Statutes at Large, for 1836. (6 and 7 Gul. IV., chap. vi.) We copy three of its articles entire.

“ *Article I.* The slave trade is hereby declared, on the part of Spain, to be henceforward totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world.

“ *Article II.* Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain during the minority of her daughter, Donna Isabella the Second, hereby engages that immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, and from time to time afterwards as may become needful, Her Majesty will take the most effectual measures for protecting the subjects of Her Catholic Majesty from being concerned, and her flag from being used, in carrying on in any way the trade in slaves ; and especially that, within two months after the said exchange, she will promulgate throughout the dominions of Her Catholic Majesty, a penal law, inflicting a severe punishment on all those of Her Catholic Majesty’s subjects, who shall, under any pretext whatever, take any part whatever in the traffic in slaves.

“ *Article XIII.* The negroes who are found on board of a vessel detained by a cruiser, and condemned by the Mixed Courts of Justice in conformity with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be placed at the disposition of the Government whose cruiser has made the capture, but on the understanding that not only they shall be immediately put at liberty and kept free,—the Government to whom they have been delivered guaranteeing the same ; but likewise engaging to afford, from time to time, and whenever demanded by the other high contracting parties, the fullest information as to the state and condition of such negroes, with a view to securing the due execution of the treaty in this respect.”

This treaty of 1835, is referred to by Lord John Russell as still in force. That it is so regarded by Spain, and by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, is proved by the following circular of the Captain-General of that island :

"His Excellency the Captain-General has ordered the following circular, addressed to the Governors in the different districts of the island, to be published in the official *Gazette* :

"In the orders communicated by this superior civil government under dates of 30th November and 6th June last, I cautioned the civil authorities of this island to observe the strictest vigilance in order to avoid the landing of African negroes, stating that I would exact, to its fullest extent, their responsibility, as well as that of all public functionaries in whose jurisdiction the landing of negroes might take place, whenever I should be informed that they had been effected by means of neglect or abuse on the part of the said authorities or functionaries.

"Notwithstanding such plain and strict determination on my part, several lots of African negroes have been recently landed in various parts of the island, and I have been compelled to adopt such measures, which are always unpleasant, against certain functionaries, because they have not fully shown that they had used every exertion, and displayed the necessary zeal required for the exact fulfillment of their duties, and the orders and instructions from this government.

"In consequence, therefore, of the above-mentioned circumstances, and determined as I am, to prevent by every means within my power the continuation of the slave-trade, thus strictly fulfilling the treaties with other nations as well as our laws and dispositions on the subject, I again call upon you, earnestly recommending that, under your own responsibility and that of all public officers immediately subordinate to your authority, you shall keep the most vigilant watch, in order to avoid any infringement of the said laws and dispositions in the jurisdiction under your charge; with the understanding that the simple fact of a cargo of Africans being landed, will be deemed sufficient cause to suspend any public functionary who may not use every exertion, and employ all the means which the laws place at his command, in order to avoid or prevent the said landing, whether it is from neglect or from any other cause, subjecting him besides to the decision of the proper tribunals, in case that his behavior or conduct should give cause to suspect his honesty in such cases.

"Your good judgment will at once cause you to understand the great importance of this subject, and as any neglect of zeal or activity would doubtless fall upon the honor of the government—which it is my duty to keep stainless, even to the last of public functionaries—I hope that without any loss of time you will communicate to all those dependent upon your authority, the foregoing determination, and such others as your zeal and good wishes to favor the general interest in its true sense may suggest; with the understanding that I will not deviate in my course for the proper punishment of the guilty, while at the same time I will endeavor to reward the good services of those who may be worthy of it.

"I finally recommend to you that in order to fulfil properly what I have ordered, you shall avail yourself of all such legal steps as may be within your control, with the understanding that all such measures as may tend to prevent the unlawful slave-trade will be approved of by this superior civil government. May God preserve your life many years.

"HAVANA, September 4, 1860.

FRANCISCO SERRANO."

This, if the Captain-General is like some of his predecessors, is just a notice to the local magistrates, to pay over a larger proportion of the bribes they receive to him, and a sham to



blind the eyes of the British government. Still, it shows what the obligations of Spain are known to be. In it, Spain, speaking through his Excellency, the Captain-General of Cuba, September 4, 1860, acknowledges herself bound by these treaties, by which, and by her own laws, the importation of slaves into any part of her dominions, and the traffic in slaves any where by her subjects, are forbidden. The forces of both Spain and Great Britain are pledged by these treaties for the enforcement of their stipulations. Let those treaties be enforced, and there can be no importation of slaves into any of the dominions of Spain. Great Britain has the power and the right to enforce them, even by war.

Lord John Russell, in his circular, calls the attention of the leading powers of both hemispheres to the statement, which he quotes with approbation, from a message of the President of the United States of May last, that "the only portions of the civilized world where it [the slave-trade] is tolerated and encouraged, are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico." This fact is certainly worthy of the attention which he solicits. It shows conclusively, that Great Britain has the destiny of this odious traffic in her own hands, and can put an end to it, whenever she chooses to enforce on Spain the observance of her treaties. It continues, because Great Britain sees fit to indulge Spain in violating her treaty obligations. She can not honorably shirk this responsibility. She has sought it industriously by negotiation for forty-three years at least, since 1817. She has paid £400,000 sterling for it. She has possessed it in full, revised and perfected, for a quarter of a century, since 1835. To her immortal honor, she has accomplished the work in many parts of the earth. She can finish it when she pleases; and needs not the assistance or assent of any other power on earth.

True, if she were going to war to enforce these treaties, it might be well to prepare other governments for that event, by calling their attention to the facts that make war a duty, so as to secure their approbation in advance. Some parts of this circular read as if written for that purpose. The Liverpool

steamer of September 8, too, brought a telegraphic announcement that "Earl Granville is *en route* for Madrid. It is reported that this mission relates to the slave-trade." This, too, indicates a disposition to insist on the fulfilment of treaties, and may be a last effort, such as should always be made, to avert the necessity of war. We should be glad to know that such is the determination of the British government; for we have no apprehension that such a war would destroy so many lives as are destroyed by the traffic which it would effectually abolish.

Other parts of the Circular, however, seem to indicate that the British government has no such intention. It proposes to buy off the sugar planters from the slave-trade, by furnishing them with cheap labor from China; a plan on which we shall venture a remark before we close. But first, it is proper to give the reply of our government to that Circular. It is as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, 10th August, 1860.

"SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the dispatch from Lord John Russell, dated the 11th July, 1860, which you read to me, and a copy of which you left at this Department, has been submitted to the President, with its accompaniment of printed documents relative to the Coolie trade.

"He has given the most careful consideration to the three propositions which you have been instructed to make. It is unnecessary to express in reply the perfect agreement between this government and that of her Britannic Majesty in their estimate of the character of the African slave-trade. The action of the government of the United States upon this subject has been so long continued, so consistent, and is so familiar to the civilized world, that I can properly refer to it as the clearest and strongest manifestation of its opinion. And I am instructed to say that the President learns with great pleasure from Lord John Russell's communication, that her Britannic Majesty's government can at length see with satisfaction the happy results of its efforts and sacrifices in the cause of humanity, and that the steady diminution of this illegal traffic is accompanied by a corresponding development of honorable and lucrative commerce on the coasts of Africa, which promises in the course of years to extinguish the slave-trade in the most effectual manner. He regrets, however, that this agreeable prospect has been overclouded by the fact, also communicated, that this trade has again increased within the last two years, and 'that preparations are being made' in the island of Cuba 'for prosecuting the trade on a most extensive scale by means of an association.'

"This intelligence is believed to be well founded. The President has long entertained the opinion that the African slave-trade will never be suppressed whilst efforts for that purpose are confined to the pursuit and capture of slavers between the coast of Africa and the island of Cuba. To effect any thing positive or permanent, the baracoons on the African coast must be



broken up, and the slavers prevented from landing their cargoes in Cuba, or if landed, the slaves must be followed into the interior and set free from the purchasers. Whenever her Britannic Majesty's government shall think proper, in its discretion, to enforce the provisions of the treaty with Spain referred to by Lord John Russell, 'by which the Spanish Crown undertook to abolish the slave-trade, and accepted a sum of £400,000 to enable it the more easily to do so,' then, and not until then, in the President's opinion, will the African slave-trade with the island of Cuba be abolished. But with this the government of the United States has no right to interfere.

"While, however, holding these general views, the President cannot give his assent to the propositions which have been submitted to him, for the following reasons, which I proceed to state in the order in which the propositions have been made:

"1st. A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States."

"To accede to this proposition would involve the necessity of a treaty with Spain to enable the cruisers of the United States to enter the waters of Cuba within a marine league from shore. The Spanish government, so far from having given any intimation that a violation of its sovereignty to this extent would be acceptable, has only recently made the strongest complaints to this government against the cruisers of the United States, upon the alleged ground that they had captured slavers within Cuban waters. While, therefore, Great Britain has already acquired this right by treaty, the United States does not possess it, and their cruisers would consequently be arrested in the pursuit of slavers as soon as they entered Spanish jurisdiction, whilst the cruisers of Great Britain and Spain could not only continue the pursuit until the slavers had landed, but could follow the slaves into the interior of the island. It is but proper, however, to say, that while the President does not suppose that the government of Spain would enter into an arrangement with the United States similar to its treaty with Great Britain, he could not consent to any such arrangement, for it would violate the well-established policy of this country not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations, nor to enter into alliances with foreign governments. This government has maintained, and will continue to maintain, a naval force in the neighborhood of Cuba for the execution of its own laws. It will to the utmost extent of its power put down this abominable traffic, and capture all American vessels, and punish all American citizens engaged in it. The success which has already attended our efforts near the coasts of Cuba proves that we have done our duty in this respect, and this at an enormous expense for the support of the captured Africans, for their transportation back to Africa, and for their liberal maintenance there during the period of a year after their return.

"2d. Laws of registration and inspection in the Island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities."

"After what has just been said, it is unnecessary to state that the government of the United States could not ask Spain to pass such laws of registration. But if this were otherwise, it is quite certain that such laws would have no practical effect. For, if 'her Majesty's government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labor afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises,' and if joint-stock companies are established at Havana for the purpose of prosecuting the slave-trade, under the eye of the highest officials of the island, and with perfect impu-

nity, it would be vain to expect that Registrars throughout the country would counteract the policy of their superiors by faithfully performing their duty.

“3d. A plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.”

“It is not probable that Lord John Russell expected this government to unite in forming such ‘a plan of emigration from China.’ For, if he had entertained this idea, he would scarcely have omitted ‘the agents’ of the United States from any participation in its regulation. Nor can the President share in the anticipation of her Britannic Majesty’s government, that the Coolie trade can be put on any such footing as will relieve it of those features of fraud and violence, which render the details of its prosecution scarcely less horrible than those of the middle passage. And he is of opinion that it would exert a most deleterious influence upon every portion of this country to import into it Chinese coolies as laborers. In the States where the institution of domestic slavery exists these heathen Coolies would demoralize the peaceful, contented, and orderly slaves, very many of whom are sincere Christians. And in the free States they would be brought into competition with our own respectable and industrious laborers, whether of native or foreign birth, who constitute so large a portion of our best citizens.

“I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

“WM. HENRY TRESCOT,  
Acting Secretary.

“W. DOUGLAS IRVINE, Esq., etc., etc., etc.”

Before remarking on this document, let us consider what, exactly, Great Britain has left for the United States to do in this matter.

In the first place, it is the duty of our Government to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States. This is done as thoroughly as any government ever executes any law. All laws are sometimes violated, and some violations escape detection. Articles of commerce, excluded from importation or charged with heavy duties, are sometimes successfully smuggled into every country. We know that broadcloths, jewelry, and other articles, are sometimes smuggled into the United States. In some cases, the smugglers are detected and punished, and the goods confiscated; and nobody doubts that there are other cases, which escape detection. In no other article bearing a large profit, probably, is there so little smuggling into the United States, as in slaves. In a single instance it has been done by a bold adventurer, taking advantage of the fact that the authorities, not thinking such audacity possible, were off their guard; and that is all, so far as is known, for many years.



