

Monthly Record of Current Events.

UNITED STATES.

THE affair of the Mesilla Valley, of which mention was made in our last Record, threatens to result in a collision between Mexico and the United States. The whole spirit of Santa Anna's administration is decidedly hostile to this country; and if we can place any reliance upon the indications afforded by his conduct, he is prepared to run the risk of another war. It is certain that troops have been sent to take military possession of the disputed territory. An article in the *Washington Union* is supposed to be so far official as to indicate the views of our own Government in the matter. It assumes that the line run between New Mexico and Chihuahua by the Boundary Commission has not been confirmed by the authority required by the treaty, and that, therefore, "no line has been run which the Government of the United States can rightly recognize;" that the Mesilla Valley has always belonged to New Mexico, and as such was transferred to the United States by treaty; and that, consequently, "the armed occupation of the Valley by the Mexican troops, is wholly in violation of the rights of the United States, and of every principle of international law." The question is one to be settled by negotiation, and the Mexican Government must not insist upon settling it by force. The policy of the United States, says this document, toward Mexico, is "one of forbearance and peace;" and "it is to be expected that in response to such a spirit the Mexican authorities will, upon due reflection, abandon their purpose of holding the Mesilla Valley by arms." The course of the Governor of Chihuahua in taking military possession of the Valley is pronounced not to be "an admissible proceeding;" and the "United States can not submit to it as a permanent disposition of that territory." "We have no doubt," concludes this article, "from all that has been announced of the foreign policy of the Administration, that all suitable measures have been taken, and will in future be taken, to place the whole question, both before the Mexican authorities and the people of the United States in its proper position." The inference from this is, that our Government are determined, unless Mexico withdraws her troops from the Valley, also to send forces there. In opposition to these views, it is strenuously maintained that the Valley in question was formally and in proper manner adjudged to belong to Mexico, by the authority created by solemn treaty.—Apart from this affair, there is little of special interest in the department of general political intelligence. The Legislature of New York is sitting in special session; the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts has convened; and a Southern Convention is assembled at Memphis, Tenn., to consult upon the interests of the South.—The principal diplomatic appointments have been made, with the exception of that of Minister to France, which is still vacant, and are as follow:

MINISTERS PLENIPOLENTIARY.

JAMES BUCHANAN, of Pennsylvania, to Great Britain.
THOMAS H. SEYMOUR, of Connecticut, to Russia.
JAMES GADSDEN, of South Carolina, to Mexico.
PIERRE A. SOULE, of Louisiana, to Spain.
PETER D. VROOM, of New Jersey, to Prussia.
SOLOM BORLAND, of Arkansas, to Central America.
WILLIAM TROUSDALE, of Tennessee, to Brazil.
SAMUEL MEDARY, of Ohio, to Chili.
JOHN R. CLAY, to Peru.
THEODORE S. FAY, Minister Resident in Switzerland.

CHARGES D'AFFAIRES.

J. J. SEIBELS, of Alabama, for Belgium.
AUGUSTE BELMONT, of New York, for Netherlands.
RICHARD K. MEADE, of Virginia, for Sardinia.
ROBERT DALE OWEN, of Indiana, for Two Sicilies.
HENRY R. JACKSON, of Georgia, for Austria.
CHARLES LEVI WOODBURY, of N. H., for Bolivia.
HENRY BEDINGER, of Virginia, for Denmark.
WILLIAM H. BISSELL, of Illinois, for Buenos Ayres.
JAMES S. GREEN, of Missouri, for New Granada.
SHELTON F. LEAKE, of Virginia, for Sandwich Islands.

CONSULS.

