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FEBRUARY, 1855.

ART. I.—1. *Le Continent en* 1854. Paris, 1854. Pp. 90.
2. *Memoranda made in Paris in the beginning of* 1854. MSS.

THE first of the two works, of which we prefix the titles to this Article, is of little value. We adopt it merely as a name, and, having made this use of it, dismiss it. But the interest and importance of the subject which it treats cannot be exaggerated. The state of feeling and opinion in Paris, and generally on the Continent, has occupied our attention for some time, and we propose to give a brief summary of the results of our inquiries and observations.

We must begin by stating that we sketch only the educated classes. We do not pretend to describe the epicier or the ouvrier: not because he is not worth describing, but because we do not know him. It is very difficult even for a native to understand well what are the objects, or the motives, or the principles, of any society but that in which he mixes familiarly. Who can tell what are the politics of his own servants' hall? When men of different castes converse, each wears a mask, each disguises his voice, each tries to guess what the other will think of what he is saying. There is nothing spontaneous, nothing simple, nothing perfectly unembarrassed, in such talk. If this be the case between fellow-countrymen, how much more must it be so between those who think in different languages, who, to differences in cultivation and knowledge and habits, add differences in national wishes and fears and associations and prejudices? As we look with deep distrust on the pictures drawn by those who profess to paint any class but their own, we shall not imitate them.

The principal political parties into which the educated society of Paris is divided are the—

Imperialists,
Royalists,
Republicans, and
Parliamentarians.

The Royalists may be again subdivided into Orleanists, Legitimists, and Fusionists; and the Fusionists into Orleanist-Fusionists, and Legitimist-Fusionists.

The Imperialists do not require to be described. They form a small party in the salons of Paris, and much the largest party in the provinces.

Those who are Royalists without being Fusionists are also comparatively insignificant in numbers. There are a very few Legitimists who pay to the elder branch the unreasoning worship of superstition: who adore Henri V. not as a means but as an end; who pray for his reign, not for their own interests, not for the interests of France, but for his own sake; who believe that he derives his title from God, and that, when the proper time comes, God will restore him; and that to subject his claims to the smallest compromise—to admit, for instance, as the Fusionists do, that Louis Philippe was really a king, and that the reign of Henri V. did not begin the instant that Charles X. expired,—would be a sinful contempt of Divine right, which might deprive his cause of Divine assistance.

There are also a very few Orleanists who, with a strange confusion of ideas, do not perceive that a title founded solely on a revolution was destroyed by a revolution; that if the will of the people was sufficient to exclude the descendants of Charles X., it also could exclude the descendants of Louis Philippe; and that the hereditary claims of the Comte de Paris cannot be urged except on the condition of admitting the preferable claims of the Comte de Chambord.

The bulk, then, of the Royalists are Fusionists; but though all Fusionists agree in believing that the only government that can be permanent in France is a monarchy, and that the only monarchy that can be permanent is one depending on hereditary succession, though they agree in believing that neither of the Bourbon branches is strong enough to seize the throne, and that each of them is strong enough to exclude the other, yet between the Orleanist-Fusionists and the Legitimist-Fusionists the separation is as marked and the mutual hatred is as bitter, as those which divide the most hostile parties in England.

The Orleanist-Fusionists are generally roturiers. They feel towards the Noblesse the hatred which has accumulated during

twelve centuries of past oppression, and the resentment excited by present insolence. Of all the noble families of France the most noble is that of Bourbon. The head of that house has always called himself "le premier gentilhomme de France." The Bourbons therefore suffer, and in an exaggerated degree, the odium which weighs down the caste to which they belong. Gay and brilliant as the reign of the house of Bourbon looks in the histories and memoirs of France, the recollections which it has left are eminently painful. Detestation of the old régime is almost the only feeling that has survived sixty-five years of revolution. The French can bear oppression, they can bear to see their children carried off by the conscription and their neighbours transported to Cayenne, but they cannot bear the petty vexations and social distinctions of feudalism. It was this detestation of privilege, and precedence, and exclusiveness, or, as it is sometimes called, this love of equality, which raised the barricades of 1830. It was to flatter these feelings that Louis Philippe sent his sons to the public schools and to the National Guard, and tried to establish his government on the narrow foundation of the bourgeoisie. Louis Philippe, and one or two of the members of his family, succeeded in obtaining some personal popularity, but it was only in the comparatively small class, the "Pays légal," with which they shared the emoluments of Government, and it was not sufficient to raise a single hand in their defence when the masses, whom the Court could not bribe or caress, rose against it. The Orleanist-Fusionists are Bourbonists only from calculation. They wish for the Comte de Paris for their king, not from any affection for him, or for his family, but because they think that such an arrangement offers to France the best chance of a stable government in some degree under popular control: and they are ready to tolerate the intermediate reign of Henri V. as an evil, but one which must be endured as a means of obtaining something else, not very good in itself, but less objectionable to them than a Bonaparte dynasty or a Republic.

The loss of her aristocracy is a misfortune from which France has not even begun to recover. The Legitimists are the territorial successors of their ancestors of the eighteenth century; they are their successors in their manners, in their loyalty, and in their prejudices of caste, but they are not their successors in

of that century a comprehensiveness of curiosity and inquiry, a freedom of opinion, an independence and soundness of judgment never seen there before or since. Its pursuits, its pleasures, its admirations, its vanities, were all intellectual. Let us recollect

the success of Hume: his manners were awkward, he was a heavy, though an instructive, converser, he spoke bad French; he would pass in Paris now for a most intelligent bore; but such was the worship then paid to talents and knowledge, especially to knowledge and talents employed in the destruction of received opinions, that Hume was for years the lion of all the salons of Paris. The fashionable beauties quarrelled for the fat philosopher. Nor was their admiration or affection put on, or even transitory; he retained some of them as intimate friends for life. We may infer, indeed, from the autobiographies of that time—from those of Marmontel, for instance, and Rousseau—that even the inferior bourgeoisie were then educated. Every country town had its literary circles; many of them had Academies in which the great writers of France and Italy were studied. The French were not so engrossed by the serious cares of life as to disregard its ornaments. *Now*, the time that is not devoted to the struggle for wealth or power, to place-hunting or to money-making, is spent at the café or the spectacle. Few read anything but the newspapers, or, of them, anything but the feuilleton. If the brilliant talkers and writers of that time were to return to life, we do not believe that gas, or steam, or chloroform, or the electric telegraph, would so much astonish them as the comparative dulness of the greater part of modern French society, and the comparative mediocrity of the greater part of modern French books.

Between the noblesse and the bourgeoisie there is a chasm which shows no tendency to close. Nothing but a common interest and a common pursuit will bring them together. If the murder of the Duc d'Enghien had not made the nobles recoil in terror and disgust from Napoleon, they might perhaps have been welded into one mass, with his new aristocracy of services, talents, and wealth. They were ready to adhere to him during the Consulate. During the Restoration they were always at war with the bourgeoisie, and therefore with the Constitution, on which the power of their enemies depended. When the result of that war was their defeat, and the expulsion of their leader Charles X., their hostility extended from the Constitution and the bourgeoisie up to the crown. Louis Philippe, as we have already remarked, tried to govern by means of the middle classes alone. Perhaps it was inevitable that he should make the attempt. It certainly was inevitable that the attempt should fail. By condescending to be the founder of an usurping dynasty, by recognising the right of a Parisian mob to be a setter up and puller down of kings, Louis Philippe set one of the few precedents which are absolutely certain to be repeated. Sooner or later the Orleans dynasty would have been overthrown, even if it had reposed on

a really democratic basis. But it was built on the narrowest possible foundation. It did not rest on numbers, or on wealth, or on education, or on antiquity, or on prejudice, or on respect. It was despised by the lower classes, and detested as well as despised by the higher classes, and it offered no prizes to either. There were no nomination-seats for the nobles, no scot-and-lot boroughs for the agitators, no venal ones for the millionnaires. The road to power lay along one flat level terrace of bourgeoisie, looked up to with envy and dislike by the multitude below it, and looked down on with scorn, amounting to disgust, by the better-born and better educated classes above it. The Pays légal were the electors and the elected; they were the donors and the recipients of office and patronage. They made the laws as deputies; they applied them as administrators and as jurymen; and their legislation and their administration were a series of jobs for their own petty interests, or for their handfuls of constituents. Their whole conduct excited suspicion, contempt, envy, in short, every hostile feeling, except fear. Such a Government was doomed. Its destruction in 1848 was an accident, but sooner or later some such accident was inevitable.

The Republic had few friends, but it had few bitter enemies. It was not trusted or respected, but neither was it hated. It was wise enough to impose no oaths. It did not require those who were willing to serve it to begin by publicly disavowing their traditionary opinions and principles. Under its lax sway the Legitimists shewed a tendency to return to public affairs. They led the country people who came to the assistance of the Constituent Assembly in June 1848. A few of them were members both of that assembly and of its successor. Some took their places in the Conseils Généraux. They joined the bourgeoisie in local administration, the only means by which men of different classes can coalesce.

The socialist tendencies which are imputed to this second empire, the oath which it most imprudently imposes, its pretension to found or to continue a dynasty, and its assertion of the principle most abhorrent to them, elective monarchy, have thrown them back into disaffection. But they have been so injured in fortune and in influence, have been so long a conquered caste, excluded from power, and even from sympathy, that they have acquired the faults of the oppressed, have become timid, or frivolous, or bitter. Their retirement from public life has made them unfit for it. The older members of the party have forgotten its habits and its duties, the younger ones have never learned them. Their long absence from the chambers and from the departemental and municipal councils, from the central and from the local government of France, has deprived them of all aptitude for business. The bulk of them are worshippers of

wealth, or ease, or pleasure, or safety. The only unselfish feeling which they cherish, is attachment to their hereditary sovereign. They revere Henri V. as the ruler pointed out to them by Providence: they love him as the representative of Charles X., the champion of their order, who died in exile for having attempted to restore to them the government of France. They hope that on his restoration the canaille of lawyers, and littérateurs, and adventurers, who have trampled on the gentilhommes ever since 1830, will be turned down to their proper places, and that ancient descent will again be the passport to the high offices of the State, and to the society of the Sovereign. The advent of Henri V., which, to the Orleanist branch of the Fusionists, is a painful means, is, to the Legitimist branch, a desirable end. The succession of the Comte de Paris, to which the Orleanists look with hope, is foreseen by the Legitimists with misgivings. The Fusionist party is in fact kept together not by common sympathies but by common antipathies: each branch of it hates or distrusts the idol of the other, but they co-operate because each branch hates still more bitterly, and distrusts still more deeply, the Imperialists and the Republicans.

Among the educated classes there are few Republicans, using that word to designate those who actually wish to see France a republic. There are, indeed, many who regret the social equality of the republic, the times when plebeian birth was an aid in the struggle for power, and a journeyman mason could be a serious candidate for the presidentship, but they are alarmed at its instability. They have never known a republic live for more than a few years, or die except in convulsions. The Republican party, however, though small, is not to be despised. It is skilful, determined, and united. And the Socialists and the Communists, whom we have omitted in our enumeration, as not belonging to the educated classes, would supply the Republican leaders with an army which has more than once become master of Paris.

The only party that remains to be described is that to which we have given the name of Parliamentarians. Under this designation we include those who are distinguished from the Imperialists, by their desire for a parliamentary form of government; from the Republicans, by their willingness that that government should be regal; and from the Royalists, by their willingness that it should be republican. In this class are included many of the wisest and of the honestest men in France. The only species of rule to which they are irreconcilably opposed is despotism. No conduct on the part of Louis Napoleon would conciliate a sincere Orleanist, or Legitimist, or Fusionist, or Republican. The anti-regal prejudices of the last, and the loyalty of the other three, must force them to

oppose a Bonapartist dynasty, whatever might be the conduct of the reigning emperor. But if Louis Napoleon should ever think the time, to which he professes to look forward, arrived,—if he should ever grant to France, or accept from her, institutions really constitutional; institutions, under which the will of the nation, freely expressed by a free press and by freely chosen representatives, should control and direct the conduct of her governor, the Parliamentarians would eagerly rally round him. On the same conditions they would support with equal readiness Henri V., or the Comte de Paris, a president elected by the people, or a president nominated by an assembly. They are the friends of liberty, whatever be the form in which she may present herself.

Perhaps we ought to add to our enumeration of Parisian parties as a fifth class—the Despairers. They are most numerous among the political veterans; among those whose hopes have been so frequently excited, and so constantly disappointed, that, at length, they dread the future as much as they hate the present. When, at the end of 1799, ten years of disorder ended in a military despotism, they thought that the revolution had run its course. It seemed to be the natural progress of events that revolution should produce war, and that war should make the army, and that the army should make its general, omnipotent. When the Consulate and the Empire were followed by the Restoration, it seemed also in the order of things that the military ruler should be ruined by the ambition to which he owed his crown; that he should go on playing double or quits until he had exhausted his good fortune; that his domestic enemies should join with his foreign ones; that the ancient dynasty should be restored, subject to the restrictions which the last fourteen years had shewn to be necessary; and that France, having tried the rule of a feudal aristocracy, of a feudal monarch, of a revolutionary assembly, of an elected directory, and of a military despot, and found each intolerable, should permanently acquiesce in the mild sovereignty of constitutional royalty.

When Charles X. tossed his crown into the hands of his cousin, this seemed a natural conclusion to the drama. The parallel between France and England was completed. "In a restoration," it was said, "the first King that is restored is so delighted with his return to power, that he is willing to accept it on any terms; and those terms he is likely to keep. He is resolved not to go again on his travels. The successor of the restored sovereign takes the crown, not as a good fortune, but as a right. He feels the limits within which he is confined irksome to himself, and easily believes them to be mischievous to the country. His flatterers tell him that they are void,—that

his rights are unalienable, perhaps divine, and that it is his duty to save his people, without looking nicely to the technical legality of the means that must be employed. He attempts to act on these principles, is resisted and deposed. But a great and ancient nation that has once tried the experiment of democracy will not repeat it. It will elect for its new sovereign the next in succession, who is willing and fit to accept the responsibility, and to submit to the restrictions, of a constitutional monarch. In that dynasty the conflicting principles of legitimacy and selection, of divine right and of popular right, are united. It may expect indefinite duration. Such a dynasty is in the second century of its reign in England, and in the first century of its reign in France."

Such was the language held to us by our older friends in Paris, from the beginning of the reign of Louis Philippe until the middle of 1847, when the warnings of an approaching earthquake began to be perceptible to some men of peculiar acuteness. We must acknowledge that they were not perceptible to us. Louis Philippe appeared to us to enjoy power more firmly rooted than that of Louis XIV. He had so thoroughly corrupted both the assembly and the electors, that he had nothing to fear from either a parliamentary or an electoral opposition. With his 300,000 places, all the middle classes on whom his government rested were his tools. But by abusing for these purposes the gigantic means conferred by centralisation, he had rendered those middle classes on whom his throne was built unfit to sustain its weight. We admired its splendour and its solidity, without suspecting that its foundation was a quicksand.

The 24th of February came, and these illusions were dissipated in an hour. The great monarchical fortress, which was built for ages, proved to be a mere stage decoration. The republic reappeared with its trees of liberty, its single assembly, its universal suffrage, its clubs, its journals, and its forced paper currency. It was then that those whom we have called the veterans of the revolution began to despair. The line along which France had been travelling for sixty years turned out to have been a circle. 1848 seemed to bring her back to 1789. Having discovered that the Orleans family were mere actors, they believed that on their exit, only actors would succeed them. They looked at the Constituent and Legislative assemblies of this century as mere parodies of those of the last; they expected them to be followed by a Convention, by the dictatorship of the mob, and the dictatorship of the army; and now that the Emperor and the war have come, they expect success to be the precursor of defeat, loans to be carried on to bankruptcy, and the conscription to depopulation, until perhaps another invasion is followed by another restoration.

To those historical Despairers are to be added many more numerous classes, whose despondency is the result of a much shorter experience. Every man who believes that France can prosper, or that he can prosper himself, only under the form of government which is the peculiar object of his own worship, who thinks that there can be no political salvation without political orthodoxy, and who sees no prospect of the accomplishment of his wishes, turns Despairer. The war has created Despairers by thousands. The speculators, who see their investments falling in value, the shopkeepers whose stocks do not go off, the merchants whose ventures are unprofitable, the authors whose books in this general excitement do not sell, all join in prognostications of evil, and in abuse of Louis Napoleon, Drouyn de l'Huys, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Stratford, for having, by their violence and arrogance, forced the friendly pacific Russians into a war.

Such is our enumeration of Parisian parties in respect of the form of government, or of the individual governor, preferred by them respectively. We have begun by this principle of classification, because in a revolutionary country it is the most important one. Theories which in England lead slowly and almost imperceptibly to practical improvements, or, at least, to changes worked out by law, have five times during the last twenty-five years, divided Paris into hostile camps, separated by a field of battle.

Another principle of classification is religious belief, or rather religious profession. We are not now alluding to the distinction between Protestants and Catholics, for the Protestants in Paris are too few to exercise influence as such, nor to the controversies between Molinists and Jansenists, or between Ci-montane and Ultra-montane opinions, for these disputes have terminated in the undisputed ascendency of the Jesuits and the Pope. We use religious profession as a principle of classification, in order to distinguish between those who are, and those who are not, favourable to the prevalence in France of religious opinions and motives.

In the last century Catholicism, we had almost said Christianity, had lost its hold on the higher classes in France, and incredulity, beginning with them, had spread to the middle, and even to the lower classes in the towns. The revolution of 1789 changed the feelings of the aristocracy. They connected irreligion with democracy, and tried to revive Catholicism as a political engine. To do this it was necessary to appear to believe in it, or, at least, to treat it with respect, and accordingly in the highest society, except in a tête-a-tête, the doctrines of the Church are scarcely ever mentioned irreverently. But the middle

classes, who had been gainers by the revolution, felt grateful to scepticism for its assistance. They were led by the conduct of Louis XVIII. and of Charles X., and still more by that of their courtiers, to associate religion with aristocracy, and to impute to those who affected the one a desire to bring back the other. The revolution of 1830 was almost as anti-religious as it was anti-legitimist.

Under Louis Philippe Christianity was less hated by the Bourgeoisie, than it had been under Charles X., because it was less feared, but it was more despised. 1848, by dethroning the middle classes, seemed at first to convert them. They now saw the want of the religious sanction, and were ready to join the aristocracy in imposing its restraints on the people. These feelings, however, produced only an outward surface of respect and conformity, covering general unbelief, and were destroyed by the adherence of the clergy to Louis Napoleon, whom the Bourgeoisie picture to themselves as a mixture of Charles X. and Louis Blanc, as a cross between despotism and socialism.

The general result is, that the Imperialists and the Legitimists support Catholicism, the former because the priests have adhered to Louis Napoleon, the latter because they think Catholicism favourable to the principle of authority, and even to that of divine right; and further, that the portion of the Orleanists, which belongs to the aristocracy, also supports it as a check on democracy. But the Bourgeoisie and the Republicans detest it as imperialist or legitimist in France, and as opposed to freedom of government, of education, of literature, and even of thought, in the whole of the Continent.

One of the intentions of the Ultra-republican party, when they come into power, is to do what Lamartine attempted without success in 1848, to abolish the salaries of the priests. And they believe that such a measure would destroy Catholicism, or leave it the faith of only a small and scattered sect. They admit that in the south, where Catholic zeal is kept up by Protestant opposition, where, in our own times, there have been religious persecutions, where the ruins of houses, burnt by fanatical mobs still remain, kept unrepaired as a silent reproach to the party that destroyed them, *there* the clergy will be paid by the people, and Catholicism will be preserved. But they believe that in the greater part of France there is not sufficient religion to induce the people to maintain, at their own expense, its ministers.

We do not believe that, if their turn of power should come, they will seriously make such an attempt, nor do we believe that the attempt, if made, would succeed. It would bring back to the Parisians the recollection of the worst times of the Revolution, and the peasantry of the provinces would feel indignant

at being suddenly and perceptibly subjected to a burthen, which, so far as they bore it before, they bore unconsciously.

In saying that the abolition of religious stipends would subject the peasantry to a new burthen, we assume, of course, that though the State deprived the priests of their salaries, the people would retain and pay their services. We are inclined to think that on that event the Bourgeoisie of Paris, and perhaps of most of the large towns, would withdraw from the Church; but we believe that even there the priests would be supported by the aristocracy, and by all the women of the lower classes, and by many of the men. In the country they would be supported by all classes. The peasantry, a term which, in the provinces of France, includes nearly the whole population that is not gentilhomme, are uninquiring believers. The curé is generally a man of pure life, connected with them by birth and affinity, superior to them in knowledge and talent, and using that superiority as a leader and as an adviser. The doctrines which are taught in every school, and preached from every pulpit, and treated by all the best educated part of society as if they were true, are accepted by the less educated without examination, and adopted and retained without suspicion. To many minds even the irksomeness of some of the Roman Catholic observances is attractive. They estimate the merit by the disagreeableness. They delight in the notion that they are performing palpable, measureable, countable good works; that they are laying up in heaven a treasure of which the amount can be calculated, and the security is perfect.

Another and an important, but transitory, principle of classification, is approbation or disapprobation of the war. We believe the war to be unpopular among all the Bourbonist parties. They consider Russia as the defender of what they call order, and England as the propagator of what they call revolution. To support cheerfully the sacrifices of war, requires great devotion and great public spirit, even when the object of that war is approved. It may be some time before that devotion and that public spirit become general in Paris. Louis Philippe and his friends thought that the aggressive propensities of France could not be too effectually repressed. They preached indifference to foreign affairs, and devotion to wealth and comfort, in short, national selfishness and apathy, and they preached successfully. But the Legitimists and the Fusionists, and even many of the pure Orleanists, think not only this war, but the objects of this war, mischievous. They do not believe that the extension of the Russian power would really injure France, and few of them care how much it may injure the rest of the world. They think, or at least they say, 'That we have led France into it for English

'purposes, for the purpose of crushing the rising Russian fleet, 'and supporting the Caucasian tribes as a barrier between Russia and India. With these purposes they have no sympathy. 'They do not wish to see the Russian navy destroyed. They 'wish to cherish it, as they wish to cherish all the secondary 'maritime powers, to be a check on us. They do not wish to 'see us always hanging over the coast of Africa, in irresistible 'force, ready to imprison and then seize their army in Africa, 'as we did their army in Egypt. They have no India to protect, no commerce with Turkey that they care about. They 'do not even inquire who rules in the Black Sea.'

Those who profess to take wider and more distant views maintain, 'That France retains her ascendency only by holding 'England and Russia in check through each other, and that she 'can do this only while the balance between them is nearly even. 'But, that, when this war is over, the balance will be no longer 'even. That either Russia or England will come out of it predominant. If it be Russia," they say, "if her power or her 'influence extends from the Arctic Ocean to the Morea, France 'will have to submit to her dictation, or to cling to England 'and America for support. If England succeed, she will be 'still more despotic at sea than Russia can be on land. The 'colonies, and the trade of France, will be held only at her 'good will. She will not, perhaps, be so imperious as Russia, 'but from time to time she will make France feel her inferiority.'

A still stronger reason for the unpopularity of the war among the Royalists, is a feeling that it was essential to the permanence of Louis Napoleon's power.

From the beginning of the 16th century, the period at which Europe, from being an aggregate of tribes, crystallized into nations, France has never been without some great food for her activity and her vanity. First came the Italian wars of Charles VIII. and Francis, then the religious troubles, then the splendours of Louis XIV., the most thorough Frenchman that ever reigned. When the military ardour of France had been exhausted by his victories, and chilled by his defeats, she threw herself into speculation and literature. Paris became the intellectual metropolis of the world. *There* was framed and worked the machinery which overthrew feudalism, and shook to its centre catholicism. The chit-chat of the Parisian salons decided the tastes and the opinions of Europe. As soon as Paris had devoured the old religion and philosophy, it turned on monarchy. That was a meal for only three years. France employed twenty more in breaking to pieces and swallowing up Belgium, and Holland, and Italy, and in endeavouring to crush Germany and Spain. When that amusement was denied to her, a new one, and perhaps a still more stimulating

one, was given to her in parliamentary life. The eyes of all Europe were fixed on the tribune of the Chamber. Statesmen and orators took in public attention, the place which had been filled by generals and negotiators. France was proud to think herself as great in debate as she had been in arms. The brilliant and constantly shifting scenes gratified her vanity, her curiosity, her love of influencing and intermeddling, and what was quite as important, her love of mischief. She was delighted to hear Guizot attack Thiers, and Thiers expose Guizot.

All this was rudely and suddenly terminated by the *coup d'état.* The pit and the boxes were still full of spectators, eager to admire, to criticise, to applaud, and to hiss; but a curtain was dropped before the stage, painted indeed with grotesque imperial decorations, but concealing the play and the actors. Can it be supposed this would have been permanently submitted to? That the most unquiet, the most restless, the most ambitious, the most daring, and the most unscrupulous people that the world has ever feared and wondered at, would long have been satisfied to stand, like a Russian sentinel, in silence and darkness, forbidden to move, or to speak, or, as far as it could be prevented, to hear or to see—and this, after having enjoyed 300 years of excitement? France is a fiend that would tear her master to pieces if he long ceased to find her employment. For the first year after the *coup d'état,* she felt relieved from the dangers, some of them real, but most of them exaggerated, of 1852; after four years of excitement, struggle, and suspense, a year of repose was tolerable. Then came the burst of prosperous speculation of 1853, but its very vehemence made it impossible that it should be permanent; nor was it very interesting to any but the gamblers on the Bourse. The French public thinks little about manufactures, or railroads, or trade. It does not care whether it travels at the rate of thirty miles an hour or of eight; whether its ports are empty or full; whether Rouen and Lyons are prosperous or starving. The excitement which it craves is political excitement; the passions which it wishes to gratify are curiosity, vanity, and ambition; and they are gratified by the war. The war may be apparently unpopular with all classes, as it is really with the Royalists; but it is a substitute for the press and the tribune. It gives the Parisians something to talk about, to criticise and to debate. It takes them out of a state of oppressive and humiliating stagnation; and when it is crowned, as we firmly believe that it will be, by success, it will give to the Emperor the magical prestige of military glory. We admit that failure would be ruinous; that Louis Napoleon is condemned to victory, and to decisive victory. But such victory, we believe, that he has the power to command, and no one can doubt that he has the will.

The absence of an aristocracy, to which we have alluded as among the political calamities of France, is eminently favourable to her military power. We are apt, in England, to complain that the most important posts in the public service are filled by persons whose claim to them was birth, connexion, or wealth, and that the result is general mediocrity and frequent incompetence. The assertion, that we select our higher political functionaries from the comparatively small number of men who possess rank or fortune, is true; but it is not equally clear that this is an evil, or that it is avoidable. Political life, in general, and, more than any other branch of it, Parliamentary life, is costly, uncertain, and unremunerative; and what, more than any other cause, narrows the entrance to it, it requires early apprenticeship. Of three men, of equal talents and diligence, who enter the House of Commons, one at the age of twenty-five, one at thirty-five, and the third at forty-five, we may predict, that the first will have an enormous advantage over the second, and that the third, unless he have previously practised a profession to which public speaking is incidental, will fail. The prizes of political life, therefore, are, by the very nature of the contest, reserved for those who, by means of their own wealth, or that of their friends, can devote themselves in early life to the arena, and support its long and expensive training. Nor, we repeat, is it clear that this is an evil. It is perhaps an evil that powers of debate give an undue preponderance to their possessor, but this is not an aristocratic inconvenience: it is one inseparable from free institutions. Those who feel, as we do, that without such institutions life would not be worth having, must submit to be ruled by rhetoricians. The necessity that a statesman should be a speaker, and the probability that the best speaker of his party will become its leader, may exclude some men whose wisdom, knowledge, and experience, we can ill afford to lose, it may put others, whose judgment or industry or honesty is deficient, into stations in which their faults may be mischievous in proportion to their rhetorical ability; but it is unavoidable, and it secures, at least, that our Parliamentary chiefs shall have high talents, though not always the most useful ones. It lets in marplots, but it excludes dunces. And if we compare our statesmen with those of the countries which are governed either despotically or democratically, with those of Belgium, or of Holland, or of Prussia, or of Austria, or of Russia, or, to take the country which most resembles us in every respect, except its democracy, with those of the United States, it would be false modesty if we were to limit our claim to that of mere equality.

But this reasoning does not apply to the army. That is a profession which all who embrace it enter at an early age: the poorest perhaps at the earliest. Instead of being, like politics,

necessarily the monopoly of the rich, it is naturally the refuge of the poor. The cheapest way to provide for a son is to get him a commission. It requires no expensive preparation. Any young man of talents and energy can procure, or can give himself, at little cost, a good military education. There appears to be no reason, in fact there *is* none, unless one be found in our aristocratic institutions, why the highest ranks, or why all ranks in the army, should not be open to merit, though low-born, and even though indigent. It might then have been expected, *a priori*, that our highest military posts would be as well filled as our highest political employments,—indeed better, since there is a far wider field for selection. And if the military leader were selected, like the political leader, by those whom he is to command, such would be the case. Unhappily he is not so selected; perhaps cannot be so selected. The men on whom the fate of an army, perhaps of a country, perhaps of the civilized world, may depend, are chosen by those over whom their subsequent conduct has no immediate influence. If, through the stupidity, or the ignorance, or the rashness, or the ill-temper, or the false shame of a superior officer, English soldiers are uselessly massacred,—if, through the folly or the timidity of another, they are kept disgracefully in reserve,—if men are ordered to form square when they ought to charge, or to retreat when there is no salvation for them but in advancing,—if they are left without orders, because the officer who ought to give them has lost his presence of mind and self-command,—those who appointed these incompetent functionaries do not see the results of their appointments, do not hear of them for weeks, frequently do not hear of them at all. If they *do* hear of them, they may suffer remorse, but they escape punishment, often, indeed, blame. On whom has the ignominy of the appointment which produced the calamities of Cabul fallen? On no one. Who is responsible for retaining in high commands men, who, be it their fault, or be it their misfortune, escape from services of danger because they have lost the confidence of their superiors and of their subordinates, and are not employed by the one, because they might not be obeyed by the others? Who is responsible for the appointments which have endangered our army in the Crimea, and which, in contingencies from which Heaven protect us, may ruin it? Who is ultimately responsible for the inaction of our fleet, during the battle of the Alma, when the port of Sebastopol was still open, and those who ought to have manned its ships and its batteries were miles away, swelling Menschikoff's forces? Who placed it in hands that had not enterprise enough at least to steam towards the mouth of the harbour, to feel their way, and, if it was found, as it probably would have been found, insufficiently defended, to enter? Who is ultimately responsible for

keeping our army, for two days after the battle, employed in burying the dead, and attending to the wounded, instead of landing seamen and marines for a service, important, indeed necessary, but not such as a victorious army, with the prize of the campaign within its reach, ought, when the thing might have been as well done by others, to have been detained to perform?

We predict that no individual will be held responsible. The blame will be thrown on the claims of high birth, on the claims of seniority, on the routine of office, on professional etiquette, in short, on the hateful abuses and childish pretexts which make the military professions the only ones in England in which merit is unproductive of advancement, or demerit of dismissal.'

From all these chains, which bind the English giant, Louis Napoleon is free. He can choose the best man, he can put him in the situation for which he is most fit, and he can delegate to those whom he may think deserving of it the absolute power of choice and rejection which he enjoys himself. When Martin Pret was asked to take the command of the staff of the army of the East, he asked, who was to be under him? The Minister of War desired him to make out his own list. It was adopted without addition or omission. Canrobert has the same freedom of action as his master. He is not expected to distribute his doses of praise among his officers according to their rank. He can mention in his despatches, without apology, captains and subalterns, and even privates. There is something grand, something magnanimous, in the unnoticed, unrewarded heroism of the English soldier; but France does not think it wise or magnanimous to let the heroism of her humbler sons remain unnoticed and unrewarded.

Some years ago, during one of the quarrels which Louis Philippe's chamber was always picking with England, we discussed with a French general the possibility of our being surprised by an unexpected invasion from France.

'Those who think,' said our military friend, 'such a surprise possible, never prepared an army for a campaign. It is true that a warlike nation can, without many previous arrangements, make an inroad on an unarmed neighbour. It would not take us long to make a rush on Brussels. But if a serious invasion is to be attempted, if good troops are to be encountered, if an army is to be got ready to which the honour of the country can be entrusted, six months is the least period of preparation.