This guarding of our own coasts, if Spain would observe her treaties, or Great Britain would enforce their observance, would be the whole task of the United States in respect to the slave-trade. But so long as Great Britain indulges Spain in conniving at the bribery of her officials, by which slaves can be imported into Cuba, it is the duty of our government to restrain our own citizens, and others residing or being within our jurisdiction, from engaging in the traffic. This is the work of our navy, under the Ashburton treaty, and of the revenue officers in our several ports. It is a much more difficult work than the other, and less perfectly done, though done to a very good extent, and will be needless whenever those who can and ought to do it will close the market in Cuba and Puerto Rico. In urging us to measures of this kind, Great Britain is only urging us to assist her in using a substitute for the effectual remedy which she has acquired the right, and assumed the responsibility, of applying, but has, as yet, delayed to apply. While that delay continues, it is the duty of our government to use such repressive measures as are legally and physically in its power.

But Great Britain is not restricted to a war with Spain as a means for suppressing the slave-trade. It would be a Herculean task to ascertain how many and what treaties she has for that purpose; but such samples as come easily under our notice will suffice to show that she can, when she pleases, prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa, as well as their importation into Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In the Reports of Parliamentary Committees for 1847-'48, vol. 22, p. 224, is a list of forty treaties made with African powers, from April, 1841, to July, 1848, for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Reports for 1852-'3, vol. 39, p. 214, give a list of twenty-three other treaties made since May, 1850. How many were made between July, 1848, and May, 1850, and how many have been made since, we do not know, though we have seen copies of some; but the territories guarded by these sixty-three, the Republic of Liberia, the possessions of European powers with which she has similar treaties, and her

own possessions, cover the whole western coast, from the Great Desert to the Equator. The French slaver, so called, taken a few months since and brought into Key West, took in her cargo of slaves at Whidah, on the coast of Dahomey, in violation of one of these treaties.

In the volume last quoted; p. 201, is found a decree by the Portuguese government, of Dec. 10, 1836, which begins thus:

“ARTICLE I. That the exportation of slaves be henceforth prohibited, both by sea and land, in the Portuguese dominions, as well to the north as to the south of the equator, from the day on which the present decree shall be published in different capitals of the said dominions.

“ARTICLE II. The importation of slaves is also strictly prohibited, under any pretext whatsoever.”

It is provided, however, in Article 3, *et seq.*, that any planter removing from one of these Portuguese dominions to another, may, under certain restrictions, import slaves for his own use, not exceeding ten. This decree Portugal is bound by treaty with Great Britain to enforce. In immediate connection with the decree will be found a voluminous official correspondence, setting forth the non-fulfilment of that treaty.

This decree, interpreted according to Portuguese claims, covers all the habitable coast from the Equator, southward, to the British Cape Colony. And if there are a few chiefs on that part of the coast near the equator who do not acknowledge the Portuguese claim, Great Britain may easily make them acknowledge it, so far, at least, as this matter is concerned, without violating any body's rights.

The British Cape Colony on the south, and Natal Colony on the southeast, guard the coast to Delagoa Bay. Thence the Portuguese Mosambique territory guards it, or rather is bound to guard it, northward, to the dominions of the Sultan, or Imaum, of Muscat and Zanzibar, who claims the whole coast to the Red Sea, and with whom Great Britain has a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade.

It is manifest that if these treaties were all enforced in good faith, according to the professed views, claims and intentions of the parties to them, no slaves could be exported from Africa. There would be no place where a slaver could buy a cargo.



Squadrons to capture slavers on the "middle passage" would be useless, for there could be none to capture. Questions about "right of search," or of "visit," would be obsolete, for there would be no ships to which they could be applicable. Even if the United States should, as some absurdly prate, reopen the slave trade by law, the iniquity would be perfectly abortive, for there would be no place where the Southern "fire-eater" or the apostate Yankee could make his purchases. He would be at liberty to buy, but nobody would be at liberty to sell to him. Great Britain only needs to enforce her own laws in her African possessions, and her treaties with powers in Africa, or having possessions there, to cut off every nation on earth from all participation in this traffic.

The only possible exception is in relation to some of the coast, here considered as Portuguese. There are some four or five hundred miles of coast, between Benguela and the equator, including Loango and Angola, from the actual possession and control of which Portugal has gradually withdrawn, leaving the native tribes in a state of practical independence. The same may be true of small portions of the Mosambique coast. It is not understood that Portugal has ever formally relinquished her ancient claim to any of this territory, or that any European power disputes its validity. If its validity is admitted, then the Portuguese decree of December 10, 1836, and, consequently, the British treaties cover the whole of it. If otherwise, Great Britain may easily close this whole coast, by a few treaties, like the sixty-three or more that she has made farther north.

The process of making such a treaty is well understood by British negotiators ; is plain, effective, and, in our judgment, justifiable. Take Gallinas, one of the most difficult cases in all Africa, for an illustration. A ship of war arrived, put down her anchors, and her commander proposed to negotiate, as he was duly empowered to do. The chiefs hesitated and delayed, hoping that the ship would leave ; but were positively informed that the blockade would be continued, and every slaver coming but would be captured, till the treaty was

made. When the chiefs were convinced that this would actually be done, they made the treaty, abolishing the slave trade within their dominions. In the same way, treaties may be made with every chief on the coast.

Great Britain, as we have already stated, has treaties covering the whole western coast, from the Great Desert to this old Portuguese claim. If she has stopped short at that point, it is doubtless because she recognizes that claim as valid; and then her treaty with Portugal covers that coast. But it would be in accordance with her practice in other cases, if, without denying that claim, she has made treaties with chiefs exercising a present practical sovereignty on some part of the country covered by it. We have seen no such treaties, and can not now command time for a thorough search. One fact, however, indicates their existence. In April, 1851, the British Commodore on that coast, at Loango, in an official statement to Commander A. M. Foote, of the U. S. Brig Perry, said: "Factories have been broken up at Lagos, in the Congo, and at Ambriz." The natural interpretation is, that the operation of breaking up these factories was the same in all the three cases, and was recent. That at Lagos, north of the equator, we know was broken up in execution of one of those sixty-three treaties; and the inference is natural, that those in the Congo and at Ambriz were broken up in execution of treaties, either with the native chiefs or with Portugal; and in either case, the fact shows that British power can break up factories on the line of coast covered by this old Portuguese claim; and without factories, cargoes of slaves can not be collected and shipped.

We repeat, therefore, that Great Britain has the whole export trade in slaves from Africa completely in her power, and can stop it when she pleases, by preventing exportation. And in view of these facts, what shall we say of all that British clamor, about the American flag covering and protecting the slave trade? Without her indulgence, there could be no slave trade on the ocean for the American flag to cover. It is only by her indulgence to Spain, that slaves can be landed and sold. It is only by her indulgence to other powers, in Europe



and in Africa, that slaves can be bought and shipped. The American flag cannot cover the embarkation of slaves at Whidah, in violation of her treaty with Dahomey, nor their debarkation in Cuba, in violation of her treaty with Spain.

But, besides all this, the facts do not bear out this British clamor. It has been asserted that, under the treaty, a British cruiser has no right to capture an American slaver, even if found with a cargo of slaves on board. We believe that some such order was once issued by some British official to his subordinates, probably for the purpose of making American policy appear odious, and thus forcing the government of the United States to concede the "right of search;" but we have never been able to find any such stipulation in any treaty, or any such demand in any American document. No American negotiator has refused to the British government the right to visit, search, and capture any ship engaged in the slave-trade, whether she has slaves on board or not. The only claim of the United States is, that if a British cruiser visits, searches, and detains an American vessel engaged in honest commerce, that detention and search shall be regarded as a wrong, and the British government shall pay the actual damages caused by it. The British government has long conceded its obligation to pay the actual damages in such cases, and has often paid them. The latest case of this kind is that of the *Jehossee*, and the latest document is the letter of Secretary Cass to the owners, informing them that the British government were ready to pay the actual damages, as soon as ascertained, and calling for proof of their amount. All that hinders any British cruiser from visiting and searching every vessel under the American flag is this liability to pay damages, if the vessel proves to be an honest one. That risk is in no case very great, and in most cases, nothing. Generally, almost universally, an American trader will gladly receive a visit from a British lieutenant, who will come on board like a gentleman, and civilly request a sight of the vessel's papers and cargo, and will readily give him all the information he asks. It is only when he comes by British authority, and makes demands, and threatens, that there are objections to his "visit." The search

and detention have been so mismanaged in some cases, as to make the British government liable for damages to the amount of some thousands of dollars. In one case, eleven thousand dollars was paid without controversy, and some thousands more after controversy. But the actual damage never need be great, and commonly is nothing, or so little that nothing is said about it. British cruisers habitually disregard it, and "visit" suspected vessels freely, notwithstanding any flag they may choose to display. The slaver *Storm King*, lately captured by the *San Jacinto* and brought into Monrovia, with more than six hundred slaves on board, had been "visited" three times by a British cruiser on her outward voyage. As for the capture of vessels under the American flag, when found with slaves on board, take the late well-known case of the *Orion*, for an example.

The *Orion* cleared at New York, and was seized on her outward voyage, and sent home by an American cruiser, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade. The evidence was found insufficient to condemn her. On her discharge, she returned to the coast. She was boarded by the U. S. steamer *Mystic*. The boarding officers found suspicious circumstances, but not enough, they thought, to secure her condemnation. The captain said he was bound to the Congo river for palm-oil, and that his crew were sick, and he needed assistance to enter the river. The *Mystic* granted the desired assistance, and then stationed herself near the mouth of the river, to watch her movements. Being ordered to Loando to carry despatches, the *Mystic* engaged the British steamer *Pluto* to watch the *Orion*. The *Pluto*, in a few hours, steamed off out of sight. The *Orion*, supposing the coast now clear, took in nearly nine hundred slaves, and set sail. The *Pluto*, having kept out of sight just long enough for her *ruse* to operate, pursued, and in a short time overtook her, with the American flag flying, made a prize of her without ceremony, and took her to St. Helena. After escape had become evidently impossible, her American flag and papers were thrown overboard, and she appeared without nationality. According to the first accounts,



this was done by the advice of the British boarding-officer, after coming on board, and before declaring her a prize. According to the statement which appears most authentic, it was done in his sight, just before he came on board. It was done, because, if she had been taken with the American flag and papers, the ship and all on board must be delivered to the American squadron, who would have landed the recaptives at Monrovia, and sent the ship, officers, and crew to the United States for trial; but if taken without nationality, the ship and cargo would be a prize to the British captors, and the officers and crew would be discharged at the first port. Slavers, in such circumstances, usually pursue the same course, for the same reason. In this case, this device for escaping punishment was unsuccessful. The *Mystic*, having delivered her despatches, anticipating the result, had proceeded directly to St. Helena, arriving before the *Pluto* and her prize. When the officers of the *Orion* were discharged, the United States Consul demanded them of the authorities of St. Helena as fugitives from justice. They were arrested, delivered up, sent to Boston for trial, convicted, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment for serving voluntarily on board of a slaver. In order to secure this conviction, it was necessary to delay the trial till the Secretary of State could obtain from the British government the attendance of two witnesses who were present at the capture. If they had been indicted for the higher crime committed in the Congo river, they might, perhaps, have escaped conviction, for want of proof of their personal participation in it. This case differs from others only in the fact, that the *Mystic* first set the *Pluto* to watch the *Orion*, and the fact that her officers, after their discharge by the British cruiser, were brought to punishment. In all other respects it was like other cases of frequent occurrence. It is not true, therefore, that the American flag actually protects slavers from capture by British cruisers.\*

\* Mr. Robert Campbell, an intelligent colored citizen of Philadelphia, and "one of the Commissioners of the Niger Valley Exploring Party," has, since his return, published a brief statement of some of his observations. The pamphlet has come

But, as we have seen, if Great Britain would only enforce her rights, there would be no slave-trade on the ocean for the American or any other flag to cover. Why does she not enforce them? We are not bound to answer this question; nor can we be reasonably expected to know all the secret reasons of her policy. Doubtless her rulers honestly desire the suppression of the slave-trade, and are using, in good faith, the means which they have been induced to regard as wisest for that end. We may, however, mention several British interests which might be unfavorably affected by the use of the most effectual means.