CHARLES L. DENMAN, of California, at Acapulco.
EDWARD D. LEON, of South Carolina, at Alexandria.
DAVID S. LEE, of Iowa, at Basle.
JOHN M. HOWDIN, of Ohio, at Bermuda.
ALFRED GILMORE, of Pennsylvania, at Bordeaux.
WILLIAM HILDEBRAND, of Wisconsin, at Bremen.
DENNIS MULLINS, of New York, at Cork.
M. J. LYNCH, of Illinois, at Dublin.
WILLIAM H. DE WOLF, of Rhode Island, at Dundee.
ALEXANDER M. CLAYTON, of Mississippi, at Havana.
S. M. JOHNSON, of Michigan, at Hamburg.
JAMES KEENAN, of Pennsylvania, at Hong-Kong.
BENJAMIN F. ANGELL, of New York, at Honolulu.
GEORGE W. CHASE of Maine, at Lahaina.
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, of Mass., at Liverpool.
JAMES M. TABLETON, of Alabama, at Melbourne.
GEORGE SANDERS, of New York, at London.
THOMAS W. WARD, of Texas, at Panama.
DUNCAN K. MCRABE, of North Carolina, at Paris.
ROBERT G. SCOTT, of Virginia, at Rio Janeiro.
CHARLES J. HELM, of Kentucky, at St. Thomas.
WYNDHAM ROBERTSON, of Louisiana, at Trieste.
JOHN HUBBARD, of Maine, at Trinidad de Cuba.
REUBEN WOOD, of Ohio, at Valparaiso.
DONALD G. MITCHELL, of Connecticut, at Venice.
GEORGE F. GOUNDI, of Pennsylvania, at Zurich.

The amended Charter of the City of New York proposed by the Legislature, and submitted to the popular vote of the city, June 7, was accepted by a vote of 36,672 yeas to 3351 nays. The principal provisions of the Charter are those intended to guard against the bribery and corruption of public officers:—Directing leases and contracts to be given out only by public auction, to the most favorable bidder, after due public notice:—Increasing the number of one branch of the Common Council, which is also to be chosen from smaller districts; this branch to have the sole power of originating appropriations of money:—Granting to the Mayor a veto power, which can be overruled only by a vote of two-thirds of the Common Council:—Taking from the Aldermen the duty of sitting as Judges in the Criminal Courts:—Laying restrictions upon the expenditures of public moneys.

Two expeditions of unusual interest have just been dispatched from this country. The first, that fitted out by Mr. Grinnell, to continue the search for Sir John Franklin, sailed from New York, May 31. It consists of a single vessel, the *Advance*, with a company of only seventeen persons, under the command of Dr. Kane, who was attached to the previous expedition. They go with provisions calculated for two years, independent of what they may gain by hunting. Their immediate destination is Smith's Sound, the farthest point to the north yet reached. Thence, if the ice permits, they will push their way into regions hitherto unexplored. If the northern passages are blocked up, they intend to have recourse to dogs, using their boats as sledges, in order to make a thorough exploration of the region, in search of traces of the lost navigators. The other expedi-

tion sailed a few days later from Norfolk. It consists of four vessels and a supply ship, under the command of Captain Ringgold. Its object is to make a thorough exploration of the routes pursued by our vessels between San Francisco and China, and of the whaling grounds of the Sea of Okotsk, and Behring's Straits. Of only small portions of the region proposed to be surveyed have any accurate charts been prepared, though their commercial importance is very great.

The General Assembly of the "Old School" branch of the Presbyterian Church held its annual session at Philadelphia, commencing May 19, and continuing till June 3. The opening sermon was preached by John C. Lord, D.D., the Moderator of the last Assembly. John C. Young, D.D., was chosen Moderator. Apart from the regular details, the most important action of the body was the establishment of a new Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky, designed to take the place of all the existing Western Seminaries. The following Professors were appointed: "R. J. Breckenridge, D.D., *Didactic Theology*; E. P. Humphrey, D.D., *Ecclesiastical History and Church Government*; B. M. Palmer, D.D., *Oriental and Biblical Literature*; P. D. Gurley, D.D., *Pastoral Theology*. The Professorship at Princeton, vacant by the death of the late Dr. Alexander, was filled by the appointment of Henry A. Boardman, D. D. Rev. Dr. Davidson of New Brunswick, N. J., delivered before the Presbyterian Historical Society a very able discourse on "Presbyterianism; its true Value and Position in History;" in the course of which he vindicated the characters of Calvin and Knox from their detractors. The next meeting of the Assembly was appointed to be held at Buffalo.