'First, the different regiments that are disposable must be sifted, in order to get from each of them two bataillons d'élite for foreign service. These battalions must be united in brigades, and the capacity of the regimental officers tested by the chef de brigade, in the same way as that in which those officers tested that of their own privates and sous-officiers. All who

'cannot stand this test are sent back to the battalions kept at 'home. The brigades, again, must be united in a division. 'They must be accustomed to act together: to know how far 'one regiment and one brigade can rely on another. The 'general of division has to do only with the colonels. He sends 'back, without ceremony, without excuse, all whom he finds 'too old, or too negligent, or too ignorant, or too dull, for real 'fighting. The comparatively humble social position of our 'regimental officers, more than two-thirds of whom have risen 'from the ranks, enables him to do so without mercy. It is 'thus, by a long obstinate process of selecting, and training, 'and changing, and promoting, and discharging, that a division 'is moulded into one mass of homogeneous materials, the effi-'ciency of which can be relied on, as we rely on that of a well-'constructed machine. If any one step in the process be 'omitted, or even hurried over, the machine becomes imperfect, 'and, if it be opposed to one that has been properly prepared, 'it breaks in the general's hands. But this takes time. I said 'six months, but that is too little. The army that gained Aus-'terlitz had been subjected to this training for two years.'

'But the army,' we answered, 'of the Hundred Days, the 'army which gained the great battle of Ligny, was raised by 'Napoleon in six weeks.'

'Yes,' said the general; 'but you must recollect what were 'his materials. More than 180,000 veterans, who, though 'young, had passed years under fire, whom, in his presumption, 'he had scattered over all Europe, from Dantzig to Alexandria, 'were restored to France, by the peace. He had only to stamp, 'and the legions sprung up. And, after all, what was the 'result? This hastily collected army was broken, was scat-'tered, was actually dissolved, as no French army ever was 'before, in a single battle. Would the army of Austerlitz have 'thus fallen to pieces? I will not say that that army would 'have gained Waterloo; though, if it had been ready, as it 'would have been, to attack at eight in the morning, instead of 'at eleven, the chances would have been in its favour: but it 'would not have been ignominiously beaten. It might have 'failed: but it would not have been destroyed.'

Would it be possible thus to melt and re-melt, and hammer, and twist, and grind, and polish, to the highest perfection of efficiency, the army of an aristocracy? Could military peers, or members of the House of Commons, or friends of peers, or of members, or of editors, in short, could any persons capable of appealing, directly or indirectly, to the public, be thus treated? Can an incompetent general or colonel be sent home at the risk of a debate? Louis Napoleon can appoint, promote, dismiss,

and degrade; he can look only to the interests of the campaign; and despise those of the individual; because, in France, there is no Public, and no appeal. France purchases, at an enormous price, an enormous military advantage.

We have confined to Paris our description of French political feeling, because, although we have recently visited the provinces of France, we have found in them no expression of it.

The uncontrolled power under which France is now bent is little felt in the capital. It shows itself principally in the subdued tone of the debates, if debates they can be called, of the Corps Législatif, and in the inanity of the newspapers. Conversation is as free in Paris as it was under the Republic. Public opinion would not support the Government in an attempt to silence the salons of Paris. But Paris possesses a public opinion, because it possesses one or two thousand highly educated men whose great amusement, we might say whose great business, is to converse, to criticise the acts of their rulers, and to pronounce decisions which float from circle to circle, till they reach the workshop, and even the barrack. In the provinces there are no such centres of intelligence and discussion, and, therefore, on political subjects, there is no public opinion. The consequence is, that the action of the Government is there really despotic; and it employs its irresistible power in tearing from the departmental and communal authorities all the local franchises and local self-government which they had extorted from the central power in a struggle of forty years.

Centralization, though it is generally disclaimed by every party that is in opposition, is so powerful an instrument that every Monarchical Government which has ruled France, since 1789, has maintained, and even tried to extend it.

The Restoration, and the Government of July 1830, were as absolute centralizers as Napoleon himself. The local power which Louis Philippe was forced to surrender he made over to the narrow Pays légal, the privileged ten pounders, who were then attempting to govern France. The Republic gave the election of the Conseils Généraux to the people, and thus dethroned the notaries who governed those assemblies when they represented only the Bourgeoisie. The Republic made the Maires elective; the Republic placed education in the hands of the local authorities. Under its influence the Communes, the Cantons, and the Departments were becoming real administrative bodies. They are now mere geographical divisions. The Prefect appoints the Maires; the Prefect appoints in every canton a Commissaire de Police, seldom a respectable man, as the office is not honourable; the Gardes Champêtres, who are the local police, are put under his

control; the Recteur, who was a sort of local Minister of Education in every department, is suppressed; his powers are transferred to the Prefect; the Prefect appoints, promotes, and dismisses all the masters of the écoles primaires. The Prefect can destroy the prosperity of every Commune that displeases him. He can displace its functionaries, close its schools, obstruct its public works, and withhold the money which the Government habitually gives in aid of local improvements. He can convert it, indeed, into a mere unorganized aggregation of individuals, by dismissing every Communal functionary, and placing its concerns in the hands of his own nominees. There are many hundreds of Communes that have been thus treated, and whose masters now are uneducated peasants. The Prefect can dissolve the Conseil Général of his department, and although he cannot actually name their successors, he does so virtually. No candidate for an elective office can succeed unless he is supported by the Government. The courts of law, criminal and civil, are the tools of the executive. The Government appoints the judges, the Prefect provides the jury, and la Haute Police acts without either. All power of combination, even of mutual communication, except from mouth to mouth, is gone. The newspapers are suppressed or intimidated, the printers are the slaves of the Prefect, as they lose their privilege if they offend; in every country town conversation is watched and reported; every individual stands defenceless and insulated, in the face of this unscrupulous executive, with its thousands of armed hands, and its thousands of prying eyes. The only opposition that is ventured, is the abstaining from voting. Whatever be the office, and whatever be the man, the candidate of the Prefect comes in; but if he is a man who would have been unanimously rejected in a state of freedom, the bolder electors show their indignation by their absence.

In such a state of society the traveller can learn little. Even those who rule it, are little acquainted with the feelings of their subjects. The vast democratic sea on which the Empire floats is influenced by currents, and agitated by ground swells which the Government discovers only by their effects. It knows nothing of the passions which influence these great apparently slumbering masses. Indeed, it takes care, by stifling their expression, to prevent their being known.

The second work of which the title is prefixed to this article, contains notes made by an English traveller in the spring of 1854. Though the scene is laid in Paris, no French questions are discussed. Several conversations are reported, but no Frenchman is introduced. The interlocutors are Englishmen,

Germans, Poles, and Italians. In only two cases are their names given. In all others they are designated by letters. It will never be published, but the author has allowed us to extract some of the conversations which contain matters of present interest.

The two which follow relate to Germany; a country which we believe destined to be in a very few years the scene of important events for good or for evil—probably for both. The first interlocutor, F., is a Prussian.

'*April* 2.

'F. called on me, he is passing through Paris on his road 'from Stuttgart to resume his post in Berlin. "Nothing," 'he said, "can be more dangerous than the feeling among many 'of the smaller states of Germany. You are there never out 'of the presence of an absolute sovereign, who knows everybody 'and every thing, meddles with every body and every thing, and 'allows no freedom of action or of speech. What makes this 'despotism more odious is, that it is modern, and that it is an 'usurpation. Before the French Revolution, all these states had 'constitutions old and antiquated, but with considerable protec- 'tive force. And since that revolution others have been sub- 'stituted for them, which, if they were observed, would give 'freedom. But the example of Hesse has shewn that the most 'constitutional opposition to the most profligate minister, and 'the most oppressive ruler, will be put down by foreign in- 'tervention. The crimes committed by Austria, and tolerated 'by Prussia in Hesse, will never be forgotten. The least revo- 'lutionary spark will set on fire Baden and Wirtemberg, and 'Bavaria and the Hesses. Prussia and Austria can stand the 'storm better. Prussia, because she has gradually acquired a 'constitution which gives some liberty and more hope. Austria, 'because her existing system of government is essentially revo- 'lutionary. The wildest Socialist could not treat with more 'contempt the rights of property. I met at Baden last autumn 'a friend who fills an office about the Court. He belongs to a 'Hungarian family, which has always sided with Austria. ''My real income,' he said to me, 'is now my miserable salary. 'The Austrian government has suppressed the robot, or per- 'sonal service due to me from my tenants, it has given to 'those tenants, as their own, half of the land which they held 'under me, and it proposes to give me in exchange for it an 'indemnity, payable partly by my tenants, and partly by the 'State. The State neglects to pay me, and refuses to make my 'tenants pay me. I can get no labour, as the robot is abolished; 'and my tenants have now land of their own, which once was 'mine, to cultivate. Half of my property is gone—the other 'half is unproductive.' Austria is copying deliberately and syste-

'matically in Galicia and Hungary the example of the French
'Convention. She is destroying one of the few aristocracies
'that the Continent still possesses. She incurs, of course, the
'bitter hatred of the higher classes. But such has been their
'treatment of their inferiors, that their enmity would make her
'popular with the lower classes, even if she were not offering
'them, as she is, immediate benefits. Francis Joseph travelled
'over a large portion of Hungary last year, with only one com-
'panion. The peasantry came from many miles to kneel before
'him along the road. It is a mistake therefore to believe, as
'most people do, that if Russia were to invade Hungary, she
'would be assisted by an insurrection. An insurrection was
'possible in 1849, because the Magyars then possessed the army,
'and the whole machinery of Government. They have neither
'now, and, if they moved, Austria would let loose on them the
'people. It was thus that she suppressed the intended rising
'in Gallicia. I know families in that country, half the members
'of which were cut off by their own peasants, stimulated and
'rewarded by the Austrian authorities."

'"In fact," he continued, "Austria need only lift a finger
'in order to revolutionize Southern Germany. The peasantry
'look on Austria as their friend, and on their own sovereigns as
'enemies. In all that strip of country, extending from Lindau
'to the Rhine, which once belonged to her, her return would be
'hailed as a restoration."

'"Is Bavaria," I said, "disaffected?"

'"It was eminently so," he answered, "under the last king.
'He wasted on ornamental buildings and works of art the money
'that was voted for productive purposes, and adorned Munich
'with palaces, libraries, churches, and museums, by leaving the
'rest of the country without roads, or judges, or troops. He
'said that it was done out of his savings, but as he obstinately
'refused to account for the public expenditure, no one believed
'that his savings were lawful. One of them was to bargain
'with every person appointed to an office that he should accept
'a reduced salary, and give up to the king the remainder—a
'sure way to throw the public service into the hands of knaves
'or blockheads. I know less of the present reign, but I do not
'hear that it is an improvement. I can tell you rather more
'about Wirtemberg, as I have been passing some weeks there:
'One of the towns that I visited was Reutlingen. A wheelwright,
'who lives near my host, C. D., was employed in mending a cart.
'C. D. shewed him an outside shutter which required a fastening.
'The next morning he drove in a nail to fasten it. A carpen-
'ter, who is his neighbour, detected him in the act of thus work-
'ing at a trade which was not his own, summoned him before

'the magistrate, and had him fined twelve florins and costs.
'One of my friend's neighbours, who has a small vineyard,
'asked him last year to find him a purchaser for it. 'I have
'been accustomed,' he said, 'to make my own casks, but a
'cooper in the next village has informed against me as an ille-
'gal workman; I am forbidden to do so; he is the only cooper
'near me, and the price which he charges me is more than the
'value of all my wine. If I go on cultivating my vineyard, it
'is for the cooper's benefit, not for mine.'"

'The vast emigration which is going on shews the prevalence
'of distress, and, as there is no redundant population, the people
'attribute that distress to the exactions and the restrictions of
'their governments. The sovereigns themselves are said to be
'preparing for flight. They are believed to be scraping together
'all that they can, and to be investing in foreign securities.

'Nothing but the unpopularity of the Grand Duke of Baden
'enables the priests of Freibourg to resist him. The law is on
'his side, and so would public opinion be, were it not that the
'Government is always supposed to be in the wrong.

'"What," I asked, "is the feeling in Prussia as to this
'war."

'"It is such," he answered, "as to render our king's throne
'insecure. The Prince of Prussia, the heir-presumptive, is very
'anti-Russian, and very ambitious. So is his wife, who has great
'influence over him. He is so little younger than the king, as
'to have no hope of reigning unless his brother is deposed, and
'they are not on good terms. The nobility are Russian, and so
'are the officers of the army, who are nearly all nobles, for, it is
'only since 1848 that any others can hold commissions. But
'the Prussian nobility are the only ignorant portion of a gene-
'rally well-educated nation. They are slaves of their birth
'even more than the French; for, they despise not only the
'learned professions, but even the civil service of the Govern-
'ment. The few who have landed properties live on their
'estates, the rest enter the army. There they think it fashion-
'able to profess Russian politics; but, as the soldiers in every
'regiment are changed annually by one-third, their officers have
'no influence over them. The privates and sous-officiers retain
'the feelings of the classes from which they were taken, and to
'which they are soon to return; and the feeling of those classes,
'that is to say, of the whole nation except the nobles, is vio-
'lently anti-Russian. If the King were to join the Russians,
'I believe that he would be deposed, and his brother put in his
'place. I doubt, indeed, whether the people will allow him
'to remain neutral. They certainly will not if Austria joins
'England; they could not bear the disgrace of being the only

'great power that is afraid to support the cause which it pro-'fesses to believe just."

'After F. left me I called on P. I was anxious to compare 'the views of a Bavarian with those of a Prussian.

'"The earnest desire of Germany," said P., "is, like that of 'Italy, for unity. I had a letter from Munich to-day, which the 'writer ended by saying, 'We shall never do any good, until 'we have got rid of our six-and-thirty kings.' But the difficul-'ties are enormous. There are differences of language, of race, 'and of religion; and between Austrians and Prussians there 'are jealousies of power. Each people is willing to absorb the 'other; but neither chooses to be absorbed. No Austrian will 'become a Prussian; no Prussian will be an Austrian. The 'smaller states had once the same spirit of individual nation-'ality. When I was a child it never entered into the head of 'any Bavarian, to suppose that Bavaria could be anything but 'solitary and independent. But that feeling has passed away 'from us. The consciousness of our weakness renders us ready 'to coalesce into one large empire. The two great states feel 'strong enough to wish to continue to be Austria and Prussia."

'"Is there any national feeling," I said, "in the Rhenish 'provinces of Prussia?"

'"There is some," said P., "or at least what does instead, a 'feeling that they cannot stand alone, and a determination not 'to be French. If they had a tolerable sovereign they would 'be loyal."

'"In the German provinces of Austria, there is not only 'nationality but loyalty. In the Slavonic provinces, and even 'among the Magyars, the peasantry are loyal. They love the 'central Government for its revolutionary contempt of the 'vested rights of the nobles and landlords. The higher classes 'are disaffected."

'"Would volunteers from Vienna," I asked, "now march 'into Italy, to crush a Venetian insurrection?"

'"I will not answer," he said, "for volunteers; but I am 'sure that the Austrian army would. The Austrian army will 'do whatever its Emperor orders it to do."

'"Are there many Socialists in Germany?" I asked.

'"Very few," he answered.

'"Many Republicans?"

'"Very few."

'"Many with French sympathies?"

'"None."

'"Many with Russian?"

'"Almost all the sovereigns; some of the aristocracy; no others.

'"Between the nobles and the bürger," he continued, "there
'is the deeply rooted enmity of caste. Between the bürger
'and the mere labourers, there is the jealousy occasioned by
'Municipal privileges and monopolies. The higher shopkeepers
'and artisans cling to them with the notion, so common among
'uneducated persons, that they profit by them. Those who do
'not enjoy them, are, of course, opposed to them; and this pro-
'duces a sort of concert between the nobles and the bürger.
'Each class thinks that it has a common enemy—the mere
'people. A little while ago, the King of Bavaria proposed to
'unite all the weavers in a corporation, with exclusive privileges.
'There are many villages where almost every peasant has a
'loom in which he weaves the cloth for his own use. If this
'attempt had succeeded, they would all have been forced to buy
'it from the professional weaver. He was obliged to give it up
'for the time; but he may try it again."

'"What chances," I said, "would France have, if she were
'to attempt a revolutionary war in Germany?"

'"None whatever," said P. "The Germans will resist any
'impulse that comes from France. They hate, in general,
'their own sovereigns, and their own institutions, if petty
'despotisms can be called institutions, but they will accept
'no French assistance to drive out the former, or to change the
'latter.

'"What I fear for the smaller states," he added, "is, that
'having no powers of independent action, either as to foreign
'affairs, or even as to their own, they may sink into apathy and
'torpidity. To a German who wishes his country to be progres-
'sive, it is painful to think that in the greater part of Germany
'there is less real liberty now than there was 200 years ago.
'Every village then had its local authorities and privileges,
'every town its franchises, and the electorates and free cities
'were virtually independent, under the loose control of the
'Emperor. Now every parish is interfered with by the central
'authority; the sovereign is supported against his subjects by
'the Bund, and even when the people and the sovereign are
'agreed as to internal reforms, the Bund steps in and prohibits
'them."'

We are told that P. is a Bavarian, and we fancy that if we had not been told so, we should have detected him. His conversation, though not that of an Austrian, betrays the Austrian tendencies and views which are general in a country so dependent on her as Bavaria. His bias shews itself strongly when he talks of an Austrian nationality. There is no Austrian nation, unless we give that name to the two millions that inhabit the

Archduchies. Austria is not even, what Metternich called Italy, a geographical term. It is a personal term. It means merely the House of Hapsburg.

We are apt, in England, to undervalue the loss which that house sustained in 1806 by surrendering the crown of Germany. The moral weight and dignity possessed by an emperor of Germany, the patron of the Church, the successor of the Cæsars, kept together the heterogeneous elements which had coalesced under the sceptre of the Archduke of Austria. It was predicted at the time, and the prophecy has been fulfilled, that the abdication of Francis the Second would be more mischievous at home than abroad. The means by which the House of Hapsburg acquired these curiously tessellated dominions made very difficult their consolidation into a homogeneous empire. His various kingdoms, dukedoms, counties and principalities stand towards the Archduke of Austria in the relation in which Hanover stood towards the king of England. They are the subjects of an absentee sovereign, of a sovereign in many cases ignorant of their language, and in almost all, unacquainted with their opinions, their habits, and even their institutions. Most of them have been acquired by marriage; the two most important kingdoms, Hungary and Bohemia, each committed the strange folly of electing as their ruler a foreign monarch, nearly absolute in his own country, trusting to their own free constitutions, and to his oath, that he would respect those constitutions. As might have been foretold, the subsequent history of Hungary and of Bohemia, as long as she had a history, has been one long contest between the people, resolved to preserve their freedom, and their king, resolved to destroy it.

Bohemia lost hers in the Thirty Years' War. With it perished her religion, her prosperity, her wealth, her intelligence, almost her civilisation. Hungary retained her liberty until 1849. She retained it by clinging to her old aristocratic cumbrous feudalism: by rejecting every innovation, though it might be an improvement in itself, which tended to assimilate her to the other kingdoms ruled by the foreign emperor whom she had the misfortune to have for her king. She retained it at the price of being ignorant, slothful, uncivilized and poor. The House of Hapsburg, with the treacherous, unscrupulous cunning which it calls policy, tried to weaken her by fomenting antipathies of religion, and station and race. By setting Protestants against Catholics, peasants against nobles, Germans against Czechs, and Croats, Wallachians, and Serbs against Magyars. Such was the state of things when the revolution of 1848 paralyzed the imperial power. Hungary demanded and obtained a ministry of her own. In doing so she

acted lawfully: whether prudently is another question. The Emperor fled to Insprnck, and from thence secretly instigated Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, to rebel against the central Hungarian Government. Then followed a train of events, unhappily notorious:—the civil war between the Magyars and the Croats, the detection of the Emperor's treachery, the murder of its instruments, Lamberg at Pesth, and Latour in Vienna, the revolt of Vienna, and its suppression by Windischgrätz and Jellachich, the invasion of Hungary by the imperial forces, fresh from the re-conquest of the capital, the premiership of Schwartzenberg, the abdication of Ferdinand, and the accession of Francis Joseph.

His proclamation was a remarkable document. 'Convinced,' he said, 'of the necessity of free institutions, and of the equality of 'all citizens before the law, and of their equally partaking in the 'legislation of the country, ready to share his power with the 'representatives of the people, he hoped to unite all the coun-'tries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state.' Three months after he proposed to perform these engagements by the constitution of the 4th of March 1849, a constitution which, in the words of its promulgator, was 'a spontaneous gift 'from the imperial power, to the people of the one and indivisi-'ble empire of Austria, of the rights and liberties which had 'been promised by his uncle and himself.'

If this constitution had been accepted by the people, and adhered to by the sovereign, Austria would have become a constitutional state, with far more real liberty than is now enjoyed by any portion of Germany. It granted liberty of the press, it abolished serfdom, it opened every public office to every citizen, it created an imperial diet composed of two houses, each elected by the people, each sitting for five years, and each having the power of proposing laws, and it gave to these elected houses the whole control of the raising and of the expenditure of the public revenue.

Such a constitution was far more democratic than that of England—but the Austrian Government, in its usual fashion, promulgated its democracy as an act of absolute despotic authority. It detached from Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, and Transylvania, it declared that the old constitution in Hungary should be preserved only so far as it agreed with the new one, it promised new constitutions to the remaining provinces, and declared their existing constitutions ["Ständische Verfassungen"] void. A more audacious *coup d'état* was never perpetrated by the most unprincipled usurper. It was as if William the Fourth had issued a new constitution for the united indivisible empire of Hanover, composed of the crown-lands of Hanover, Scotland, Ireland, and England, the principality of Wales, the

duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and the town of Berwick-on-Tweed; had separated from England, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, and Lancashire; had enacted that the affairs of the empire of Hanover should be administered by two houses of Parliament chosen in each crown-land according to its population, holding its sittings at Zell, and had declared void any parts of the existing British constitution and laws which might be inconsistent with the new arrangement. What were the ordinances of Charles the Tenth, or the Dixhuit Brumaire of Napoleon, or the *coup d'état* of his nephew compared to this? The constitution of Hungary was as binding, was as ancient, was as independent of royal authority, and was as much cherished by the Hungarians as our own; and in wealth, population, and extent, Hungary is almost as superior to the Austrian Archduchies as England is to Hanover.

And yet we think that the Hungarians ought to have submitted. They ought to have perceived that six millions of Magyars, even with the assistance of Transylvania, would be unable permanently to resist the whole remainder of the Austrian empire. That even if this were possible, Russia would stretch out her gigantic hand, and by the same effort crush a revolutionary neighbour and degrade a dangerous rival. They ought to have seen that assuming their independence to be achieved, it could not be lasting. That a Hungarian kingdom or republic, containing at most a population of eight millions, for they could not hope to be joined by the Slavonic races, surrounded by great military monarchs, all rapacious and unscrupulous, could not long stand alone, but must, within a few years, be partitioned between several robbers, or absorbed by one.

And lastly, they ought to have felt that, bitter as was the sacrifice of laws and privileges and institutions which had been preserved by their ancestors during centuries, humiliating as it was to descend from a kingdom to a province, and still more humiliating, to be stripped of large territories of which they have been sovereigns from times almost immemorial, yet that, as the largest and most important member of a great constitutional empire, an empire of which the natural resources are such that nothing but tolerable government is necessary to enable it to double in a few years its wealth and its population, they had a vast, an almost unlimited career of prosperity and happiness opened to them as Austrians, if they would consent to forget that they were Magyars.

They ought, we repeat, to have seen and to have felt all this: but those who expected them to do so, can have known little of human nature, at least of human nature as it exists in a proud, high-spirited, ignorant, unreflecting, semi-barbarous people. The

new constitution was proclaimed on the 4th of March. On the 14th of April, the Hungarian Chamber declared Hungary and Transylvania, with all the countries and provinces appertaining thereto, (that is to say, the Bukovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia,) to be one indivisible independent state. It further declared 'the perjured House of Hapsburg to have forfeited 'the throne, and to be excluded, deposed, and banished.'

We will not follow the lamentable story of the war. If any of our readers have forgotten it they are to be envied. The war suspended the new Austrian constitution: the subjugation of Hungary destroyed it. It is probable, indeed, that the young Emperor's 'conviction of the necessity of free institutions,' and 'his readiness to share his power with the representatives of 'the people,' were the result of the terror which the events of 1848 inspired into every royal mind, and wore away as the excesses of the liberal party made free institutions odious or contemptible, and the blind adherence of the army to the Crown made them avoidable.

From that time Hungary has been treated as a conquered nation; her constitution has been abolished, her municipal institutions have been destroyed. She is administered by Germans who know nothing and care nothing about her laws, her habits, or even her language; and she feels this treatment as such insults and injuries would be felt by us. We strongly suspect that the peasants who, as F. tells us, travelled miles to kneel before their Emperor, travelled and knelt under the influence of the police and the threat of the stick. We believe that very few of the inhabitants of Hungary acknowledge Francis Joseph as their lawful sovereign, or the German officials by whom he governs them as their lawful superiors. They pay the taxes that are imposed on them, and submit to the decisions of the civil and criminal courts that are established among them, and obey the arbitrary police to which, in common with the other nations which have the misfortune to be under the Austrian rule, they are subjected, but they pay, and submit, and obey under compulsion. A proof of the general unpopularity of Austria was given a short time ago, on the occasion of a census of Hungary, in which the population was classified according to the races to which each person professed to belong. More than eleven millions returned themselves as Magyars. As it is well known that the real Magyars do not amount to six millions, the remaining five millions must have usurped the title. An usurpation which can be accounted for only by their antipathy to Austria, and their desire to disclaim, in the strongest possible manner, all connexion with her.

We are inclined to think that both P. and F., the other Ger-

man interlocutor, exaggerate the advantages derived by Austria from the popularity of her communistic principles among the lowest classes, and under-rate her danger from the terror and disgust with which she is looked on by a large portion of her educated subjects. The attempt to manage a large disaffected but uneducated majority by means of a small well educated minority, has often been made, always with success. It was thus that a handful of Spartans kept down ten times their number of Helots. It was thus that for a couple of centuries, England governed Ireland; that in the United States, the South governs her vast slave population; and that the Mussulmans, and, after them, the English, have ruled India. The uneducated can furnish physical force, but they do not know how to use it, they cannot combine, they cannot trust one another; they do not know how to follow up success, and they are dissipated in despair by the first reverse.

For these very reasons, the converse attempt, the attempt to coerce the educated portion of society by means of the uneducated, has always failed. Its success, when it has had any, as it had in France in 1792, and over a large portion of the continent in 1848, has been temporary, and has always been followed by the decisive and permanent triumph of the superior classes.

It is not by means of the people that Austria keeps down her disaffected upper classes, but by her army of 470,000 men. While everything else is heterogeneous in her empire, the army forms a separate and uniform caste, governed by one law, ruled by one authority, animated by one spirit, welded together, in short, into one mass. If Russia was to invade Hungary, and the nobles were mad enough to take part with her, an event of which we cannot deny the probability, we do not believe that Austria could raise the peasants against them, or that she would gain much if she could. The nobles and the Russians would very soon put down a jacquerie.

The only mode by which Austria can convert Hungary from a danger into a support, is one of which the success is infallible, but which we do not believe that the youth, to whose prejudices, passions, and inexperience, Providence, in its inscrutable decrees, seems to have abandoned the destinies of millions of beings, probably wiser and better than himself, will have the good sense, or the moral courage to adopt. It is to cease to be an usurper—to adopt a system of lawful government. To restore the old constitution of Hungary, to swear as all his predecessors have done to maintain it, and, as all his predecessors have done, unwillingly, we admit, but actually, to keep his oath.

The other constitutions which Francis Joseph, at an age at which, if he had been an English boy, he might have been still

in the sixth form at Eton, and, if he had been a German boy in a private station, could not have done any act affecting his property, thought fit by a mere expression of his will to cancel, were less active and living than that of Hungary, but still were loved as memorials of ancient independence, and as the means of future improvement. Their abolition spread through all the educated classes in the German territories of Austria, formerly the most loyal portion of her dominions, deep and natural disaffection. Galicia, Lombardy, and Venetia, had not the same grievance to complain of, for never having enjoyed, since they became Austrian, real constitutions, they could not be robbed of them. But the insolent wickedness of their seizure has kept them for the last half century in a state of chronic conspiracy against the robber who calls himself their sovereign. This has not rendered misgovernment, to the degree in which it has existed in all of them, inevitable, but it has rendered good government impossible. No people can be well governed against their will. The Italians complain that the Italian regiments are sent to serve in Hungary, and that Lombardy and the Terra Firma are kept down by Germans; but how is it possible to entrust the defence of the government to troops that are avowedly disaffected? They complain that the public offices are filled with foreigners, but can Austria fill them with her enemies?

The general misgovernment of the Austrian dominions, which has prevented their coalescing into one great nation, has encouraged the barbarous feeling of separate nationality, which is becoming the curse of Europe. The tendency of events during the last 1000 years, has been towards the fusion of numerous small states into a few large ones. This fusion has been partly the effect and partly the cause of improved civilisation. If England were divided into a heptarchy, or even if England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, were four independent nations, the different races would always be fighting one another commercially or physically. To this fusion the feeling of separate nationality is opposed. Its ultimate effect would be to split the composite frame of every European sovereignty into hostile fragments. Its immediate tendency is to make the central sovereign fear his subjects, and the subjects hate their sovereign. But when fusion is brought about, or rather attempted to be brought about, not by the impartial justice and confidence by which France assimilated her Flemish and German provinces, but by usurpation, violence, and treachery, our sympathies are turned in favour of those who resist, though we may think their resistance, like that of Poland in 1830, that of Lombardy and Venice in 1848, and that of Hungary in 1849, ruinous to themselves, and dangerous to Europe.

We must add, that the absence of a common nationality, among its other evils, renders the Austrian empire peculiarly liable to foreign intervention. We do not believe that the most unscrupulous of the French parties, not even the Legitimists or the Rougès, would accept the assistance of a foreigner against their political enemies. There is scarcely a province in Austria that does not implore it. Neither Hungary, nor Galicia, nor Lombardy, nor Venetia, nor even Bohemia, looks on the Vienna Government as a national one, or on Francis Joseph as its natural sovereign. What the central government calls an insurrection, the province calls a war, and it considers its foreign supporters not as strangers interfering in its domestic quarrels, but as allies against a foreign enemy.

The next conversation introduces a remarkable interlocutor, the ex-dictator of Venice, Signor Manin, one of the wisest and honestest, and therefore one of the most moderate, of the Italian patriots.

We have always been anxious to hear the opinions of able and moderate Italians on the invasion of Lombardy in 1848. Many believe that it was forced on Charles Albert by the threat of insurrection. The Cabinet Council, at which it was decided on, has been described to us by one who took part in it. It was held on the evening of the 20th of March 1848, in a room of the palace overlooking the Piazza del Castello. The Piedmontese constitution was then sixteen days old, it had been proclaimed on the 8th. Balbo had been four days prime minister. News of the insurrection at Milan had been brought in the morning, and deputies had arrived, imploring assistance, and announcing their intention, if refused, to apply to France. The Piazza was filling rapidly with a mob, new to freedom, intoxicated with its excitement, shouting out imprecations against Austrians, Jesuits, and tyrants, and crying, Viva il rè! in a manner which showed that they meant Viva la Republica. The Milanese had asked for 3000 men. This would have been absurd—Count Revel proposed that 10,000 men should be allowed to go as volunteers. 'I think,' said the King, 'that, if we are to act, 'we should do it more decidedly.' Balbo's mind had been made up in favour of the war. He believed that the consequence of refusing the aid to Milan, would be not merely the calamity of a French intervention, but a republic in Genoa, and probably in Turin. The King's words and manner shewed Balbo that they thought together. He looked round the table, and without alluding to Revel's proposition, said, 'Sire, I believe that 'we are all agreed that we ought to act, as your Majesty has 'expressed it, decidedly, and that the Minister of War ought

'immediately to take measures to move forward the disposable 'part of the army; and I think that it may be advisable that 'your Majesty's resolution should be instantly communicated to 'the people.' 'By all means,' said the King, 'and I hope that 'you will all dine with me.' The windows were thrown open, and from the balcony the ministers proclaimed to the crowd below, that the army had been ordered to march to the Milanese frontier. It was thus, in a council that did not last ten minutes, in which a declaration of war and an invitation to dinner were included in one sentence, and almost at the dictation of a metropolitan mob, that a measure was adopted on which the fate of the Kingdom of Sardinia seemed to depend.

But the invasion of Lombardy, though it appeared to be the sudden result of unforeseen events, was an attempt which had long been revolved in Charles Albert's mind. We were in Turin in 1846. Margharita, a violent Tory, or, to use the Italian term, Codino, was prime minister; the Jesuits were supposed to be all-powerful at court; the King himself had expiated his early revolutionary attempt by the sacrifice of his followers, some of whom, Colegno, for instance, were still in exile. The favourite scheme of all politicians, of all parties, was the seizure of Lombardy and Venetia, by the assistance of France, to be purchased by the cession of Savoy. For this purpose the revolutionary party in Milan had long been encouraged. This circumstance alone would have made it impossible to refuse to the Milanese the assistance which they asked in 1848. Charles Albert had probably repented too deeply his conduct as Prince Carignano to repeat it. The great blunder which he committed was the betraying his ambition too soon. The consequences are well explained by Signor Manin.