The British government may well desire to avoid a war with Spain for the enforcement of her treaties, not only from a humane unwillingness to incur the evils of war, or to inflict them on any nation, but also because the indebtedness of Spain to British subjects is enormous, and in case of any serious calamity to Spain, and especially in case of a war with Great Britain, the pecuniary loss of British creditors, by the depreciation of Spanish securities, would be immense. The holders of these securities have a deep interest in every thing that is profitable to Spain, or to Cuba, her dependency. They form a powerful body, under temptation to desire the continuance of the slave-trade, and, with good reason, averse to

into our hands since this article was put in type. The party left Lagos, on its return, in the British Royal Mail Steamship "Athenian," April 10, and arrived at Liverpool May 12, 1860, touching at Sierra Leone and elsewhere on the way. We copy one paragraph from the last page:

"At Freetown we saw a large slaver, brought in a few days before by H. M. Steamship Triton. The officers and crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were there set at liberty, to be disposed of by the Spanish Consul as distressed seamen. They were, as such, forwarded in the same ship with us to Tenerife, the nearest Spanish port. No wonder that the slave-trade should be so difficult to suppress when no punishment awaits such wretches. What scamp would fear to embark in such an enterprise if only assured that there was no personal risk; that he had only to destroy the ship's flag and papers on the approach of a cruiser, not only to shield himself and his crew from the consequences of their crime, but to receive the consideration rightly accorded to distressed honest men. These villains, of course, return to Havana or New York, procure a new ship, and again pursue their wicked purpose, which their previous experience enable them to accomplish with all the more impunity."



the use of the last resource of nations. for its suppression. They naturally think, and do much to make others think, that only milder measures should be used. Whether similar reasons exist in respect to Portugal, we are not informed; but of course war cannot be made on Portugal, while Spain, the greater offender, is left unpunished.

There is another influence. The British government very naturally looks for information and advice to the officers of its navy on the African coast; and it is very natural that some of those officers should think that course the best which is most profitable and pleasant to themselves. The sixty-three treaties, to which we have referred, show that some of them have labored in the right direction, uninfluenced by the desire of prize-money. The views of others can be given on their own authority. Lieut. Charles H. Bell, of the United States Navy, in a despatch to the Secretary of the Navy, dated July 28, 1840, wrote:

"Between Cape St. Ann and Cape Palmas there are two slave stations—one at the mouth of the Gallinas river, and the other at New Cess. There were collected and confined in the barracoons, or slave-prisons of the former, five thousand slaves, and the latter fifteen thousand, waiting for an opportunity to ship them across the Atlantic.

"It is customary for slavers to run into one of these stations in the evening, take on board three or four hundred negroes during the night, and run off with the land-breeze the next morning. If they do not meet with a cruiser after running thirty miles, they are safe until they get to the West Indies, where there is again some slight chance of capture before they have an opportunity of landing their cargoes. I therefore proposed to three of the British commanders I fell in with, to blockade these two stations, instead of cruising so far off the coast. The anchorage is good and safe, and one vessel at each station could lie in such a position as to intercept any vessel coming in. The invariable reply to this proposition was: 'This is an unhealthy climate; we come out here to make prize-money; if a slaver is captured without her cargo, she is sent to Sierra Leone, where the expense of condemnation amounts to nearly the whole value of the vessel, which is the perquisite of those in the employment of the government at that place, and we, who have all the labor and exposure, get nothing; whereas, if we capture a vessel with slaves on board, we receive five pounds sterling ahead for each of them, without any deduction. Therefore it is not our interest to capture those vessels without their cargoes.'" (See Kennedy's Report to the House of Representatives, February 28, 1843, p. 534.)

This statement concerning prize money is in accordance with several treaties. See especially the Conventions with France, of November 30, 1831, and March 22, 1833, in the

British Statutes at Large, vol. 73, [3 and 4 Gul. IV. chap. 72.] Sec. 5, p. 664, fixes the head money at five pounds; besides which the captors have, (p. 659,) sixty-five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of the vessel; which, after deducting the expenses of condemnation and sale, is very little.

Under this system, if the *Pluto* had remained at the mouth of the Congo, watching the *Orion*, her officers and crew would have only earned their monthly wages. By their *ruse*, tempting the *Orion* to load and set sail, they had an interesting chase after her, and gained the bounty on the slaves found on board, of more than twenty thousand dollars. Of course, the temptation is strong to encourage and facilitate the loading and sailing of slavers; for the more there are at sea, the more chances there are of making money by capturing some of them. And it is very natural that those who are governed by such motives, should give their government such information and advice as their own interest requires.

Whether any officers of the United States navy, who have similar compensation, have been governed by such motives, we do not know. No one of them, we think, has ever avowed it, nor are we aware of any reason to suspect it, beyond the mere fact that the temptation exists. If there are any such cases, we have reason to believe that they are few and carefully concealed.

We must also notice a third British interest, which gains by the continuance of the slave-trade. But first, let the reader turn back to Lord John Russell's dispatch, and read again what he says of the need of laborers in the sugar colonies.

By act of Parliament, in 1824, for consolidating the laws against the slave trade, [5 Georgii IV. chap. 113,] it is provided in sec. 22, that slaves taken from slave ships may, under Orders in Council, be bound as apprentices for seven years, [Statutes at Large, vol. 64, p. 636.] Sec. 31, p. 639, provides that such Orders in Council may be made, as shall prevent them from becoming chargeable to the colonies where they are, after the expiration of their apprenticeship. In the Conventions with France of 1831 and 1833, already quoted, the two



governments "reserve to themselves, for the welfare of the slaves themselves, the right to employ them as free laborers, conformably to their respective laws." Other treaties contain similar provisions. See, for example, the treaty with the Republic of Equador, in *Statutes at Large* for 1848; chap. 116, p. 784.

Under these treaties and laws, the slaves taken from slave ships go, as "apprentices," to supply that awful want of labor in the sugar colonies, which Lord John Russell so forcibly describes, and which he thinks must be supplied in some way, even if it requires a combination of all civilized nations in both hemispheres to bring Chinese from the antipodes. Negro laborers are much more valuable than Chinese. Persevering and expensive attempts to procure them, by going to their homes in Africa and hiring them, have failed. They can be obtained only as they are obtained for Cuba, by the slave trade; as they are obtained for Jamaica, by capturing slavers with slaves on board. In this way, it may be done much cheaper than the inferior article can be imported from China. And so it is, that every cargo of slaves shipped from Africa and captured by a British cruiser, is a pecuniary benefit to British sugar planters. In fact it seems evident that if the planters should fit out slave-ships, with instructions to proceed to Africa, purchase cargoes and be captured, they would get their labor cheaper than they could import it from China. The only difficulties would be some danger of detection, and some danger that the same planters who incur the expense, would not always reap the advantage. The British sugar interest is immense, and exerts an immense influence on British thought and legislation. It was not able to prevent the passage of laws for abolishing the slave-trade first, and slavery itself afterwards; but it has proved itself able to substitute apprenticeship for slavery, and the getting of cheap labor in some way, at all events, for the slave-trade. Its influence shows itself palpably in Lord John Russell's proposal, that the leading nations of Christendom shall unite in a systematic importation of cheap labor from China for every body's use, as a means of tempting Spain to fulfil her treaties.

Other influences doubtless conspire with these; but it is evident that the interests of British holders of Spanish securities, of British naval officers, avaracious of prize money, and of British sugar planters, all acting in the same direction, must exert a powerful influence on British thought and action. It is no wonder that they are able, in some degree, to mislead the government in respect to the best course for the extinction of the slave-trade.

The "Coolie trade," as it is improperly called, which is proposed as a substitute for the slave trade, deserves an extended and thorough discussion by itself. Our space only allows a look at it from one point of view. It proposes to get labor done in the West Indies, on such terms, that the planters can pay the expense of finding and hiring the laborers in China, pay the expense of transporting them to the West Indies, and back again at the end of their term of service, and make money by the operation. To accomplish this, contracts must be made with men who do not know the value of labor in the West Indies, and who can be induced, by taking advantage of that ignorance, to bind themselves to work for so much less than their labor is worth, as will enable the planters to meet all those other expenses and make a profit. If during their term of service they learn how they have been cheated and show symptoms of rebellion, they must be reduced to order, and made to fulfil the contract into which they had thus fraudulently been induced to enter. It is vain to think of making such a system tolerable by regulations. It is intrinsically incapable of being honestly and humanely executed. Its whole operation is prompted by avarice, and the contracts can only be obtained by fraud and enforced by oppression. It is probable, however, that Great Britain will try it for a time, before resorting to effectual measures for the extinction of the slave-trade.

And yet, we do not see why she needs to do it. If the slave-trade and "Coolie" trade were both stopped, the price of labor in the West Indies would rise, and the price of sugar would rise; but Cuba would no longer be able, by working



to death cargoes of newly imported Africans, to sell sugar cheaper than Jamaica could, and the British planter would be as well off, in comparison, as while both trades continue. The only enduring evil would be, that the consumers of sugar must pay an additional penny or two a pound for it.

We have said that while Great Britain indulges Spain in conniving at the slave-trade, it is the duty of our government to restrain our own citizens, and others residing or being within our jurisdiction, from engaging in it. For this last-mentioned purpose, probably some further legislation is needed; especially, to prevent members or agents of foreign houses from using our ports for some of the preliminary, but essentially important operations for a slave-trading voyage, and perhaps for holding American vessels, transferred by a sham or even a real sale to foreign slave trading owners or masters, still responsible to our laws. The addition of a few small armed steamers to our African and West India squadrons might also be advisable; though the few now employed are capturing slavers so fast that the traffic can not long stand such losses. All such points, we trust, will receive the careful and efficient attention of Congress at its next session.

A word more, on a proposal, so absurd that even one word ought not to be needed; the proposal, not formally made, but suggested in some newspapers and speeches in Congress, that Africans, taken from slave-ships, instead of being sent to Africa, should be retained in this country and civilized. The precise mode of civilizing them, we believe, has not yet been even suggested. If they are to be civilized by an apprenticeship, somewhat like the British, where shall it be done? In the slave-holding States, such a class of "free negroes" would be thought inconvenient. None of those States, we suppose, have, or would enact, laws for the government and protection of such "apprentices;" and the Federal Government has no constitutional power to make laws for their government within the jurisdiction of any State. And what should be done with them at the end of their apprenticeship? Must they be sold as vagabonds? In the non-slave-holding States, no body

would consent to have such "apprentices." See, on this subject, the letter of Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, to Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, of Nov. 2, 1818, in Kennedy's Report, p. 273, and of Mr. Rush to Lord Castlereagh, Dec. 21, 1818, p. 275. Shall they be kept in the United States, to be civilized, as slaves? Any arrangement of this kind would be a virtual opening of the slave-trade by the authority of the United States. Slave-ships might be sent to Africa, purchase and ship their cargoes, (if Great Britain continues to permit such things to be done there,) bring them into our ports, and pass them through cheap forms of seizure and condemnation into the hands of planters who want them; as was habitually done at Darien, Ga., and other ports, from 1808 to 1819. See Report of Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, Jan. 11, 1820, with enclosures, in Kennedy's Report, pp. 249-258. See also, Kennedy, pp. 229-246.