The "New School" General Assembly met at Buffalo, also on May 19, and was opened by a discourse from the Rev. William Adams, D.D., Moderator of the last Assembly, on the "True Ideal of the Christian Minister." The Rev. Dr. Allen, Theological Professor in the Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, was chosen Moderator. The roll of commissioners, clerical and lay, numbered two hundred and eight—the largest representation ever assembled. The session was protracted to Tuesday, May 31st, and, apart from the regular routine of business, was made interesting by the discussion of a variety of important measures. Among these, was a recommendation to raise a fund of \$100,000, to be loaned or donated to feeble churches at the West, for the erection of church-edifices. A Committee appointed by the last General Assembly, to confer with the American Home Missionary Society respecting the adjustment of the Plan of Church Extension with the operations of that Society, reported a correspondence, which stated that entire agreement had been accomplished. A further Committee was appointed this year, to confer with the Society in reference to certain alleged deficiencies in its rules, which interfere with the prosecution of Home Missions by this Church. A large Commission was appointed to devise some comprehensive plan for the education of Ministers by this Church; the existing Education Societies being recommended as the best agencies for this purpose, in the mean time. An overture reported to the Assembly, justifying the marrying of a sister's daughter, was almost unanimously rejected. An overture reprehending promiscuous dancing by church-members, was answered by re-affirming the stringent condemnation of a former Assembly. On the subject of Slavery, a long and earnest, but friendly discussion took place, on a series of resolutions, drafted by a member of a

Southern Presbytery, which re-affirmed the action of the Assembly of 1850, at Detroit, and requested the several Presbyteries in the Slave States to make inquiries, and send up answers to the next Assembly, as to how many slaves are held by members of the Presbyterian Church; how many of these are held from excusable or charitable motives; whether the Southern Churches regard the sacredness of the marriage relation among slaves; whether baptism is duly administered to children of slaves professing Christianity, &c. The resolutions were discussed for nearly three days, and were finally adopted by a vote of 79 to 34—the minority entering two protests thereto. The Assembly, during its session, made visits, in a body, to Niagara Falls, and to the Portage Falls. The next meeting of this body is to be held in Philadelphia.

From Utah our intelligence extends to April 30. On the 6th, the General Conference of the Mormons was opened with great parade. Brigham Young was "brought forward and sustained as President of the Church of Christ of the Latter Day Saints, also as Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, and leader in Israel." John Smith was "sustained as Patriarch to the whole Church." The Ninth General Epistle "to the Saints, scattered abroad throughout the whole earth," presents a prosperous state of affairs in the community, though some complaints are made of slothfulness and waste. Manufactures are gradually improving; the culture of beet-root and the extraction of sugar have been commenced with favorable prospects. The courts are nearly superfluous, except for the purpose of settling disputes among emigrants. The Indian tribes preserve peaceful relations with the settlers. Twenty-five missionaries have been appointed to various countries. These missionaries have directions to flee from countries where they are persecuted; to translate and print the book of Mormon, with the promise that "the gift of tongues shall more and more be made manifest;" and to ordain native teachers wherever possible. A few days after the date of the Epistle some Indian disturbances broke out, incited, it is said, by a "horde of Mexicans or outlandish men," who supply the natives with arms and ammunition. Governor Young thereupon directed a military detachment to proceed to the scene of disturbance, with orders to arrest all suspicious persons, but to treat with kindness those Mexicans who remain in their settlements. The militia are directed to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice to any part of the Territory.

From California the receipts of gold have been very large since our last notice. The Grand Jury of San Francisco refused to bring in an indictment for manslaughter against the captain of the steamer Independence, whose loss occasioned so fearful a destruction of life; but expressed their regret that it was not within their functions to indict the owners of the line for criminal negligence in sending out unseaworthy vessels. The question of the division of the State continues to excite interest. There have been two or three serious riots, involving loss of life.

MEXICO.