'*May* 13.

'N. of Milan, and Manin, breakfasted with us.

'We talked of the dangers to which Austria is exposed by 'the heterogeneousness of her elements, and I alluded to the 'success with which France has assimilated her German pro-'vinces, though differing from her in race and in language.

'"You may add," said N., "differing from her in character. 'Morally and intellectually they are Teutons. The Frenchman 'is the type of the Celt: you talk of his powers of assimilation; 'that is thoroughly Celtic; wherever the Celtic element insinu-'ates itself, it prevails. The Celt is vain, he is pliable, he is 'bold, he is eager to receive sympathy, and to give it to others. 'He adopts every principle that is offered to him, and propa-'gates with restless vehemence everything that he has adopted. 'He is not an originator, he does not extract the ore, he coins 'and circulates it; often, I fear, mixing bad money with good."

'"The faults of France," said Manin, "were perhaps given
'to her to enable her to perform her mission. Her great duty,
'the purpose for which she appears to me to have been made
'so strong, was to abolish feudalism. Until 1789, the natural
'equality of mankind was a religious and a philosophical, but not
'a political, doctrine. France has the merit of having made it
'a principle of action."

'"The proclamation of equality," I said, "the abolition of
'privilege, the levelling of the little aristocracies, some sove-
'reign, some noble, some commercial, and some municipal,
'which formerly overspread Europe, may have been a blessing,
'but certainly it was not an unmixed one. It has destroyed all
'the smaller knots of resistance by which the great central
'authorities were kept in check, it has destroyed the local am-
'bition and rivalry which produced considerable men in small
'communities. Under the roller of equality the Continent
'appears to me to be becoming Asiatic; in a short time it seems
'likely to contain only half-a-dozen great despots, and 200 mil-
'lions of equal, unconnected, and therefore orderly, subjects."

'"I admit," said Manin, "that equality has not produced
'liberty—perhaps it has diminished it; on the other hand, it has
'probably reduced the whole amount of oppression. The great
'despot was much less formidable before 1789, but the little one
'was much more so; and as there were only a few great ones,
'and many hundred little ones, the people, as distinguished from
'the aristocracy, has perhaps gained by the change. The intel-
'lectual effects of political equality have been just the reverse.
'Instead of elevating high a few, and depressing the rest, it has
'cut off the sommités and raised the general average. The
'nineteenth century is more than half expended, and no great
'man has been born in it on either side of the Atlantic. Ame-
'rica, indeed, has sunk to a still lower mediocrity than Europe.
'When the United States contained only three millions of inha-
'bitants, they produced generals, statesmen, philosophers, and
'orators, whose fame will live as long as the English language.
'*Now*, there is not a single man of distinction among their twenty
'millions. Every president has been inferior to his predecessor.
'A thousand years hence, if an Australian statistician ranges in
'a tabular form the great statesmen, and orators, and generals,
'and philosophers, and poets, and painters, and architects, born
'in every century, the nineteenth century, as far as we can
'judge from the portion of it in which we have lived, will be a
'blank."

'"What," I said, "has been politically the gain and loss in
'the Venetian territories?"

'"The scale of evil," answered Manin, "has much prepon-

'derated, especially among the lower classes. The Venetian 'noble has always been oppressed. He was as much the slave 'of the Council of Ten, as he is now of the Austrian police. Still 'he had the compensation of feeling that he was himself one of 'the governing body; he had a much higher compensation in 'feeling that he was one of the principal members of an illus-'trious community that had been great and glorious for more 'than a thousand years. It must be owned, however, that there 'was in Venice little of individual liberty or of individual glory. 'She did great acts, but produced few great men. Her jealousy 'seems to have forced her heroes to aim at obscurity rather than 'distinction. But the people were happy and contented under 'her sway; even the towns of the Terra Firma, though they were 'in what has generally been thought a painful situation, sub-'jected to a distant aristocracy, cherish affectionately the remem-'brance of her empire. Venice allowed them to manage their 'own affairs under a podestà, whom she sent to them every year. 'She taxed them lightly, she protected them; in fact, she treated 'them as you treat your colonies. When Austria goes she will 'leave no such recollections."

'"And what," I said, "are your principal complaints against 'Austria?"

'"Our principal complaint," answered Manin, "is, that the 'Austrians are Germans, and that the Venetians are Italians, and 'that these races are separated by absolute antipathy. We think 'them our inferiors in intelligence, our inferiors in morality, our 'inferiors in civilisation, our inferiors even in courage; in short, 'in everything but mere brute force. We despise them as much 'as the English despise the Irish, and if you were governed by the 'Irish you would hate them as we hate the Austrians. We feel, 'too, that their seizure of us was a mere robbery: such a robbery 'as is committed by a slave-trader who buys a kidnapped negro. 'Austria never conquered us; Austria never had any quarrel 'with us. Austria has no rights over us. France thought fit 'to seize us, simply because she was strong, and we were weak: 'she did not want to keep us, and so sold us to Austria. It was 'a mere gold-coast transaction.

'This is the foundation of our objection to Austrian rule. If 'I am to go into particulars, we complain of a heavy conscrip-'tion, which takes away every year the best of our peasants, to 'waste their youth under a German sky, in a German uniform, 'and under a German cane. We complain of a heavy taxation, 'to be devoted to purposes with which we have no concern. 'The public revenue of a free country, or rather of an inde-'pendent country, is merely a portion of each man's income 'employed by the Government for the good of all. The 100

'millions which Lombardy and Venetia send every year to
'Vienna, go to pay and feed the 400,000 men who are keeping
'down Hungary and Galicia. The town of Venice is a free
'port, but the Terra Firma complains that its commerce is
'interrupted, and its consumption kept down by prohibitory
'duties, imposed to enable a few miserable Bohemian and Tyro-
'lese manufactures to drag on a sickly unremunerating exist-
'ence. We complain that no career is open to our sons; we
'complain that all situations in the government and administra-
'tion of our own country are filled by foreigners,—many of them
'ignorant of our language,—all of them disgusting to our habits.
'Above all, we complain of the administration of Justice."

'"I thought," I said, "that the administration of Justice in
'the Austrian dominions had been pure, though severe."

'"It is not pure," said Manin, "nor is it possible that it should
'be so, while the salaries paid to those who administer it are so
'miserable, that they cannot live on them; and even if it were
'purely applied, the law itself is intolerable. In all criminal
'cases the old German procedure by inquisition is adopted,—a
'procedure of which you know nothing except what you read of
'in the records of the Holy Inquisition,—a tribunal which has
'suffered unmerited obloquy as the inventor of a system which,
'in fact, existed long before it, and has long survived it. Under
'this system a man is tried in his absence; he does not know
'what is the charge against him, he does not know who is his
'accuser, or who are the witnesses; all that the Court tells him
'is, that he must be aware of his guilt, and that he had better
'confess. To have obtained a confession is the triumph of an
'Austrian judge, and every means of moral torture, and the
'physical tortures of years of imprisonment, insufficient food, and
'sometimes blows, are habitually employed to force one out.
'As to civil justice, the intricacies are innumerable, the delays,
'and the expense never ending; the evidence is all written; the
'judge, a mere German, seldom understands it, often does not
'read it; and a suit, after lasting for years, generally ends by
'both parties being wearied into a compromise."

'"It is remarkable," said N., "that Austria has always been
'anxious to employ Italians in Germany and Germans in Italy,
'with about equal detriment to the people in each case."

'"What," I asked, "was the real object of the Venetian in-
'surrection?"

'"What we *preferred*," answered Manin, "was to be an in-
'dependent republic, in confederation with the other Italian
'states. What we would have *accepted* was to become a por-
'tion of one great kingdom, comprising all Italy. If Charles
'Albert had come forward disinterestedly, if he had not made a

'selfish war for the aggrandizement of Piedmont, if he had pro-
'posed nothing more than the driving the barbarian out of
'Italy, leaving the Italians to settle their own affairs, I even
'now think that we might have succeeded. But my hopes
'faded as soon as he proposed to incorporate Milan. The whole
'character of the war was changed. Kossuth, then Ferdinand's
'minister in Hungary, had a right to denounce the Piedmontese
'invasion as a treacherous attempt to rob Austria in her hour
'of revolutionary weakness. The Pope, the Grand Duke, the
'King of Naples, all took alarm. They saw that Piedmont was
'using the pretext of a war of liberation to make really a war of
'ambition and conquest. Last of all, the Italian people lost
'their enthusiasm, and then all was hopeless. The Piedmon-
'tese have made a saint of Charles Albert. *They* may perhaps
'be able to forgive the mischief that he has done. The rest of
'Italy cannot."

'"Lombardy," said N., "would have been a troublesome ac-
'quisition to Piedmont. When I left Milan a few weeks ago,
'the general opinion was, that, if the Austrian garrison were
'withdrawn, neither property nor person would be safe. The
'lower population of all the towns is furiously socialist, and the
'Bourgeoisie is republican."

'"What are the country people?" I said.

'"The country people," he answered, "are indifferent; they
'have been so long under foreign domination that they have
'lost all nationality. During the few months that Lombardy
'was annexed to Piedmont, they did not seem to feel that they
'had an Italian sovereign, or had become a portion of an Italian
'kingdom: they inquired principally whether the taxes would
'be increased or diminished, and, so far as they felt at all about
'the matter, felt degraded at having become as they thought,
'the subjects of their little neighbour Piedmont, instead of the
'great Austrian empire. Radetski was much better supplied by
'them with provisions and information than Charles Albert was."

'"There appear to me," said Manin, "to be only two hopes
'for Italy. One, to become a single kingdom; the other, to be
'a confederacy of republics. The former is the easier, and if a
'man of talent were king of Sardinia, the more probable. It is
'true that we are divided by miserable animosities; but the de-
'sire for unity is enthusiastic; it would sweep away all our jea-
'lousies and rivalries. But it must be *unity*. Neither Venice
'nor Lombardy will be Piedmontese. Sicily will never willingly
'be Neapolitan, nor Tuscany Roman. All are eager to be Ita-
'lians. If this be found impracticable, all Italy must become a
'confederacy of republics, with a common diet, common foreign
'relations, and a common army and fleet and revenue."

'"Why," I said, "of republics? Why not some monarchies?"
'"Because," he answered, "monarchs would not submit to 'the diet."
'"The German sovereigns," I replied, "acknowledge the su-'premacy of the Bund."
'"Yes," he answered, "because the Bund protects them against 'their subjects. The Bund is a regal conspiracy: a holy alliance 'against German freedom. If the Bund were a real Parliament, 'if it spoke the opinions of the people of Germany, the sove-'reigns who felt themselves strong enough would repudiate its 'obligations. You must learn to tolerate republics."
'"I am quite ready," I said, "to tolerate them. The expe-'rience of the last six years shews them to be safer members of 'the community of nations than monarchies, at least absolute 'monarchies, are. But what do you do with Savoy?"
'"Give it to France," he answered, "to which it belongs by 'language and position."
'"What do you do with Sicily?"
'"Not let *you* have it," he replied. "We cannot afford to 'lose a foot of real Italian soil. We cannot allow any exception 'from the Italian unity on which our whole system reposes. 'Sicily will be a republic, unconnected with Naples, except as a 'co-confederate."
'"What is to become of the Roman states?"
'"A republic," he answered, "for which they are eminently 'fitted. They have old traditions, municipal habits, and no 'royal family."
'"What is the Pope to be?".
'"Bishop of Rome," he answered, "and, as such, a better and 'more independent head of the Church, than as a secular prince."
'"Where would you put your capital?"
'"I would build one—an Eastern Washington. I do not 'wish the seat of the federal government to be in a city exposed 'to local influences and dangers. A town or a large village, 'capable of accommodating the diet and the foreign ministers, 'is all that is wanted."'

Early in February, while the war was still a matter of conjecture, the traveller met the Polish General Chrzanowski, whose name we shall in future write, as it is pronounced, Shanowski.

Shanowski has passed thirty years fighting against or for the Russians. He began military life in 1811 as a sous-lieutenant of artillery in the Polish corps which was attached to the French army. With that army he served during the march to Moscow, and the retreat. At the peace, what remained of his corps became a part of the army of the kingdom of Poland. He had

attained the rank of major in that army when the insurrection on the accession of Nicholas broke out. About one hundred officers belonging to the staff of the properly Russian army were implicated, or supposed to be implicated, in that insurrection, and were dismissed, and their places were supplied from the army of the kingdom of Poland. Among those so transferred to the Russian army was Shanowski. He was attached to the staff of Wittgenstein, and afterwards of Marshal Diebitsch in the Turkish campaigns of 1828 and 1829. In 1830, he took part with his countrymen in the insurrection against the Muscovites, and quitted Poland, when it was finally absorbed in the Russian Empire. A few years after a quarrel was brewing between England and Russia. Muscovite agents were stirring up Persia and Affghanistan against us, and it was thought that we might have to oppose them on the shores of the Black Sea. Shanowski was attached to the British Embassy at Constantinople, and was employed for some years in ascertaining what assistance Turkey, both in Europe and in Asia, could afford to us. In 1849, he was selected by Charles Albert to command the army of the kingdom of Sardinia.

That army was constituted on the Prussian system, which makes every man serve, and no man a soldier,—a system which will expose every country that adopts it to defeat by a regular army. It was in fact a militia. The men were enlisted for only fourteen months; at the end of that time they were sent home, and were recalled when they were wanted, having forgotten their military training, and acquired the habits of cottiers and artisans. They had scarcely any officers, or even sous-officiers, that knew anything of their business. The drill-serjeants required to be drilled. Four-fifths of the men with whom Charles Albert marched on Milan in 1848, and perhaps a larger proportion of his troops in 1849, were married men with families, who had not carried a musket for years, and had not seen fire in their lives. They did well enough when they were advancing; but at the first check they lost heart: and when they had to retreat through their own country they disbanded and took refuge with their families or friends. Other circumstances were unfavourable to discipline. The Turin Radicals told the privates that their officers owed their rank to the accidents of birth, which was not quite true, since a man cannot rise in the Piedmontese army without professional knowledge, but it was plausible, and there did not exist between the officers and men the confidence which is produced by having long served together. The generals, and, indeed, the greater part of the officers, were divided into hostile factions,—Absolutists, Rouges, Constitutional Liberals, and even Austrians,—for at that time, in the exaggerated terror

occasioned by the revolutions of 1848, Austria and Russia were looked up to by the greater part of the noblesse of the Continent as the supporters of order against Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledru Rollin, and Palmerston. The Absolutists and the Austrians made common cause, whereas the Rouges or Mazzinists were bitterest against the Constitutional Liberals. Such an army, even if there had been no treason, could not have withstood a disciplined enemy.

When it fell a victim to its own defects, and to the treachery of Ramorino, Shanowski retired to Paris, where the traveller found him.

We extract the report of their first interview—the reader will perceive that we go back about three months:—

'*February* 13.

'I dined with Count Z., and sat next to General Shanowski. 'All the company, except myself and another Englishman, 'were Poles. The conversation turned on the European armies, 'almost all of which General Shanowski has had an opportu-'nity of studying.

'"What is your estimate," I said, "of the Austrian army?"

'"The officers," he answered, "are excellent, perhaps the best 'in Europe. Like yours, they are gentlemen. They have the 'spirit and the influence which belongs to gentlemen, and they 'know their duties, which is not the case always with yours. 'The men are strong and well trained, but they hate the service. 'They are not volunteers like yours, or conscripts like the French. 'Each commune has to furnish a certain number of men. The 'Government officers select them arbitrarily. Those who are 'chosen feel oppressed, and never have the good will of a vo-'lunteer, who has taken to the army as a profession, or of a 'conscript, who is paying his debt to his country.

'"The generals are good. Hesse is fit to command 200,000 'men, and I know of no one else in Europe who is so."

'"Have the Russians any good generals?" I said.

'"None," he answered, "on a great scale. Luders is their 'best: I would trust him with 30,000 or 40,000 men, but not 'with more. Their regimental officers are ignorant and bad. 'The men are good, the best, perhaps, in the world, after the 'French, the English, and the Turks."

'"Do you put the Turks so high?" I asked.

'"I put them," he answered, "at the very top. Not the 'officers, still less the generals, but the privates have every sol-'dierly quality. The Turk is strong, he is docile, he is sober, 'he is intelligent, he has a contempt for life which is both fata-'list and fanatic, and he can live on nothing. When their

'military organization was at its best, two centuries ago, no 'European armies could stand against them. But their officers 'are detestable, ignorant, conceited, idle, and corrupt. The very 'best people that I know are the Turks of the lower orders. 'The very worst people that I know are the Turks in office. 'Power is gained and preserved there by bribery, treachery, and 'extortion. Every man in authority is a rogue. If you ally 'yourselves to Turkey, against Russia, and place any reliance 'on a Turkish corps d'armée, with Turkish officers and a Turk-'ish commander, you will be disappointed. Train and officer 'them as you did the Portuguese, and you will make them the 'best troops in Europe: as good as your own—perhaps better. 'But I never should feel comfortable in action if I knew that 'any important part of my line was held by a purely Turkish 'force, however strong the post or numerous the force. I should 'be constantly expecting to see the officers running and the 'men following them. But to Turks, as privates, and to 'Englishmen, as officers, I would intrust the key of my position."

'"If the war once breaks out," he added, "you are much 'mistaken if you think that you will end it by destroying the 'Russian fleets and arsenals, or even by occupying the Crimea. 'It will be a war in which Russia will not yield while she can 'fight. The old Russian party, which is now in power, and 'possesses with the Emperor the greater part of the wealth of 'the country, will contribute their serfs and their money, and 'keep on the struggle as long as the Empire holds together.

'"It is only by breaking the force of Russia that you can 'finish such a war, and you can break her force only by destroy-'ing her coherence. Of the 80 millions that form her European 'and Asiatic population, not above 20—that is to say the Great 'Russians—are truly Russian in feeling. The Great Russians 'are a formidable people,—proud, vain, ambitious, bold, un-'scrupulous, and self-devoted. Nature and education have 'formed and trained them for war and conquest, but they are 'comparatively few. The Tartars, the Cossacks, the Little 'Russians, the Poles, and the Fins, who are three times as nu-'merous as the Great Russians, all hate the system of assimila-'tion and centralization by which the Great Russians are striv-'ing to absorb them, and might be roused to assert their sepa-'rate nationalities. The conduct of the Russian Government 'towards its neighbours has always been such as to excite deadly 'and permanent hatred. It has always striven to make them 'poor, and miserable, and divided, in order to make them weak. 'Her conquest of them has generally been the last act of cen-'turies of injury and treachery. The Great Russians them-'selves are in a state of discontent. The persecution of the

'Dissenters, that is of two-thirds of the people, which began 'under Alexander, has now become constant and irritating. 'The Clergy, of all opinions, have been disgusted by the extension of the conscription to their sons, who until the present 'reign were exempt from it. The peasantry were excited by 'the Ukase of 1842, which abolished serfage, and made indignant by the explanation of it, published only three days after, 'which virtually repealed the Ukase, and has retained them in 'servitude. The middle classes are anxious to throw off the 'tyranny of the Government agents, and the aristocracy to 'throw off that of the Emperor.

'"But nothing is to be done, until the prestige of the Emperor has been destroyed by a succession of defeats. Taking 'Sebastopol and taking Cronstadt will be good beginnings, but 'their first effects will be only to irritate. Russia will fight as 'long as she can stand. You must break her army before you 'can pull her to pieces."

'"You make a marked distinction," I said, "between the 'Great Russians and the Little Russians."

'"Certainly I do," he answered. "The Little Russians are 'probably of the same stock as the Great Russians, but they 'are dissenters in religion and hostile in feeling. They acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople, and consider Nicholas 'an anti-Christ. There are villages in which half the population are Muscovites, the other half Little Russians; they never 'meet if they can avoid it; the drinking houses frequented by 'one party are never entered by those who belong to the other. 'Not one-fourth indeed of the Russian people, even in Europe, 'is of the faith which acknowledges the Emperor as the Head of 'the Church and calls itself Orthodox. All the others hold his 'usurpation of this character an abomination."

'"Are the Cossacks disaffected?" I said.

'"Deeply so," he answered. "The growth of the Empire 'has been too rapid, and its administration is too oppressive, 'and too corrupt to allow its parts to be coherent. But it will 'take three years of unsuccessful war to break it up.'"

'There was some general conversation about the results of 'the war.

'"Of course," said the Poles, "you are not going to incur 'all this expense and danger, and to leave Russia as strong as 'you found her, ready to make a second aggression as soon as 'she sees a second opportunity. You must make the Crimea 'an English colony."

'"Even if we wanted more colonies," I said, "the Crimea, 'without the whole of the Straits of the Dardanelles and of 'the Bosporus, would be a prison."

'"Then," they said, "you must join it to Poland. The Turks 'could not defend it."

'"To Poland?" I said.

'"Yes," they answered; "of course, Poland must be reconstructed. You cannot leave the bulk of it Russian, if you 'seriously mean to destroy Russia's preponderance. You cannot divide it between Austria and Prussia. We had rather 'side with Russia than endure a fourth partition. You must 're-unite us, and we shall form a barrier behind which Europe 'will be safe for ages."

'"But how," I said, "are we to beat Russia, if we make 'Austria and Prussia our enemies?"

'"It is easy," they said, "to indemnify Austria. You could 'transfer to her the protectorate over Servia, Bosnia, Wallachia, 'and Moldavia; or you might give to *her*, instead of to Poland, 'Bessarabia and the Crimea. She would have access to the 'Crimea by the Danube."

'"What," I said, "is to be done to reconcile Prussia?"

'"She must have Saxony," they answered. "The Saxons 'will be glad to become a part of a powerful monarchy, to be 'reunited to the Saxon provinces taken from them by the Congress of Vienna, and to exchange their Roman Catholic royal 'family for a Protestant one; and you might provide for the 'house of Saxony by giving to them the new kingdom of 'Poland. They have already ruled over Poland. It would 'be only a restoration."

'"If," I said, "we reconstruct Poland, what do you propose 'as its limits?"

'"Precisely the limits," they answered, "such as they were 'before the first partition. All that is within that frontier 'still remains Polish in recollections and feelings. You must 'give them a king and a constitution; but beware how you 'consult the Poles as to either. They will be acquiesced in if 'they are imposed by an external force; but we could not agree 'on them. Beware, too, how you select a Pole for our king. 'There is no great family that has not far more enemies than 'friends. You must give us a foreigner: and, unless you give 'us back our old royal family of Saxony, he must be an 'Englishman or a Frenchman. We are jealous of the Germans, 'and we despise all the weaker nations. We should be ashamed 'to be governed by a Spaniard, or an Italian, or a Belgian, and 'not be proud of a Dutchman, or a Dane, or a Swede; but we 'would willingly take our king from France or from England."

'"I have reason to believe," said Shanowski, "that Austria 'is thinking seriously of the resuscitation of Poland. Ever 'since she joined in destroying that barrier, she has felt Russia

'pressing more and more heavily on her. It is said, too, that
'the reconstruction of Poland is one of the threats held out by
'Russia to Prussia. It is possible that both Austria and Russia
'feel that their Polish provinces are now sources of danger and
'weakness, and that either of them will make a good exchange,
'if she can substitute for them a separate kingdom, owing to her
'its existence, and relying on her for support. The advantage
'of such a move would, of course, rest with the sovereign that
'began it. A quasi-independent Poland, created by Russia
'out of her own, the Prussian, and the Austrian Polish dominions,
'and governed by her nominee, would be more valuable to her,
'and more dangerous to the German powers, than even her
'possession of the Principalities. Such a kingdom created out of
'the same materials, but by Austria, or by Austria and Prussia,
'would weaken Russia more than any injury that we can inflict
'on her in the south."

'"I am inclined to think," said the English guest, "that, if
'I were a Pole, instead of struggling for an independent nation-
'ality, which would probably be as difficult to keep as it is to
'get, I should try to make the best of the government to which
'I was subjected—educate my children in Berlin if I belonged
'to Posen, or in Vienna if I were a Galician; imitate, in short,
'the people of Alsace and Lorraine, who, though they are Ger-
'mans by race, by history, and by language, are French in feeling."

'W. answered, "That that might be well, if the Austrians
'treated Galicia as the French treated Alsace. But what would
'you do," he said, "if you lived under a government which was
'your enemy? If the very institution which is supposed to
'assist you, and to raise you, directed all its efforts to weaken
'and to depress you? If it ground you by excessive taxation,
'and denied you the protection for which taxes are paid? If it
'strove to break the peace instead of keeping it? If it armed
'the tenant against the landlord, the rural population against
'the towns' people, the debtor against the creditor, the ignorant
'against the instructed, and the poor against the rich? If it
'prescribed to every child whose parents wished him to rise
'above the parish school, precisely the same education, precisely
'the same doses of mathematics, Latin, rhetoric and law, with-
'out any reference to his tastes or his destination, and rendered
'that education so expensive that no ordinary fortune could sup-
'port it? If it surrounded you with an atmosphere of espion-
'age, and was always ready to plunge you, and then forget you,
'in a dungeon on the report of a guest, or of a servant?"

'Count A., who is a native of Warsaw, remarked, that the Eng-
'lishman's supposition represented the state of the Russian Poles
'in 1830. "We had then," he said, "a constitution, not perfect,

'but far better than we ever had before; a constitution which,
'if we had been independent, I would have died to preserve.
'We had our own laws, our own judges, and our own army.
'The Russian government tried earnestly to conciliate every
'class, and particularly the army. It took a considerable pro-
'portion of the officers from the ranks, partly because so large
'a field for selection enabled it to find the best men, but prin-
'cipally in the expectation that, owing their rise to the Russian
'commander-in-chief, they would be faithful to Russia. We
'were well governed, but we were governed by strangers. The
'instant that the French revolution gave us hopes of indepen-
'dence, we rose as one man. The army on which the grand
'Duke Constantine relied as his blind instrument was destroyed
'in resisting him."'

Count A.'s testimony to the excellence of the Russian administration in Poland, before the war of 1830, is not the first that has come before us. In the years 1839, 1840, and 1843, we lived much with a very intelligent man, one of the principal proprietors in Russian Poland. He was among those who signed the manifesto declaring Nicholas deposed and the throne of Poland vacant. He lost a son in the war, and for weeks his country house was occupied by Russian officers, while Poles were concealed in a neighbouring wood, to whom his daughters took provisions at night. It is not likely, therefore, that he was prejudiced in favour of the Russian rule. He not only concurred in A.'s description of the flourishing state of Russian Poland before the insurrection, but described it as being even at the times when we were conversing, the best governed part of Poland—as far more prosperous than either Prussian Poland or Galicia.

We continue our extracts.

'*March* 4.

'Shanowski called on us.

'"Could the Turkish army," I asked him, "resist the Russians
'for another campaign?"

'"It is scarcely possible," answered Shanowski. "The Rus-
'sians will be continually reinforced; 140,000 fresh troops, as
'good as those now on the Danube, are on their way; they will
'be in the field in a couple of months. The Turkish army must
'have suffered dreadfully; nothing destroys the material of an
'army like a winter campaign. Their shoes and clothes and
'arms must be worn out, their sick must be numerous, and
'their reinforcements will consist of inferior troops. The whole
'Turkish nation, though scattered over so vast a country, does
'not exceed six millions. It is an immense effort to have raised

'150,000 men. It is as if the British Islands had raised 750,000. 'It is ten per-cent. on the adult male population. All the real 'soldiers that Turkey possesses are in that army. Those that 'are to come will be raw undisciplined recruits.* And I fear 'that many of the French will not be a great deal better. Na'poleon's example has led them to trust too much to new levies. 'It ought to have deterred them—for it was for want of attend'ing to the difference between veterans and conscripts that he 'perished. If instead of 600,000 men of every different degree 'of excellence, he had carried into Russia only 200,000 such as 'he had at Boulogne, he would have overturned the Russian 'Empire."

'"Napoleon," I answered, "knew the difference. Decrés 'once said to him in council, 'I cannot extemporize a sailor, as 'you do a soldier. It takes seven years to make a sailor. You 'turn out a soldier in six months.' 'Taisez vous,' said Napoleon, '' such ideas are enough to destroy an empire. It takes six 'years to make a soldier.' But he was carried away by his 'ambition, his impatience, and his presumption. He despised 'the qualities of his enemies, and thought that he could beat 'them with second-rate Frenchmen. But he knew that they '*were* second-rate."

'"What do you think," I continued, "of the French army as 'a whole?"

'"I think," said Shanowski, "that it wants training. Three 'years and a half is a short period of service, and that is the 'average of the French. The Russian soldier serves for twenty'five years, even the Turk for fifteen. The men are eminently 'intelligent—more so than any other soldiers; they can do better 'without their officers; on the other hand, many of the inferior 'officers have received only the same education as that of the 'privates, and the superiors want subordination; the higher you 'go the less can their obedience be relied on. But the great 'defect of all, privates, officers, and generals, is, that they have 'never faced a civilized enemy."

'"Nor have the Russians," I said, "to any extent."

'"There must," he answered, "be among their ranks some 'who took part in the campaigns of 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831, 'against Turkey and Poland, and they had some practice in 'Hungary in 1849. Deficient experience is without doubt 'the defect of most modern armies, but the French have had 'none."

'"Do you attach no value," I said, "to their African cam'paigns?"

* Subsequent events have lamentably justified this prophecy.

'"I attach some," he answered. "They have learned how
'to take care of themselves in the field. They have learned how
'to supply themselves in a barbarous country. They know the
'difficulties of moving troops, and how to overcome them.
'Africa was a better school than Chobham. But they have
'never been opposed to regular troops. They do not know
'whether they shall preserve their presence of mind under the
'fire of artillery. Not one man in a hundred does so. I do
'not speak of those who run, but of those who stand. Some
'men get excited and wild. Some, and that is the majority,
'are stupified. Their eyes dazzle, their faces get pale and long,
'their knees tremble, they scarcely know where they are. This
'does not prevent men from standing, and firing and executing
'orders, but it totally unfits them for command. For that pur-
'pose, perfect coolness under grape-shot, shells, and balls, is
'necessary. The Russians have an enormous artillery, and
'independently of the influence of the roar of the gun and the
'whistle of the ball on the imagination, the destructive effect of
'artillery is greater when directed against a French army than
'against an English or a Turkish one. The English charge in
'line. If a ball comes, it kills two or at most three men. The
'French charge in column. A single ball may carry away
'thirty men."

'"I should feel very anxious if I believed Nicholas to be a
'man of ability and firmness; but he is not. I saw much of
'him in 1828, when I was attached to General Wittgenstein.
'We lived in tents, and often for hours there was only a curtain
'between him and me. I could hear all his conversation; he
'was timid, irresolute, and without resources."

'"I thought," I said, "that he had shown great courage and
'decision in quelling the insurrection at his accession; that he
'had devoted himself before the altar to his race and to his
'country, and had then faced the rebels almost alone."

'"On the contrary," said Shanowski, "he fled to the altar
'for protection, and was dragged from it by his friends, who knew
'that their lives depended on his, put on horseback, and led
'with his guards in front of the rebels, who, most of them, had
'been entrapped into rebellion without knowing what they were
'about, and were too happy to get out of it. I have no doubt
'that in this business he would have yielded over and over, if
'he had not felt that receding was still more dangerous to him-
'self than advancing; when once the Russian pride was roused
'he could not mortify it and hope to live."

'"Can any use," I said, "be made of the Greek popula-
'tion?"

'"The word Greek," answered Shanowski, "is ambiguous.

'It may mean Hellenes, Greeks by race; of these there are very
'few in Turkey; they are principally in Macedonia and Thessaly.
'The inhabitants of Bulgaria and Roumelia are Greeks only in
'religion. They are of many races, some indigenous and some
'imported, and are divided among one another by the bitterest
'animosities. If the Turks were driven out, every district would
'be at war with every one of its neighbours. They hate the
'Turks, they hate the Russians, but, above all, they hate one
'another. I do not think that any use is to be made of them,
'at least at present."

'"Is much," I asked, "to be done by assisting the Caucasian
'tribes?"