The experience of our Government from the law prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, to the Act of March 3, 1819, conclusively proved that, in order to suppress the slave-trade between our own ports and the coast of Africa, the re-captured slaves must not be allowed to pass under the jurisdiction of any of the States, but must be retained in the custody of the United States Government, till sent out of the country; and for this reason arrangements were made for returning them to Africa. For this reason, the Act of March 3, 1819, was passed, and the agency in Africa for re-captured Africans was established.

For many years, Great Britain pursued the same policy, settling her re-captives, first at Sierra Leone, and afterward at Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, and on Macarthy's Island, far up that river. If she would resume that policy, she would be obliged to plant other settlements on other parts of the coast; and each settlement would make the exportation of slaves impossible in its vicinity. She has abundant materials for commencing such settlements, and preparing them for the reception of re-captured slaves. She has nearly, if not quite, a million of acclimated subjects of African descent.



On the Gambia, in Sierra Leone, and on the gold and slave coasts, all in tropical Africa, she must have very nearly a hundred thousand, native to the climate. In the West Indies, her emancipated slaves are eight hundred thousand; and among her black and colored population there, are men of good character and education, who are anxious to plant new British colonies in Africa, for the purpose, among others, of aiding in the extinction of the slave-trade; of which desire the British Government has had official information for ten or twelve years. And even without planting colonies, she might station such men, as traders, or as consuls, or consular agents, all along the coast, as is done at Lagos, so that not a cargo of slaves could be collected without their knowing it in season to inform a British cruiser. So entirely has Great Britain the means of suppressing the slave-trade. And the possession of the means, especially when obtained for that purpose, with the assent, asked and granted, of the whole civilized world, imposes the obligation.

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#### ART. VII.—ORIGIN OF AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS.

By Rev. S. M. WORCESTER, D.D., Salem, Mass.

By a mistake, the honor of the first plan in England for sending missionaries to the heathen has been ascribed to Oliver Cromwell. His magnificent design contemplated a Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the Jesuits at Rome, and was intended to embrace the East and West Indies, in its fourth department of operations. But this was more than thirty years later than the manifesto of the Pilgrims, declaratory of the "great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation for the propagation and advancement of the Gospel in these remote parts of the world."

A society had also been formed in England, and collections taken in aid of the missions which had here been commenced,

in the true spirit of primitive Christianity. We could fill many pages with such testimonies as the following: "That this Design was Superhumane will be evidenced by the *Primum Mobile*, or Grand Wheel thereof. Neither Spanish Gold or Silver, nor *French* or *Dutch* Trade of Peltry did Oil their Wheels; it was the Propagation of Piety and Religion to Posterity; and the secret Macedonian Call, COME OVER AND HELP US, afterward Instamped in the seal of this Colony, the setting up of Christ's Kingdom among the *Heathens*, in this Remote End of the Earth, was the main spring of motion, and that which gave the name to *New England*, and at such a time, when as Divine Herbert in his Temple Prophetically sang:

" 'Religion stands on Tiptoe in our Land,  
Ready to pass to the American Strand.' " \*

The conversion of the beautiful and highly gifted Catharine Brown, and of Charles Reece, who was one of the bravest of the brave Cherokees in the army of General Jackson, at the battle of the Horse Shoe, cannot have produced any more sensation among the early friends of our American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, than was produced almost two centuries earlier in the father-land, by narratives of God's work among the heathens of New England; in such examples, as those of "an Indian maid in Salem," a "Sagamore John," or "that famous Indian Wequash, who was a Captain, a proper man of person, and of a very grave and sober spirit." †

The General Court of Massachusetts (Nov. 19, 1644) passed an Order, 'That the County Courts in this jurisdiction should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires

\* Scottow's "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony, etc. . . . Boston: Printed and Sold . . . at the sign of the BIBLE, over against the *Blew-Anchor*. 1694." See Mass. Coll. IV. Fourth Series.

† "New England's First Fruits," etc. London: 1643. Compare also the intensely interesting "Tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England," written by Shepard, Eliot, etc. Mass. Hist. Coll., IV. Third Series.



THE  
AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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Vol. III.

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY AT NEW-YORK, BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA.

New-York:

W. H. BIDWELL, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET.

BOSTON: O. B. BIDWELL, CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDINGS.  
PHILADELPHIA: SMITH, ENGLISH & CO., 23 NORTH SIXTH ST.  
LONDON: TRUBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.  
EDINBURGH: OGLE & MURRAY, 49 SOUTH BRIDGE ST.

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1861.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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Professor of Hebrew and Chaldee

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1851



*Moral and Religious Quotations from the Poets, topically arranged.* By Rev. WILLIAM RICE. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. 4to. Pp. 338. This volume comprises short selections from some six hundred poets, alphabetically arranged by topics. The selections are gleaned from Latin, old English, and German sources, as well as from modern literature. The work is prepared with scholarly taste, and beautifully got up—a very appropriate holiday gift.

*Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China.* By T. W. ATKINSON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo. This volume has a much higher interest and value than an ordinary book of travels. It introduces us to vast regions, as yet little known, which must soon acquire a historic as well as commercial interest, in connection with the rivalry and progress of Russia and England in the farthest East. A valuable map accompanies the work, delineating Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and from Cashmere and Peking on the South to Siberia on the North. The work is issued in handsome style, with numerous landscape illustrations of scenes of impressive grandeur, and characteristic portraits. The geology, botany and ethnology of the region are so fully described as to give to the work a scientific value. The progress of Russia in these regions is detailed step by step. The narrative itself is full of romantic interest; the description of scenes and events often admirable. The work belongs to the very highest class of this kind of literature, and will be eagerly read by the lovers of adventure, and lovers of nature, as well as for scientific and commercial purposes.

*The Christian Maiden. Memorials of ELIZA HESSEL.* By JOSHUA PRIESTLEY. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. Pp. 357. These Memorials, slightly abridged from the London edition, are the instructive record of a simple, cultivated and Christian life, well adapted to stimulate young women to higher literary and religious attainments.

*Tom Brown at Oxford: A Sequel to School Days at Rugby.* Part First. New York: Harpers. 1860. Pp. 360, breaking off in the middle of a word. The announcement of this work will be enough to stir the eager pulse of many a youth, until it is read all through. Tom Brown is well known among all the boys and collegians. The frank and robust spirit, the hearty tone and clear ring of the book will ensure it a wide circulation.

*American History.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Vol. III. *The Southern Colonies.* New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 286. An excellent history, written with Mr. Abbott's usual felicity, and in every way well got up.

*Our Year: A Child's Book in Prose and Verse.* By [Miss Muloch] the Author of "John Halifax." Illustrated by Clarence Dobell. New York: Harpers. 1860. A beautiful collection of stories and poems for each month of the year, amply illustrated, making a nice book for a Christmas or New Year's gift.

## News of the Churches and of Missions.

### UNITED STATES.

WITHIN the last twenty-five years about a quarter of a million of dollars have been raised in this country for aiding churches in Europe. Among the larger amounts are: for the Free Church of Scotland, \$80,000; for Irish Presbyterians (through Drs. Edgar and Dill), \$30,000; for French Churches, \$25,000 (besides the American Chapel in Paris); for Belgium, \$8,000. A chapel in St. Petersburg, one in Stockholm, the Theological Seminary of the Waldenses in La Tour, are among these benefactions. These are a part of the fruits of special applications, in addition to all that is done through the various societies.

*German Reformed Church.*—The General Synod held its 114th annual session at Lebanon, Pa. The Church now numbers 2 Synods, 24 classes, 391 ministers, 1,045 congregations, 92,684 members. The number confirmed last year was 5,769; baptisms, 10,551. In Pennsylvania the number of churches is greater than those of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Dutch Reformed together.

The *American Missionary Association* had its anniversary in Syracuse, N. Y. Receipts, \$56,092, and 6,000 acres of land (valued at \$8,000).

The *Episcopal Evangelical Knowledge Society* received last year \$34,015; its property amounts to \$49,264.

*Episcopal Foreign Mission.*—Receipts to Oct. 1, \$85,389; expenditures, \$86,833, viz., South American Missions, \$19,300; China, \$8,531; Japan, \$1,705; \$11,624 for specific objects; and \$43,623 for the general fund.

The *American Church Missionary* is a voluntary *Society* for missions in the Episcopal Church. At its recent anniversary, Rev. Dr. Tyng read the annual report, which was of considerable length. It sets forth that the American Church Missionary Society originated in the desire and purpose of a large portion of the evangelical clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church in the United States to direct and manage the interests of Gospel missions, for which they rejoiced to contribute, according to their own principles, and by their own views of truth and duty. It complains that the constitution and agency of the Board of Missions, in its actual history, have not been satisfactory to those in the Church, whose views of personal right and duty have now led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society; that the evangelical portion of the Church have never had a just or reasonable allowance of influence or authority, either of persons or position in the board; that the churches representing their views, and maintaining their ministry have contributed the larger portion of the missionary funds expended, though defrauded by ecclesiastical power of their proper measure of influence in their dispensation.



churches, 78 additions by profession, and an aggregate of 1,012 members. A gain of 267 persons has been made to the "village congregations." These increase in stability. There has been an advance in benevolent contributions.

*Romish Missions.*—The *Madras Directory* gives a tabular account of these missions, making the number of bishops, 22; priests, 802; Roman Catholic population, 968,656.

The number saved in India from perishing as human sacrifices by the hands of the Khonds since 1836, is supposed to be as many as 2,000. As many as 250 of them have been placed in mission schools. A considerable number of them have been hopefully converted, and one of the boys earliest rescued is now an ordained minister of the Gospel.

THE English *Church Missionary Record*, speaking of the missions of that Society in South India, says: "From the statements of the last ten years, it appears, that while the number of those who are classed as unbaptized adherents in our various districts averages about 11,000 each year, the number of the baptized converts has increased from 15,635 to 25,788, thus giving us an average of 1,000 souls yearly added to the visible Church of Christ."

THE revival reported in *Tinnevely*, and which is a phenomenon entirely new among Hindoos, appears to be a remarkable work of grace. In Chota-Nagpore there have been many conversions. Ninety persons were baptized in one month. A missionary writes in an Indian journal, that in the neighborhood of Runchi, the "Gospel is spreading like fire in the jungle. As many as eight hundred villages have received the Gospel. So many Kols were pouring into the station from the jungle, that three missionaries are occupied all day in giving them instruction." The lieutenant-governor of Bengal visited the

district in January, and was greatly astonished at what he saw. His secretary remarked to the missionaries: "There never was seen such a sight in India as this." This referred to a gathering of about *two thousand* native Christians at which he was present. From the province of Pachette, the Kabreepunthes have presented themselves to the number of forty-six, out of eleven villages, asking for instruction. They say that large bodies of this sect are ready to embrace Christianity. There are six missionaries in the Chota-Nagpore field, who are Germans, from the seminary of Pastor Gossner, at Berlin. We see it stated, that in Lucknow and the surrounding villages, eighty-nine natives have been baptized since the rebellion of 1857.

*Malay School in Singapore.*—Rev. B. P. Keasberry, the faithful teacher and missionary, has persevered in his labors in Singapore, for twenty years, though both the London and American missions, established at this port when China was scarcely accessible, have been transferred to the continent. The island of Singapore lies at the southern extremity of the great Malay peninsula, round which ships pass to Siam and China. From sixty to eighty vessels are daily in this port, and the island contains 90,000 Chinese, who have no missionary, besides Malays and others.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—The national revenue considerably exceeds \$300,000. More than \$30,000 are raised for the schools, which contain nearly 10,000 pupils. There are also some dozen or more select schools, from the "Oahu College" downwards. Towards the endowment of this College, the Hawaiian government has given land valued at \$10,000; and the foreign residents on the islands hope to found one of the professorships. The 23 churches contain 14,413 members in regular standing, and report the number received the past year at 573. The contributions by the native

Christians, for various objects, were near twenty thousand dollars.