Santa Anna has assumed full and undivided possession of all the functions of government. His formal entry into authority took place on the 20th of April; at which time he proceeded to the palace—his carriage drawn by the populace, who had insisted upon removing the horses, and themselves supplying their place. Thence the cortège went to the Chamber of Deputies, where the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were assembled. There the oath was

administered to him, by which he swore to "defend the independence and integrity of the Mexican territory, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the nation, in conformity with the basis adopted by the plan of Jalisco, and the agreement made in Mexico on the 6th of February last by the united forces." On the 22d he issued a proclamation settling the basis of public administration, as established provisionally, until the promulgation of a new organization. By this document all legislative authority is suspended, and a Board of five Secretaries are appointed, who are to report, each for his own special department, measures to the President; and in case of his approval to be responsible for their execution. To aid and advise these Secretaries, a Council of State, of twenty-one members, divided into sections answering to the several Secretaryships, is named. Each of these sections forms the special council of one of the Secretaries. Subsequently, decrees have been issued, imposing restrictions on the press, taking possession by Government of the telegraph, forbidding the circulation of foreign money, prohibiting private citizens to have in their possession any arms, powder, or munitions, and the like. Extraordinary honors have been awarded to those who suffered during the late American war, while those persons who voluntarily surrendered to the invaders have been dismissed from public service. The remains of those who fell in battle have been directed to be disinterred, in order to be again buried in a manner worthy of those who had deserved well of their country. A public levée was held of those who had suffered mutilation during the war; the President assured them that he too had suffered mutilation for the country, and that the country would remember them. The title assumed by Santa Anna is, "Antonio Lopez Santa Anna, Benemerito of the Country, General of Division, Cavalier of the Great Cross of the Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Carlos III., and President of the Republic." Arista, the late President, received an order to betake himself to Vera Cruz, and to embark for Europe in the packet about to sail. In the event of being too late for the packet, he was to be imprisoned in the castle till the next departure. As the order was backed by a troop of horse, the Ex-President obeyed: and from the vessel returned an answer, protesting against the banishment; declaring that his sole offense was sympathy with North American institutions; and affirming that, in order to secure the happiness of the country, he would, if necessary, be in favor of "annexation to the United States; for, in that measure, Mexico could discover an inexhaustible source of wealth and prosperity, in exchange for that grand riddle which General Santa Anna calls nationality." As Minister to the United States the new Government has appointed General Almonte. There are reports that Santa Anna is disposed to enter into intimate relations with Spain, in order to make common cause against the United States; at all events, the Spanish Minister, on occasion of his presentation, was received with distinguished honor. Great exertions, in the meanwhile, are making to recruit the army; reinforcements have been dispatched to Governor Trias of Chihuahua, to resist the occupation of the Mesilla Valley by the Americans. In various departments opposition has been manifested to the government of Santa Anna. A serious disturbance, which was, however, finally quelled, broke out at Vera Cruz on the 17th of May.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AMERICA.

The hopes entertained of the establishment of peace in *Buenos Ayres* have again been disappoint-

ed. General Urquiza refused to assent to the provisions of the treaty which had been negotiated by the Commissioners, on the ground that all the advantages were on the side of the Government party, to the prejudice of the Provincials. The city was again put in siege, though an agreement seems to have been made by which actual hostilities are to be suspended for a while, that recourse may be had to another attempt at negotiation.

It is hardly worth the while to endeavor to record the quarrels and reconciliations of the minor States of Southern and Central America. The latest quarrel seems to be between *Peru* and *Bolivia*. The latter State is charged with having issued debased coin and with some indignity to the Peruvian Chargé. By way of reprisal, the Peruvian Government has laid heavy duties on all merchandise passing the Peruvian custom-houses, either to or from *Bolivia*.—The war between *Honduras* and *Guatemala* is reported to be at an end.—Señor Mora has been re-elected, almost unanimously, to the Presidency of *Costa Rica*. His message presents a somewhat favorable state of affairs in that State. He, however, recommends an increase in the powers of Government.—A proposition has been broached that the five powers of Central America should unite in a customs-union, somewhat like the German *Zollverein*.