'"Much," he answered; "but not by the Turks alone. The
'Caucasus runs for about 300 miles in a south-easterly direction,
'from the Sea of Azof to the Caspian. On the Caspian is
'Daguestan, inhabited by two Mussulman tribes, the Lesghis
'and the Tchetchense, who are under the influence of Schamyl.
'The inhabitants of Georgia, Imeritia, and Mingrelia, are
'Christians. The Mussulman tribes, or clans, that live along
'the summit of the ridge, are still independent, but the Min-
'grelians and Imeritians, who dwell near the coast, and the
'Georgians, who are placed to the south of the Caucasus, are
'now under the domination of Russia. When I was in Trebi-
'zond, about the year 1838, Mingrelia was in the hands of a
'sovereign whom Russia was urging and supporting in every
'sort of oppression, in order to render the Mingrelians so
'wretched as to be willing to accept a foreign master instead of
'their native tyrant. They succeeded, and seized the country.
'Georgia they obtained by getting up a disputed succession, and
'inducing one of the pretenders to make them a present of his
'people. How they got Imeritia I forget. All these tribes, the
'mountaineers excepted, hate both the Russians and the Turks.
'They hate the Russians as oppressive rulers, and as heretics
'who have renounced the Patriarch of Constantinople. They
'hate the Turks as marauding Mussulmans, and as neighbours
'who claimed to be their masters before the Russians came, and
'treated them always with barbarian insolence and cruelty.
'And they are at feud with Schamyl and his Lesghis, as Mus-
'sulmans and plunderers. It follows that the Turks, separated
'from Daguestan by two or three hundred miles of mountainous
'country, inhabited by these hostile Christian populations, have
'not sent, and cannot send, any supplies or assistance to Schamyl.
'But, as I said before, these Christian tribes are equally hostile
'to Russia. Their chiefs offered, when I was in communica-
'tion with them in 1838, to raise 50,000 men, if we would
'assist them in rising against Russia. Through them we might

'supply the Lesghis, and make the whole of the Caucasian 'range a barrier against Russian encroachments.'"

When we look back at the hopes and fears, expectations and conjectures of the last year, we are inclined to think that the events most to be wished are also those most to be expected,—the continuance of the Imperial Government, and the continuance of the Anglo-Gallic Alliance. We couple these events because they appear to us to be mutually dependent. We have seen that the only feelings which are common to all the Royalist factions are friendship for Russia and dislike of England. The assistance which we rendered to the Bourbons in 1814 and 1815 will never be forgiven. In the first place, it gives to us the odious superiority of benefactors and protectors; and, secondly, it associates with the name of England a passage in the history of that family which they strive in vain to forget, and to cause to be forgotten. That they twice entered France behind British bayonets *we* may pity as their misfortune. France resents it as their crime. Louis Napoleon has no favours to avenge. The relation between his family and England has been unrelenting enmity. All the mischief that we could do to them we have done. We received his own Presidentship with distrust, his coup d'état with anger. The advances which he makes to us have the grace of generosity. He can dare to be friendly to us without running the danger of being accused of being grateful: Louis Philippe could not.

Each party, too, has its own especial dislike of us. The Legitimists hate us because they are governed by their traditions, and hatred of England is one of them; and because our ready acknowledgment of Louis Philippe showed how lightly we valued their friendship. The Orleanists hate us because they choose to say, and try to think, that we made the Revolution of 1848; and the Fusionists are the bitterest of all: they hate us so far as they are Legitimists, they hate us so far as they are Orleanists, and they hate us as the allies of Louis Napoleon. They are justly indignant at the excuses with which our newspapers palliate the coup d'état. They resent being told that a despotism is all that they are fit for, that they do not know how to value liberty, or how to use it, and that the millions of votes for its surrender expressed the real wish of France to exchange the hierarchy of a constitutional monarchy for Asiatic equality—for one master and everything flat below him. They are disgusted by the praise, sometimes extravagant, and sometimes ill-applied, which we lavish indiscriminately on all his policy,—a policy which, with equal indiscrimination, and far more injustice, they universally

reprobate. Above all, they hate us for the moral support which we give to his throne. Some of them are sanguine enough to imagine that, but for us, they might by this time have effected a restoration; and all must feel that the ally of Queen Victoria stands in a position very different from that of the provisional dictator, whom three years ago we refused to congratulate.

The educated Republicans have more patriotism and more honesty than any of the monarchical factions; their sympathies are with civilisation against barbarism, with progress against re-action, with freedom against despotism, with England against Russia; but they are swamped by Universal Suffrage, and no one can even conjecture what will be the foreign policy of seven millions of peasants and two millions of artisans. We believe, therefore, that our alliance would be dissolved if France were in the hands of a Bourbon, and would be endangered if she were in those of a democracy; and, therefore, that the best chance for its permanence is the duration of the Imperial Government.

We disapprove partially of the manner in which Louis Napoleon employs his power, as we disapprove totally of the means by which he seized it; but, on the whole, we place him high among the sovereigns of France. As respects his foreign policy we put him at the very top. The foreign policy of the rulers of mankind, whether they be kings, or ministers, or senates, or demagogues, is generally so hateful, and at the same time so contemptible, so grasping, so irritable, so unscrupulous, so false, and so oppressive,—so much dictated by ambition, by antipathy, and by vanity,—so selfish, often so petty in its objects, and so regardless of truth, or honour, or mercy, in its means,—that a sovereign who behaves to other nations with merely the honesty and justice and forbearance which are usual between man and man, deserves the praise of exalted virtue. The sovereigns of France have probably been as good as the average of sovereigns. Placed, indeed, at the head of the first nation of the Continent, they have probably been better; but how atrocious has been their conduct towards their neighbours. If we go back no further than to the restoration, we find Louis XVIII. joining the Holy Alliance, and attacking Spain without a shadow of provocation, for the avowed purpose of crushing her liberties and giving absolute power to the most detestable of modern tyrants. We find Charles X. invading a dependence of his ally, the Sultan, and confiscating a province to revenge a tap on the face given by the Dey of Algiers to a French consul. We find Louis Philippe breaking the most solemn engagements with almost wanton faithlessness; renouncing all extension of territory in Africa, and then conquering there a country larger than France,—a country occupied by tribes who never were the

subjects of the Sultan or of the Dey, and who could be robbed of their independence only by wholesale and systematic massacre: we find him joining England, Spain, and Portugal, in the Quadruple Alliance, and deserting them as soon as the time of action had arrived; joining Russia, Prussia, Austria and England, in the arrangement of the Eastern question, on the avowed basis that the integrity of the Ottoman empire should be preserved, and then attempting to deprive it of Egypt. We find him running the risk of a war with America, because she demanded, too unceremoniously, the payment of a just debt, trying to ruin the commerce of Switzerland because the Diet arrested a French spy, and deposing Queen Pomare because she interfered with the sale of French brandies; and, as his last act, eluding an express promise by a miserable verbal equivocation, and sowing the seeds of a future war of succession, in order to get for one of his sons an advantageous establishment in Spain.

The greatest blot in the foreign policy of Louis Napoleon is the invasion of Rome, and for that he is scarcely responsible. It was originally planned by Louis Philippe and Rossi. The expedition which sailed from Toulon in 1849, was prepared in 1847. It was despatched in the first six months of his presidency, in obedience to a vote of the Assembly, when the Assembly was still the ruler of France; and Louis Napoleon's celebrated letter to Ney was an attempt, not, perhaps, constitutional, but well intended, to obtain for the Roman people liberal and secular institutions instead of ecclesiastical tyranny.

His other mistake was the attempt to enforce on Turkey the capitulations of 1740, and to revive pretensions of the Latins in Jerusalem which had slept for more than a century. This again was a legacy from Louis Philippe. It was Louis Philippe who claimed a right to restore the dome, or the portico, we forget which, of the Holy Sepulchre, and to insult the Greeks by rebuilding it in the Latin instead of the Byzantine form. Louis Napoleon has the merit, rare in private life, and almost unknown among princes, of having frankly and unreservedly withdrawn demands, though supported by treaty, as soon as he found that they could not be conceded without danger to the conceding party.

With these exceptions his management of the foreign relations of France has been faultless. To England he has been honest and confiding, to Russia conciliatory but firm, to Austria kind and forbearing, and he has treated Prussia with perhaps more consideration than that semi-Russian Court and childishly false and cunning king deserved. He has been assailed by every form of temptation, through his hopes and through his fears, and has remained faithful and disinterested. Such conduct deserves the admiration with which England has repaid it.

We cannot praise him as an administrator. He is indolent and procrastinating. He hates details, and therefore does not understand them; and he does not trust or even employ those who do. When he has given an order he does not see to its execution. An administrator ought to be a glutton of work; he ought to love it as a youth loves his mistress, as a gambler loves play. He ought to think and dream of nothing else. The man who turns the key of his cabinet, and says, "I have done the business of the day," is no administrator. Yet even *he* is far superior to many who usurp the title, for they turn the key *before* the business has been done. An administrator ought to be insatiable of details. "No literature," said Napoleon, "delights me so much as the daily statements of the force and position of every division and regiment and company in my armies. I get them by heart involuntarily." An administrator ought to follow up an order as a bloodhound does a scent. It is in danger the instant that he loses sight of it. Louis Napoleon ordered a fleet to be prepared to co-operate with us in the Baltic in the spring. Ducos, his Minister of Marine, assured him that it was ready. The time came, and not a ship was rigged or manned. We sailed without the French squadron. If the Russians had ventured out, and we either had beaten them single-handed, or been repulsed for want of the promised assistance, the effect on France would have been frightful. When his Baltic squadron at length sailed, it contained four ships which the commission of naval inquiry of 1850 had condemned as unserviceable; and the arsenals were left perfectly bare. We do not know what may be their present state; but in last May they had not stores or materials to repair a gun-brig. The manning of that squadron, too, had been delayed until almost all the able seamen of France had left her shores for the American fishery. The crews, therefore, were as raw as the ships were inferior. We have reason to believe that it was only in the middle of February that he made up his mind to send an army to Bulgaria. They arrived by driblets; and it was not until August that their battering-train left Toulon. We have heard that, out of 70,000 men who were supposed to have been dispatched before the end of September, not 50,000 ever actually landed. The rest are said to be unaccounted for; it is whispered that they were non-valeurs: a species of soldier well known in continental armies, particularly in those of Russia, who draws rations and pay, but is never seen in the body.

When Louis XIV., at the age of twenty-three, resolved to be prime minister as well as king, he began by devoting to business eight hours a day; and for fifty years he persevered in doing so. Louis Napoleon, with his strong sense, must in time

find out, that the military and civil affairs of an empire cannot be well managed by giving to them perhaps twice as many hours per week as his greatest predecessors gave to them per day. He must see the necessity either of becoming an active man of business himself, or of administering, like other sovereigns, through his ministers. Up to the present time many causes have concurred to occasion him to endeavour to be his own minister, and to treat those to whom he gives that name as mere clerks. He is fond of power, and impatient of contradiction. With the exception of Drouyn de l'Huys, the most eminent men of France stand aloof. Those who are not in exile have retired from public life, and offer neither assistance nor advice. Advice, indeed, he refuses, and, what is still more useful than advice, censure, he punishes.

But the war, though it must last longer, and cost more in men and in money than it would have done if it had been managed with more activity, must end favourably. It is impossible that a semi-barbarous empire, with a scarcely sane autocrat, a corrupt administration, disordered finances, and heterogeneous populations, should ultimately triumph over the two most powerful nations of Europe. If Louis Napoleon pleases the vanity of France by military glory, and rewards her exertions by a triumphant peace,—if he employs his absolute power in promoting her prosperity by further relaxing the fetters which encumber her industry,—if he takes advantage of the popularity which a successful war, an honourable peace, and internal prosperity must confer on him, to give to her a little real liberty and a little real self-government,—if he gradually subsides from a *Τύραννος* to a *Βασιλεὺς*,—if he allows some liberty of the press, some liberty of election, some liberty of discussion, and some liberty of decision,—he may pass the remainder of his agitated life in the tranquil exercise of limited, but great and secure power, the ally of England, and the benefactor of France.

If this expectation should be realized—and we repeat that, among many contingencies, it appears to us to be the least improbable—it affords to Europe the best hope of undisturbed peace and progressive civilisation and prosperity. An alliance with England was one of the favourite dreams of the first Napoleon. He believed, and with reason, that England and France united could dictate to all Europe. But in this respect, as indeed in all others, his purposes were selfish. Being master of France, he wished France to be mistress of the world. All that he gave to France was power; all that he required from Europe was submission. The objects for which he desired our co-operation were precisely those which we wished to defeat. The friendship

from which we recoiled in disgust, almost in terror, was turned into unrelenting hatred; and in the long struggle which followed, each party felt that its safety depended on the total ruin of the other.

The alliance which the uncle desired as a means of oppressing Europe, the nephew seeks for the purpose of setting her free. The heavy continued weight of Russia has ever since the death of Alexander kept down all energy and independence of action, and even of thought, on the Continent. She has been the patron of every tyrant, the protector of every abuse, the enemy of every improvement. It was at her instigation that the Congress of Verona decreed the enslavement of Spain, and that in the conferences of Laybach it was determined to stifle liberty in Italy. Every court on the Continent is cursed with a Russian party; and woe be to the sovereign and to the minister who is not at its head. All the resources of Russian influence and of Russian corruption are lavished to render his people rebellious and his administration unsuccessful. From this *peine forte et dure* we believe that Europe will now be relieved; and if the people or the sovereigns of the Continent, particularly those of Germany and Italy, make a tolerable use of the freedom from foreign dictation which the weakness of Russia will give to them, we look forward to an indefinite course of prosperity and improvement.

Unhappy experience forbids us to be sanguine. Forty years ago an event, such as we are now contemplating, occurred. A power which had deprived the Continent of independent action, fell, and for several years had no successor. Germany and Italy recalled or re-established their sovereigns, and entrusted them with authority such as they had never possessed before. How they used it may be inferred from the general outbreak of 1848. A popular indignation, such as could have been excited only by long years of folly, stupidity, and tyranny, swept away or shook every throne from Berlin to Palermo. The people was everywhere for some months triumphant; and its equally monstrous abuse of power produced a reaction which restored or introduced despotism in every kingdom, except Prussia and Piedmont, and even in Prussia enabled the king to maintain up to the present moment a policy mischievous to the interests, disgusting to the sympathies, and injurious to the honour of his people.

But while the Anglo-Gallic alliance continues, the Continent will be defended from the worst of all evils, the prevention of domestic improvement, and the aggravation of domestic disturbance, by foreign intervention. That alliance has already preserved the liberty of Piedmont. If it had been established

sooner, it might have preserved that of Hesse, and have saved Europe from the revolting spectacle of the constitutional resistance of a whole people against an usurping tyrant and a profligate minister, crushed by the brutal, undisguised violence of a foreign despot.

We repeat that we are not sanguine: that we do not expect the tranquil, uninterrupted progress which would be the result of the timely concessions on the part of the sovereigns, and of the forbearance and moderation on the part of their subjects, which, if they could profit by the lessons of history, would be adopted by both parties. The only lesson, indeed, which history teaches is, that she teaches none either to subjects or to sovereigns. But we do trust that when the ruler and his people are allowed to settle their own affairs between one another, they will come from time to time, if to coarse and imperfect, yet to useful, arrangements of their differences. Rational liberty may advance slowly and unequally; it may sometimes be arrested, it may sometimes be forced back, but its march in every decennial period will be perceptible. Its durability will, we trust, be in proportion to the slowness of its progress.

ART. II.—1. *Greece under the Romans. A Historical View of the Condition of the Greek Nation, from the time of its Conquest by the Romans, until the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East.* B.C. 146—A.D. 717. By GEORGE FINLAY, K.R.G. Edinburgh and London, 1844.

2. *The History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders, to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond.* 1204—1461. By GEORGE FINLAY. Edinburgh and London, 1851.

3. *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires, from 716 to 1453.* By GEORGE FINLAY. 2 Vols. Edinburgh and London, 1854.

IN a late number we endeavoured to vindicate the claims of the last days of classical and independent Greece to a greater degree of attention than they have commonly received, except at the hands of a few professed historical inquirers. The publication of the highly important works whose names stand at the head of the present article, combined, we may add, with the political circumstances of the present time, require us to do the same good office for a portion of history which is something more than neglected, which it has long been the fashion to hold up to contempt as the record of a thousand years of moral and political emptiness. All eyes are at this moment turned to the East; from contemplating its present aspect, every reflecting mind will naturally turn to contemplate its past history; yet the opportunity has, for the most part, been taken only to throw additional contempt upon one of the most wonderful pages in the history of the world. A political necessity has engaged us in behalf of the Ottoman possessors of Constantinople, against the aggressive power which would fain be deemed the representative of the Eastern Cæsars. Hence the popular mind has suddenly leapt to a strange abstract love of Turks and hatred of Greeks. Hence men of literary pretensions, who venture to arraign others for historical ignorance,* hasten to exhibit how little they themselves know of that mighty Empire which for so many ages cherished the flame of civilisation and literature, when it was extinct throughout Western Europe; which preserved the language of Thucydides and Aristotle, and the political power of Augustus and Constantine, till the nations of the West were once more prepared to receive the gift and to despise the giver.

* See *Quarterly Review*, No. CLXXXVIII., p. 525.

Under the phrases of the "Greek Empire," the "Lower Empire"—whatever may be the exact meaning of that last strange soubriquet—readers and writers are content to conceal their ignorance of a thousand years of eventful history. Travellers pass by a ruin of the "Lower Empire," a "building erected by the Greek Emperors," as if all were one from the first to the last Constantine. One learned man informs us, that even Gibbon himself could throw no interest upon such a mere wearisome record of crime.* Another, who has had some personal experience of the countries with whose history he ventures to meddle, goes out of his way to volunteer the greatest number of gross blunders which we ever saw gathered together in a single page.† And both the writers to whom we refer are the more inexcusable, as they have written since the publication ot part at least of the great work which it is our present business to introduce

* "The Byzantine Court was a scene and source of corruption, intrigue, cruelty, and vice, which have perhaps never been equalled, even in the most barbarous of Eastern nations. The historian passes rapidly over its chronicles of treachery and crime, and the reader is wearied and sickened at even his hasty narrative. The glowing pen of a Gibbon has failed to create an interest in the lives and deeds of a long succession of bloodthirsty tyrants, and impotent debauchees. The antiquarian points to the monuments of that period, and the numismat to its coins, as indisputable proofs of the utter barbarism into which the representatives of the two most civilized and powerful nations of the world had fallen; and in this condition, be it remembered, the Byzantine empire lasted for many centuries. For more than a thousand years was a large portion of the human race exposed to a system of tyranny and misgovernment which it is now proposed to revive."—*Quarterly Review*, ut sup., p. 526.

† Mr. Curzon, a really clever writer when he is talking of things which he understands, inserts the following brief history of the Trapezuntine Empire in his late pleasant book on Armenia:—"In the thirteenth century the chivalrous house of Courtenai, by the assistance of the heroes of the Crusades, mounted the throne of Constantinople, and the ancestors of the Earl of Devon produced three emperors, who reigned in succession over the Oriental portion of the Roman empire. The ancient dynasty of the Comneni being expelled from the dominions over which they had presided for centuries, fled for refuge into various lands. Alexius, the son of Manuel, and grandson of Andronicus Comnenus, obtained the government of the duchy of Trebizond, which extended from the unfortunate Sinope to the borders of Circassia. He seems to have reigned in peace. The acts of his son who succeeded him, are as unknown as his name, which has not even descended to posterity. The grandson of Alexius was David Comnenus, who, with an assurance and presumption which is almost ludicrous, took upon himself the style and title of Emperor of Trebizond. Puffed up with vanity and self-conceit, this feeble prince enjoyed for a short period the imperial dignity, which he possessed only in time."

Now, from Mr. Curzon's account, one would think that all the Frank Emperors of Romania were Courtenays, and that the fourth Crusade was undertaken on behalf of that house. Also the Courtenay Emperors were not "ancestors," but remote collateral relations of the Earls of Devon. Also the Comnenian dynasty had not possessed the Empire for "centuries," and was not in possession at the time of the Frank conquest. His account of the Comneni at Trebizond is taken from some old edition of Gibbon, in utter ignorance of the more recent discoveries on the subject, an abstract of which may be found, not only in Fallmerayer and Finlay, but in Milman's edition of the Decline and Fall.

to our readers. The popular belief is that, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, an empire of some kind maintained itself in Constantinople, though during the whole of that time it remained in a dying state; that its princes and people were mere tyrants, slaves, and cowards, with whose actions it is unnecessary to burthen the memory; and that it was a good riddance when* the last Byzantine historian was blown into the air by our brave allies the Turks. This is all that men, who would be ashamed of such ignorance with regard to any other state, are content to know of by far the longer portion of the duration of the Roman Empire. This is all the notice that statesmen can afford to that power which was for ages the only regular, systematic government in the world; this is all the attention due to that legislation of Justinian, of Leo, and of Basil, which gave to so large a portion of the human race the then unique blessing of a regular administration of justice, and of a civil, although despotic, order. The military student may profitably study the campaigns of Alexander or Cæsar, as well as those of Marlborough or Wellington; but he would blush to devote any spare moments to the obscure exploits of Belisarius and Heraclius, of Nicephorus and Zimisces, and Basil the Slayer of the Bulgarians. The general historian is content to pass by the uninteresting revolutions of that worthless and decrepit power which survived every surrounding state; whose legions in one century restored the imperial sway from the Euphrates to the ocean, and in the next planted the Roman eagle upon the palaces of the Great King; which endured the first onslaught of the victorious Saracen, defended her frontier for three glorious centuries, won back province after province, and made the successor of the Prophet tremble before the arms of the triumphant Cæsar. No instruction, forsooth, can be learned from a power, which even in its last stage of decay, still maintained in an unbroken succession the old political heritage of Rome, and which still spoke and wrote in nearly its ancient purity the undying tongue of Greece. Greece and Rome are the names which from our childhood we are taught to reverence; their literature and their history afford instruction to our youth, and the choicest delight to our maturer years. Yet the power which with equal justice might claim either name, which inherited and possessed the appropriate calling of both alike, which administered the laws of Rome in the tongue of Greece, is, by common consent, passed by as of no historical value, or only used as an ephemeral argument in behalf of those who, we suppose, did the civilized world good service by its destruction.

* This, or words to the same effect, we found in a late number of Blackwood. Unluckily for the author's rhetoric, the "last Byzantine historian" contrived to escape "our brave allies," and—to write the history of their conquest.

Many of the causes of this neglect are equally apparent with those which account for the prevalent ignorance of the later days of independent Greece. Some of the accusations against Byzantine history are in a certain sense true; others are true of some periods of it, and are only wrongly applied to others. The whole history is one which nearly all readers must be content to study second-hand. Few except professed historians would ever think of working their way through the whole Corpus Historiæ Byzantinæ; the bulk and the nature of the matter would alike deter from the attempt. Very few of the Byzantine writers are worth reading for their own sake; they are precisely the class of authors whom one is content to employ another to examine, and to abide by his report. To English readers generally the Byzantine history has been known, so far as it has been known at all, almost exclusively through the medium of Gibbon. Now with all Gibbon's wonderful power of grouping and condensation, with all his vivid description and still more effective art of insinuation, his is certainly not the style of writing to excite respect for the persons or period of which he is treating. His matchless faculty of sarcasm and depreciation is too constantly kept at work; he is too fond of anecdotes exhibiting the weak or ludicrous side of any age or individual; he is incapable of enthusiastic admiration for any thing or person. Almost any history treated in this manner would leave the contemptible side uppermost in the reader's imagination; we cannot conceive Gibbon tracing the course of the Roman republic with the affection of Arnold, or defending either democracy or oligarchy with the ardent championship of Grote or Mitford. Perhaps no history could pass unscathed through such an ordeal; the Byzantine, of all others, was the least capable of enduring such a mode of treatment. If its prolonged existence has its venerable and even its heroic aspect, it has unquestionably another side affording most abundant opportunities for the cynical vein of the historian. When the rulers of a Greek state clung for age after age to the titles of the Roman empire, and disputed with their western rivals on the exact force of the terms *βασιλεύς* and *ῥήξ*; when the lord of a single city enclosed within the territories of the infidel, still proclaimed himself as the lawful successor of the masters of the world; the spectacle had a side full of deep instruction and even of deep pathos; but nothing is better calculated to excite the contemptuous sarcasm not only of the careless observer, but of any writer whose tendency is rather to depreciate than to admire.

Again, there is something not altogether attractive in the spectacle of a thoroughly non-progressive state. The Byzantine monarchy, through its whole history, was an essentially

conservative power. It was indeed very far from being through its whole duration possessed with that blind spirit of lifeless conservatism which characterizes its latest ages; its conservatism was often living, vigorous, capable of adapting itself to altered times and circumstances; but still its whole existence was conservative and not creative. It was an aged state, which lived in the memory of the past, which inherited a power and glory which it had to maintain or to recover; unlike the youthful nations of the west with their future before them, with their power and glory yet to be won. It produced a never-failing succession of able men; it produced few great men, and not above one or two of the heroic type. Sagacious legislators, able administrators, valiant generals, profound scholars, and acute theologians, were the natural product of the soil for century after century; they rose, one after another, each in his time and place, to carry on the work of a scientifically ordered machine of government; but the very circumstance which made Constantinople so fertile in ability, debarred it from all hope of original genius. Its conservative position gave no scope for founders or creators; it produced in Belisarius,* the greatest of generals and the most loyal of subjects, and in Heraclius, a royal warrior inferior to him alone; in the Isaurian Leo it set before the world the highest type of the conservative politician; in the first Basil, the skilful groom, the obsequious courtier, the reforming emperor, it exhibits a versatility worthy of Alcibiades himself; in his terrible descendant, the awful *Βουλγαροκτόνος*, we see the spectacle of a conquering devotee, stern to others and sterner to himself; in the Comnenian Manuel and Andronicus, we find the knights of Western Europe rivalled on their own ground, in their exploits and in their vices, by the effete products of the despised East; finally, in her last Constantine, the city of the Cæsars showed that her long line of princes could at least be closed with honour, in one worthy to boast himself at his will as the compatriot of Decius and Regulus, or of Leonidas and Epaminondas. Great and mighty men were they in

* The exploits of Belisarius, viewed in themselves, suffice to place him in the very first rank of military commanders; when we consider the circumstances under which they were achieved, he may fairly claim the first place of all. Hannibal is his only rival, as Heraclius had no Justinian to thwart him at home.

Speaking of Belisarius, it may be necessary to inform the reader of Mr. Vaux's "Nineveh and Persepolis," a worthless book, which has somehow had a great run, that "the veteran Belisarius, old and infirm with the weight of more than eighty years," never "led the armies of the empire against Justin and Tiberius, and reaped the reward of his valour and perseverance in the conquest of Dara and the plunder of Syria," (p. 114.) This is much the same as to say that Lord Nelson led a fleet against Queen Victoria, and reaped the reward of his valour in the plunder of Gibraltar.

their day; but they were preservers and restorers, not creators; the Macedonian and the Roman must yield the palm to the higher genius and purer virtue of the Slavonian conqueror of Italy and Africa; but while Alexander and Cæsar founded empires, Belisarius could but win back the dismembered provinces of a decaying one. The campaigns of Heraclius are worthy of a place beside those of Hannibal himself, but all that destiny allowed him was to chastise in his own realm a foe whom he had seen encamped around the walls of his capital. The stern Iconoclasts arrested the progress of degradation at home and abroad; they drove back the irresistible Saracen, they reformed the administrative machine, and strove to re-establish a purer faith and worship. They gave indeed three centuries of greatness to an empire which they found on the brink of ruin; but even they did but preserve, restore, revivify; the mission of original creation was denied even to them. The glorious Macedonian dynasty reformed a corrupted government, and recovered the dissevered provinces of the empire; they trampled on the now decaying Moslem, they smote down the aspiring Bulgarian, they checked the first invasion of the great northern aggressor, and the Byzantine ruler receiving the homage of the vanquished Russian beneath the ransomed walls of Silistria, presented a happy omen for the warriors of our own day. But the mission of Nicephorus and Zimisces and the second Basil, was still only to preserve and to restore; it was among other lands and ruder nations that we must look for the men who worked for the future of their posterity, and not for the past of their ancestors. At last, when all was over, when the political succession of fifteen hundred years was doomed to extinction, when the day of restoration, reform, and preservation had all passed by, when the empire had shrunk to a single city, and that city contained but one man worthy of the name of king or citizen, the last Emperor of the Romans could but die in the breach before the onslaught of the barbarian, while Italy was wasting her strength in the warfare of selfish condottieri, and England shedding her best blood to decide the genealogical quarrels of the White and the Red Rose.

The result of this purely conservative character of the Eastern empire is that, though its history is very far from being devoid of political instruction, that instruction is of a different and a much less attractive character than that of younger and less conscious [illegible] pedantic states. It is at once an encouragement and a [illegible]g to all highly civilized communities; it shows the vitality which may be imparted to a scientifically constructed machine of government, how great a superiority is conferred by the mere possession of civil and social order upon an aged and

feeble power, supported by little or no national feeling, and surrounded by fresh and vigorous enemies. But at the same time it shows that that vitality may become something little better than "life-in-death," and suggests the idea that there may be circumstances in which civilisation and civil government actually become impediments to human progress.

Again, the history of Constantinople is little more than the record of a despotic power. So far from presenting the interest and advantage which must always attach to the history of the most insignificant of free peoples, it is hardly the history of a people at all. It is the story of a government, not of a nation; of a government indeed, which, with all its crimes, for many centuries discharged its functions better than any contemporary government in the world, but which never excited that warmth of patriotic affection which attaches to the stormiest republic in which the citizen feels that he himself is a partner, and often to the vilest despotism exercised by a tyrant who is still felt to be the chief of his own people. But the Emperor of the Romans never became a national sovereign to the Egyptian or the Syrian, or even to the Sicilian or Peloponnesian Greek. Dwelling for ever on the memories of the past, the Roman government of Constantinople never identified itself with any real patriotic feelings of the present. The thoughtful subject might indeed perceive on reflection, that, if enormous taxes were extorted from him to be spent beyond his control in a distant city, he at least had better protection secured to the remnant of his property than any other contemporary power afforded; he might feel that, if he had no share in the despotic government under which he lived, that despotism was at least an orderly and legal despotism, widely different from the anarchy of the Latin West, and from the purely personal governments of the Mahometan nations. But these reflections could only raise an intellectual acquiescence, a tranquil conviction that, on the whole, the Roman empire was a valuable institution; they could never excite those feelings of loyalty and patriotism which armed the old Athenian on behalf of his democracy, the French noble on behalf of his king, the Highland vassal on behalf of the chieftain of his own race and kindred. Again, the history of the empire is too much the mere history of the capital. The Roman empire had begun as the municipal government of a single city; that city ceased indeed to give more than a name to the power into which it had grown, but the New Rome stepped exactly into the place of the old. Almost the only responsibility imposed on the Emperor was that of keeping the Byzantine populace in good humour; the spoils of the provinces were devoted to maintain the pomp of the imperial court and the pleasures of the imperial city.

The Roman Senate and People—that is to say, the municipality and the mob of Constantinople—required their "Panem et Circenses" down to the last ages of the empire; and as that empire diminished in extent, additional burthens had to be laid upon the still remaining provinces, rather than one jewel be plucked from the crown of the Roman Emperor, or one spectacle the less be exhibited to amuse the vacant hours of the Roman people.

Now, though many of these characteristics of the Byzantine government were aggravated—some were the reverse—in the days of its decay, yet many of them existed in full force during the days of its glory; many of them were but the continuations of the state of things in that older Roman empire with which it so proudly boasted its identity. And they are all characteristics which tend to diminish the interest and attractiveness of the history. The professed historian and the political philosopher will always see that its interminable annals may, if duly sifted, present him with abundant material for profitable reflection; even the reader for mere amusement will find, here and there, much to gratify the love of startling and romantic anecdote and adventure. But these things do not lie on the surface; the interest and value of the history does not at once force itself into prominence, like that of old Greece or of mediæval Europe; Constantinople has no Leonidas or Harold, no Aristomenes or Wallace, no Cleisthenes, Licinius, or De Montfort. Byzantine history is not, as sciolists imagine, a mere record of crimes and weakness, but the virtue and greatness which it exhibits in abundance are, for the most part, of a nature less attractive to the imagination than those displayed in many other ages and countries.