**POLYNESIA.**—Mr. Turner, a missionary of the London Society, gives account in the Magazine of a visit to the islands of the New Hebrides group. The inhabitants were formerly amongst the most savage in the Pacific. In twelve of them the pioneer native Evangelists from other islands sealed their testimony with their blood. Yet others were found willing to take the places of the massacred, and Christianity has finally triumphed. Mr. Turner concludes his journal with the following statement:

“In summing up our progress in these islands now visited, where twenty years ago we had not a single missionary, or a single convert from heathenism, and at the very entrance to which John Williams then fell, we find that out of a population in the twelve islands which we now occupy of about 65,500 souls, we have 19,743 who have renounced heathenism, and are professedly Christian. Of these there are 645 church-members, and 689 candidates for admission to the Church. There are laboring among them ten European missionaries, and 231 native teachers and assistants. Three printing presses also are at work, especially devoted to the Papuan vernacular of the respective islands.

**CHINA.**—Mr. Woodin and Mr. Peet write from Fuhchau of a favorable change in the feelings of the people, and other hopeful indications.

New interest is felt in China in the effects of the Taiping-wang insurgent movement. With all the errors, fanaticism, and cruelties of that body of rebels, their opposition to idolatry, and the strange admixture of Christian truth with heathen superstitions, which they profess, make them an object of more than curious inquiry. While they are a terrible scourge in a land of abominable wickedness, it is also said that they desire to culti-

vate friendly relations with foreigners, and introduce the ideas and institutions of western civilization. The second in command has invited an English missionary to labor in places under his government, and, according to the testimony, has written a book, setting forth, as a programme of the rising dynasty, the conversion of the heathen temples into places of religious worship, according to the Bible, which is to be the book for the instruction of the people, and the general adoption of Christianity in its Protestant aspect.

**SYRIA.**—The executions in Damascus, by order of Fuad Pasha, for the late outrages, number 200, including Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Damascus, Othman Bey, commander in Hasbeiga, during the massacre of 1,200 Christians. About 1,200 others have been condemned to hard labor and service in the army. The French occupation, it is now said, will be for two years instead of six months. Applications for relief come daily to the Committee at Beirut from at least 30,000 persons. England has sent about \$115,000, and the United States (to March 1), about \$32,000; Germany nearly 70,000 thalers; France \$300,000; Russia \$30,000; Greece \$30,000. The French and Russian contributions are devoted in part to religious propagandism. Damascus is still in an alarming state; the ravages of the Druses have not ceased. The total valuation of the losses is \$864,648, for which the Government has as yet paid only \$179,149.

**TURKEY.**—All the Protestant ambassadors in Constantinople protested against the course of the government in the case of the riot attending the burial of a native Protestant. The Porte replied, that it was simply an affair of its own; but the European ambassadors have reasserted their rights, and our American ambassador, James Williams, sent in a strong paper of remonstrance. The ruffians who plundered and murdered the



### ART. III.—THE SPECIFIC UNITY AND COMMON ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

By Rev. J. G. WILSON, Terre Haute, Ind.

IN a previous article of this REVIEW (see Vol. II. pp. 618-633) we have considered, I. The means by which the varieties of the human race may have been produced. II. The means by which the race may have been distributed over the earth; and III., the objection to the hypothesis of a multiple origin. We now proceed to show,

IV. That the arguments in favor of the specific unity and common origin of the human race are numerous, cumulative, and irrefragable.

(1.) Man is a cosmopolite, living almost indifferently in all parts of the earth; passing with comparative immunity over lines of latitude and longitude; and sometimes improved in condition by removing from one country to another; nor is there the slightest evidence, historical or otherwise, of the favorite dogma of Agassiz, "that each of the coincident floral and faunal circles has its own species man."

Man has the power of adaptation to varieties of external condition, climatic and social, so as to be to a great extent independent of them, or at least, so as to avail himself of their subserviency and support. The anthropoid races are not adapted to distribution over the surface of the earth. They can not be acclimated, and perish very soon, even in temperate climates.

(2.) Another physical characteristic of man, of no little significance, is his erect attitude. He is the upright animal, the looker upwards, "*ἀνθρώπος παρὰ τὸ ἄνω ἄρπειν*," according to Plato. The same fact is noticed by the Latin poet:

"Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram  
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri  
Jusait,—et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

Man is the sole representative of a distinct order of mammalia, *bimana*. Intermediate links between the *bimana* and the *quadruman* are lacking altogether. Sir Charles Bell says that we ought to define the hand as belonging exclusively to man. The hands of the chimpanzee hang to the level of the knees, and of the orang even to the ankles. They have no proper feet, and are rightly named by Cuvier and other zoologists, *quadrumanals*. Professor Owen, and other naturalists have pointed out the wide difference between man and the anthropoid races. The average facial angle of the European is  $80^{\circ}$ , of the negro  $70^{\circ}$ , while that of the orang and chimpanzee is only  $30^{\circ}$  to  $35^{\circ}$ . According to the testimony of Dr. Goode, the orang and the pongo have fewer vertebræ than man, and a peculiarity of the larynx, rendering them more incapable of articulate sounds than most other animals. According to Plato, in his *Protagoras*, man was not entirely superior to the beasts until he had learned to articulate sounds and words, and had received the gifts of modesty and justice from Hermes the agent of Jupiter. The human voice only is adapted to articulation. The brute cannot divide its voice as man does, whence the ancient Homeric epithet of "*voice-dividing man*." Whether therefore we take attitude, countenance, or voice, the ending of the brute idea is absolute—the beginning of the human entirely new.

(3.) The differences between men and races, though great, are incidental and variable, dependent upon condition, relations and culture. Hero-worship is the expression of the multitude of their estimate of the world's great minds. Of Newton, a celebrated French mathematician is reported to have said: "Does he eat and drink and sleep like other people? I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter." Whether we adopt the classification of five races, as Blumenbach, or of seven as Prichard, we fail to discover any sharply defined or well established principle of division. The extremes are widely separated and strongly marked, but the intervening space is occupied by every variety of form and color, and intellectual character and æsthetic culture; and the process of transition is so grad-



nal, and the lines of distinction between the different degrees so delicately drawn, that we are unable to distinguish them. The summit and the shaft of the great column of humanity are supported by a common base.

In Africa we find endless variations and gradational blendings between the widest extremes; of color, from that of the European to the polished ebony; of physiognomy, from the elegant Grecian outline to the exaggerated monstrosity of the Guinea coast negro; and of hair, from the grade of the soft Asiatic, and even auburn of some Egyptians, to the crisp curls of the Nubian, and the woolly head growth of the Fellahs. The American Indians, admitted by all to have sprung from one stock, exhibit every shade of color, from the almost black Charruas of the Rio De la Plata, to the fair Mandans of the Upper Mississippi, represented by Catlin as being almost white. From these intermediate gradations of the tint of the skin, the form of the skull, and from the analogies derived from history of varieties in animals, Baron Humboldt, in the *Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 351, argues in favor of the specific unity of the human race, and "repels the cheerless assumption of superior and inferior races of men." Prichard in the *Natural History of Man*, p. 473, says: "All the diversities which exist are *variable*, and pass into each other by insensible gradations, and there is moreover scarcely any instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place."

(4.) The unity of the human race may be argued from the correspondence between the several varieties, as to the average duration of life, the maximum longevity, the rate of mortality, the period of puberty, the duration of pregnancy, the epoch of the first menstruation, the frequency of its periodical recurrence, and the epoch of life to which it extends. Man, considered physically and physiologically, is every where the same. His organic structure, his muscular and nervous system, his respiration, his arterial and venous circulation, his functional activity, the number and offices of the senses, and the diseases common to the several varieties, sporadic, endemic and epidemic, prove that they are members of one species;

for though the exemption from local diseases acquired by acclimation becomes constitutional and hereditary, the apparent exception serves to confirm and establish the rule.

The most important physiological test of unity or diversity in the animal as well as in the vegetable kingdom is that furnished by the generative process. While variation among the same species increases the powers of reproduction, hybrid races are incapable of self-perpetuation.

“As to transmutation of species, Geology has shown that it has never taken place, and physiology demonstrates that species are permanent and can not be transmuted.” The application of this law settles at once and forever the question as to the unity of the race. All the varieties mingle freely together, and the mixed race is often superior to the original varieties, constituting in many countries a new variety, and the dormant political and social power proving that the several varieties of the human family are forms of one species, not of different species; since in the latter case their hybrid descendants would remain unfruitful.

Professor Müller, of Berlin, says: “From a physiological point of view we may speak of *varieties* of men, no longer of races. Man is a species created once, and divided into none of its varieties by specific distinctions.” Professor Draper, of New-York, says: “I do not therefore contemplate the human race as consisting of distinct species, but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an *ideal type* can be made to assume, under exposure to different conditions.”

(5.) The languages of the world indicate a unity not only of blood and form, but of thought, civilization and religion. They are the records of art, science, literature, government, and sacred traditions of primeval thought, crystallized forms of ancient mind and speech, whose feature and form tell of their former connection and common origin. This is more especially true of the most ancient languages, by which we are enabled to trace the connection of all the families of the earth, as brethren not only by descent, but by inheritance;



as the depository of heaven-descended truth, fragments of which are preserved across the track of centuries, and amid the wreck of ten thousand storms.

Herder, Schlegel, Humboldt, Prichard, Latham, Müller, Lepsius, and the philologists of the world generally, have traced all human dialects to some parent stock; thus indicating a common language and a common origin of the race. All the more eminent philologists adhere to the original unity of language, though they are not so well agreed as to the antiquity of man, longer time being required to effect the necessary changes than is allowed by the commonly received chronology. The English, the Dutch, and the German languages were all Mæso-Gothic at the dawn of the medieval era. At the same rate of change, they may have been not far from Egyptian or Sanskrit two thousand years before Christ.

The affinities of language may be indicated, by conformity in primary words, by verbal resemblances, by grammatical constructions and modes, and by the relation of words in sentences, indicative of community of intercourse or of origin at some remote period.

In the language of a people we often find its history, its characteristic features, and even the marks of its wars and conquests. The language and the laws of the British Isles present marked evidences of the conquest by the Norman French, and of an earlier conquest by the Romans a thousand years before. The grammatical structure of the languages of savages evinces that they are the decaying fragments of nobler formations. The speech of the Bushman has been ascertained to be a degraded dialect of the Hottentot language, as that is a depravation of the Cafre tongue. The picture-writing of China affords proof of great antiquity, of a fixed character, and of the very slight influence of conquering or of commercial nations.

The uniformity of languages in Africa, is greater, according to Dr. Latham, than it is in either Asia or Europe.

The semi-barbarous populations of the North with Mongolian features, speak languages which have been grouped as Turanian, languages graduating on one side into Esquimaux

and American Indian, and on the other, according to Müller and Latham, connected with the Semitic and Japhetic tongues.

The aborigines of America have been traced by the aid of philology to N. E. Asia. The daring Ledyard, as he stood in Siberia, and compared the Mongolians with the Indians who had been his schoolmates at Dartmouth, wrote deliberately: "That universally and circumstantially, they resemble the aborigines of America." On the Connecticut and on the Obey he saw but one race. The Asiatic origin of the American tribes, and the unity of the families, have been proved by an analysis of the several dialects, discovering an affinity in not less than one hundred and seventy words; though the application of the principles of the mathematical calculus, would give millions of chances to one, against such a concurrence. "That the Tschukchi of N. E. Asia and the Esquimaux of America, are of the same origin is proved by the affinity of their languages, thus establishing a connection between the continents previous to the discovery of America by Europeans." (*Bancroft.*)

Words being arbitrary signs of thought, their prevalence in different languages is proof of affinity and community of origin or of intercourse. There is no near relationship between the American and the Turian languages, but the affinity of races is established by the Esquimaux—a transition or connecting link, Mongolian in conformation, but American in words; as when a word borrowed from the French, takes the English sign of the possessive case, a word marked by the peculiarities of two languages, and proving a mingling of the races.