In *Jamaica* a serious quarrel has arisen between the different departments of the Government. Resolutions passed the Assembly, making various reductions in the public expenditures, to which the Council refused to accede. The Assembly thereupon passed a resolution charging the Council with recklessness and utter disregard of the public interests. And on these grounds they refused to originate any legislative measures, or to do any business with that body. The Council rejoined by denouncing the Assembly's resolution as unfounded in fact, a gross violation of Parliamentary usage, and a wanton attack upon the honor and dignity of the Council. In view of this state of things the Governor prorogued the Legislature; and as no provision had been made for supplies, he threatened to disband the police, and to set loose the criminals, for whose support no provision had been made.

At the *Sandwich Islands* rumors were prevalent, which are probably premature, of a movement on the part of the French, with a design of taking possession of the islands; and the project of annexation to the United States has been broached.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Several preliminary trials of strength have taken place in respect to the proposed Budget, which indicate that the Ministers have a decided majority in the House of Commons.—As was anticipated, the Jewish Disabilities bill was defeated in the House of Peers; the vote was 164 nays to 115 ayes. Among those who advocated the bill was Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin.—In reply to Parliamentary interrogations, the Ministers announced that the Chinese Government had applied to Britain for assistance; but no orders had been given to interfere in the war, except for the protection of British subjects and property; and that the Burmese province of Pegu had been annexed to British India, by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war.—The subject of political refugees continues to excite attention.—Charges are rife of enormous corruption in various departments of Government. Investigations into the management of the dock-yards, under the late Derby administration, have resulted in some singular disclosures.—The papers teem with ac-

counts of the progress of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." She has been received with unprecedented enthusiasm; but the Times comments with some severity upon the affair.—A magnificent copy of Shakspeare, purchased by nearly ten thousand subscribers of a penny each, has been presented to Kosuth. The speech in presentation was made by Douglas Jerrold. Kosuth replied with even more than his usual eloquence and brilliancy.—The Irish Industrial Exhibition at Dublin was opened on the 12th of May, by the Lord Lieutenant. It promises to be very successful. It owes its origin to the liberality of the Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Dargan, who, commencing life as a common laborer, has attained to great wealth.—A sumptuous entertainment was given by the American banker, Mr. Peabody, to our Minister, Mr. Ingersoll, and a large number of Americans and Englishmen. Among the guests was Ex-President Van Buren, who was welcomed with distinguished honor.

THE CONTINENT.

From *France* there is nothing of general interest except the report, which gains strength, that the two branches of the House of Bourbon are upon the point of uniting their interests. The hopes which had been entertained of a direct heir to the Imperial Crown have been disappointed by the premature *accouchement* of the Empress. The health of the Emperor is represented to be much shattered. It is proposed by Government to revive capital punishment for certain classes of political offenses.

In *Holland* the Government has been involved in some embarrassments, growing out of attempts made to introduce a Roman Catholic hierarchy. In consequence of these the States General were dissolved, and a new election ordered, which resulted in the success of the Ultra-Protestant party, which has also the support of the King.

In *Spain* the intelligence of the appointment of Mr. Soulé as American Minister has occasioned no little excitement. The newspapers discuss the matter with great earnestness, and even recommend that he be not received.

In *Italy* the Austrians are adopting stringent measures to check revolutionary attempts, and to prevent the refugees from finding an asylum in the neighboring minor States. Explicit demands have been made upon the Swiss Confederation to remove from their territories any refugees who should be charged by the Austrian envoy with being engaged in revolutionary enterprises. This was accompanied by some hostile demonstrations. The demand has been refused by the Cantons, and has been followed by the withdrawal of the Austrian envoy.

The affairs of *Turkey* appear to be approaching a crisis. The demands of Russia approach to a semi-sovereignty over the whole population of Turkey belonging to the Greek communion. This the Sultan has refused to grant, and a suspension of diplomatic intercourse has resulted. In the meanwhile the fleets of the European powers are gradually concentrating within striking distance from Constantinople. It is understood that the Sultan has refused to accede to the demands of Russia by the advice of the English and French ambassadors.

CHINA.