Again, it has greatly tended to the neglect of this portion of history, that, in the days of the real greatness and glory of the Byzantine empire, it stood almost alone, and had but little connexion with those countries with whose history we are most familiar; while, in those later times when it was brought into closer intercourse with the western nations, it did really, to a great extent, deserve the contemptuous language which is erroneously extended to its whole duration. Because the empire of the Palæologi was a worn-out and contemptible state, people forget the interval of six centuries, and leap to the conclusion that the mighty monarchy of the Iconoclasts and the Macedonians presented an identical aspect. The greatness of Constantinople belongs to the period from the eighth to the eleventh century, including some of the darkest times of western history, when each European state hardly knew its immediate neighbours, and consequently knew infinitely less of the imperial city at the other end of the world. Again, what little connexion

did take place between the East and the West had chiefly reference to ecclesiastical questions. Consequently, it has either been viewed in a partisan way by opposing sides, or else has been involved in the common contempt with which ecclesiastical controversies have been too often covered. The Isaurian Leo and Constantine have been admired, detested, or despised, as parties in the great Iconoclast dispute, by many who have been entirely ignorant of their character as the renovators of the Roman monarchy. In temporal matters East and West had little to do with one another, either in war or peace, and when they had, it could but seldom affect either France or England, the countries to which the historical studies of the majority are commonly confined. Hence, the ages of Constantinopolitan greatness are often simply ignored. Even well-informed historians, when learnedly tracing the scattered vestiges of Roman power in Western Europe, often write as if the legitimate successors of that power had not still existed by the shores of the Bosporus, and not only existed, but ruled over a larger and more flourishing empire than any other in the contemporary world. This was very remarkably shewn in the rearrangement of academical studies at Oxford, when the study of "Ancient" and of "Modern" history was so strangely divided. The whole existence of the Eastern Empire is a standing protest against any such division.* It will not do to say, that "ancient" history ended, and "modern" history began, in 476, when, for nearly a thousand years later, the whole system of Roman and Greek civilisation continued to flourish in what was, for three-fourths of that time, the most wealthy and populous portion of Europe. We cannot possibly transfer to the class of "modern" historians, writers who record a policy uninterruptedly continued from that of imperial Rome, in a language differing† in no essential respect from that of Xenophon and Demosthenes. Nor will it do to postpone the line of demarcation to 1453, when every element of the "modern" world had been in being for centuries, and when the feudal system had almost shared the extinction of its imperial rival. When we remember that the knights who fought at Wakefield and Towton might, if they had pleased, have fought, like the Varangians two centuries before, for the throne of Constantine and Augustus, we may sufficiently

* The existence of the Byzantine empire was urged at the time in Oxford, against the proposed division. See Freeman's *Thoughts on the Study of History*, Oxford, 1849, p. P. S. p. 5. In the division of subjects proposed by the late Commission, the unity of history is recognised, and a single distinct historical school recommended.—*Report*, pp. 73, 75.

† In style and sentiment, of course, the difference is infinite, but in mere language, mere syntax and forms of words, there is next to none.

see that no formal line of demarcation can be drawn between *the two periods. The Eastern empire is the surest witness to the essential unity of all history.*

It is pretty clear that the Oxford reformers never thought of the Byzantine history at all: it did not occur to them that it could possibly form any portion of an historical course. Fifty years back, the mediæval history of the West was equally neglected; men "wished to know nothing of those ages which knew nothing." From the mediæval history of the West this mist is now removed, but over the mediæval history of the East it still unhappily hangs. Let us hope that, fifty years hence, the labours of Mr. Finlay, and of those who cannot fail to follow him in the path which he has opened, will make it as discreditable to be ignorant of the exploits and institutions of the Leos and the Basils, as it already is to be wholly unacquainted with those of Charlemagne and St. Lewis.

Since the time of Gibbon but little has been done, in our own country at least, towards this desirable consummation; and we have already shown that Gibbon may not improbably have done almost as much to retard as to promote it. To one book, however, of comparatively humble pretensions, we should be wanting in gratitude if we failed to refer with no small commendation. We mean Dr. Cooke Taylor's "Overthrow of the Roman Empire;" which, in several very important respects, goes far to realize the ideal of an historical school-book. While it might easily be surpassed in depth and power, it would be no slight task to excel its merit in point of arrangement and narration. Dr. Taylor knew thoroughly well what points of his story, what national institutions and personal adventures, were best calculated to attract the youthful mind; in point of style he is by far the most graphic of our writers for boys, and in point of accuracy, if not infallible, yet certainly far above the average. We well remember its effects in our own case: from it we first learned that there was a great historical world, which remained untrodden by Dr. Goldsmith or Mrs. Markham; it opened our eyes to the existence of something beyond the vulgar curriculum of Greece and Rome, France and England; entrancing, indeed, we found the romantic tales of Byzantine emperors and Persian kings, and still more permanently valuable was the impression which it made upon our mind of the unity of history, of the immortality of Hellenic literature and Roman power. For more advanced readers, the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography has set an admirable example, by including in its collection the whole series of Grecian writers and Roman statesmen down to the very close of the empire.

Still, Mr. Finlay stands quite alone in possession of the credit

of giving us the first real standard history of this most important period. Except so far as it entered into the scheme of Gibbon, who, after all, gives but a mere sketch, his ground was quite unoccupied. No one probably will think his claim seriously endangered by any previous rights on the part of Sir James Emerson Tennent. That gentleman, when Mr. Emerson, put forth two volumes of "The History of Modern Greece, from its Conquest by the Romans, B.C. 146, to the Present Time." We may observe, that the line between "Ancient" and "Modern" is here drawn at Mummius, instead of at either Odoacer or Mahomet; so that the world must have been in error in looking on Cicero and Tacitus, Diodorus and Plutarch, as authors belonging to the "Ancient" division. But really Sir J. E. Tennent's work, so far as we are concerned with it, does little more than indicate that a better book might be written on the subject. It is thoroughly weak both in conception and execution, unpleasing in style, feeble in narrative, and full of portentous blunders. Mr. Finlay has very quietly pointed out one or two; we cannot help adding a few flowers of our own culling. Sir James's ideas of Byzantine history may be inferred from vol. i. p. 56, where he tells us that the "final overthrow" of the Bulgarians was accomplished by "Baldwin II. in A.D. 979." Imagine the Slayer of the Bulgarians confounded either with the Flemish captive of Joannice, or else with the imperial mendicant whom the first Palæologus expelled from the throne of Constantinople.[*] Nor is he more lucky among the Western than among the Eastern Cæsars. "Frederick II. of Germany" appears (p. 72) as a "leading monarch of Christendom" in 1185, along with "Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England;" while, in p. 157, Frederick III. is apparently represented as reigning in 1358. His ethnology may be appreciated by his describing the "Sclavi" as "another branch of the Bulgarians," (p. 57,) and from the following lucid description of the Catalan conquerors of the Athenian duchy—"This band of errant warriors, composed of various nations, *and said to have been of Gothic or Arabian origin*, had been actively employed during the wars of Sicily, under the standards of Anjou *or* Arragon."

With no better rival than this, Mr. Finlay may be fairly said to have the field all to himself. His volumes are a permanent and most valuable addition to British historical literature; as North

* There seems to be some impenetrable obscurity brooding over these Bulgarian wars, which, nevertheless, read intelligibly enough in the pages of Mr. Finlay. We met, some time ago, with a book on the "Danubian Principalities," by a "British Resident of Twenty Years in the East." From this, among other curious information, we extracted the novel fact that *John Zimisces* was a *Bulgarian king!*

British Reviewers we may add our satisfaction that their author belongs to the northern division of our island.* Mr. Finlay possesses some of the highest qualities of a historian in a very remarkable degree. For deep and original research, for a comprehensive grasp of his subject, and above all, for a bold and independent spirit of inquiry, he may take his place among the very greatest historical writers of our time. He is no caterer to popular tastes, but aspires to the higher character of their reformer. He has boldly undertaken an unpopular subject, worked it out to the bottom, and manfully challenged for it that amount of public attention which it has hitherto failed to attain. He also brings to his task a qualification which, in such hands as his, is an immeasurable advantage, though in feebler ones it often proves a snare. He has passed his life in the countries and among the people of which he writes. Too often mere scholars make their acquaintance with the past history of a country an excuse for ignorance of its present state. Too often mere travellers think that having passed through a country entitles them to dogmatize without research upon its past history. Mr. Finlay is equally at home in both; he brings the past and the present to bear upon one another. His calm intellect, his personal experience, his profound research, and his sound political views, would render him the man of all others to scatter the crowd of chatterers upon oriental subjects, by an impartial and decisive view of the great controversy of our times.

But, on the other hand, we must confess that the great merits of Mr. Finlay are, to a certain extent, balanced by some qualities which do not, indeed, detract from the sterling merit of his volumes, but which, we fear, will very materially interfere with their general popularity and immediate effect. Mr. Finlay has written far more for the professed historian than for the general reader. He has shewn that Byzantine and mediæval Greek history may be made far more attractive and popular than it hitherto has been, but he has hardly himself achieved the work of making it so. He must be content to be the pioneer to others, who will doubtless take up his views and throw them into a form more likely to prove generally acceptable. He will certainly not be read like Hume or Robertson or Gibbon; he will hardly attain,—those of his volumes which were published sufficiently early have not attained—even to the measure of popularity which attaches to Mr. Grote. The latter brought to his work a well-known political name, and appealed more directly to the general political philosopher. Every one knew that Athenian

* We may mention the various writings of Mr. Bowen on Greek subjects, as exhibiting the same happy union in a remarkable degree.

history contained much political information: Mr. Finlay appears, like Strepsiades, with his head on the block, as an apologist to prove that even the despised Byzantine history has something to be said for it also. Mr. Finlay will always be appreciated by the select few, but he hardly appeals to the sympathies of the many.

There are also some more strictly literary defects in our author's writings. His style is not remarkable any way, neither conspicuously good nor conspicuously the reverse; he always writes the English language grammatically and intelligibly, which in these days is really no small praise; but he is scarcely ever graphic or eloquent, even where graphic and eloquent writing would seem forced upon him by his subject. He is also decidedly deficient in feeling, and describes the last fall of Constantinople with hardly more emotion than an ordinary murder of an Emperor, or excommunication of a Patriarch. His narrative is not always well arranged, and he has no very definite idea of what Macaulay calls "historical perspective." That is to say, he often narrates very insignificant matters in as much detail as very important ones. He is far greater in comment than in narration; his reflections are always sound, generally original, and are often very vigorously expressed. But they often come in awkwardly, and sometimes degenerate into wearisome repetitions. Mr. Finlay falls into the natural temptation of an apologetic writer, and is too often reminding his readers—"You see my Byzantines could do something worth writing about, whatever people say." It is also a misfortune, though one perhaps unavoidable in a book written in the ancient and printed in the modern Athens, that these volumes are full of serious misprints, sometimes a little puzzling, as when the words "Komans" and "Romans" exchange places. There is a formidable list of errata, which, by the way, illustrates the old question about keeping the keepers, as among the corrigenda themselves we read of the Emperor *Theodorius.*

Mr. Finlay, again, has written four volumes, on kindred subjects indeed, but which do not strictly form four consecutive volumes of a connected work. They embrace two subjects which can hardly be separated, but which still are not precisely identical; the political history of the Byzantine Empire, and the history of the condition of the Greek nation during its existence. Mr. Finlay appears to have undertaken the latter first, and to have only advanced to the more extensive subject as an afterthought. A certain amount of confusion and repetition in the arrangement of the volumes is the necessary result. Mr. Finlay first published his "Greece under the Romans," as long ago as 1844. This was primarily devoted to the "Condition of the

Greek Nation from the time of its Conquest by the Romans until the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East, [a phrase to which we shall recur,] B.C. 146– A.D. 717." Secondarily, it could not fail to include a sketch of the general history of the Eastern Empire during that period. His second work, "Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," narrates in detail the history of the various states formed in Old Greece, "from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks;" it also contains a distinct history of the Trapezuntine Empire, which happens to be bound in the same volume, but which is essentially a separate work. This arrangement, it will be seen, leaves a gap from 717 to 1204. Some excellent introductory chapters of the "Mediæval Greece," give, however, a brief sketch of Greek and Byzantine affairs during that period. Finally, he publishes his complete history of "The Byzantine and Greek Empires," from 716 till 1453, which, of course, goes over the same ground again more in detail, and involves considerable repetition. The best way to read the books is to commence with "Greece under the Romans;" then to read the "Byzantine Empire," down to 1204; and to regard the remaining portion of its second volume, and the "Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," as detached histories of the various fragments into which the Empire was split up after 1204; the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Greek Empires of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Trebizond, and the various principalities, Greek and Frank, founded in ancient Hellas and the immediately conterminous countries.

But it will be observed that Mr. Finlay's plan does not exhaust the history either of the Byzantine Empire or of the Greek race. After 1204, he traces in detail the various states in Old Greece, the Greek Empire, first of Nicæa and then of Constantinople, and the Empire of Trebizond. But by confining his narrative exclusively to the perpetually diminishing Greek Empire of Constantinople, he lets pass out of view the fate of the very important northern provinces which assumed independence as the Byzantine power became enfeebled. Thus, the great kingdom, and for a time Empire, of Servia, and the second Bulgarian or Wallachian kingdom, come in only for very scanty and incidental notice. Yet these had been integral parts of the Byzantine Empire, and their growth and their absorption by the Ottoman power are subjects fully as important, both in themselves and with reference to present affairs, as the fate of the other fragment of the empire which survived at Constantinople. The Servian Stephen Dushan styled himself Emperor of Romania, and ruled over a far larger portion of the dominions of Leo the Third and Basil the Second than fell to the lot of the Greek who retained possession of the imperial city. These are countries

of which just now we want to know a great deal; while, down to the heroic close which redeems its degradation, no history is less worth writing in detail than that of the miserable dynasty of Palæologus.

And as to the history of the Greek nation, Mr. Finlay has pretty well exhausted its destinies, during the prescribed period, in old Greece, at Constantinople, and at Trebizond; but he has said hardly anything of that important portion of it which fell under the dominion of Venice. He details the history of the Princes of Achaia and the Dukes of the Archipelago, but he passes by the revolutions of Crete, Cyprus, and Corcyra. Even such an event as the final taking of Thessalonica by the Ottomans is only incidentally alluded to, because it had but a moment before passed from the sway of the double-headed eagle of Byzantium to that of the winged lion of St. Mark. Again, another subject presents itself closely connected both with the history of the Byzantine Empire and of the Greek nation. Southern Italy and Sicily were for ages as thoroughly Greek, and were for a long time as integral portions of the Eastern Empire, as Attica, or Ionia, or Byzantium itself. Now they are Greek no longer, and that apparently without any extermination or expulsion of the Greek inhabitants. The Greek language and the Greek religion survived the establishment of Saracen Emirs and Norman Kings; by what means they gradually died away is evidently a subject for the historian of the Greek race.

It may be said that many of the subjects we have mentioned belong to Ottoman, Venetian, or Neapolitan history, as much or more than to Greek or Byzantine. But they belong to Greek history also, and are quite capable of being treated from a Greek point of view. We should be delighted to hear that Mr. Finlay contemplates completing his cycle by a volume or volumes embracing them. We know of no man in Europe so thoroughly capable of doing justice to some at least of their number.

Mr. Finlay divides the whole duration of the imperial power in the East into three divisions, the Eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine, and the Greek. The division, as he traces it out, is a real and important one, but the names, and especially the language employed by Mr. Finlay, are calculated to mislead. They mark three great epochs in the history of the Empire, but the names might lead the reader to suppose a more sudden and perceptible change than happened in at least the former of the two cases. When in his first title-page he talks of "the extinction of the Roman Empire in the East" in 717, a reader, ignorant of the history, would certainly imagine some event analogous to the extinction of the Greek Empire in 1453, some

overwhelming conquest, or, at all events, some remarkable transfer of the imperial power from one race or dynasty to another. But all that is really meant is, that one of the ordinary revolutions, following a period of extreme misfortune and confusion, placed a man of commanding ability on the throne, who thoroughly reformed and re-organized the Empire, and that, after this reform, the old Roman element was far less conspicuous than before. The Roman Empire gradually changed into a Byzantine one, but one can hardly talk of the "extinction of the Roman Empire" as if they were two different things. Down to the last Palæologus, the sovereign of Constantinople recognised no title but that of Emperor of the Romans, and down at least to the capture by the Crusaders the political identity of the Empire with that of old Rome remained unbroken. "Alexius V.," as Mr. Finlay says, "whom the Crusaders hurled from the summit of the Theodosian column, was the lineal political representative of Constantine and Augustus." The claim of the restored Empire of the Palæologi may be considered more doubtful; the old Empire was split into a variety of fragments, and it was purely accidental that the sovereigns of Nicæa, rather than those of Epirus or Trebizond, had the good fortune to recover possession of the imperial city. The Greek Empire of Constantinople was a mere imperfect restoration, not an unbroken continuation; it lost nearly all Roman character, and became little more than one of the several states, Greek, Frank, and Slavonic, into which the old Byzantine Empire had been divided.

The first period, according to Mr. Finlay's division, naturally joins itself on to that later history of independent Greece which we discussed in a former number. The Byzantine Empire is characterized by the identification with Roman policy and Grecian literature of a vast number of nations who were neither Greek nor Roman in blood. It marks the permanent supremacy of the Grecian intellect, unaccompanied by any political superiority, rather in fact by the reverse, on the part of the Greek nation. In this it was the continuation of the state of things commenced by Alexander the Great. Mr. Finlay therefore commences his work by a brief survey of the effects of Alexander's conquests, in which we are well pleased to find that full justice is done to the mighty Macedonian. Greece was politically humbled, but the intellectual empire of the Greek mind was extended wherever the arms of her conquerors penetrated. The Macedonians became practically Greek, and men of pure Hellenic blood flocked to their courts as to the great centres of Greek society. Greek philosophers and Greek captains found a wider and more brilliant field at Alexandria and Antioch and

Pergamus, than could be afforded by Athens or the cities of the League. The Greek or Macedonian kings of Egypt and Asia far outshone those who still reigned in the old realm of Philip and Alexander. Both Greece and Macedonia were drained of their most enterprising sons to form a dominant caste in the kingdoms of the East. Where, as in Asia Minor, Greek colonization had had an important influence in earlier times, the Macedonian conquests did but confirm it; such countries became almost wholly Greek; the old languages and the old national feelings remained here and there in rude and uncultivated districts, but the whole intellectual life was Greek. Greek was the language of government, literature, and philosophy; a Lycaonian or Isaurian literature does not exist, and probably never existed.

But the case was very different in those countries on which the earlier Grecian colonisation had had little or no effect, and where a very old and distinctly marked civilisation existed, capable of resisting all external influences. Syria and Egypt were ruled by Macedonian kings, and contained within their limits the two greatest cities of the Grecian world. But Syria and Egypt never became Greek; Antioch and Alexandria always remained Grecian colonies in a foreign land. The intellectual and theological nature of the native Syrian and Egyptian was never subdued by their political conquerors. We find this important distinction continually recurring in the Byzantine history, and it exists in full force in our own times. Where Anatolia is not Turkish, it is Greek; no Ante-Hellenic elements survive: but in Syria and Egypt, the native inhabitants have been well-nigh exterminated by the successive inroads of Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, Turks, and Franks, but where they have not perished from off the face of the earth, they still retain their ancient languages, and, in their heretical or national creeds, they preserve vestiges of those old intellectual systems which held sway before any of their successive conquerors had appeared upon the field of history.

Through this wide extension of a Greek intellectual empire, the Greek intellect became entirely divorced from any true Greek patriotism. Old Greece became a very insignificant portion of the Grecian world, when the ablest Greeks were the ministers, generals, and flatterers of distant kings. In the former state of things, the colonial Greek of Spain or of the Tauric Chersonesus had indeed no immediate tie which bound him to Attica or Peloponnesus, but he had a local patriotism for his own city, and retained a reverence for the original seat of his race. The Macedonian Greek retained neither feeling; he had no patriotism or nationality whatever, and was ready to become the ser-

vant of any despot at whose court Greek literature and philosophy formed a fashionable recreation.

Gradually the whole Græco-Macedonian world was gathered in under the universal dominion of Rome. One vestige of Grecian liberty alone remained. Far away, on the northern shores of the Euxine, in that fertile peninsula, which one age filled with Grecian and another with Genoese civilisation, but which is now reduced to serve as the battle-field of barbarian despots, the city of Cherson remained, the only survivor of those free Greek republics which had been once spread from the Tauric to the Iberian Chersonesus. Down to the ninth century it remained in close alliance indeed with the lords of Rome and Constantinople, but in free and equal alliance, as a sovereign and independent state. Hard by its ruins stands the fortress of Sebastopol, where our countrymen have to decide whether the barbarian of Stamboul or of Moscow shall lord it over the last resting-place of Hellenic freedom.

With this single exception, the whole Grecian race became subject to the universal sceptre of the Cæsars, and the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia formed but a very small portion of those regions in which the Grecian race was intellectually dominant. The Greek intellect, divorced from Greek patriotism, soon began to find even a wider field than during the Macedonian period. The monarchy in which the Greeks were swallowed up displayed from its very commencement many of those characteristics which it retained in the days when they themselves remained the last occupiers of its name and heritage. From the first Julius to the last Palæologus, the Roman empire was a power and not a nation. Its soldiers, its ministers, its emperors, were gathered from all the races surrounding the Mediterranean. We speak of the "Romans" in Britain or in Gaul; but we too often forget that by that name is implied merely subjects of the Roman empire, and not descendants of the Roman blood. The Roman armies of Constantine, of Trajan, of Agricola, would have been as little recognised as Roman by Camillus or even Cicero, as those of Belisarius, of Zimisces, or of Manuel Comnenus. After the rights of Roman citizenship, already possessed by individual families and cities in every corner of the empire, were finally extended to all its inhabitants without distinction, the Gaul, the Spaniard, the civilized Briton, regarded himself as a Roman. Only in rude half-conquered provinces, or in those which retained a much anterior civilisation, did the earlier nationalities survive. Such was the case with the Syrian and the Egyptian, with the Moor, the Basque, the Gael and Cymry of our own island. Then, too, did

the Greek find himself transformed into a Roman also; in old Hellas indeed some vestiges of Hellenic institutions still lingered on, but old Hellas was well-nigh forgotten by the Greek-speaking Roman citizens of the great cities of the East.

In thus incorporating states so superior to itself in arts and civilisation as the Græco-Macedonian kingdoms, the Roman empire sowed the first seeds of its own ultimate division. The people of the west became really Romanized; they not only bore the Roman name, but they adopted the Roman language and civilisation, and handed them on to their own Teutonic conquerors. But the Romans of the East were Romans only in their political capacity; their language and intellectual culture was Greek; patriotism or real nationality they had none. At length the principal seat of the imperial government was fixed in a Grecian city; one of true Hellenic origin, which had been a free commercial republic before Macedonians or Romans had been heard of. The formal aspect of this change was less important than might at first sight appear; its importance was wholly in its results. The imperial government was not transferred from Rome to Byzantium; Rome had already ceased to be an imperial residence. When all the inhabitants of the empire were alike Romans, their common sovereign was no more bound to the original Rome than to any other city, and Milan and Nicomedeia were found by Diocletian and his colleagues to be far more practical centres of administration. What Constantine did was to make a still better choice, and to establish his new capital in a more formal and systematic way. But nothing could be farther from his imagination than to found a Greek or a Byzantine empire. His city was the New Rome, and succeeded exactly to the position of the old. It was a great Roman colony, like Corinth, or Nicopolis, or Carthage, on a grander scale. The New Rome had its senate and people, its consuls, its prefect, its whole government, everything but its heathen worship, identical with the old. It never identified itself with any particular portion of the empire, and always remained, even beyond its other portions, a city eminently devoid of all nationality. Yet, as planted in the midst of the Grecian world, a strong Greek element could not be excluded. The imperial city became, what Alexandria had hitherto been, the great centre of Greek intellectual life. Greek soon became the ordinary speech, and Latin the mere state language of legislation and public business. Justinian put forth his great legal system in a language which, even after the conquest of Italy and Africa, was unintelligible to the majority of his subjects; and his later edicts were more wisely issued in both languages. Gradually even legislation was obliged to con-

fine itself to the tongue understanded of the people; and the strange spectacle was presented of an Emperor of the Romans, a Patriarch of New Rome, a Roman Senate and People, glorying in the Roman name, and deriving their whole political existence from a Roman source, but in whose eyes the speech of Ennius, and Tacitus, and Claudian, was simply the despised idiom of western heretics and barbarians.

From this period Constantinople remained for a long series of centuries the greatest city of Europe. For nine hundred years, from its foundation by Constantine to its capture by the Crusaders, the city of the Cæsars constantly accumulated the treasures of art, and wealth, and literature, while the nations of the west remained in the gloom and confusion of the real dark ages. It was, indeed, a gloom and a confusion, out of which a light and order were to spring better than Byzantium ever knew; but, at the time, the East, contrasted with the West, presented the spectacle of civilisation opposed to barbarism, of civil order confronted with anarchy. During Mr. Finlay's first period, Constantinople remained the capital of an empire whose identity with that of old Rome cannot be called in question. It should never be forgotten that what is commonly called the fall of the Western Empire in 476 was, in its formal and technical aspect, the reunion of the subordinate empire of the West with the paramount monarchy of Constantinople. The Roman Emperors of the East, during the fifth century, deputed an imperial colleague to the government of Italy, and at its close committed the same task to the imperial lieutenants, the barbarian Kings Odoacer and Theodoric. In the next generation these lofty claims became a veritable reality, and the sole Roman Emperor —Imperator Cæsar Flavius Justinianus Augustus— ruled over nearly the same territories as Constantine and Theodosius. Britain, Gaul, and Northern Spain were indeed irrecoverably lost, but from Calpe to the Euphrates the Roman power still survived, and still discharged its old and characteristic functions. Through Asia, Africa, Egypt, Thrace, Illyricum, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Southern Spain, there still went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. Some indeed of these conquests were but evanescent, but Southern Italy was retained for five hundred years, and when the storm of Mahometan invasion burst upon the empire of Heraclius, that prince still reigned, not only at Constantinople, at Alexandria, and at Antioch, but at Rome, at Syracuse, and at Carthage. So little indeed was the Roman empire identified with its Grecian portions, that Heraclius himself once* contemplated transferring

* This has commonly been considered as a mere act of cowardice, not a very likely motive in the future conqueror of Persia. The Byzantine writers, of

the seat of government to the thoroughly Latin city of Carthage, as his descendant Constans did to the old Rome itself. Constantinople, itself a city absolutely without nationality, represented the mere administrative being of the Roman power, which embraced within its jurisdiction alike Greeks and Latins, Syrians and Egyptians, and the wilder tribes of the Slavonian, Moorish, and Saracen marches.

But in the meanwhile a new Grecian nationality was growing up, whose character and development has been excellently traced by our author. The Roman despotism crushed all political life, but the Christian religion, and the free constitution of the Christian Church, gave a new field for man's intellectual activity. The range of human thought became almost wholly restricted to theological subjects, but within that range it reaped a plentiful crop indeed of metaphysical subtleties and interminable controversies. The debates of the ecclesiastical synod succeeded to those of the agora and the senate house, and rival nations contended with anathemas instead of with armies. Nothing at first sight appears more unprofitable, unpractical, and unintelligible than the ecclesiastical disputes which raged from the fourth to the seventh century, except indeed the subsequent disputes as to the light on Mount Tabor, and whether the soul had its true locality in the navel. Western controversies have generally been carried on for something whose practical importance is intelligible at a glance; for the Pope or the Emperor, for the mass or the communion, for episcopacy or presbytery, for intrusion or non-intrusion; but at first sight one does not perceive why disputants should anathematize one another for the use of different words about the inscrutable mysteries of the Divine nature, when it was impossible for either party to invest its favourite symbol with any definite or intelligible meaning. But the difficulty is removed when we regard them as really national controversies, which the circumstances of the time compelled to assume a theological form. What the orthodox and loyal Greek cursed as a rebellious heresy, was to the Syrian or the Egyptian the true national faith of his national church, the only badge he could retain of a national existence which, though trampled on, was not forgotten. Thus theological unity formed a new Greek nation out of all those portions of the empire which spoke the Greek language, and adhered to the faith of the orthodox Greek church. As the Greek church and the

course, look upon it as a shameful dereliction of his post; to Heraclius, a Roman of the African province, Carthage might well seem a better capital than Constantinople. Mr Finlay has some excellent remarks on this subject, and on the whole career of that wonderful man.—*Greece under the Romans*, p. 388.

Greek nation became so closely identified, the former sunk into what, when compared with western history, appears a slavish subserviency to the civil power. Constantinople never produced either a Hildebrand or a Luther; her long line of patriarchs seldom appear as ought but the passive agents of the imperial power. But then the Emperor was not, as in the west, a hostile influence: he held his throne by the one tenure of orthodox belief, and he appears as much at home in his ecclesiastical administration as in civil or military affairs. The church and the nation were truly one. And this nation, a philological, ecclesiastical, and political, though no ethnological unity, survives to our own day. The true Greek is marked out by the combination of language and religion. The Russian or the Servian has not become Greek, because he has the tie of religion only without that of language: the Mahometan or Latin renegade of Hellenic blood and speech, is no longer recognised as one, because he has the tie of language only without that of religion.

The events of the seventh and eighth centuries had the effect of condensing and strengthening the empire, by making it nearly conterminous with this artificial Greek nation. The Arabian conquerors of the seventh century did the empire the great service of depriving it of its troublesome Syrian and Egyptian possessions, which it had been found impossible to bring under the thorough control of Roman legislation and Greek theology. The Latin province of Africa soon followed, as that of Spain had done from other causes at an earlier time. The empire now consisted of the Greek provinces, of the exarchate of Ravenna, and of those ruder nationalities which still existed in Asia and on the Danubian frontier. The artificial Greek nation was now preponderant; the Latin element was confined to a single distant province; the old Phrygian and Isaurian, the new Slavonian and Bulgarian nationalities, could contribute no intellectual element, though the latter might contribute much of moral and military vigour. The Armenian territories form the only exception; they contributed an unusual proportion of the most vigorous rulers of the empire, but they in no degree made the empire Armenian or diminished at all from its negative character, its Roman polity and its Greek intellect. In the eighth century Latin Italy was lost; it might appear wonderful that the great emperors of that period allowed it to be lost almost without a struggle. They doubtless saw that the loss was a real gain. They themselves had not a particle of Greek nationality; most of them were not Greeks in blood and hardly in language, and their whole political being was still Roman; but they saw that the possession of Italy was no source of strength or of wealth, and that their attention was far more im-

peratively called for on the banks of the Danube and the Euphrates. They thus realized their position as heads of a Byzantine empire in a way that Justinian had not done, when he sent his armies forth to subdue Italy and Africa, and allowed every wandering tribe from the north to insult him with impunity in his capital.

Up to the close of the eighth century, the sovereign of Constantinople was the sole and undisputed Emperor of the Romans, retaining at least a nominal jurisdiction over the old Rome itself. At that point the old Rome professed to disdain subjection to an Athenian female, and to assert her inherent right of electing the Roman Emperor. The Roman Pontiff placed an imperial diadem on the head of a barbarian king, and from that moment the claim to the lawful heritage of the Cæsars was disputed between a German and a Greek. It requires no very profound study to decide in favour of the Oriental candidate. The Roman empire of the East changed its place, but it retained its character and its continuous existence; that of the West, important and instructive as were its long continued claims to the imperial heritage, was at best an artificial revival, a feudal monarchy with imperial claims, but with neither imperial character nor imperial possessions. Otto, and Frederick, and Charles reigned indeed supreme in Italy, but they reigned not by virtue of their Roman title, but of their German or Spanish forces. The Roman empire overthrown by Napoleon was a far vainer title than that which fell before the arms of Mahomet II.

In a formal aspect, if a line were to be drawn anywhere between the Roman and the Byzantine empire, it might have seemed better to place it at the coronation of Charlemagne, the event which first controverted the right of the Byzantine monarch to the title of Emperor of the Romans. But the accession of Leo the Isaurian, in 717, marks so important a stage in Byzantine history, that Mr. Finlay is probably right in selecting it as one of his main æras. The last miserable successors of Heraclius, and the revolutions which produced and followed their overthrow, had reduced the empire to such a pitch of internal and external degradation, that its speedy extinction appeared inevitable. There was anarchy within, and the triumphant Saracen without. Leo triumphed over both foes, and restored the empire on a surer footing. He drove back the Moslem from the walls of the imperial city, beneath which they never appeared again until after many centuries and under widely different auspices.

"Few military details," says Mr. Finlay, "concerning Leo's defence of Constantinople have been preserved, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the most brilliant exploits of a warlike age. . . . . The army of Leo, though far inferior in number to that of Mos-

lemah, was its equal in discipline and military skill; while the walls of Constantinople were garnished with engines from the ancient arsenals of the city, far exceeding in power and number any with which the Arabs had been in the habit of contending. The vanity of Gallic writers has magnified the success of Charles Martel over a plundering expedition of the Spanish Arabs into a marvellous victory, and attributed the deliverance of Europe from the Saracen yoke to the valour of the Franks. A veil has been thrown over the talents and courage of Leo, a soldier of fortune, just seated on the imperial throne, who defeated the long-planned schemes of conquest of the caliphs Welid and Suleiman. It is unfortunate that we have no Isaurian literature."