The Malayan language has extended east across the Pacific, from Sumatra as the centre, one hundred and fifty degrees, west over the Indian ocean fifty degrees, more than half the circumference of the globe; and from the Sandwich Islands  $23^{\circ} 33' N.$  to New Zealand  $45^{\circ}$  south, covering seventy degrees, the two clusters of islands being nearly five thousand miles apart. (*Rev. William Ellis.*)

Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his analysis of the Kawi language, a work the researches of which, says Bunsen, belong to the Calculus Sublimis of linguistic theory, and place his



name, in universal comparative ethnologic philology, by the side of that of Leibnitz, found one hundred and thirty-four words, the synonyms of which he traced through nine languages, four of which were Polynesian dialects. On this ground, says Prichard, we infer without doubt the common origin of the Polynesian Islanders, of the Greeks, of the Germans, and of the Arian race of Hindostan. Says Baron Alexander von Humboldt, "the comparative study of languages, shows us that races now separated by vast tracts of land, are allied together, and have migrated from one common primitive seat." Says Dr. Max Müller, "The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods. The hoary documents of language prove a common descent, and a legitimate relationship between Hindoo, Greek, and Teuton. The terms for God, horse, father, mother, son, daughter, dog, cow, heart, tears, axe, and tree, identical in nearly all the European idioms, are like watch-words of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger, and whether he answers with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves. The Indo-European languages furnish the following illustrative examples:

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Zend.</i>	<i>Greek.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gothic.</i>	<i>Slave.</i>	<i>Erse.</i>
FATHER.						
Pitâr,	Patar.	πάτηρ.	Pater.	Fader.	—	Athair.
MOTHER.						
Mâtâr.	Mâtar.	μήτηρ.	Mater.	—	Mate.	Mathair.
DAUGHTER.						
Dahîtar.	Dughdhar.	θυγάτηρ.	—	Daubtar.	Dupte.	Dear.

"The affinity of words, in different languages, is known by identity of letters, and identity of signification; or by letters of the same origin, and a signification deducible from the same sense. Consonants are convertible into their cognates." (*Webster.*)

The English word *bear* represents the Latin *fero* and *pario*, and *fero* is the Greek *φέρω*. Respecting the identity of the following list of words there can be no doubt:

<i>English.</i>	<i>Saxon.</i>	<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>German.</i>	<i>Swedish.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Greek.</i>
draw, } drag, }	dragan,	trekken,	tragen,	draga,	traho,	—
give,	gifan,	geeven,	geben,	gifva,	—	—
foot, } feet, }	fat, } fet, }	voet,	fuss.	fot,	pes,	πους.
have,	habban,	hebben,	haben,	hafva,	habeo,	—
seek,	secan,	zoeken,	suchen,	sôkia,	sequor,	—
will,	willan,	willen,	wollen,	willja,	volo, } velle, }	—
					<i>Danish.</i>	
who,	hwa,	wie,	wer,	ho,	hao,	—
bean,	bean,	boon,	bohne,	bôna,	bônne,	—
	<i>Gothic.</i>	<i>Sanscrit.</i>			<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Hebrew.</i>
earth,	airtha,	ahora,	erde,	jord,	terra,	aretz.
				<i>Danish.</i>		אֶרֶץ
				iord,		

The Hebrew word, בָּרָא, *bara*, to create, finds its correspondence, in the Greek *βαρα*, *féρω*, Latin *paro*, Spanish *parar*, French *parer*, Amoric *para*, Russian *uberayu*, Persian *paridan*, and the Welsh *par*, *parad*.

Similar resemblances have been traced by philologists among a multitude of radical words, throughout the several leading languages of the world.

Lepsius shows the deeply rooted radical analogy which the ancient roots of the language of Egypt bear on one side to the Indo-Germanic family, and on the other to the Semitic.

Bunsen says that the Egyptian roots found on monuments, not more ancient than the time of Moses, and in great part anterior to him by a thousand years and more, prove an affinity, not only with the Hebrew and Sanscrit, but also with the languages of the family of Japhet, the Greeks, Romans, Indians, Persians, and the Germanic and Celtic tribes. He concludes his able report by saying, that "all the nations which from the dawn of history to our days have been leaders of civilization, in Asia, Europe, and Africa, must consequently have had one beginning. This is the chief lesson which the knowledge of the Egyptian language teaches;" a lesson in support of the hypothesis of the "original unity of mankind, and of a common origin of all the languages of the world."

(6) The progress of art, literature and science, and the varying



fortunes of nations, dependent upon culture and favoring circumstances, rather than upon any inherent difference of structure or organization, prove the existence of several *varieties* of one species. Few persons perhaps are aware how much the world is indebted to the decaying and almost obsolete civilization, pervading the stationary and imagined inferior races of the old world.

The dial and the clock were invented at the east, silk came from China, steel from Damascus, coffee from Arabia, sugar from India, its very name, *sachara canda*, is Sanskrit, tea from China, and leavened bread from the borders of the Ganges. The cherry, the peach and the plum came from Persia. Coffee and alcohol are Arabic words. The game of chess is from Asia. Chemistry was brought into Europe by the Mohammedans. The system of arithmetic and notation which we call Arabic, was borrowed from India. For the algebraic analysis we are indebted to the Moors. Gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and various optical instruments, were introduced by the Arabs into Europe from Asia. The globular figure of the earth, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, were known in Asia long before they were in Europe. European monotheism was a doctrine of the Hebrews, an Asiatic race. Our most refined notions of honor and right contain nothing more than is to be found in the ten commandments. The disciples' daily prayer was enunciated by the Saviour on a mountain of Syria. The elements of our civilization are from Rome, from Greece, from Syria, and from Egypt, which for thirty centuries before our era, was governed by a dynasty of kings in regular succession.

The power and the successes of Ghengis Khan, and of Tamerlane, prove that they were men of wonderful capacity, holding as they did nearly all Asia in their iron grasp. Such results imply the most extraordinary powers of intellect and of will. The great law-givers of the world are of Asia—Zoroaster, Confucius, Mohammed, Moses, Melchizedec, to say nothing of the mighty rulers of Nineveh and of Babylon. Three hundred millions of people enjoy peace and the fruits of their industry under the government of the Emperor of China; nearly as many are followers of Mohammed; while the worshippers of

Brahma and Budha are estimated by hundreds of millions. The Italian church was formed by Asiatic missionaries, and consolidated through centuries by a long line of sacerdotal kings, making the most powerful ecclesiastical establishment in the world. In its form and principles of government it is essentially Oriental. The mind of the people of Asia is eminently synthetic, prompting to the construction of immense cities, temples, aqueducts, canals, Chinese walls, and systems of theology, philosophy, and government—a definite, social state, seeking repose and forbidding change.

The European mind is analytic—proposing questions, making experiments and changes, committing the treasures of the past and the interests of the present to the uncertain issue of revolutions, and of course tending to social and political freedom. The results are various, and of unequal interest and value—doubts, protests, empiricism and change, the explosion of old systems, and the adoption of new ones, with rapid progress in the arts and practical sciences, but without stability and repose, for the perfect crystallization of sentiments and principles, into forms of order and proportion. The moral qualities of the European mind are not equal to the intellectual. The combination of the synthetic and of the analytic element, by the spirit of the cross, is an indispensable prerequisite to the introduction of the golden age of prophecy and of song.

(7.) The traditions of Central Asia, the cradle of the race, diffused among the nations of the earth, indicate the common origin of the human family. We find in the histories of civilized nations, and in the mythologies and religious ceremonies of barbarous tribes, traditions of chaos, the creation, light, the Sabbath, the garden, the trees of Paradise, the fall, the flood, the olive branch and the dove, and of Messiah; traditions uniform and striking, such as could not have been invented; household memories yet lingering among the scattered members of the human race, all pointing back, and converging to a common centre and a common home.

The traditions of separate and independent nations, says Wilhelm Von Humboldt, “concur in assigning the generations of men to the union of a single pair.” Even the alphabet from



Phenicia has been transmitted to us through the same race, that gave us the fundamental principles of our religious faith. And it is worthy of notice that picture-writing and picture-worship are closely connected. Abstraction is anti-idolatrous. The recognition of the distinction between the IDEAL and the REAL is manifested in the invention of an alphabet, as well as in the adoption of a pure theism.

(8.) The unity of the human race is established by the exact counterpart between the respective powers of the several varieties. The map of the human faculties is identical. The grammar of one language is substantially the grammar of all. Three and seven are charmed or sacred numbers; and by the influence of some curious law pervading human nature, all or nearly all nations begin to repeat in counting at ten. The remembrance of the departed and the sacredness of the tomb, are cherished sentiments even among the most savage tribes. The difference between the dangerous classes of our large cities, and the most brutalized savages is very slight. They have the same affections, the same intellectual and moral qualities, though darkened by superstition and impaired by abuse. They are governed by the same, or similar aims and feelings; the elements and the instincts of man's intellectual and moral nature, even in its depravation, are the same.

It is this *psychical* conformity in regard to the essential elements of man's nature, that constitutes the moral brotherhood of the race, in comparison with which, the question of physical relation by common descent is of little importance. In this respect there is no impassable barrier between the several tribes of men; and even Agassiz protests strongly against any inference from his hypothesis as to a multiple origin, to the prejudice of the interests and rights of men, founded upon the moral unity of the race. The consciousness of moral union is conclusive evidence of the unity of the several families of mankind. The conviction is spontaneous, irresistible, and universal, of the reciprocal relation between the several varieties, as one great commonwealth of mankind, peoples and nations, of many climes and colors, and diverse customs; component parts of one whole, as springs and wheels mutually adapted and re-

lated, awaiting the day and the hour of adjustment and consolidation.

(9.) The powers of reason and of free-will, so as to determine the course of thought and of action, are distinctive characteristics of mankind in every clime and condition. The rational and moral nature of man is everywhere the same—his intellectual and spiritual faculties and susceptibilities, his instincts and sympathies, his hopes and fears, his susceptibility to religious impressions and culture, his innate conviction of the brotherhood of the race, his spiritual aspirations and reverent looking to the great First Cause, and adumbration of a future heritage; these are the voices of God respecting the nature of man—reflections from the broad mirror of humanity of the light of heaven, records of the divine will, engraven upon, incorporated with, and pervading man's whole being.

(10.) An argument for the unity of the race, is found in the capacity for improvement to an indefinite extent, among all the varieties of mankind. The same fact is seen also in the susceptibility to degradation and barbarism, when the means of culture and the appliances of civilization are removed. The history of the rise and decline of empires is indicative of the similarity or identity of mental character of all nations throughout the several ages. Members of all the leading varieties of the human species have been found at the summit, as well as at the base of the social pyramid. The civilized ruling nations of to-day were the pagans and serfs of a few centuries ago. In the revolutions of the wheel of fortune they have changed places with their masters. From the antiquities now in process of disentanglement, it is manifest that the aborigines of America are the degenerate children of a people once civilized, refined, and powerful. The relative decline of the Asiatic nations and the advance of the European, are facts which need no illustration for their enforcement. The capacity of the mind for knowledge, and its susceptibility of culture, have no definite limits. Large attainments become the occasions and the means of new acquisitions. There is a broad and impassable line between man and the irrational creation, common to all the varieties of the race. Animals, as dogs, horses, elephants,



and monkeys, may be taught a few arts, and subjected to a routine of service, but the ultimate limit is soon reached. Their capacity for improvement is confined to a narrow range, and the members of the succeeding generation cannot be elevated to a higher grade than the former. They have neither conscience, nor speech, nor reason; their vocal utterances are natural sounds, expressive of joy or pain, as the interjections of human speech—the language of the sensations and feelings of animal nature—not arbitrary signs of thought, indicative of reflection, and high resolve, and heroic purposes. Of all the animal creation, man alone had a spiritual nature superadded, making him to be the image and likeness of his Maker.