For two or three years there have been vague and contradictory reports of a revolutionary movement in progress in the heart of the Chinese Empire; but the seat of the disturbance was so remote from all European intercourse, that no authentic intelligence had transpired in relation to its object or extent. Recent arrivals indicate that it will prove to be one of the

most important movements of the age, as it promises to involve the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty, and to put an end to the exclusive policy which has so long shut out China from intercourse with the world. The insurrection, commencing in the central provinces, has spread north and east. The insurgents have every where proved successful against the Imperial forces; until at last the Emperor issued a proclamation acknowledging that his efforts to check the insurrection had proved utterly abortive, sketching a plan for future military operations, and concluding by offering large rewards to those who should contribute to the support of the army. This last effort has utterly failed; and at the latest advices, the insurgents were in the neighborhood of Nankin, with every prospect of soon becoming masters of that capital, and then marching upon Shanghai. Not the least singular circumstance connected with this insurrection is the absolute uncertainty that exists as to the person and antecedents of the leader. His real name is absolutely unknown to the Imperial authorities. Report says that he has been educated by European missionaries, is imbued with European ideas, and that his council of war is composed of four individuals, who are evidently foreigners, and are supposed to be Frenchmen. It is certain that the insurrection is carried on with a skill to which the Chinese can lay no claim. Towns are invested by regular approaches; no plunder or pillage is allowed, and the districts over which the forces pass are pacified. Some curious proclamations, issued by the insurgent leaders, have been translated. One commences by asserting the democratic doctrine that when any government loses the affection of the people, it must fall. The dominant dynasty are charged with bestowing office and rewards for bribes, to the exclusion of those who are versed in the doctrines of Confucius. The proclamation then goes on to say that the leader in imitation of certain great sages, had heretofore concealed his own name and station; but that, seeing how the black-haired race were oppressed, he had taken up arms, and intended "first to overthrow the dynasty, and then proceed to breakfast." Another insurgent proclamation, after giving a deplorable picture of public and private grievances, lays all the blame upon "the vicious and besotted monarch." It goes on to state that cultivators and artisans will not be disturbed in their vocations; but intimates that the wealthy must furnish supplies for the sustenance of the army, for the amount of which receipts will be given, and payments made at a future period. Rewards are offered to those who assist in carrying out the plans of the insurgents; and the severest punishments are threatened against those who assist the "marauding mandarins." The public functionaries are directed to surrender the insignia of their offices, and to retire to their several villages; all of them who resist, are threatened with death. The Chinese Intendant at Shanghai, under date of March 16, addressed a petition to the foreign consuls, requesting their assistance. After detailing the progress of the insurgents he affirms that, if they be not speedily interrupted, commercial relations between China and foreign nations will be at an end. He therefore requests that the foreign vessels in port may proceed up the river to Nankin in aid of the Imperial forces. The British, French, and American naval forces have accordingly undertaken to protect, at least temporarily, and upon certain conditions, Shanghai, Nankin, and the mouth of the Great Canal against the insurgents. It is further reported that Russia has offered her intervention in order to maintain the present Tartar dynasty on the throne.

Editor's Table.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION—as it is called—presents a problem of the same kind, and involving the same difficulties, with that of religious liberty. We may not hope to present a satisfactory solution, and yet it is entitled to some place in our Editor's Table, as one of the current and most exciting topics of the day. If, as on the kindred question, we can do no more than set these difficulties before our readers in a clear and impressive light, no small service will have been rendered to the blessed cause of truth and charity.

All great questions have two sides to them. They would not be great questions if it were not so. A conviction of this is as essential to the correctness and clearness of our reasoning, as to the kindness and forbearance of our conclusions. Not that truth is indifferent, or is to be found by indolently traveling some convenient *via media*; moral and political truth is as fixed in its principles as the mathematical, but the interests, and passions, and depravities of mankind present difficulties of application which have no place in the purely speculative. No mental faculty therefore, is of higher value than that by which we are enabled to view questions from a foreign standpoint, and to get ourselves into the spirit of ages, and circumstances, and modes of thinking, remotely diverse from our own.