The Byzantine empire, as distinguished by our author from the preceding Roman and the subsequent Greek, extends over nearly five centuries, from the accession of Leo to the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders. Its character and the main periods into which it may naturally be divided are thus vigorously summed up by Mr. Finlay:—

"After the accession of Leo III., a new condition of society is soon apparent; and though many old political evils continued to exist, it becomes evident that a greater degree of personal liberty, as well as greater security for property, was henceforth guaranteed to the mass of the inhabitants of the empire. Indeed, no other government, of which history has preserved the records, unless it be that of China, has secured equal advantages to its subjects for so long a period. The empires of the caliphs and of Charlemagne, though historians have celebrated their praises loudly, cannot, in their best days, compete with the administration organized by Leo on this point; and both sank into ruin while the Byzantine empire continued to flourish in full vigour. It must be confessed that eminent historians present a totally different picture of Byzantine history to their readers. Voltaire speaks of it as a worthless repertory of declamation and miracles, disgraceful to the human mind. Even the sagacious Gibbon, after enumerating with just pride the extent of his labours, adds,—'From these considerations, I should have abandoned without regret the Greek slaves and their servile historians, had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is passively connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world.' The views of Byzantine history, unfolded in the following pages, are frequently in direct opposition to these great authorities. The defects and vices of the political system will be carefully noticed, but the splendid achievements of the emperors, and the great merits of the judicial and ecclesiastical establishments, will be contrasted with their faults.

"The history of the Byzantine empire divides itself into three periods, strongly marked by distinct characteristics.

"The first period commences with the reign of Leo III., in 716,

and terminates with that of Michael III., in 867. It comprises the whole history of the predominance of the Iconoclasts in the established church, and of the reaction which reinstated the orthodox in power. It opens with the efforts by which Leo and the people of the empire saved the Roman law and the Christian religion from the conquering Saracens. It embraces a long and violent struggle between the government and the people, the emperors seeking to increase the central power by annihilating every local franchise, and even the right of private opinion, among their subjects. The contest concerning image-worship, from the prevalence of ecclesiastical ideas, became the expression of this struggle. Its object was as much to consolidate the supremacy of the imperial authority, as to purify the practice of the church. The emperors wished to constitute themselves the fountains of ecclesiastical as completely as of civil legislation.

The long and bloody wars of this period, and the vehement character of the sovereigns who filled the throne, attract the attention of those who love to dwell on the romantic facts of history. Unfortunately, the biographical sketches and individual characters of the heroes of these ages lie concealed in the dullest chronicles. But the true historical feature of this memorable period is the aspect of a declining empire saved by the moral vigour developed in society, and of the central authority struggling to restore national prosperity. Never was such a succession of able sovereigns seen following one another on any other throne. The stern Iconoclast, Leo the Isaurian, opens the line as the second founder of the Eastern empire. His son, the fiery Constantine, who was said to prefer the odour of the stable to the perfumes of his palaces, replanted the Christian standards on the banks of the Euphrates. Irene, the beautiful Athenian, presents a strange combination of talent, heartlessness, and orthodoxy. The finance minister, Nicephorus, perishes on the field of battle like an old Roman. The Armenian Leo falls at the altar of his private chapel, murdered as he is singing psalms with his deep voice before day-dawn. Michael the Amorian, who stammered Greek with his native Phrygian accent, became the founder of an imperial dynasty, destined to be extinguished by a Sclavonian groom. The accomplished Theophilus lived in an age of romance, both in action and literature. His son, Michael, the last of the Amorian family, was the only contemptible prince of this period, and he was certainly the most despicable buffoon that ever occupied a throne.

"The second period commences with the reign of Basil I. in 867, and terminates with the deposition of Michael VI. in 1057. During these two centuries the imperial sceptre was retained by members of the Basilian family, or held by those who shared their throne as guardians or husbands. At this time the Byzantine empire attained its highest pitch of external power and internal prosperity. The Saracens were pursued into the plains of Syria. Antioch and Edessa were reunited to the empire. The Bulgarian monarchy was conquered; and the Danube became again the northern frontier. The Sclavonians in Greece were almost exterminated. Byzantine com-

merce filled the whole Mediterranean, and legitimated the claim of the emperor of Constantinople to the title of Autocrat of the Mediterranean Sea. But the real glory of this period consists in the power of the law. Respect for the administration of justice pervaded society more generally than it had ever done at any preceding period of the history of the world—a fact which our greatest historians have overlooked, though it is all-important in the history of human civilisation.

"The third period extends from the accession of Isaac I. (Comnenus,) in 1057, to the conquest of the Byzantine empire by the Crusaders, in 1204. This is the true period of the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire. It commenced by a rebellion of the great nobles of Asia, who effected an internal revolution in the Byzantine empire by wrenching the administration out of the hands of well-trained officials, and destroying the responsibility created by systematic procedure. A despotism supported by personal influence soon ruined the scientific fabric which had previously upheld the imperial power. The people were ground to the earth by a fiscal rapacity, over which the splendour of the house of Comnenus throws a thin veil. The wealth of the empire was dissipated, its prosperity destroyed, the administration of justice corrupted, and the central authority lost all control over the population, when a band of 20,000 adventurers, masked as Crusaders, put an end to the Roman empire of the East."

This whole period contains much which cannot fail to have an absorbing interest at the present moment. For a long portion of its duration the great sphere of military activity was placed in precisely the same regions to which it has been transferred by events going on before our own eyes. The Danubian frontier has always been the weak point for all rulers of Constantinople. Since the Goths first crossed that great river in the days of Valens, all the most successful invasions, with the single exception of the Frank conquest, have been made from this quarter; even the Ottomans did not advance to the conquest of Constantinople till they had assumed the position of a Danubian as well as an Asiatic power. In earlier times, while the frontier was more extended, the attention of the emperors was too often directed to more distant and brilliant objects, and Goths, Huns, and Avars were allowed to pour into the empire all but unchecked. But now the chief attention of a long succession of able monarchs was devoted to checking the incursions of various enemies in this direction. The Slavonian tribes did not invariably appear in a hostile capacity; many of them were settled, with the imperial permission, on waste lands within the empire. They formed for many centuries an important portion of the population of ancient Hellas; they still inhabit a large tract of ancient Macedonia; they supplied the empire with

many statesmen and generals, and even with some of its most famous sovereigns. The Russians, under their Scandinavian rulers, appear, in the eighth and ninth centuries, on an errand which we call the same, and which they probably call an opposite one, from that in which they are again engaged after the lapse of a thousand years. The early greatness of Russia, its subsequent disappearance from history, its restoration and advance in our own time, form one of the strangest dramas that history records. But at all times, in peace and in war, the Great City —the Micklegard of the Varangians—has been the cynosure of Russian eyes. In 865 they ventured to attack Constantinople by sea, and their repulse forms the solitary exploit which graces the name of Michael the Drunkard. In the succeeding century we sometimes find the Russian fleets serving as the allies and sometimes as the enemies of the Roman power. At last, in 970, the Russian prince Swiatoslaff invaded the imperial territory by land, while its valiant Emperor Zimisces was occupied in the East. He occupied Bulgaria, crossed the passes of Hæmus, but, instead of dictating a treaty of Adrianople, he was completely routed by the emperor, on his return from his oriental campaign. Dorystolon, the modern Silistria, predestined to an exactly opposite fate in our own times, was occupied by the Russians, who were there besieged for two months by the Roman army, till, in the end, Swiatoslaff was reduced to capitulate, and to quit the empire on tolerably mild conditions. We really cannot help thinking that this campaign, waged even though it was by a "Greek of the Lower Empire," would not be an unprofitable study for the leisure hours of Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha.

The Bulgarians proved a more formidable and permanent enemy, but even they yielded in the end to the inherent vitality of the Roman power. Originally a Turkish tribe, they appear to have been so intermingled with the far greater mass of their Slavonian subjects, that the nationality of the so-called Bulgarian kingdom became far more Slavonian than Turkish. The Bulgarians of the present day still speak a dialect of the Slavonic family. After two centuries of warfare, the Bulgarian kingdom north of Mount Hæmus was subdued by Zimisces in the Russian war, and the Roman frontier again extended to the Danube. A new revolt, after his death, laid the foundations of a more extensive Bulgarian or Slavonian state in Illyricum and Macedonia, the entire subjugation of which was the great exploit of that Basil, who derived his terrible surname from its overthrow. From his time we hear no more of Bulgarian revolts or inroads, till, when the empire was declining under the miserable dynasty of Angelus, a new Bulgarian kingdom arose, which, according to

Mr. Finlay, was rather Wallachian, just as its predecessor was Slavonian.

The abiding majesty of the Roman name, and the personal greatness of the emperors who were engaged in these wars, make us sympathize, almost mechanically, with the Byzantine cause against the Bulgarian and the Russian. But it is well worth considering whether the prospects of Christianity and civilisation might not have been promoted if Constantinople had fallen into their hands, or again if it had become the capital of the great Servian empire, in the fourteenth century. The Bulgarians, the Russians, the Servians, were not mere savages, like the wandering Huns, nor yet, like the Saracens and Ottomans, the representatives of a rival system of religion, polity, and social life. They were to the Eastern empire what the Teutonic nations were to the Western, half conquerors, half pupils. They looked up with reverence to the city from which they derived their religion, and whose civilisation they had begun to appreciate and adopt. A Slavonian empire at Constantinople might have preserved all that was valuable in the Byzantine system, and have communicated to it that spirit of vigorous nationality which was just what it lacked. That Greeks and Slavonians can coalesce is shewn by the complete hellenization of the Slavonians of Peloponnesus, during the struggles of the two nations against their common French and Turkish enemies. Perchance, a Russian conquest in the ninth century might have prevented the necessity of contending against one in the nineteenth. The rulers of Russia in those days were princes of our own blood, the Scandinavian conquerors of a Slavonian people. Established on the throne of the Cæsars, a Varangian emperor might have proved the Theodoric or the Charlemagne of the East. Even after their twofold repulse by land and sea, the Russians did not scruple to adopt the religion of Constantinople, and so much of its polity and civilisation as they could reproduce in their own country.

But it was not at the hands of comparative friends that the Roman empire in the East was to be finally extinguished. It was first to be broken in pieces by the rival Christians of the West, and then consumed piecemeal by the Mahometans of the remoter East. The reform of Leo preserved the empire in glory for three centuries; the commencement of the eleventh century, the reign of Basil II., was, in our author's words, "the culminating point of Byzantine greatness. The eagles of Constantinople flew, during his life, in a long career of victory, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Armenia to the shores of Italy." After him came what Mr. Finlay calls the "Period of Conservatism on the Eve of Decline," till, during the latter part of the eleventh century, and the whole

duration of the twelfth, came the period of decline itself. A new enemy appeared in the form of the Seljouk Turks, who, for the first time since Sapor trampled on the prostrate Valerian, obtained the honour of leading a Roman emperor in bonds. We need not repeat the oft-told tale of the true magnanimity of Alp Arslan; we are rather concerned with the difference between the Saracen and the Turkish inroads. The Saracens sought for men and cities and provinces to rule over; the Turks, in their first inroads, sought only to destroy all signs of civilisation, deeming agriculture and commerce unnecessary obstacles to the pasturage of a nomad people. The whole interior of Asia Minor was thus completely devastated before the establishment of a comparatively civilized Turkish monarchy. Here we have the explanation of one of the Eastern phenomena of our own time, namely, that while, in the rest of their empire, the Turks form only a ruling caste among a vast majority of other races, there are large districts of "Anadol, the last home of the Faithful," in which they still form the great bulk of the population. The policy of Alexius Comnenus, following in the wake of the Crusaders, and the personal valour of his son and grandson, did something to stop the progress of decline even in the twelfth century. They recovered the whole maritime region of Asia, and drove back the Sultan from his threatening position at Nicæa to the distant and humbler residence of Iconium. But Manuel was a mere knight-errant, and even his father, the Good John,* as he was worthily called, was too apt, like Justinian, to consume his strength on distant expeditions, while more pressing needs called for his attention nearer home. He laboured hard for the recovery of Antioch and Cilicia, while the Turk reigned undisturbed at Iconium, and ravaged the country almost within sight of Constantinople. At last, after the tyranny of Andronicus, the sceptre of the Comneni passed into the hands of the contemptible Angeli, and their misgovernment proved the appropriate preparation for the transfer of the city of Constantine, Justinian, and Basil, into the hands of an adventurer from the unknown region of Flanders.

With the Frank conquest we may fairly consider the Roman Empire of the East as having run its course. The old monarchy was irretrievably broken up, and Emperors, Kings, Despots, and Dukes innumerable sprung up out of its ruins. At one period one Latin and three Greek princes bore the title of Emperor, at Constantinople, Nicæa, Thessalonica, and Trebizond. Of these the Nicene potentates, as having ultimately recovered the im-

* Calo-Joannes = Good John, not Handsome John.

perial city, were held to be the true representatives of the Roman power, and continued its lofty titles down to the last moment of their existence. For a while they proved themselves worthy of them; the Greeks in their exile benefited by their adversity; the Nicene Emperors, Theodore Lascaris and John Vatatzes, rank among the best and greatest in eastern history; their throne was supported by the merits of a just government, and was defended—a new feature in the annals of the Eastern Empire—by a national and patriotic army. The Emperor of Nicæa, unable, like his Constantinopolitan predecessor, to hire the choicest warriors of all nations, was driven to depend on the valour of his own people, and the archers of the Bithynian mountains long remained the terror of Turk and Frank. The devastating torrent of Mongolian invasion, which overwhelmed the Mahometan dynasties of Asia Minor, spent itself before it reached the Christian frontier; and the Greek state of Nicæa, endowed with the old Roman vitality, beheld the fall of the powers which had supplanted it. But when Constantinople was recovered, and the throne had passed to the wretched dynasty of Palæologus, the scene is altogether changed. We need not tarry over their wearisome annals, to which we may fairly apply all the disparaging epithets which are so strangely lavished upon the whole extent of the Byzantine history. Except the hero with whom it closes, this contemptible race produced no character worthy of sympathy, few worthy of esteem; and even he claims our admiration only for the latter part of his career. The melancholy glory of his imperial reign cannot blind us to the grave errors of his earlier government in Peloponnesus. During the duration, extending over nearly two centuries, of the second Empire of Constantinople, both Empire and city were but the shadow of their former selves. Constantinople never recovered the devastating sack, and the hardly less devastating government of its Frankish rulers. Under the Palæologi, it sank far below the level of Venice and Genoa: and it was only under the Turkish Mahomet that it at all recovered its place among the capitals of Europe. Destroyers elsewhere, the Ottomans may, in the imperial city itself, fairly claim the merit of refounders.

The Ottomans, like the Greeks themselves, were an artificial nation, united by a triple bond of language, religion, and government, but not forming any real ethnological unity. The earlier Emirs and Sultans were the wisest rulers as well as the most skilful generals of their time; and, notwithstanding their constant cruelty and occasional perfidy, we must allow that they were worthy of the Empire which they won. Their rule was often preferred to that of the existing powers, whether Mahometan or Christian; where different Christian sects were contending, the

infidel was generally regarded as a deliverer from the heretic.* The Christians were chiefly subdued by the arts and arms of their own brethren; Constantinople fell, not before the Saracen or the Turkman, but before warriors of Grecian or Slavonian blood. The institution of the tribute-children drew the best blood of the conquered into the service of the conquerors, and surrounded the throne with warriors and statesmen, who, instead of the ordinary ties of country and kindred, knew only devotion to the Prophet and the Sultan. The Ottoman conquest spread barbarism and desolation over the fairest and most historic regions of the world; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the Roman Empire had run its course, and that the Greek nation required re-casting in the furnace of adversity. Had the Bulgarian Samuel or the Servian Stephen possessed the genius and the fortune of Othman and Orkhan, of Amurath and Mahomet, the great dilemma might have been solved, and the disagreeable alternative of Turk or Muscovite might not have been presented to the politicians of our own time. As it was, the Ottomans found a capital without an empire, and an empire without a capital, and both fell an easy prey.

In contemplating this long and wonderful history, we are struck by the constant vitality and power of revivification possessed by the Roman Empire of the East down to its latest days. Many enemies attacked it, some dismembered it, but it outlived all but the last: its immortality always enabled it to secure its turn of re-conquest in the time of their decay. Goth, Hun, Avar, Chazar, and Persian, threatened it in vain. The Goth and the Vandal occupy Italy and Africa: the Empire bides its time, waits for the decay of the conqueror, and recovers the lost province. Italy falls again into the grasp of Lombard and Frank; their period of weakness comes, and the Byzantine province is extended from a corner of Calabria and Apulia over the richest regions of southern Italy. The Saracen occupies Cilicia, Antioch, and Crete; but the Caliphate wanes in its turn, and "the sway of Christ and Cæsar is restored." The Turk more permanently occupies Asia, but even he, weakened by the crusading host, is compelled to withdraw his throne from Nicæa to Iconium. The Frank breaks the whole Empire into atoms, but the germ of its restoration still survives among the Bithynian hills, and Thessalonica, Adrianople, and Byzantium itself, soon return to their old allegiance. Even in the last age of imperial

* The close of the Ducal dynasty of Naxos is an almost ludicrous instance in its grotesque juxtaposition of creeds and races. The Greeks, weary of their Latin rulers, apply for redress to the Turkish Sultan. The Mahometan deliverer consigns them to the government of a Jewish viceroy, who ends by appointing a Spaniard as his lieutenant.

decrepitude, Peloponnesus was gradually regained; and it was reserved for the last Constantine himself to re-establish the imperial superiority over the whole peninsula, with the exception of the few points retained by Venice. There, in the old home of the Greek race, after Constantinople had become the capital of the barbarian, and St. Sophia the mosque of the False Prophet, the old spirit still lingered, and the Ottoman encountered a valiant opposition from the defenders, no longer of the vain titles of Roman sovereignty, but of the mountains and valleys which still cherished the liberties of the Hellenic people. No man should venture to write on "the Turks and the Greeks" without making himself master of the writings of Mr. Finlay; and no man who has read our author's narrative of the campaign of Mahomet in Peloponnesus should venture on the ignorant calumny, that "at the time of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, the Greek nationality had entirely perished."*

We must confess, however, that during the brightest days of the Byzantine Empire the Greek nationality was entirely overshadowed. No one can have looked even through our imperfect sketch without perceiving how true a continuation that Empire was of the old Roman power. The Empire had ceased to be Roman in any ethnological strictness, long before the days of the first Constantine, but Roman alike in the merits and the vices of its polity it remained down to the overthrow of the last. A monarchy existed for fifteen hundred years without a nationality, and without a definite law of succession. From Augustus to Basil, all power, legislative and administrative, was gradually gathered round the sole person of the sovereign, and yet no law pointed out the legal means by which the sovereign was to be determined. The Roman monarchy was neither elective nor hereditary; it was the prize of any man who could grasp it. A conspiracy in the palace, a riot in the city, a sedition in the army, might at any moment place Vespasian or Cantacuzenus on the throne of the Julii or the Palæologi. But the monarchy still continued untouched; indeed, as Mr. Finlay hints, the murder, the blinding, or the monastic profession of an unpopular Emperor, was simply a stronger form of what we are familiar with in the resignation of an unpopular ministry. The Roman merits of law and order, strict administration of justice, strict honesty in regard to the coinage, remained for centuries the distinguishing characteristics of Byzantine administration, balanced by the no less essentially Roman vices of fiscal oppression and general severance of interest between the governors and the governed. Centralization continually advanced; local and municipal

* *Quarterly Review*, No. CLXXXVIII., p. 526.

institutions were discouraged, except in those distant possessions which were allies, rather than subjects, and which, like Venice and Naples, gradually grew into independent states. In an age when order and liberty seemed irreconcilable, the centralized despotism of Constantinople was positively the best government in the world, that under which life and property were most secure, and where art, literature, commerce, and general civilisation were most flourishing. But, essentially conservative and unprogressive, it had not the same hope for the future as was presented by the vigorous barbarism of the western nations. Its old age endured alongside of their youth, till they had sufficiently advanced to give the world a lesson in a higher, and we trust, still more enduring civilisation. The axes of English and Scandinavian auxiliaries formed the surest defence of the Roman Emperor, while he alone in the world represented law and regular government. They supported the imperial throne till institutions were matured in their own distant lands, showing that law need not emanate from an irresponsible despot, and that a vigorous central government may be maintained without the destruction of local and individual freedom. On the other hand, the despotic and centralized governments of our own day, treading in the steps of their Byzantine precursors without their necessity, reproducing the vices of their government without its countervailing merits, may well take a lesson from their fate. The internal vices of the Byzantine government were pardonable, because unavoidable; yet its fall was far more owing to those internal vices than to the assaults of Bulgarian or Frank or Ottoman. How much lower may be the fall of powers which adopt its worst principles without its excuse, it is not within our province to predict.

We are still very far from having exhausted Mr. Finlay's volumes. We have only grappled with one of his two main subjects, the political history of the Empire; even here we have only enlarged on a few out of many reflections suggested by it. To his second subject, the condition of the Hellenic race, we have only incidentally alluded. This last is one far too interesting in itself, and far too closely connected with present events and important recent works, to be passed by in a cursory manner. We may perhaps recur to it on some future occasion.

ART. III.—1. *I Valdesi. Ossiano i Cristiani-Cattolici secondo la Chiesa Primitiva.* Per AMEDEO BERT. Torino, 1849.

2. *Histoire de l'Eglise Vaudoise, depuis son origine, et des Vaudois du Piemont jusqu'a nos jours.* Par ANTOINE MONASTIER. Deux Tomes. Toulouse, 1847.

3. *An Enquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses.* By GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D. London, 1838.

IT was the news of the great massacre following "the bloody order of Gastaldo," that first roused the sympathies of the English nation for the suffering churches of Piedmont. Early in the summer of 1655, tidings reached England of almost incredible atrocities in the Vaudois valleys; and letters came thick and fast from Dauphiny and Geneva, "just like Job's messengers," it was said, each with a sadder tale to tell than the one that came before. The voice of the blood of murdered men was crying to God, and England, now solemn and Puritanic, was prepared, as she never had been before, to lift up her voice for a suffering church. "If two she-bears out of the wood were commanded to tear in pieces forty and two children, merely for insulting the old prophet, Lord, what shall be the end of *these* murderers?" Such was the feeling with which the Puritans regarded the Vaudois massacre, and that feeling found its noblest expression in the words of the great Puritan poet—words which we never weary of repeating—

> "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold."

The author of that sonnet was doing more at that time than writing verses. He was busy at Whitehall, inditing stately letters in the name of the Lord Protector of England to kings, electors, and reigning dukes, to "the high and mighty Lords" of the States of Holland, and to the consuls and senators of the Swiss Confederation, in reference to the poor remnant of the Valleys. For Cromwell had taken up their cause right nobly—had spoken firm words to kings—had sent a special ambassador to Turin—had proclaimed a fast, and ordered a general collection on their behalf throughout all the churches of England. No less a sum than £38,000—enormous in those days—was raised in consequence of that order, even the parishes in Wales sending up their quota to London. The result of Cromwell's embassy was looked for with anxiety by many, and in addition

to mere speech-making and diplomacy, the ambassador was charged to employ his leisure in drawing up an exact history of the persecution, beginning with the order of Gastaldo, and in collecting any information regarding the Vaudois that might be generally interesting. Some were "curious to know who these people were, and what was their father' house:" and there was one man especially—"a pillar of learning and pattern of piety," who had given young Samuel Morland a special charge to spare no labour and no cost, to procure old documents illustrative of the history and doctrines of those churches. There was nothing in the world, that venerable man said, that he was more impatient to know than the true doctrinal history of the Waldenses, from the importance of being able to trace, in the controversy with the Church of Rome, the footsteps of the faith during the middle ages. Archbishop Usher was then in London in a kind of banishment; he had not ventured to return to Ireland since the rebels had sacked his house at Armagh. But he did not live long enough to know how faithfully the young Puritan had discharged his commission. Before the documents, which he had so longed for, came in cases and black boxes to Cambridge, he had been carried to his grave in Westminster. But the whole Protestant Church remains a debtor to the Primate of Armagh. That search through the nooks and corners of the Valleys for old parchments that had lain neglected under dust and rubbish, has preserved much of the Waldensian history that must otherwise have perished, and enabled us to refer distinctly to the Church's testimony in those days, when 'the woman fled into the wilderness' from the face and the fury of the great red dragon.*

In due time the ambassador gave in his report. There was no Parliament in those days to be bored with blue-books, and hence Morland presented to the reading public in general a goodly volume of some seven hundred and odd pages, containing his History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, and of the recent negotiations on their behalf. It is interesting to turn over the leaves of that fine old folio, with its date of 1658, and with great red letters on the title-page; and there is something characteristic of the age in the concluding announcement, that it was "Printed by Henry Hills, one of His Highness's Printers, for Adoniram Byfield, and to be sold at the Three Bibles in Cornhill, next to Pope's Head Alley." It was possi-

* It is to be regretted that no society, like the Parker or Wodrow, has undertaken the examination of such of these documents as remain at Cambridge, with the view of publishing any "pieces" which might throw light on the Waldensian history. Might not something be done yet in this way?

by with a grave witticism that Mr. Adoniram Byfield hung out the sign of the "Three Bibles" so close to Pope's Head Alley, thereby suggesting that verily it was well for the English commonwealth in general, and for Cornhill in particular, that the Pope himself had so little to say in that quarter, that the three Bibles could be hung out under his very nose. But we do not profess to be *au fait* in the antiquities of the city. Mr. Adoniram Byfield had been of late supplying the Puritans of the metropolis with long sermons and expositions, and had on hand a stock of "Divine Characters, by that late burning and shining lamp, Master Samuel Crook, B.D.;" as also in the controversial line, "A full Discovery and Confutation of the Wicked and Damnable Doctrines of the Quakers, by Mr. Jonathan Clapham, in quarto," and many other very good books with very absurd titles. Morland, "considering the great presumption of the age he lived in," was unwilling to follow the multitude in importuning the great for their patronage; but overcoming this modest feeling, he had dedicated his book to the one man in England who best deserved the thanks of the Vaudois remnant—"To his most serene Highness, Oliver, by the grace of God, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland." And as the roll he was unfolding in the sight of the Church of God was full of mourning, and lamentation, and woe, the young Puritan had gone to his Bible for a motto to prefix to a history so terrible, and Henry Hills had appropriately printed the words in red letters in his best old English character:—"*And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?*"

Now we have no fancy for bringing back the intellectual fashions of that age, any more than for returning to trunk-hose and steeple-hats. We have no wish to bring into common Christian use every Bible name from Hashabiah to Maher-shalal-hashbaz: and Brown, Jones, and Robinson might (unfortunately) choose more appropriate names for their daughters than Faith, Hope, and Charity. But there is an earnestness and unction about that old book which we look for in vain in modern treatises on the churches of the Valleys; and we suppose we injure no one when we say that it remains till this day as *the* English book on Vaudois history. It could not fail to make a deep impression at the time, and the wood-cuts that illustrated the woful tale of massacre were so frightful, that people can scarcely bear to look at them. We know nothing like them, except the Roman frescoes of the martyrdoms in the church of San Ste-

fano Rotondo. Had the hope of Morland's dedicatory epistle been realized—had the sturdy old Protector "continued long to go out and in before the people," *more*, undoubtedly, would have been done for the poor remnant in Piedmont, who looked to Cromwell as a man raised up of God, "to plead the cause of His afflicted ones against the mighty, that they should no more oppress." But ere that very year had closed—on a stormy September night, that was tearing up by the roots the old trees in Hyde Park—Cromwell lay dying at Whitehall: a few months more, and his bones had been dug out of the tomb at Westminster, and the noisy multitudes that hailed the restoration of a debauchee were dancing around the May-Pole in the Strand. Charles Stuart, not obliged, as he said, "to pay the debts of a Usurper," applied what remained of the great Vaudois Fund—about £16,000—to supply the wants of his mistresses.

We refer to Sir Samuel Morland's history particularly, as it is the one great English book on the Waldensian Church. It takes its place with the great works of Gilles and Leger. But it is remarkable that even in the Valleys there have been no great writers to continue the histories of Pezzin, Gilles, and Leger. It is true there was one brilliant episode in the "Glorieuse Rentrée" of Henri Arnaud; and we have no want of modern books on the subject of the Vaudois, but none has "attained to the first three." Among Englishmen who have in our days investigated the Waldensian history, and laboured heart and soul for the Waldensian Church, the first place is due to Dr. Gilly. It was he who revived the sympathy of the English nation for a Church that had been almost forgotten. By his graceful sketches, his more elaborate researches, and above all by his unwearied labours on their behalf, he has done more for the Vaudois than any living writer. They are also indebted to the labours, literary and otherwise, of Mr. Sims, Sir Hugh Dyke Acland, and Dr. Henderson. We might speak of others who are remembered with gratitude, or known as living benefactors by the Churches of the Valleys; and if we pass them over, it is not from the slight esteem in which we hold them. The modern Vaudois are not writers, but hard-working men, who have no time for authorship. And the few who have ventured on the field of literature have made no attempt to trace with minuteness of detail the more recent affairs of their Church, but rather to present a popular survey of its history, "depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours." The four flashy volumes of M. Muston, entitled "L'Israel des Alpes," are of this kind; and so also are the two carefully written volumes of M. Monastier, which we have put at the head of this article. We take it for granted that our readers are acquainted with the general outline of Wal-

densian history, and therefore do not mean to enter on it at all. It is of more importance to begin where the ordinary histories break off,—at the overthrow of the Sardinian government—and the establishment of the French power in Piedmont. And here M. Bert's book, being the most recent, serves our purpose best. But there are two questions relating to the Vaudois to which we shall allude before considering their recent history and present position. We mean their *doctrine* and *ecclesiastical discipline.*

We cannot trace the introduction of "heresy" into the Valleys to Valdo, nor Claude, nor Vigilantius. We cannot assign a date at all, and the parties who have assailed the Vaudois have not been able to point to the time when their doctrines were first introduced. We accept the language which the Waldenses themselves addressed to their princes; "We are descended from those who, from father to son, have preserved entire the apostolic faith in the Valleys which we now occupy. Permit us, therefore, to have that free exercise of our religion which we have enjoyed from time out of mind, before the dukes of Savoy became princes of Piedmont." The strong presumption from such fragments of Piedmontese history as have been preserved, is, that the Cottian Alps received the Gospel *in the second century.* Through that region lay the great Roman road by which the legions of Italy marched to Gaul: it was by these Valleys that Hannibal led the Numidian army that conquered at Lake Thrasymene. The highway from Rome to Lyons lay across these mountains; and Irenaeus, or some of the early preachers of the fait of Christ, may have passed over them when carrying the Gospel to lands beyond the Alps. It was likely in this way that the "glad tidings" were first heard in the Valleys. And we have some scanty notices too, in the old histories which have lately come to light, of refugees from the Italian lowlands, who found a shelter in these regions from the persecution of the Pagan Emperors. The facts then remain, whatever may be said of Valdo or Claude, that Christianity in its purest form had taken root in the Valleys of Upper Italy in the first centuries of the Church, and that it has remained there till our own times.

The THEOLOGY of the Vaudois Church need not detain us long. M. Bert, speaking of the early Church, gives a fair summary of the dogmas which the Vaudois uniformly rejected:— "*Then* there existed neither the Papacy, nor Monachism, nor rites of priestcraft: neither Lent nor vigils, nor distinctions of meat, nor veneration of the cross, nor adoration of images, nor invocation of Mary and the saints: then there were neither

masses, nor belief in purgatory, nor plenary indulgences, nor auricular confession, nor celibacy of priests. The symbol of the Apostles was the compendium of the faith: the Sacred Scriptures were read by all, and Christianity, free as yet from the imposition of dogmas and the spirit of sect, guided the faithful only to this—to love God, and to worship him in spirit and in truth."—Pp. 6, 7. Such were the dogmas which the valesmen rejected. We have no confessions of faith of that early period, but Claude's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians may perhaps be referred to, as presenting a fair outline of the doctrines which were held in the Valleys. But the Nobla Leyczon, bearing the date of 1100, (a date which has been accepted even by M. Raynouard, as worthy of entire confidence,) presents a genuine outline of the Waldensian faith. A transcript of it has been preserved in Sir Samuel Morland's history. Seven volumes of the ancient MSS. which were deposited by him in the library of "the famous University of Cambridge," have been lost. But those which Leger and others deposited three years later, (A.D. 1661,) in the public library of Geneva, still remain.