(11.) The great weight of authorities, whether we consider numbers or character, is on the side of the specific unity and common origin of the race.

“All ancient civilization must have sprung from a common centre.”—*Burke*.

“The different races of mankind are not different species of a genus, but forms of one sole species”!—*Alexander Humboldt*.

“The human species appears to be single.”—*Cuvier*.

“We are entitled, from all the facts and observations which have been established, to draw confidently the conclusion that all human races are of one species, and one family.”—*Prichard*.

“Science has determined that all the various tribes of men are but forms of a single species.”—*Hugh Miller*.

“Deeply rooted in the innermost nature of man, and enjoined upon him by his highest tendencies, the recognition of the bond of humanity is one of the noblest leading principles in the history of mankind.”—*Wilhelm von Humboldt*.

“Each member of the race is in will, affection, and intellect, consubstantial with every other. The reciprocal relation between God and humanity constitutes the UNITY of the race.”—*Bancroft*.

Such, in a word, is the conclusion of our highest scientific authorities. The number of testimonies might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is not necessary.

(12.) The authority of the divine word on the subject is with the Christian decisive and final.

The Bible knows but one species of man. We do not read that they were created after their species, as we do of plants and animals. The record is unambiguous and emphatic. Amid the songs of morning stars, and the chorus of angelic choirs, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them, and gave them dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth. And God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

"For God hath made of *one blood* all the nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation."

V. The recognition of the bond of humanity in the reciprocal relation of the several varieties of the race as consubstantial members of the great commonwealth of mankind, is the initial step, in every series of measures wisely conceived and rightly directed, for social progress and political regeneration.

(1.) Liberty, civilization, and religion are consequent and dependent upon the practical acknowledgment of the substantial unity of the several varieties of the human family. The mission of the scholar, the triumphs of science, and the conservative influence of civilization and of law, are destined to be commensurate with the wide extension of the race.

Wherever man exists, there may be heard a brother's voice, pleading for a brother's rights, and protesting against personal, social and political violence and wrong. Wars, oppressions,



and military conquests, which would have a *seeming reason*, if one nation might arrogate to itself a higher or more excellent origin than another, are prohibited by the fundamental organic law of human nature.

(2.) The popular infidelity of the day, superficial and flip-pant, is accustomed to assail the Bible, and to sneer at its pretensions to divine authority, on the ground of its teachings concerning the unity and origin of mankind. It flatters the self-complacency of the Anglo-Saxon to imagine that he belongs to a superior as well as to a conquering race. It seems to justify, or at least to palliate violence and wrong, to believe that there are *inferior* races, made like the brutes to be in subjection and to serve. And it obviates the necessity of self-denying missionary efforts to suppose that certain races are not improvable, that they are hopelessly degraded, and destined to remain permanently in a savage state, or to disappear before the march of the conquering races.

(3.) The specific unity and common origin of the race is a subject of practical interest and of momentous import ; for it is connected inseparably with the doctrine of salvation. It is a question of vast importance whether the nature which fell in Eden is that which we inherit, and whether the humanity which we wear was embraced in the work of redemption.

The specific diversity of the races is a hypothesis at war with the comprehensive unity of Redemption, as well as with its universal applicability to the varieties of mankind. The fall precedes redemption, and redemption implies the unity of the race ; for He who shed his blood for us was made subject to law in human form, that he might redeem us who were under the law, and purify us from all unrighteousness. The Gospel is adapted to all classes and conditions of men, even the most degraded and hopeless of the so-called inferior races. It knows no degrees of latitude or longitude. It has made conquests among all nations and tribes, thus illustrating its power ; and it is destined to universal supremacy. It recognizes in the great commission the unity of the race ; and the command is, "Go ye into all the earth and preach the Gospel to

every creature, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

(4.) The moral effects of the doctrine of the unity of mankind, upon the peace and welfare of nations, cannot be too highly estimated nor too dearly prized.

Who can calculate the effects of such a conviction—WE ARE ALL BRETHREN—the influence it would exert on the well-being of states and empires, extending the spirit of love and of life to all classes of men—freemen, claiming their rights and privileges in the common inheritance, as children of the universal Father—a spectacle to the world and to the angels, than which none is more sublime or pleasing to God; a generation of the world's population taking up the confession of unity, fraternity, and equality, uttering it boldly, and proclaiming it from nation to nation, and around the globe; inaugurating the era of a congress of nations, and giving assurance of the peace of the world.

#### ART. IV.—CRITICAL THOUGHTS ON NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS.

By HOWARD CROSBY, D.D., New Brunswick, N. J.

1. Perhaps the most perplexing and most discussed passage in the New Testament is that found in Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. ix, verses 16 and 17.

In our English version the words run thus; "*For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.*" In the Greek the passage has this form; "Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία. ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. The difficulty is not in the words as they stand in these verses by themselves, but in



Characteristics of Scripture is directed against Prof. Jowett's essay in the Essays and Reviews, and convicts him of careless and inaccurate statements on several points, defending the prophecies and types of the Bible, and the doctrines of Incarnation and of Original Sin. A learned and critical account of Tischendorf's Latest Discoveries concludes the number. The April number contains ten articles: 1. On Tammuz and the Worship of Men among the Ancient Nations; 2. Why should we Pray for Fair Weather? a criticism of Kingsley's sermon; 3. Notes on Industrial Training in National Schools; 4. Bennett's Congregational Lectures; 5. Social Life in the Eighteenth Century; 6. The Codex Alexandrinus—a valuable critical article; 7. The Future of the Papacy and Europe; 8. Biblical Cosmogony—against Mr. Goodwin's Essay; 9. Oxford University Sermons (Scott's and Moberly's); 10. Dogma in Relation to "Essays and Reviews."

The *Edinburgh Review*, April, besides an elaborate defence of the Essays and Reviews, has an able article against Dixon's Lord Bacon; a curious account of the Republic of Andorre, whose independence dates from the charter of Charlemagne, A.D. 801; articles on Political Diaries, Eton College, De Tocqueville, Mrs. Piozzi, the Fables of Babrius, Forbes's Iceland, and the election of President Lincoln. The last article takes the ground, that "the maintenance of the Union" has become "impossible."

The *British Quarterly Review*, April, has an account, in the main laudatory, of Motley's United Netherlands; a criticism of the Sinaitic manuscript, contesting its alleged antiquity, and favoring the later rather than the earlier Uncial mss.; articles on Iceland and its Physical Curiosities, Canada, Dixon's Personal History of Lord Bacon, the Impending Crisis in America, the Historic Element in Ballads, Commerce with China, Theological Liberalism, and the State of Europe. The article on Theological Liberalism refutes the statements of the *Westminster Review* and the *National Review*, about the alleged injustice shown to Dr. Davidson in his removal from his chair in the Lancashire Independent College.

In the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1861, three of the articles have respect to the authors of the "Essays and Reviews;" one on the Atonement in Relation to Modern Opinions, contests Prof. Jowett's views about the idea of sacrifice; two on Modern Sceptical Writers discuss the Essays themselves, and Jowett's principles of Scriptural interpretation. Two other articles are on the Early Life of Christ. The First Born, as a Title of Jesus Christ, is the subject of the most elaborate and learned discussion in this number of the *Journal*; the phrase, "the first-born of every creature," Col. i, 15, is interpreted, with Storr and Barnes, 'among all creatures the chief, or first-born'—in a figurative sense. The Nicene interpretation was, begotten before any creatures; the Unitarians make it equivalent to, the first-born among creatures; Bloomfield, Olshausen and others refer it to the eternal generation. A considerable part of the "Intelligence" of this number is devoted to extracts from various periodicals on the "Essays and Reviews."

The *Westminster Review*, for April, contains the following articles: Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History, The Sicilian Revolution, Voltaire's Romances and their Moral, The Universities and Scientific Education, Early Intercourse of England and Germany, The Cotton Manufacturers, Maine on Ancient Law, Eton, Austria and her Reforms. The article on Kingsley is a vindication of the positivist conception of history against his attacks, taking the ground, that, in a strict sense, there is no science of history; that all that it amounts to is a discovery of sociological laws by the method

of comparison. The article on Maine's new work on Ancient Law is very able; it gives the work the highest praise, as combining the excellencies of Bentham's and Montesquieu's methods. But at the same time, the Review shows its positivist tendencies, by making law to be simply a matter of observation and induction. The three stages of legal growth are, legal fictions, equity, and positive legislation.

About 25 vols. of the materials for English history were published last year under the superintendence of Sir John Romilly. The following are among the works to be issued this year: Ricardi de Cirencestria Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ (A.D. 447-1066), edited by J. E. B. Mayor; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by B. Thorpe; Jehan de Waurin's Recueil des Croniques, edited by W. Hardy; Wars of Danes in England—in Irish—edited by Dr. Todd; a second volume of T. Wright's Political Poems from Edward III. to Henry VIII.; Sagas Relating to the Northmen, by G. W. Dasent; the Liber Albus, translated by H. T. Riley; a Catalogue of mss. on Early History of Great Britain, by T. D. Hardy. The Surtees Society have published Vol. 37 of their Collections. Rev. Jos. Stephenson, Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland in Reign of Henry VI.

Capt. H. G. Raverty, the best Afghan scholar of the day, writes to the News of the Churches, that he is preparing a translation of Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans, from the 16th to the 19th century. Prof. Dorn, of St. Petersburg, the only other European scholar who has thoroughly studied the Afghan (or Pushto) language, says, that this poetry "is able to sustain the severest test of European criticism." Capt. Raverty published his Grammar of the Pushto at Calcutta, in 1855. He has also translated the whole of the New Testament into Pushto, and he complains of the translation begun by the American missionary, Mr. Loewenthal.

Rev. A. A. Ellis, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is to edit from the mss. of Bentley, his Notes in the Greek and Latin text of the New Testament, under the title, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*. The volume will also contain the Abbé Rulotta's collection of the Vatican mss., a specimen of Bentley's proposed edition, and an account of all his collections.

Rev. John Wesley Thomas continues his version of Dante's Trilogy, or the Three Visions, by the publication of the Parable of Purgatory, in the metre and triple rhyme of the original. The Inferno was published some years since.

The Life of Richard Porson, one of the most eminent of England's classical scholars, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1792-1806, has at last been written by I. Selby Watson, published by the Longmans.

A new edition of Johnson's Dictionary, on the basis of that of 1773, is to be published by the Longmans in monthly parts, edited by Dr. Latham, introducing new words, etc.

A contributor to the *Notes and Queries* refers to the remarkable coincidences between Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Cædmon*, paraphrased from Genesis. Junius's edition of *Cædmon* was published in Amsterdam, in 1655; *Paradise Lost* in 1667. Striking illustrations of coincidence are given by Westwood in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, 1844; and by Andras in a *Disquisitio de Carminibus Anglo-Saxonice Cædmoni adjudicatis*. Paris, 1859.

A Correspondence between the Bishop of Exeter and Macaulay has been published, relating to the representation given by the latter of Cranmer's opinions, and of the character of the Church of England in the early days of its Reformation. The letters are very courteous and very spicy. The



*Life among the Chinese: with Characteristic Sketches and Incidents of Missionary Operations and Prospects in China.* By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, M.A. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 400. It is now fourteen years since the Methodists of this country established their mission in China. The Rev. Mr. Maclay, connected with it from the beginning, has given in this work an excellent, simple, and most interesting account of the Chinese people, and of missionary operations among them. About half of the work is taken up with the native history, government, and religions, presenting in a concise form all the main facts. The details of missionary life and methods are instructive, and show the zeal with which he and his associates entered upon their work. The population Mr. M. estimates at 400,000,000. His estimation of the capacity of the Chinese is high: "The Chinese mind is eminently quick, shrewd, and practical. It has an intuitive logic of rare vigor and certainty. Admit the premises in the argument of a Chinese, and his conclusion is generally inevitable. In their processes of ratiocination the defect is usually in the premises."