Can the State educate? We may say the State ought to educate, because it is bound to promote the highest good of all its citizens—their highest intellectual and moral good, for its own sake—their highest intellectual and moral good, for the sake of its bearing upon that physical welfare which is within the undoubted jurisdiction of the political sovereignty. But who can fail to see that, as far as the duty and the motive are concerned, the same position is equally tenable in respect to the higher question of a national religion. If the State ought to educate, it ought to give the best education. It ought to educate in the truth, and to this end, not only ascertain what that truth is, but cause it to be taught to the exclusion of every thing else. So, too, the State ought to have the best religion, and teach that religion, however it may, on account of certain expediencies, tolerate other forms and creeds. The objections, we know, to doing this, in the present state of things, are legion, but still it is difficult to see why those of most force in the one case are not equally tenable in the other. Men differ in their religious dogmas. They differ in their philosophy. They differ, and differ bitterly, in their politics. They differ widely and even essentially in what all seem nowadays to regard as a most necessary part of education—their views of morals and moral truth. They may agree in the facts of physical science; but even here comes in as wide, if not a still wider, diversity in their opinions respecting its rank, its value, and especially its connections with the higher world of spiritual realities. Chemistry may be a very godless science. It may be so taught as to be more offensive to some parents than any patronage the State might extend to certain forms of religious error. The study of nature, if made the ground of morals, may by some be regarded as the highest immorality, as well as the highest irreligion.

Are similar objections insurmountable in the parallel case? We all agree that they are. No man among us, whatever may be his views of the desirableness, maintains the practicability of a national

religion. However much any one might be inclined to defend such an action of the civil power in peculiar circumstances—however plausible might be the arguments in favor of it as attempted in a homogeneous nation, where the inhabitants are as yet all of one race, one religion, one worship, one set of opinions, or one set of prejudices—however desirable, we say, or practicable it might be in such a case to try and keep them such, it is now with us entirely out of the question. The State *can not*, and therefore, unless it be that its moral obligations are unrelaxed by inabilities which some might say exist through its own wrong construction, it *ought not* to have a State-regulated national religion.

We would not be mistaken in these remarks. We have indulged in them merely to show the immense difficulties that surround all these great questions. Strange that they should be so easily seen in the one case, and that we should be so blind to them in the other. Time, however, is forcing them upon our notice. That most certain and most thorough of all teachers is presenting them in such a light, that the veriest demagogue will soon be compelled to admit that the worthy treatment of this subject is not so easy a matter as it would seem to be, from the flip-pant truisms sometimes to be found in executive messages and legislative reports. We do not take ground against national education; but a careful survey of the whole perplexing field must convince every sound and candid thinker, that if the desired result is to be obtained at all, it can only be as the fruit of much compromise, along with a settled conviction that fragmentary or partial interests must yield to something acknowledged as nationally predominant, if not universal, in the sphere of morals and religion.

The great question—Can the State educate?—may present itself under two aspects. Some may regard it as sufficiently answered by a mere tax-collecting, money-giving system, that simply furnishes funds for educational purposes, leaving it to local societies and to individuals to employ them in their own way, or according to their own views of the knowledge or instruction to be imparted. But this can not properly be called State education. It is nothing but a poor scheme of finance. It is taking from the people with the one hand what is returned to them with the other, and in such a way as to destroy the individual stimulus and the individual supervision through the appearance of public patronage, while in reality, by refusing any specific control of the funds employed, it presents no public aim, and is subservient to no public good. The State might about as well assume the collection and paying out again distributively of all church rates, on the ground that religion is a very good thing for the well-being of the body politic, but with a Gallo-like indifference in respect to the quality or varieties of the article so patriotically purchased.

It is, then, the second aspect alone that worthily meets the importance and difficulty of our question. By State education can be rightly meant nothing else than a governmental control—having the charge and supervision of the very purposes, and all the purposes, for which the funds are bestowed. It must have, eventually, in view the whole subject in all its departments, from the lowest to the highest. It must regulate the studies, the books, the modes of teaching. It must decide whether there shall be the same