The fundamental doctrines of the Bible—the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the work of the Spirit—were always held by the Vaudois of the Alps. They acknowledged no rule of faith but the Word of God—no sacrifice but the one atoning sacrifice of Calvary—no mediator but the Man Christ Jesus. The fable of purgatorial fire, the dogma of transubstantiation, the rule of priestly celibacy, the worship of the Virgin and the saints, and the adoration of images, they rejected as inconsistent with the teaching of the Scriptures of truth. Mr. Faber has done good service by dissipating the charges which the Bishop of Meaux had brought against the Albigenses and Waldenses, in what his admirers call "his immortal history of the variations of Protestantism." The Christians of Languedoc and Piedmont were neither Gnostics nor Manicheans; they held neither the principles of Marcion nor of Manes. Mr. Faber's book must hold a high place in this controversy from its ponderous and effective learning. The ghosts of Bossuet and St. Bernard, with monks and inquisitors in their train, are attacked as eagerly as if they were living men, who could blush for their detected calumnies, or hide their heads from ridicule. And the honest prebendary, when dealing with such out-of-the-way people as Peter of Clugny, and Jonas of Orleans, and Alanus the universal doctor, becomes even merry at times, and indulges in ponderous jokes in Latin and witticisms expressed in Greek derivatives. We may be allowed to smile at his pugnacity, while we love the man for his earnestness, and honour him for

the noble use to which he has turned his erudition in doing battle for the truth of God.

The religionists of the Alpine Valleys were, from an early period, denounced as heretics, but the system of open persecution, by crusades and the inquisition, was not put in force till the time of Innocent III. It was against the Albigenses of Languedoc that Dominick of Guzman sent forth his preaching friars, not with peace but with the sword, and that the Church first undertook a war of extermination. The Albigenses* ceased to exist as a distinct sect after the murderous crusade of Simon de Montford, and such as escaped became merged in the Waldensian Church. But from that time the history of the Waldenses is a history of persecution; so that Morland says, in his graphic way, that if we had no other light to guide us in the dark and cloudy night of the middle ages, "the fires wherewith those Cadmeans, or generation of vipers, have burned the bodies of the saints, would serve us as so many torches to keep us from losing our way between the days of the Apostles and those of Calvin and Luther." The Church was in the wilderness The caves of the earth were her hiding-place, and the perpetual hills her refuge. As the Puritan loved to express it, "it was in the clefts of these rocks, and the secret places of the stairs of these Valleys of Piedmont, that the dove of Christ was hid." A pure Christianity was thus preserved in that corner of Italy, till the Reformers rose up to preach it in all the kingdoms of Europe.

A word on the CHURCH ORDER which has prevailed in the Alpine Valleys. Until the union of the Diocese of Italy with the Church of Rome, (A. D. 1059,) the Vaudois were probably recognised as a part of the great Catholic Church,—though opposed to the new doctrines which had arisen within it. Their oldest writings belong to a later date, (A. D. 1100.) What their precise position may have been in relation to the dioceses of Turin, Milan, or Embrun, we are unable to tell, except that the Valleys were frequently referred to as a nest of heresy. The Romish Church departed gradually from the early faith, and thus became schismatic. We do not test the Church by the mere possession of numbers. If there was schism, it was not on the part of men who at length became separate by their continued adherence to the doctrines of the New Testament. Before that separation, the Vaudois, protesting against the corruptions of the Church, were not, as it seems, a community apart, with a church order of their own. The history of Peter Waldo, who, whether he was a Vaudois or not, undoubtedly held the faith which was professed in the valleys of Piedmont, may serve

* They were so called after the Synod of Albi in 1176.

to illustrate their position. Waldo began his labours about the year 1160, and died about A. D. 1179, or 1181. His followers, the poor men of Lyons, were a missionary community; and it seems that some of them applied to Pope Alexander III. in 1179, for permission to act as preachers. They made the journey from the Rhone to the Tiber for that purpose, and laid their French psalter at the feet of the Holy Father, but obtained little for their pains. Again, in the year 1212, they made a second application to Pope Innocent III. It was refused, with strange want of wisdom and consistency, one might think, on the part of that wily Pontiff, who sanctioned the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominick, and turned the fanaticism of both to the service of the Church. The refusal, however, was not inconsistent after all. St. Francis went forth as a beggar, but he was entirely possessed with the spirit of Romish superstition. St. Dominick's mission was to root out heresy; the poor men of Lyons, who otherwise would have been the very stuff out of which to form an order of begging friars, asked leave to preach the gospel of Christ, and to proclaim to men in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. These followers of Peter Waldo were converts from Romish superstition, and had scruples about Church authority; but Waldo himself had sought no such sanction from the Roman pontiff, at least till the last years of his labours, and he even acted in open opposition to the ecclesiastical powers when forbidden to preach in the name of Jesus. Yet it is clear that all that Waldo and his disciples sought, in the first instance, was liberty to act according to the convictions of their own consciences. It was persecution, and the unjust exercise of power, that drove them into separation. And such, we suppose, was very much the case with the Waldenses in Piedmont, whose doctrines Waldo had embraced. We are able to trace their history distinctly enough for our purpose from the thirteenth century. The old Vaudois held firmly the right of electing their pastors, and of constituting elders in their churches. Their history uniformly speaks of barbes, and elders, and deacons, and except in times of persecution, they had an annual synod in true presbyterial order. The "barbes" were the pastors and teachers,—the elders were the inspectors and directors of the congregations,—and the deacons had charge of the alms of the Church. They had no bishops resembling the Romish or Anglican, but their Church was governed by *consistoires*, or kirk-sessions and synods. We learn also from the documents preserved by Morland, that latterly the fourteen churches of the Valleys composed two colloques or classes, *i.e.*, Presbyteries, and that these two colloques formed the Synod. The barbes were not confined to the Valleys. They amounted

at one time to as many as 140, and had a house in Geneva and another in Florence. They were not merely pastors, but missionaries, and took their place in the Synod just as a Vaudois missionary does in our day.*

But it is time to proceed with our account of the recent history and present condition of the Vaudois.

It was the dominion of Napoleon that first introduced liberty into the Alpine Valleys. But as soon as the Vaudois became subjects of France, the English Royal Bounty, which had been paid regularly (with a few exceptions) since the time of William and Mary, was withdrawn. The pastors of the thirteen parishes were

* Mr. Faber, in a long note to one of the last chapters of his volume, shews, from the authority of Jerome and others, that bishops and presbyters in the early Church were the same; that the Church was at first ruled by the common council of presbyters,—that bishops were afterwards appointed for the sake of order and good government; but that the subjection of the presbyters to the bishop, was "rather by ecclesiastical custom than by the verity of the Lord's disposition." (Pp 558-562.) He acknowledges that he cannot prove a regular apostolic succession by Episcopal ordination. Of course he cannot. The Waldenses, on Mr Faber's own shewing, had protested against Romish errors from the days of Constantine and Pope Sylvester; and there is not a word in the old histories to indicate their precise relation to Claude, bishop of Turin. We do not attach much importance to the vague story, that the Bohemian separatists sent three pastors about the year 1450 to the Valleys of Piedmont to be ordained by Stephen, bishop of the Vaudois, and that said Stephen, with others officiating, did ordain the three pastors by imposition of hands. We are not of course discussing the question of Presbytery *versus* Prelacy; but we cannot see that this story proves that the Vaudois had a succession of "bishops" *in the Episcopal sense*, for they hold and teach till this day, that *all* their pastors are bishops; that bishops and presbyters in the word of God are the same; and the Moderator of the Synod, in conjunction with his brethren of the same presbyterial rank with himself, ordains to the office of the ministry by prayer and imposition of hands, even though the person ordained may have before received sacerdotal orders in the Church of Rome. Still less can it be proved that they had prelates from their saying, in their confession to Francis, that "bishops and pastors shall be blameless." Everybody says the same; the Independent preacher and the Scotch Presbyterian use similar language. Besides, we know as a fact, that they had not prelates at that time. The theory that the change from Episcopacy to Presbytery took place in the year 1630, when all the Vaudois pastors but two were cut off by the pestilence, and Swiss pastors were imported to fill their places, is a *mere* theory without any historic evidence in support of it. Had the fifteen pastors of 1629 had a bishop, surely Gilles, their own historian, who was himself one of those pastors, and who *survived* that terrible plague-year, would have known something about it. They lost thirteen pastors, and were obliged to fill their places with pastors from France and Switzerland belonging to the same Church order with themselves, though unable to preach in the *patois* of the Valleys. This is surely very intelligible; but the idea that the Swiss pastors introduced an *organic* change in the constitution of the Church, has no foundation whatever in their history, as Gilles and Leger have given it. Mr. Faber is needlessly perplexed with the attempt to make out a regular apostolic succession, which yet he acknowledges he cannot make out. He concludes by declaring, that *whatever the polity of the Albigenses and Waldenses may have been*, they were the two Churches of the Apocalypse, witnessing for God against the great apostasy. This, we should imagine, is more satisfactory than apostolical succession.

in consequence reduced to great straits. But when Napoleon went to Milan to receive the iron crown of Lombardy, he was met by a Vaudois deputation, who represented to him the loss they had sustained. Napoleon caused the pastors to be enrolled among the clergy of the empire, and at the same time made over to them the revenues of the Hospice of Catechumens at Pignerol, and of a few Roman Catholic Churches of the Valleys, which he suppressed as useless. The Waldenses, as French citizens, were at once freed from the barbarous edicts by which they had been oppressed for centuries. They were free; but we cannot say that the day of their political enlargement brought with it any religious advancement. The new French ideas were not favourable to the progress of an evangelical Church, and the able men among their clergy were very unlike the old barbes of Pra del Tour. The venerable Moderator, Peyrani, pastor of Pomaret, was undoubtedly a remarkable man, and of no common erudition. In his youth he had been secretary to Voltaire at Ferney,—a strange preparation for the Christian ministry. But he was a man of commanding character, and he fought bravely, in a time of trouble, the battles of his Church. We certainly should not trust very much to his representation of some points in the doctrine and discipline of his Church, in which he was plainly contradicted by the old constitution and confessions, and in which he evidently led astray Dr. Gilly; but in many labours in their cause he merited and obtained the gratitude of his people; and we cannot forget how much the sympathy of the English public towards the poor Vaudois clergy, a quarter of a century ago, was excited by Dr. Gilly's graceful picture of the spare figure and grey hairs of the aged Rodolphe Peyrani.

In 1814, Victor Emmanuel returned from the Island of Sardinia, after sixteen years of exile, to ascend his ancestral throne. Like most Italian kings, he had learned nothing from adversity. In reference to the Vaudois, everything returned at once by royal edict to the old condition. The liberties which they had enjoyed for fifteen years were abrogated at a stroke.

We do not mean to enter at length into an account of the indignities to which the poor Vaudois were subjected in consequence, until the period of their "emancipation" in 1848. The Waldenses were no rebels—no movers of sedition. In all Italy there was no other people trained as they had been to fear God and honour the king. They were pre-eminently a moral people. For a century there had been no case of a Vaudois convicted of a capital offence. In days past their criminals were their martyrs. No fault was found with them, except in respect to the law of their God. They needed but one

thing, they were told, to be perfect—they were not Catholic. They clung tenaciously to the religion of their fathers. The zeal of Romish bishops had not changed them; the Inquisition had failed to terrify them; the armies of France and Savoy had not rooted them out from their fastness in the mountains. Their numbers had indeed been reduced, and their ancient limits had been narrowed. They had lost their valley of Pragela, which had ceased to be a Waldensian territory since 1727. They were confined to the three valleys of Lucerne, St. Martin, and Perouse; and in the nineteenth century, in the heart of civilized Europe, the most moral people in Italy were forbidden to acquire land beyond their ancient boundaries. They were prohibited from practising as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, attorneys, or advocates, except in their own community The land became too narrow for them, and many of them were forced out to seek employment elsewhere. They were to be found among the silk-looms of Lyons, or in the workshops of Nismes; among the herdsmen of Dauphiny, or the street-porters and waiters at Marseilles. Some of them passed over into Switzerland, to teach schools or make watches at Geneva. That good old city had ceased to be so hated as it was in Sir Samuel Morland's days, "for the sincere, constant, and painful preaching of the word;" but the Vaudois, who might have found profitable occupation at home if they had abjured their faith, were careful to seek a habitation where they could worship after the manner of their fathers. Besides this plan of hemming them in within their ancient limits, it was the policy of their persecutors—the plain word is the best one—to force in among them the professors of another faith, with higher civil privileges, so as to establish a Roman Catholic influence in every parish. And the suffering Vaudois, burthened with taxes, and scarcely able with all their toil to win the scantiest sustenance from the slopes of the mountains which they cultivated, were compelled to observe the countless saints-days of their Catholic neighbours. At the same time, other means were tried to win them over to the religion of the State. They were tempted with the lure of gold; apostasy was the first step to honour and emolument. They were forbidden by the laws of the State to offer any opposition to the perversion of their friends. Their children were carried off and baptized in the Romish churches, or inveigled into the Hospice of Catechumens at Pignerol, and the bereaved parents were forbidden to reclaim them. The laws of the State afforded them no protection against the artifices of the Church. At that time, in Piedmont, the Church dared to defy a stronger power than theirs. Many of our readers may remember the sensation which was

produced in 1844, by the case of Mademoiselle Heldervier, the daughter of the Dutch ambassador at the court of Sardinia. This young lady, at the romantic age of seventeen, had formed an attachment to an advocate in Turin; and to get quit at once of the opposition of her father, and the difficulties of the church, she fled from her family, took refuge in the monastery of Santa Croce, and professed herself a Papist. The father reclaimed his child, but the authorities refused to give her up. He appealed to the King, but Charles-Albert declared he could not interfere! All the Protestant ambassadors at Turin protested against the insult offered to a Protestant power in the person of its representative, and the Dutch minister sent back in indignation the Grand Cross of the order of St. Maurice, with which he had been recently decorated by the King.

We have no wish to speak hardly of Charles-Albert. He did what he could, but the Church was still too powerful. When he came to the throne in 1831, the Waldenses had expected much from his kindly disposition and his early liberalism. He had been educated, they knew, by a Protestant professor at Geneva. But there was "a power behind the throne," fiercely opposed to the Waldensian heretics. Andrea Charvaz, tutor to the two sons of the King, became Bishop of Pignerol in 1834, and from the first threatened openly to put in force the old edicts against the Vaudois. In 1836, he published at Paris a volume, entitled, "Recherches Historiques sur la véritable Origine des Vaudois," which far outdid the well-told lies of Bossuet both in quantity and in quality.* The Vaudois, thus attacked in high places, could not defend themselves, as they dared not print a defence of their faith in Piedmont. But the bishop said they had the press of Protestant countries at their disposal. And so they had, but M. Muston was banished ten years for printing his history of the Vaudois at Paris, and the example was not very encouraging. The bishop pursued his advantage remorselessly. The Protestant worship in the Valleys was disturbed by Roman Catholic processions, drowning with their clamour the voice of the preacher, and beyond the limits the old edicts were not allowed to lie dormant. The Vaudois who died out of the Valleys, or of Turin, were not allowed to contaminate with their unholy ashes the consecrated ground of the Papal cemeteries, but were buried by the road-side, or by the running stream. Charles Albert interfered to retrieve such an indignity in the case of a Vaudois soldier, and at his own ex-

* It is to be regretted that Mr. Faber, instead of spending his strength on Bossuet, had not examined the more recent and more formidable book of Bishop Charvaz. A living bishop was more worthy of attack than "a dead lion."

pense he caused the body to be exhumed, transported to the Valleys, and interred with military honours at La Tour. When the long-expected civil code of Piedmont was published in 1838, it simply confirmed the old laws, and the condition of the Vaudois became worse. Their benefactors, who had been long waiting for some amelioration, were almost wearied out; hope deferred had made their hearts sick. And hence proposals were made to the Protestants of the Alps to leave that Italian land which had been to them a hard step-mother, and to seek a home elsewhere; to emigrate to Prussia; to settle as a colony in Algiers; to cross the Atlantic, and people the Carolinas with the descendants of martyrs. But such proposals were not likely to commend themselves to men who cherished the memory of Henri Arnaud. Their land was theirs by every right under heaven, and every rock and mountain, from the Balsille to the Col de la Croix, was associated with the imperishable history of their race. The vine that had been planted so long ago in that land of hills and valleys, had not ceased to grow, though sorely trodden down. The boar out of the woods had wasted it, and the wild beast of the field devoured it, but God might yet return and visit it.

The last great effort made by the Roman Church to extirpate heresy from the Valleys, turned out rather to the contrary, and brought with it the first gleam of a happier future. It is strange how often deliverance has come to that persecuted people from quarters the most unexpected, when they seemed on the brink of ruin. At one time it was Charles IX. of France—the son of Catherine de Medici—who pleaded for them affectionately with his uncle, the Duke of Savoy. Twelve months had not passed from the time when his letter was written till the French King stood at the window of the Louvre, while the bells of St. Germain-Auxerrois tolled the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Again, when Henri Arnaud, and the remnant whom he had led back, were holding their mountain passes against overwhelming numbers, apparently nothing on earth could have saved them, had not the rupture of the alliance between France and Savoy at that very crisis induced the Duke to offer them peace. On a later occasion, when a fearful massacre had been projected, they owed their deliverance to the right feeling of a Romish priest of Lucerne. And so it was in their latest deliverance. In 1814, the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus opened a Priory at La Tour, and established a company of missionary priests for the purpose of converting the Valleys to the Romish faith. An emblematic picture was painted for their church, in which St. Maurice and St. Lazarus are represented kneeling in prayer; far beneath them appear mountains and

valleys, wrapped in darkness, and a very little church in a spot which sunlight never seems to reach; while, on the other hand, stands the new cathedral, with the bright rays of heaven streaming from its dome.

Charles-Albert, as Grand-Master of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, visited the Valleys to be present at the dedication of the Priory; and the Vaudois, well knowing the purpose for which it had been erected, feared the influence of evil counsellors. But Charles-Albert, who was made up of strange contradictory elements, had no sooner reached the mountains than he dismissed his troops, saying that he had no need of guards among the Vaudois. Of course, such a speech did not lack reporters; and the Vaudois, flattered by this proof of their Sovereign's confidence, at once extemporized a guard of honour. They furbished their old firelocks, brushed their regimentals, and turned out their militia with the flags* of their communes. The King was gratified with this proof of loyalty, and he may well be pardoned for smiling at times, when his new guards passed in review before him, and a standard-bearer not only lowered his colours before his king, but took off his hat and made a low bow at the same time. It was evident they were rather raw soldiers; but they were made of the stern stuff of the mountains notwithstanding, and had occasion required it, there were men among them who could have defended their passes as their fathers did before them. The Valleys were in full jubilee during the royal visit, and the Vaudois began to entertain good hopes of still greater benefits, when the King, to the utter amazement of the Romish party, decorated with the grand cross of the order of St. Maurice the Waldensian syndic of La Tour. No deputation was received but that of the Waldensian Table, and the King caused a small monumental fountain to be erected "to the people which had received him with so much affection."

We believe it was on this occasion that the Marquis Roberto d'Azeglio, who accompanied the king as equerry, became so deeply interested in the condition of the Vaudois. At all events, more liberal ideas respecting them began to gain ground in Piedmont. Gioberti, still in exile, spoke out manfully of the cruel persecutions to which they had been subjected in times past, and of the duty of Catholics to retrieve the wrongs which their fathers had done them. In November 1847, Charles-Albert published his Laws on the Provinces and Communes—the first instalment of constitutional liberty. Meantime the Marquis Roberto d'Azeglio had made himself the interpreter of the liberal feeling in favour of the Vaudois, and drawn up a memorial to the King, praying for the civil and political eman-

cipation of the Protestants and Israelites. The former numbered about 24,000 in the state; the latter between 7000 and 8000. Massimo d'Azeglio in an able pamphlet supported the cause of which his brother had made himself the champion: and Count Cavour and Cesare Balbo were the first to affix their names to the memorial. D'Azeglio sent his circular to all the bishops of the kingdom; but though Pius IX. was at that time in the full flush of his liberalism, the Piedmontese prelates were puzzled and "put out" with the plain, tangible, matter-of-fact proposal to sanction the *emancipation* of the Waldenses. It put their new cry of Christian charity to too severe a proof. The Bishop of Pignerol, who had a *penchant* for persecution, recommended delay, mature consideration, and above all a private consultation with the Pope. He himself, Andrea Charvaz, "was in a peculiar position;" "his case was exceptional;" "he might be excused," "it was scarcely fair to ask him," he was very liberal himself, and "preached charity,"--"but *duty*," and that sort of thing. The Bishop of Biella quoted the New Testament, and especially St. John's advice about the mode of treating dissenters. He was especially afraid of Protestants being allowed full liberty of speech,—as the Catholic clergy, he confessed, were far behind the Protestant in the arms of controversy, in sacred hermeneutics, and in knowledge of the points of difference between the Churches. The Bishop of Albenga cited the Council of Trent and the authority of the Popes; and as a good churchman plainly refused to have anything to do with the matter; while the Bishop of Ivrea, not troubling himself with Popes and Councils, and making no allusion to the Bible at all, cited Scotti and Macchiavelli, and drew his arguments from Montesquieu and Jean Jacques.

> "The consul quoted Wickefort and Puffendorf and Grotius,
> And shewed from Vattel, exceedingly well,
> That the deed would be most atrocious."

But notwithstanding this coolness on the part of the bishops, upwards of six hundred names were attached to the memorial. Public opinion was favourable to the "emancipation," and it became a toast at banquets in Turin. At length, on the 8th of February 1848, the constitution was granted, and a few days after, the official gazette published letters-patent, announcing the emancipation of the Vaudois, and their admission to all the rights, civil and political, of Sardinian subjects. Well might such rights be conceded, for it appeared from the researches of the Advocate-General, Count Sclopis, that no other people in the state could be compared to the Vaudois in point of morality. All the Waldensian houses in Turin, and the palaces of the

three Protestant legations, were illuminated in honour of this tardy act of justice; and in the Valleys, on that winter night when the news first reached them, the fires that gleamed along the hill-tops, lighting up the back-ground of cold blue rock with crests of perpetual snow, were both the symbol and the expression of the joy of a people, to whom at one stroke the chains of five centuries had been broken. A few days afterwards there was a great festival in Turin, organized by the Marquis d'Azeglio, in honour of the granting of the constitution. Among the sixty guilds and corporations that assembled in the capital, the first place was granted by acclamation to the Vaudois. Six hundred of them, headed by ten of their clergy, led the procession, bearing a blue flag with the royal arms of Savoy embroidered in silver, and the simple words beneath—"A Carlo Alberto i Valdesi riconoscenti." It was the first time in their history that they had been admitted among the corporations of Turin, or greeted with the *vivas* of that stately capital. Some of them, all eyes and ears to what was going on, could not but notice how much puzzled a part of the populace was to know *who they were*, for a procession of Vaudois was a new thing in Turin. They inquired, "who *are* these friends?" and were told, "They are the Protestants;" and then there were repeated "Evvivas" in honour of the Protestants. But still the populace was about as wise as ever, and after taking breath, began to whisper, "Ma chi sono i Protestanti?" "Sono i Valdesi," was the reply. The Valdesi were cheered again, but still the mystery was not cleared up to everybody's satisfaction, and some of the more persevering inquired a fourth time, "Ma chi sono i Valdesi?" The answer was given this time in a whisper, "Sono i *Barbetti*—they are the *Barbets*—hush!" Everybody knew the Barbets—that old hated name of party spite, but it was only whispered that day at Turin, for these men were now recognised as Italians and as brethren.*

* It is curious how little is known about the Vaudois in Italy. The chances are that a well educated Tuscan has never even heard of the Waldensian Church. We once met an accomplished Neapolitan at Turin, a good scholar, and especially well informed on Italian matters. He had but lately returned from the East, where he had heard for the first time of a Protestant Church in Italy. He looked into some Romish authorities and discovered that they were Manicheans. But when he returned to Italy he resolved to know more about them, and when we saw him first he was sitting in a little circle of educated men, with a New Testament in his hands, hearing and speaking of the Gospel of Christ. One principal reason of this ignorance, and of very general prejudice where anything *is* known about them, is the want of a good history of the Vaudois Church in the Italian language. The only Italian volume on the subject is the book of M. Bert, the Vaudois pastor at Turin. It was most opportunely printed in 1849, and has no doubt been a source of information to many. But it does not pretend to be a history. It is an exposition of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, interspersed with historical notices. It is useful for having put in order many scattered details

No community has been more indebted to *foreign* benefactors, and among these a chief place must be given to Count Waldburg-Truchsess, Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Turin. From the time of his first mission, as representative of Frederick-William III., till his death in 1844, he was the friend and protector of his co-religionists in the Alps; and his dying request was that his ashes might rest in the church-yard at La Tour, among those of the people whom he had befriended. It was in his time that a chapel was opened at Turin, (in 1827,) in the palace of the embassy of the three Protestant Legations,—Prussian, Dutch, and English, and a Waldensian Pastor was appointed chaplain. This chapel continued to represent the Vaudois Church in the capital till 1851, when the Synod, no longer bound by the old restrictions, formed the congregation at Turin into a Vaudois parish, under the ordinary jurisdiction. It was also in great part by the help of Count Waldburg-Truchsess, that two hospitals were founded at La Tour and Pomaret. The Emperor Alexander of Russia contributed 12,000 francs for this purpose, as well as for the erection of a new Church at Pomaret, and the Russian Emperor manifested a deep interest in the poor people whose history had been recounted to him. He was "a good man," people said, though some of his doings were not very much in harmony with such a character. But, as John Foster put it, he no doubt "said grace before he swallowed Poland."

Frederick-William III. of Prussia established two bursaries, or free places, in his University of Berlin, in favour of Waldensian students who might go to Prussia for education. There were already from a very early period two free places in the Academy of Geneva, and five in that of Lausanne. The Vaudois students were almost invariably poor, and their education was peculiarly difficult, as their vernacular tongue was the *patois* of the Valleys, and they were obliged in the first instance to acquire the French language before studying in Switzerland, or French and German before attending the university at Turin. But this very difficulty has had its advantages. The Vaudois students are generally among the very best at Geneva and Lausanne, and no other church, so poor in worldly circumstances, can boast of possessing a clergy more thoroughly educated. But the education of the Valleys has not been left to depend entirely on foreign universities. In 1823, Dr. Gilly visited them for the first time, and the account which he published excited a very general interest in England. In 1825

in reference to the modern history of the Church, which we are generally able, however, to collect elsewhere. And we must still repeat that we have no good history of the Church since the time of Henri Arnaud.

the Waldensian Committee in London was formed under his auspices, and in a short time the subsidy of the English government, which had been withdrawn since the French occupation was recovered. It amounts to £277 per annum; and part of this sum was applied to the endowment of the two new parishes of Macel and Rodoret, or rather to the opening of churches which had been closed for nearly two centuries for want of funds. The remainder yields about £12 per annum to each of the thirteen pastors of the other parishes, and also a small surplus for superannuated ministers, and the widows of pastors. The Vaudois parishes, within the old limits, were thus increased to the number of fifteen before the "emancipation," and since that time two other parishes, Pignerol and Turin, without the boundaries of the Valleys, were added by the Synod of 1851. In 1837 the College of the Holy Trinity was founded at La Tour, the little capital of the Vaudois, the funds having been procured by Dr. Gilly. It is now equipped with a staff of professors and a good library. A library for the pastors has also been procured by the exertions of Dr. Stewart, the Scotch clergyman at Leghorn. It is now proposed to establish at La Tour a theological faculty, so as to obviate the necessity of sending the students to foreign universities. Much may no doubt be said in favour of such a plan, which, by aid of funds from America, is on the eve of accomplishment; but, at the same time, "the atmosphere of the Valleys is not very intellectual," and we should fear a positive deterioration, if the future pastors of the Church should acquire no larger education than is likely to be got at the college of La Tour. The friends of the Vaudois should secure that at least the more promising students have the advantage of two years of a *foreign* education at Geneva, or Berlin, or Edinburgh, or at such colleges as the Table might approve. At all events, these are days when the education of the pastors must not be allowed to deteriorate.

Another friend of the Vaudois, General Beckwith, has especially occupied himself in promoting the education of the Valleys. He has lived in them for nearly a quarter of a century; and though his ideas as an English Episcopalian do not in all points agree with the simple Presbyterianism of their Church, he has devoted both his time and his money to their service. They are a small community,—the whole Protestant population of the Valleys amounting to little more than 22,000. Yet they have now a college at La Tour, a grammar school at Pomaret, five girls' schools, and the Beckwith institution, as it is called, for the education of the daughters of the pastors. Besides these institutions there are about an hundred and twenty schools throughout the parishes, the school-houses having been

chiefly built or repaired by General Beckwith. The schoolmasters receive their stipend chiefly from Holland. Great improvements have been made in the mode of education, and books and maps have been provided. Bibles, Catechisms, and New Testaments translated into the *patois* of Piedmont, have been sent in abundance from England. In no part of Italy has such provision been made for the education of the people, and for these advantages they are chiefly indebted to Dr. Gilly and General Beckwith. Assuredly these two benefactors cannot say that they have laboured for an ungrateful people. Their portraits are found in almost every cottage in the Valleys—the Canon in his robes, and the Soldier with his wooden leg. Even Charles-Albert at length recognised the long and unwearied exertions of General Beckwith, on behalf of the education of the Valleys, by conferring on him, in 1848, the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice.

The "emancipation" of the Vaudois in 1848 has placed them in a new position. The old barriers are broken down, and a new era opens. In Piedmont, at least, the land is all before them. Piedmont alone has outlived the wreck of the constitutions of 1848, and the policy of Piedmont involved the fate of the Vaudois. It was a singular fortune—to call it by no other name—that the only Italian kingdom which did not return to the old law of despotism, was the one with which *they* were connected. Not one concession has been since withdrawn. No governmental commissioner now attends their synods,—their discussions are free and open, and no man makes them afraid. The heavy burdens have been loosed, and the oppressed are free. We are not at all disposed to make it a matter of reproof, that they have been slow to realize their new position. It is natural that they should have been so. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of his people, we were like men that dreamed." They did not rush at once into the open field, like schoolboys in a holiday. They are not an excitable people, changing in a moment with changing fortune, and ready to run after novelties; and in all that they have done since 1848, they have been slow-moving, cautious, and constitutional. We do not blame them for it. Their Church has had the stern discipline of five centuries, during which it maintained its position against persecutions that were unparalleled, and firmness and fixedness of purpose have become part of its character. The Vaudois have meddled as little as any people "with them that are given to change;" and it is quite in accordance with this character that they should now be prudent as well as zealous. They may be "slow coaches"—perhaps they are—but they are moving

steadily along the great highway, and are in less danger of capsizing. They have made great progress during the last six years, but they have not once compromised their position by imprudence. Now, this is a great matter in the present condition of Italy. A religious revolution has been begun in that country,—especially in Tuscany and Sardinia, but the new Italian party* is impulsive and progressive; and in a just dread of formalism, its tendency is towards the other extreme of getting quit of forms and church order altogether. We are convinced that "order" is a divine ordinance, and that a disorganized community cannot long continue to exercise an influence for good. Deeply do we sympathize with the evangelical movement in central Italy; but all the more on that account do we dread the influence of the anarchical views which are there so popular. We have seen the evil of such principles elsewhere. We have seen small sects setting out vigorously on some extreme idea, to which they gave a peculiar prominence. There was freshness and life in them at first, and they prospered by the sheer force of earnestness. Their system of purism was attractive: their mode of operation was novel. In comparison with them, the Church seemed to move heavily on its old and worn machinery. The energy of their first apostles sustained them for a time; but the principle on which they set out was a disorganizing one. There were original elements of weakness in the party, and after lingering for a time in a declining state, it died out from mere debility. These examples teach us the danger of giving prominence to one part of christian truth to the manifest neglect of other parts, and of setting aside that church order which is enjoined in God's Word. We rejoice, therefore, that while a new life is springing up in other parts of Italy,—fresh, impulsive, and free, there is at the same time an old Church in the Valleys of the Alps, *eminently conservative in its character, and tenacious both of its doctrine and its forms.* This is an important fact, though it does not follow that the Reformed Church in Italy should at any cost be constructed on the Waldensian model. The Waldenses have a history of their own,—they scarcely belong at all to the common history of Italy,—they have contributed nothing to its science, its painting, and its song,—they have had no part in its artistic glory,—among

* When we use the phrase "Italian party," we mean to include all the converts from Romanism in Tuscany, Piedmont, and elsewhere. It is well known that several of the Tuscan converts hold views in reference to Church government analogous to those of the Darbyites or Plymouth brethren; but such views are not general in Italy, and we are not aware that they exist at all in Piedmont. They are almost exclusively confined to the parts of Tuscany and Liguria, in which the spirit of the old republics has not wholly vanished.

them are "not many noble,"—all they have is the Gospel of Christ. It remains to be seen how far Italy appreciates their possession of *that* treasure, and how far she will acknowledge her obligations to them, as an *Italian* people preserving from the first a pure *Italian* Church.