"As business men they are remarkably energetic, efficient, and adroit. The foreign merchant, whether European or American, who goes to China for business purposes, finds it necessary to avail himself of all the helps and safeguards which his own judgment or the principles of trade suggest in order to protect himself; and it not unfrequently happens, that after all his precautionary efforts, he is over-reached by his unscrupulous competitor. The Yankee must rise early in the morning and keep wide awake all day if he expects to get to windward of a Chinaman before nightfall."

Theiving is a characteristic propensity; and the Chinese thieves are "as expert as any in the world." "Lying seems to be universal. Everybody lies; parents to children and children to parents; masters to servants and servants to masters; sellers to buyers and buyers to sellers; subjects to government and government to subjects. A man's word is never taken in business affairs; no tradesman will consider any arrangement or contract binding unless what is called 'bargain money' has been tendered and accepted; and no agreement is considered valid until it is written out and signed by the parties in the presence of witnesses. In the administration of government you meet with the most unscrupulous mendacity. The people lie to the constable, the constable to the squire, the squire to the sheriff, the sheriff to the governor, the governor to the privy council, and the privy council to the emperor. We might truthfully designate the entire system of government administration in China one stupendous lie."

The entire number of Protestant missionaries in China, to 1859, had been 213, beginning with Dr. Bridgman, the first on the main land, in 1830. Great difficulties have hindered the progress of the work; but the Providence of God is opening the way. Mr. Maclay's earnest, closing appeal is worthy of devout consideration.

*The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies.* By WM. G. SEWELL. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 325. This opportune work, originally written in the form of Letters to the *New-York Times*, gives a candid and favorable estimate of the results of emancipation in the British West Indies, viz., the Windward Islands, Trinidad, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica. Even from the "imperfections and shortcomings of Jamaica," "the superior economy of free labor, as compared with slave labor can be demonstrated." It is cheaper to the master. As the result of his own investigation, and of the testimony of Governor Hicks, the author shows, that in Cuba the cost of slave labor in the production of sugar is 3

cents a pound; in Jamaica, under the slave system it was over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents; in free Jamaica, it is 2 cents, and in Trinidad and Barbadoes it is still less. And "if free labor be tested by any other gauge than that of sugar production, its success in the West Indies is established beyond all cavil." The author, too, shows, we think, successfully, that the depreciation of the commerce of Jamaica can be directly traced to other causes than the introduction of freedom. As to all the other colonies, there is no question of the beneficial results of emancipation. The work is instructive and convincing.

## PHILOSOPHY.

*Rational Psychology; or, the Subjective Idea and Objective Law of all Intelligence.* By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College. A New and Revised Edition. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co. 1861. 8vo. Pp. 543. It is now twelve years since the publication of the first edition of Dr. Hickok's *Rational Psychology*. It was then greeted by a few persons as the most important contribution to metaphysical science produced in the English tongue during the present century; by many it was regarded with distrust and doubt; and not a few declared that they did not know what to make of it. Not only was the terminology new to them, but they could not see what business anybody had to be discussing the *à priori* conditions of all intelligence—enough for them the *à posteriori* road to knowledge. Since this work was published, Great Britain has given us four books on metaphysics: Ferrier's *Institute*, Mansel's *Metaphysics* (from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), Hamilton's *Lectures*, and lastly Macmahon's *Metaphysics and Revealed Religion*. Whatever may be the merits of these works, it is not unjust to them to say, that in no one of them is the fundamental metaphysical inquiry, viz., the universal conditions and necessity of all thought, so distinctly apprehended, and resolutely and systematically carried through, as in this work of Dr. Hickok. He has undoubtedly gone to the heart of the matter, and knows what he is talking about. And he uses technical terms—and such there must be in this as in all science, with constant adherence to his own conceptions and definitions. His style requires study, but chiefly because his thoughts require study. Even where we may be inclined to differ from him in some points of his method, or as to the accuracy of his demonstrations, we need not be at a loss to know what the method and arguments really are and mean.

As an introduction to the study of German philosophy the treatise is invaluable. Dr. Hickok is one of the very few writers in the English language, who have really shown that they understood the principles and problems of the German systems. And not only so, but he has also been able to turn their method into the service of faith. Several of the most important and profound parts of this volume are those in which he derives some of the great underlying points and principles of the Christian system from the postulates of the transcendental philosophy. Following to some extent Kant's method, he arrives at positive, instead of negative, results, as to the valid being of the Soul, the World, God and Immortality, and this too on purely rational grounds. He thus avoids the hiatus which Kant left between the pure and the practical reason.

Of all the charges made against Dr. Hickok, that of a pantheistic tendency is the most gratuitous and unjust. It only shows, that such critics neither understand Dr. Hickok nor pantheism.



in the South. The New-School Presbyterian Church is less than one half as large as the Old-School, having 1,527 ministers, 1,483 churches, (a remarkable exception to most Protestant denominations, its ministers being more numerous than its churches), and 184,933 members. They are mainly in the free States. The Cumberland Presbyterians, who, in many respects, have more affinity with the Methodists than with the Presbyterians, are mainly in the South-Western States, and are most numerous in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. They number 1150 ministers, 1250 churches, and 103,000 members. Next come the United Presbyterian Church, who adhere to many of the forms of the Scotch Church, and are, as a body, strongly opposed to slavery. They are found almost entirely in the Middle States, and have 447 ministers, 674 churches, and 58,781 members. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church is usually reckoned a Presbyterian body. It too is confined almost entirely to the Middle States, and has 410 ministers, 410 churches, and 50,427 members. The other Presbyterian Churches, the United Synod, two Reformed Synods, one Associate Reformed Synod of the South, the Associate, Associate Reformed, Free Synod, and Covenanters, are small bodies, none of them numbering more than 12,000 members. Together, the entire Presbyterian bodies in the United States number 6,606 ministers, 7,928 churches, and 683,932 members. In British North America there are 465 ministers of the different Presbyterian bodies, 625 churches, and 59,284 members, making the aggregate for North America, 7,071 ministers, 8,553 churches, and 743,216 members.

The regular Baptists number, in the United States, 8,952 ministers, of whom 1,115 are licentiates, 12,371 churches, and 1,020,442 members. Adding to these those in British North America, we have 9,424 ministers, of whom 1,203 are licentiates, 13,046 churches, and 1,091,167 mem-

bers—being a little more than all the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists combined.

*Lutherans.*—The first Lutheran Synod (that of Pennsylvania) in this country was formed in 1748, at the suggestion of the Theological Faculty of Halle; the New York Ministerium was organized in 1785. The synods now number 38 in 18 States. The General Synod was organized in 1820. The church had then 103 ministers; in 1833, 337 ministers and 1,017 congregations; in 1853, 900 ministers and 1,750 congregations; in 1860, 1,150 ministers and 2,099 congregations. The Theological Seminary at Hartwick was established in 1816; that at Gettysburg, 1825; the Pennsylvania College in 1832.—*Prof. M. L. Stoecker's Brief Sketch.*

*Welsh Calvinistic Methodists* in the United States: 113 churches, 4,851 members, 53 ordained ministers, and 36 preachers. Ten Associations (*Cymanfa*) for preaching are held each year, 4 in New York, and 2 each in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In the State of New York are 27 churches (the largest in Utica of 160 members; next in New York City of 143), with 1,416 members. The largest salary paid is \$1,000 to Rev. W. Roberts, N. Y. In Ohio, 26 churches and 1,400 members; Pennsylvania, 17 churches, 654 members; Wisconsin, 38 churches; Minnesota, 5 churches.

*Roman Catholics :*

Years.	Provinces.	Dioceses.	Vicariates.	Bishops.	Priests.	Churches.	Stations & Chapels.	Ecclies. Institutions.
1808.....	1	1	2	68	80	...	...	2
1820.....	11	11	10	232	230	...	...	9
1840.....	15	15	17	482	454	358	...	13
1850.....	27	27	27	1081	1073	505	29	29
1854.....	41	41	39	1574	1712	746	34	34
1855.....	7	41	40	1714	1824	978	37	37
1856.....	7	41	40	1761	1910	895	37	37
1857.....	7	41	39	1872	2053	...	35	35
1858.....	7	43	43	...	...	...	...	...
1859.....	7	43	46	2108	2324	...	...	...
1860.....	7	43	49	2235	2335	1128	48	48
1861.....	7	43	3	45	2317	2517	1278	49

*The Mormons.*—The number of Mormons in the United States and the British dominions, in 1856, was not less than 65,000, of whom 38,000 were residents in Utah, 5,000 in New York State, 4,000 in California, 5,000 in Nova Scotia and the Canadas, and 9,000 in South America. In Europe there were 36,000, of whom 22,000 were in Great Britain and Ireland, 5,000 in Scandinavia, 2,000 in Germany, Switzerland, and France, and the rest of Europe, 1,000; in Australia and Polynesia, 2,400, in Africa, 100; and on travel, 2,800. To these if we add the different branches, including Sarengites, Rigdonites, and Whiteites, the whole sect was not less than 126,000. In 1857, there appears to have been a decrease in the population of Utah, the number being only 31,022, of which 9,000 were children, about 11,000 women, and 11,000 men capable of bearing arms. There are 2,358 men with eight or more wives, of these, 13 have more than nine wives; 739 men with five wives, 1,100 with four wives, and 2,508 with more than one wife—recapitulation, 4,647 men, with about 16,500 wives. There have been three large immigrations from Europe the present year, amounting to about 2,500 persons, from all parts of Europe.

The anniversaries of the different religious and benevolent Societies held in New York and Boston were well attended. The Reports give, upon the whole, favorable results.

*The American Tract Society.*—Printed during the year, 857,004 volumes, 9,507,904 publications, or 256,343,464 pages. Total in thirty-six years, 16,635,533 volumes, 236,090,209 publications, or 5852,630,598 pages.

Gratuitous distribution for the year, in 3,764 distinct grants, 45,083,951 pages, and 15,137,850 pages to life-members and directors, value upwards of \$40,000.

*Receipts and Expenditures.*—Received in donations \$93,926.88, including legacies, \$25,028.26; and for sales, \$213,413.85—making \$307,340.73, or with \$51,394.92, balance of insurance money on hand at the beginning of the year, \$358,735.61. Expended—manufacturing and issuing, \$217,178.56; colportage, \$71,337.60, and eight colporteur agencies and depositories, \$27,767.46; foreign cash appropriations, \$7,000; agencies for raising funds, \$12,367.82; all other expenses, \$27,203.75; total, \$357,478.91. Total donations and legacies received for the year have been less by \$5,000 than the expenditures for the three items of colportage and home and foreign grants.

*Foreign Cash Appropriations.*—For the Sandwich Islands, \$550; China, Episcopal Mission, Shanghai, \$300; Southern Baptist Missions, Canton, \$100; Shanghai, \$100; Assam, \$100; Burmah and Karens, \$200; Northern India, \$1,000; Orissa, \$100; Turkey, Armenians, etc., Northern Mission, \$1,900; Central Mission, \$500; Southern Mission, \$500; Italy, \$1,000; Germany, American Baptist Mission, \$300; New Granada Presbyterian Mission, \$350; total, \$7,000. The sum of \$1,000 has also been transferred from the Mission of the Presbyterian Board in Siam to their mission in China.

*Boston Tract Society.*—Publications 39,390,104 pages of tracts and books, at a cost of \$69,015; sales, \$49,677; grants, \$16,503; foreign field, \$500; sixty-two colporteurs. Receipts, \$75,042; debt, \$25,647.

*American and Foreign Christian Union.*—Receipts, \$60,569; expenditures, \$59,082.

*American Bible Society.*—The receipts of the year from all sources were \$389,551.52, of which \$221,742.33 were for books sold. Books printed at the Bible House 829,000; books issued, 721,878; making an