At all events, they are not strangers, but Italians. They have at length been acknowledged as forming part of the national family. It is true—and this is an important point—their ecclesiastical language is not Italian, but French. This was the result not of choice, but of necessity. It was the plague that made them French. The great pestilence of 1630 reduced the population of the Valleys to one-third of what it had been; entire families became extinct. Of the thirteen pastors, only Gilles and Gros survived. One after another, all their brethren had fallen. Pastors were accordingly invited from Geneva, and as these could not conduct the services in Italian, the French language was introduced, and still continues to be the language of religious worship. The Italian language should now be gradually introduced, and the Waldenses, who are convinced of this, are acting accordingly. Italian is now taught in their college and higher schools; they have Italian preachers at Turin, Geneva, and Nice; at the last synod in the Valleys the opening services were in Italian, and several of the deputies used that language exclusively.

Again, the Italian party could scarcely desire a Church more simple in its forms than the Waldensian. It is well known that the new evangelical party in Italy aims at the utmost simplicity. By those who reasoned *a priori* on the subject, the opposite might have been expected; and some *did* argue that a system of "pure mentalism," as they called it, was wholly unsuited to the Italian character; and that the Italians needed imposing ceremonies, and must have the truth incarnate in some form, or represented to the eye in symbols, pictures, and images. And hence it was supposed that the Waldensian Church, with its presbyterian forms, and its calvinistic creed, must organize itself anew, and set out with bishops and a liturgy like the Anglican, if it expected to make any impression. Now, in the first place, it is certain that the Waldenses will neither have bishops nor an Anglican liturgy; and some of the Italian party will scarcely even acknowledge pastors, much less bishops. "Ne abbiamo già abbastanza," they say; "we have enough of them already." We may reason as we please about objectivity, but in point of fact the Italian converts from Romanism have shewn an utter abhorrence to images, and have had no sentimental feelings for pictures and statuary. An Italian, escaping from the most thorough

system of materialism that was ever set up in the Christian Church, makes short work of such questions as apostolical succession, priestly authority, and the distinction between homage and worship. It is a worship in spirit and in truth *versus* a great system of materialism, that makes the deepest impression; and a Church eminently simple in its forms is the only one likely to make much progress in Italy. The Vaudois have ordained pastors, but they are all equal in ecclesiastical rank. Some of them have no higher stipend than the vicar of the "Deserted Village," and even the professors have but £60 per annum, *pour tout potage*. A hierarchy is out of the question in such a case. The worship of the Church is in part liturgical, but the liturgy is only used by the clergyman, and is not in the hands of the people. The three prayers are read from a prepared form, but there are no responses, and except in the reading of the Commandments and of the Apostles' creed, the service is the same as in the Scotch Churches. The liturgy was compiled in 1839, from the three Swiss liturgies which had been formerly in use in the Valleys. The sermon is extempore. The Italian party generally object to so much uniformity in the prayers, and in the Italian stations the preachers do not bind themselves to an adherence to the forms of their directory. In the French and Swiss Churches the opening confession of sin is invariably (as far as we know) the prayer which Theodore Beza pronounced with so much effect at the opening of the Colloquy of Poissy, and beautiful as that prayer is, we have known Italians strongly objecting to the *formality* of repeating the same words for three successive Sundays. The relation of the Waldenses towards the new Italian converts from Rome is not likely, then, to encourage any introduction of elaborate ritual observances. But the Vaudois pastors are wholly opposed to irregularity and disorder. Some of the Italian party claim the right of "breaking bread" together, or, in other words, of partaking of the Lord's Supper in private, and without the intervention of a pastor. There may be some excuse for this in places where there are no pastors and no public service; though in a parallel case in the history of the Reformed Church in France, Calvin pronounced the practice unwarranted, and the Vaudois adhere to his principles, though unwilling to enter into controversy on such a point. Laymen are more largely recognised by the Waldenses than in any other church, and by the decision of last synod, a person qualified by his piety, education, and general ability to preach the Gospel, may be admitted to ordination, though he has not attended any theological faculty.

In a word, the simple and venerable constitution of the Vaudois

Church seems remarkably adapted to the religious service and wants of Italy. Its history does not date from the Reformation of the sixteenth century; it does not rest on what Romanists call the "mere negation of Protestantism;" and it teaches the same essential doctrines which it held from the beginning. All this is important in a country where the prejudice is strong against Protestants and apostates. Taking into account the history, constitution, and present position of the Waldensian Church, it seems to be the best organization for operating on the Italian mind. At all events, it is now on its trial in this respect, and it has done more than any other party. We do not wish to set up one part of the Church against another; there is room enough and work enough for all, and our sympathies are with every party that is really engaged in the evangelization of Italy. In the Waldensian community, however, we have both a simple order and a sound creed, which have proved their durability by a history such as no other section of the church can present. These alone will not do the work of evangelization. There must be spirit and life in the men who teach pure Christianity in a land of graven images; and cold, formal discourses will not counteract the hundred influences of Romanism. There has been a great improvement in the Vaudois preaching, yet we cannot but think that the Swiss model is still too generally followed.

This last subject suggests some interesting questions. The old Scotch preaching, with its elaborate divisions and long doctrinal discussions, did good in its time, in conveying a knowledge of the word of God to the Scottish people; though it cannot be denied that under the dry bones of those dreary old discourses, people too often became dry bones themselves. As new life is entering the Church, that old style is in a great measure broken up. In England (there are brilliant exceptions) the text is too often simply diluted, like a homœopathic globule, in so many spoonfuls of water. In Switzerland, in many cases, it is merely the motto to a meditation which might be taken wholesale from Quesnel or Thomas-à-Kempis, and might be preached by Jesuit, Jansenist, or Capuchin, without offending Romish orthodoxy. The form of mere religious meditations on the ordinary commonplaces prevails: serious and unexceptionable reflections take the place of what is properly called preaching. Now the Italians want more than "predications" and "meditations;" they can get these in Young's Night Thoughts—a favourite book in Roman Catholic Italy. They will not acknowledge a mere organization to be a church, but they will acknowledge a society of living Christians, and it is by the life that is in it that the Church will best command its organization. In this sense also the spirit of the

living creature must be in the wheels. The present circumstances of Italy will tax to the utmost the energies of the Alpine pastors. The peasants of the Valleys have never had, and never required a soft, polished, town-bred clergy, in kid gloves and patent leather boots, but simple God-fearing men, who could sympathize with their feelings, and share their trials—who could task Romanists and face a snow storm. The way has now been opened into the first cities of Sardinia, and at the outset they have had men not unequal to such positions,—either native Vaudois or Italian converts: but in so small and so poor a population there is unquestionably a deficiency, and it is to this difficulty that the Waldensian Church must now apply itself.

Since the preceding pages were written, we learn that there has been a small secession from the Vaudois communion, in two of the Italian stations--Turin and Genoa. We are not surprised that such should be the case: on the contrary, we fully expected such a movement on the part of some of the Italian converts, though we deeply regret that the name of Dr. De Sanctis should be associated with those who are unwisely dividing the evangelical community in Piedmont. We do not here enter into the details, but, with abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, we do not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the wisdom and moderation of the Waldensian Table in these proceedings. Those who have seceded connected themselves but very recently with the Vaudois. They are chiefly—we might say exclusively—recent converts from Romanism, or *émigrés* from the other Italian states, and not particularly disposed to sympathize with the quiet constitutional proceedings of the evangelical Church in Sardinia. They are jealous of priestcraft, and of regular ecclesiastical government of any kind, and to some of them

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

The pastor, they say, acts as priest: he alone officiates on the Sabbath-day: he alone preaches, baptizes, and dispenses the sacrament of the Supper: while, on the contrary, their meetings should be social, and, all Christians being priests, every man who chooses to put himself forward, should be at liberty to teach and to administer the sacraments. We do not say that a man like Dr. De Sanctis, who was ordained in the Romish Church, and re-ordained in the Waldensian, holds such crude notions of church order; but, in general, the new party *does* object to any regularly constituted Church whatever. They trust more to societies, somewhat on the principle of political clubs, in which each member may speak and act freely. Now, if this be the

principle of the New Testament, the Church for eighteen centuries has been entirely astray on the point, and a new light has certainly arisen. It must be remembered that these parties have but recently left the Church of Rome—that they have been quite unaccustomed to such questions—that some of them have been rather trained to political dissensions—and that, with one or two exceptions, they are not men of liberal education. This may form an excuse for crude ideas, but, instead of fostering a presumptuous spirit, it should teach them to defer more to men who have made a life-long study of the Word of God.

Again. They charge the Waldensian Church with being "antiquated in its ideas," slow and timid in its movements, and incapable of meeting the present wants of Italy. There might be something more fresh and stirring in the organization of societies, half religious and half political, and in establishing newspapers with "Religious Liberty and Victor Emmanuel" for their watchword: but the Waldensian Church does not believe this to be its "mission," and we rejoice that the Vaudois pastors have not allowed themselves to be carried away by the heated spirit of the times to meddle with matters that do not properly belong to the Christian ministry. Perhaps they are not doing all that they might do: we have not found perfection in the Valleys—nor anywhere else; but we are old-fashioned enough to trust more to the preaching of the Gospel by men who give themselves wholly to prayer and the ministry of the Word, than to any new plans of these days. The Church in Piedmont is now in a favourable position for doing a great work—*and is doing it*, slowly, but surely. We strongly deprecate any rash movement that might compromise its liberties.

One word more. Since the days of the Apostle John there have been men "who love to have the pre-eminence"—bustling, consequential men, who have no idea of "esteeming others better than themselves." How far this spirit may prevail in such divisions, we do not take on ourselves to judge. But if those who cannot submit to the control of the Waldensian Table are in earnest for the evangelization of Italy, (and some of them we doubt not are,) there is work enough for all. "Strike out, all swimmers!" We would have all to labour as they have opportunity. But when a party puts itself forward in opposition to a venerable orthodox communion, we think it right to say, that we have in nowise lost confidence in the remnant of the Alpine Church. Let the Vaudois only take heed that their lamps are burning, when they point to their old emblem, and say, "LUX LUCET IN TENEBRIS."

ART. IV.—1. *Census of Great Britain in* 1851. *By Authority of the Registrar-General.* London, 1854.
2. *Census of Great Britain*—1851. *Religious Worship in England and Wales.* By HORACE MANN. London, 1854.
3. *Education in Great Britain. Being the Official Report of* HORACE MANN. London, 1854.
4. *The Charter of the Nations; or, Free Trade and its Results.* By HENRY DUNCKLEY, M.A. London, 1854.

STATISTICAL TABLES afford invaluable materials to the statesman and the economist, and occasionally offer hints of great significance to the moral philosopher; but few materials are more misleading when dealt with by inexperienced or unskilful hands. To use them profitably and safely two qualities are more especially required—great sagacity and strict integrity. Before we can trust ourselves to the guidance of figures, we must feel certain of two things, neither of which are easy of attainment—their accuracy and their completeness. Before we can adopt unhesitatingly the conclusions to which they point, we must know not only that the figures we have are correct, but that there are no figures we have not which might modify or reverse our inferences. If our materials are incomplete, they must *pro tanto* be inconclusive: if they are inaccurate they must *pro tanto* tend to lead us astray. All our logic may be vitiated by some unobserved hiatus in the premises. Now even official statistics are not always to be relied upon, and seldom comprise *all* the information which directly or indirectly bears upon the subject. This is especially felt when we come to institute any comparison between the present and the past. We may be able to trust the returns for 1851, but we know that those of 1811 and 1821 were often scandalously careless and imperfect. In all calculations based upon births, deaths, and marriages, as every one accustomed to them is aware, it has been found necessary by the most experienced actuaries to correct official tables by conjectural estimates—to form a guess as to the amount and the place of the omissions which required to be supplied—in a word, to compile our statistics from our reasoning, in place of basing our reasoning unreservedly upon our statistics.

Again,—it is sometimes found that your figures, where relied upon with the robust and child-like faith of orthodoxy, land you in some conclusions utterly novel and astonishing. The untrained statistician proclaims as a startling discovery what the man of experience feels at once to be nothing but a monstrous

fallacy. His sagacity convinces him at a glance, that the premises which have led to such an issue must contain either some great inaccuracy or some great omission; and, knowing how common such are with arithmetical compilers, he refuses to place his philosophy at the mercy of a careless computer or an ignorant and incompetent returning officer. He rejects the conclusion and revises the faulty materials which led to it, till he discovers the flaw or the hiatus—which he is seldom at a loss to find. Thus, some years ago, before the Act for the Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, and the care of the Registrar-General, had introduced an increasing and now nearly perfect accuracy into the returns, (for England and Wales, at least,) a student of figures observed an extraordinary and persistently regular excess of deaths at every decennial period of life. Nearly 50 per cent. more died, or were recorded to die, at the age of 20 than at the ages of 19 and 21; 50 per cent. more at the age of 30 than at the ages of 29 and 31; and so on. This was alarming and astounding enough; and a statistical society was applied to explain the anomalous excess. Of course, an experienced statist, knowing the careless habits common both to individuals speaking of age, and to parish officers entering the same in their books, perceived the explanation at a glance: the tendency *to speak in round numbers* had stepped in to vitiate the returns; and a death occurring at any age *between* 19 and 21 was constantly entered as occurring at the age of 20, so that the decennial year really included the deaths of nearly a year and a half.

A somewhat similar inaccuracy—though in this case arising from wilfulness and not carelessness—is signalized by the Registrar-General, in his returns of the present census;—and, instead of accepting and arguing from it, it became his duty to detect and rectify it.

"Persons of the age of 20 in 1851 must have been 10 years of age in 1841, and persons of the age of 25 in 1851 must have been 15 years of age in 1841; and as there is a certain number of losses by death, it is evident that, excluding the effects of emigration, the numbers at the age of 20–25 in 1851 must be less than the numbers living at the age of 10–15 in 1841, of whom they are the natural survivors. But what are the statements which the 'abstract of ages' express?

"1841. Number of girls, age 10–15, was . 1,003,119;
1851. ... young women, 20–25, . 1,030,456.

"Now, as the first number never could have swelled in 10 years to the magnitude of the second, we are driven to the hypothesis that, in 1841 and 1851, the heads of families returned several thousand

ladies of the age 30–35 as at the age of 20–25; and the hypothesis is confirmed, by comparing the diminished numbers returned at the age of 30–35 in 1851 with the numbers returned as 20–25 in 1841, where it is evident that the latter number is in deficiency as much as the former is in excess.

"1841.	Number of young women stated at	20-25,	973,696;
1851.	... women ...	30–35,	768,711."

After a careful calculation of disturbing causes, the Registrar-General found it necessary to transfer about 35,000 ladies from the second to the third decennial period.

But integrity is quite as necessary to the reasoner who deals with figures as sagacity and caution. Few addict themselves much to the study of statistics except for the purpose of forming or proving a theory. The temptation then is terrible to use your materials at once partially and tyrannically—to tease and torture them till they express your language, and give their suffrage to your candidate. "Figures (said Macaulay) are like mercenaries: they may be enlisted on both sides." This unfair treatment of arithmetical facts and tables is of two kinds. Sometimes a writer gathers from the wide sweep of his reading whatever statistics suit his purpose and tell his tale, with no regard to the value of the authority on which they rest. He finds loose statements given in a tabular shape by travellers or gazetteers, presses them into the service, and gives them the sanction of his name; when perhaps a few moments' reflection or inquiry would have shown him that they came from unreliable or incompetent sources. The first edition of Mr. Malthus's celebrated work abounds in instances of this sin—a most common one, by the way, among all writers who treat of the theory of population. We remember a conversation we once held with an eminent continental statistician, generally accurate and conscientious beyond his class. He had quoted largely from and rested his conclusions greatly upon the tables given in the work of an English theorist—perhaps one of the most reckless and incompetent this country ever produced, and whose character was pretty well understood at home. "How could you (we asked) ever have made such bold use of such a worthless and unauthoritative production?" His answer was curious and candid. "Que voulez-vous? J'ai trouvé là les chiffres dont j'avois besoin, et que je ne trouvois pas ailleurs." At other times people give as statistics what are merely loose and reckless *estimates* of their own—often miles wide of the mark; but which, being arrayed in all the dignity of elaborate tables, impose upon their readers as positive facts. There is another breach of integrity in these matters, more fatal and seductive still—of which

the late M. T. Sadler's work on Population is the most memorable example we remember. It consists in *coaxing* your figures; in so arranging your tables and humouring your averages as to bring out the conclusion you desire; in throwing out a disturbing and unmanageable year, for example, from one division into another. Mr. Sadler's object was to prove that fecundity diminished as density of population increased. He made out his case by an elaborate tabular comparison of countries, cities, and years; and if a classification of these elements by threes or tens or fives did not bring out the wanted result, he would arrange them now in fours, now in sevens, now in nines,—till his theory came out so constantly from his tables, as quite to convince himself and to stagger many abler and sincerer statisticians. It requires no ordinary mental rectitude to be wholly on our guard against this insidious tendency to falsification.

These great postulates secured—accuracy and completeness in the materials, with sagacity and integrity in dealing with them—statistics are about the most serviceable means we possess both of forming and of testing sound hypotheses, especially in questions of social or commercial policy. In many points, too, they afford the best record of progress; though hitherto their value in this respect has been greatly diminished by the admitted incorrectness of our earlier tables. The last census is incomparably the most perfect that has yet been taken, and will be invaluable as a basis of comparison for future times; and even now it indicates many interesting and suggestive facts which will well repay a few minutes' examination and reflection. So much has already been written on this subject, that we shall detain our readers for a very short time over the mere figures which lie before us; but shall be satisfied with briefly calling attention to three or four of the most curious and important facts which they establish.

During the half century which closed with 1851, the *progress* of Great Britain, remarkable as it has been in mere numbers, has been more remarkable in everything else. We are not disposed to regard a rapid augmentation of the population of a country as, by itself and necessarily, a matter for congratulation. It may even be sometimes, as in Ireland, a matter for regret and alarm—at once an indication and a cause of social wretchedness. But when it is accompanied by a corresponding or more than corresponding advance in all that makes life dignified and valuable; when it is accompanied by augmented comforts, augmented consumption and production, increased longevity, and amended education,—it may be taken as a measure of real progress. Thus the population has increased in fifty years from

10,917,433 to 21,121,967, or 93½ per cent., but the *effective strength* of the population, *i.e.*, the numbers of the serviceable ages, have increased in a much greater ratio. The ages of the people were first made a subject of inquiry in 1821. Since that time, while the numbers under 20 years of age have increased 37 per cent., those between 20 and 40 have increased 60 per cent., and those of the riper and wiser period between 40 and 60, have increased 55 per cent. And while in 1821, those under 10 and above 70 years of age, whom we term the *helpless* portion of the community, bore to the *effective* portion, or those between 20 and 60, the ratio of 68 per cent.,—in 1851, this ratio had fallen to 57 per cent. At the former period, 6,367,991 adults had to support 4,355,166 children and old persons:—at the latter date, 10,082,296 adults had to support 5,797,295 children and old persons—manifestly a far lighter task. In other words, the increased population is due not only to a greater number of births, but the longer life of those actually born. Longevity has increased as well as fecundity.

Again. The principal increase has taken place among the most energetic classes, as well as among the most effective ages of the population. It is not the slow, plodding, comparatively unimproving inhabitants of *country* districts that have multiplied most rapidly, but the enterprising, intelligent, aspiring, inventive dwellers in *towns*. The population of Great Britain had increased, as we have seen, 93½ per cent. in fifty years; but the population of the 212 principal towns has increased 176 per cent. in the same period—some of them as much as 300 per cent.* It is true that a vast proportion of this rapid augmentation is due to immigration from rural into urban districts; it is true that people marry earlier and multiply faster in the agricultural countries;† but still the effect remains the same: wherever they may *be born*, a much larger proportion of the population *live* in towns than was formerly the case. People are more congregated into masses; there is more combination of labour, more collision of intelligence, more of that mental activity which stimulates progress and develops power. This change will appear to many, we are aware, a change for the worse; all must admit that it is not without its dangers and its drawbacks;—

* "While the population of the country and of the small towns has increased 71 per cent., that of the large towns has increased 189 per cent. in the half century."—(*Census of Great Britain.*)

† In the manufacturing districts about 10 per cent. of those married are under twenty-one years of age; in the agricultural, about 14 per cent. (See *Eighth Report* of the Registrar-General.) The greater fecundity of women in the agricultural districts we cannot prove from official returns, but the inference is nearly irresistible to those who have read the evidence contained in the "Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture."

but, whether for good or evil, it is certain that, as a nation, we live a far more stirring, vivid, busy life than our fathers. We live *faster* as well as longer.

Further. We know as a general fact that the people at large are much better off than formerly, and we can measure the extent of this improvement in some degree by the increase in the consumption of the chief articles of necessity and comfort. Unfortunately, having no statistics of home production, we can test the increase only in the consumption of articles imported from abroad. But this is a fair criterion enough, for few will augment their expenditure in tea or sugar, for example, till their wants in the way of bread and meat are tolerably supplied. We know, however, that the home growth of corn has steadily and rapidly increased with the improved cultivation of the land, yet we find that in the seven years ending—

1839—we imported in grain and meal of all kinds a total yearly average of	1,225,700
1846, ...	3,270,219
1853, ...	9,521,060

The number of animals imported for food, which was *nil* in 1830, was 5318 in 1843, and 304,247 in 1853. The consumption of tea, coffee, and sugar per head, has increased as follows:—

	Tea.	Coffee.	Sugar.
1801, .	19 oz.	1$\frac{1}{10}$ oz.	22½ lbs.
1819, .	23 „	18	24 „
1853, .	33½ „	21	30 „

But it is not only in the consumption of articles that contribute to material wellbeing that our progress has been more rapid than that of the population. The same has been the case with the provision for secular and religious education. The following comparison is an interesting one, between the rate of increase of our numbers in each decennial period, and the rate of increase in the accommodation for those numbers in places of worship, including those of all denominations, in England and Wales.*

* The degree to which this rapid increase of accommodation is due to the exertion of Dissenters, may be gathered by a comparison of the table given in the text with the following, which relates to the Established Church alone.

	Rate of Increase of Population.	Rate of Increase of Sittings.
1811, . .	14·3 per cent. . . .	·6 per cent.
1821, . .	18·0 „	1·0 „
1831, . .	15·8 „	2·9 „
1841, . .	14·5 „	6·6 „
1851, . .	12·6 „	11·8 „

	Increase of Population, per cent.	Increase of Sittings in Places of Worship, per cent.
1811,	14·3	6·8
1821,	18·0	10·3
1831,	15·8	15·0
1841,	14·5	22·5
1851,	12·6	19·4"

The actual *state* of education in this country is far from satisfactory, but the *progress* made of late years is eminently so. The number of children receiving education has enormously increased, and the quality of the education imparted has improved at a still more rapid rate. According to Mr. Horace Mann, the number of children at school ought to be 3,000,000: it is, at day-schools, 2,144,378, and in Sunday schools 2,407,642. We have no very reliable returns for the past, of the number actually under education; but a comparison of the ascertained facts for 1851, with the information obtained in 1818 and 1833, by Parliamentary inquiries, gives the following result. Since 1818, the increase of day schools has been 218 per cent., and of Sunday scholars 401 per cent., while the population during the same interval has increased only 51 per cent. *Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendi*, is well enough for a maxim to stimulate us to continued and increased exertions; but it cannot be denied that the above indications of solid and rapid progress are at once consolatory and encouraging.

Great pains were taken by the officers intrusted with the arrangement of the Census Papers in 1851, to obtain a correct and complete account of the *occupations* of the people,*and the returns to this branch of the inquiry were, on the whole, very full and satisfactory. In 1841, we could only specify the callings and occupations of 7,846,569 persons in Great Britain, out of a total of 18,844,434: in 1851, we can specify 20,763,624, out of a total of 20,959,477. But much of the intelligibility and available value of these returns appears to us to be lost, by a clumsy and injudicious classification, into seventeen divisions, and innumerable subdivisions, in the choice of which we can trace no distinct principle or idea, and which present us with no salient general facts which we can store in our memory, or from which we can deduce any noticeable conclusions. Surely, instead of such an arrangement, it would have been better to have divided the voluminous returns into four great categories, the *producing*, the *manufacturing*, the *distributing*, and the *intellectual* classes. It would have been an object of especial interest to ascertain the total number of shopkeepers of all kinds, *i.e.*, the proportion

which the distributors bear to the producers in this country,—a ratio which Mr. J. S. Mill thinks to be unreasonably and injuriously large. Or they might have been classified into those employed in *feeding*, *clothing*, *lodging*, and *cultivating* (*i.e.*, teaching, amusing, governing, and reforming) the people, that we might see at a glance the proportion of industry engaged in supplying each of the four first wants of humanity. In the absence of any clear and brief arrangement of this kind, we can only glean a few curious facts. Lawyers, medical men, and clergymen of the Church of England, are about equal in numbers, averaging 18,000 each. What we may term the *incapacitated* classes—the blind, deaf and dumb, and insane, amount to 52,843. The blind number one in 975 of the population; the deaf and dumb one in 1670; the lunatics (in asylums) one in 1115. We find, too, on examining the places of birth of various classes a curious indication of the varying tastes and habits of the several races who make up our nation. Ireland furnishes 37 per cent. of our army, but only 10 per cent. of our navy; Scotland 11 per cent. of the army, and 4 per cent only of the navy; while England supplies only 47 per cent. of the army; but no less than 82 per cent. of the navy.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the Census Returns, however, is that which records the numbers and relations of the sexes. It is a curious fact, that in this country, and we believe* throughout Europe, though more males than females are *born*, yet more females than males are always *living*. The former die faster, and about the age of twenty-one, the number seems to be equalized. The females, taking the whole population, are about *three per cent.* in excess of the males. The proportions of males to females in 1851, were as follows:—

"Under 20 years of age	100	to 98.856
from 20 to 40 .	100	— 105.291
— 40 — 60 .	100	— 105.628
— 60 — 80 .	100	— 118 115
80 and upwards	100	— 141.636"

The actual excess of females now in Great Britain is a quarter of a million (266,533). This has always seemed to us an arrangement fitted to call forth our gratitude. How many families are there which are dependent on the services of those super-

* If a return, given in the first volume at the head of our Paper can be relied upon, this proportion, which we had always understood was constant, does not prevail in the new world, at least among free white persons The following table of the population of the United States shows this, (p. 35):—

	Males.	Females	Excess of Males.
Under 20 years	3,930,383	3,819,026	111,357
20 and upwards	3,318,883.	3,120,816	198,067

numerary women, who, if mated and engrossed by more immediate ties, would be unable to render the aid required where a wife and mother is incapacitated by sickness or by death.

There are sundry curiosities to be gleaned from this division of the returns. Thus, it appears, that notwithstanding the ecclesiastical prohibition, "a man may not marry his grandmother," a number of individuals have done this, or something like it. At least 106 men under the age of 35 are married to women between 60 and 70 years of age. In two cases men of 20 have wives of 80; in 144 cases men about 40 have wives of 80.

The next table, however, shows, that in artificial England there are far too many of those valuable supernumeraries of whom we have just spoken—too many for their own peace—too many for the preservation of a sound social and moral state. It is painful to record, that of the women in the prime of life, *i.e.*, between the ages of 20 and 40, *forty-one* per cent. in England, and *forty-eight* per cent. in Scotland are spinsters; or that of 2,856,398 women of the marriageable and child-bearing period of life, (between 20 and 40,) only 1,608,216 are married, and 1,248,182 are living in a state of celibacy. The causes and the consequences of this state of things are alike to be deplored. The causes are twofold; both we believe artificial, and both therefore curable.

One of these, indeed, is already in a great degree removed. For a long period, antecedent to our day, an unfortunate and unsound commercial policy had fettered industry and exchange, and greatly limited the field for the employment both of capital and labour. It was difficult for the ordinary run of men in every line of life to earn an income adequate to the expenses of a family. Men were laboriously seeking work, instead of work seeking men to do it. A large proportion in every profession felt no certainty of succeeding by any amount of energy and talent. Barristers without briefs,—curates on a miserable stipend,—surgeons without practice,—peasants with a scanty pittance,—labourers of all sorts and in all ranks "worthy of their hire," yet often unable to obtain it—preached lessons of abstinence and prudence which were not lost upon the nation. It became with the majority a matter of wisdom, and often of conscience, to forego or to postpone marriage till a provision for a family had been secured; and when that period at length arrived, the habits and tastes of a solitary and unaccommodating life were irrevocably formed. Now, happily, a wiser system has given a wonderful elasticity to every branch of industry, while emigration has relieved our redundant numbers, the demand for labour has once more overtaken the supply; and not only has its remu-

neration consequently risen, but every man, not actually suffering under physical or moral inability, may feel secure that his powers, honestly and steadily exerted, will suffice to maintain him. Few men now, we sincerely believe, *need* to remain unmarried after the age of thirty. If they do so, accidental incapacity apart, it must be a matter of preference or of indolence.

Numbers, however, do and will remain unmarried, especially among our upper classes, from necessities artificially created or gratuitously supposed. Younger sons are constantly doomed to celibacy, not because a marrying income is unattainable by them, but because prejudice, custom, pride, or laziness forbid them to toil for its attainment. By inheritance, or by public employment, they possess perhaps just sufficient to permit them to enjoy the pleasures and amenities of a London life; miscellaneous society stands them instead of a domestic circle,—the club supplies the place of a home,—vagrant and disreputable amours (or amours that ought to be disreputable) make them unambitious of and unfit for wives, and they prefer to rest satisfied with a pleasant, rather than labour for a happy and worthy existence. Others, again, possess an income amply sufficient for the support of a wife and family, but will not believe it to be so. Their ideas of the style and comfort in which it is necessary to live, are formed on a conventional and unreasonable standard. They will not condescend to the fancied indignities, or they cannot endure the trivial privations, of economy,—they will not ask the woman of their choice to share with them any home less luxurious than she has been accustomed to, and they condemn her to live without love rather than expose her to live without a carriage. God only knows how many noble creatures have their happiness sacrificed to this miserable blunder,—how many pine away existence in desolate and dreary singleness, amid luxuries on which they are not dependent and splendour which confers no joy, who would thankfully have dwelt in the humblest cottage, and been contented with the simplest dress, and have blest the one and embellished the other, if only the men to whom they have given their hearts had possessed less false pride and more true faith in woman's love and sense and capacity of self-abnegation. A higher and more just conception of the materials which really make up the sum of human enjoyment,—a sounder estimate of the relative value of earthly possessions,—a more frequent habit of diving down through the conventional to the real, and a knowledge of how much refinement, how much comfort, how much serene content are compatible with the scantiest means, where there is sense and courage to face the fact and to control the fancy,—would in half a generation reduce the million and a quarter of spinsters we have

spoken of to a few hundred thousands, and raise into the condition of honoured happy wives the vast majority of those "beautiful lay nuns," (as they have been called,) whose sad, unnatural, objectless existence, whose wasted powers of giving and receiving joy, it makes the heart bleed to witness.

To conclude. Figures can measure and record the progress of our race in several departments, and with a striking significance and exactitude; but some facts which cannot be arithmetically expressed are more eloquent by far. It is curious and deeply interesting to observe how much of the advance which mankind has made in some of the most essential branches of material improvement has been effected within the last quarter of a century; and on the other hand, in how many departments human intelligence reached its culminating point ages ago. It is not likely that the world will ever see a more perfect poet than Homer, a grander statesman than Pericles, a sublimer or more comprehensive philosopher than Plato, a sculptor equal to Phidias, a painter superior to Raphael. Certain it is that the lapse of twenty or five-and-twenty centuries has given birth to none who have surpassed them, and to few who have approached them.. In the fine arts and in speculative thought, our remotest ancestors are still our masters. In science and its applications the order of precedence is reversed, and our own age has been more prolific and amazing than the aggregate of all the ages which have gone before us. Take two points only, the most obvious and the most signal—locomotion and the transmission of intelligence. At the earliest period of authentic history men travelled as fast as in the year 1830. Nimrod got over the ground at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour: Napoleon could go no faster. Between 1830 and 1840, we raised the maximum of speed from ten miles to seventy. The first six thousand years did nothing, or next to nothing,—the next six years did everything: reached the limits of possible achievement in this direction; for no one imagines that any greater speed is attainable or would be bearable. Again:—It is probable that Abraham sent messages to Lot just as rapidly as Frederick the Great or George III. transmitted orders to their Generals and Admirals. In 1794, the old wooden telegraph was invented and made a certain though a partial and a slight advance. But, with this exception, the rate at which intelligence could be conveyed had remained stationary at that of ordinary locomotion on horseback up to 1840. In 1840 we communciated at the velocity of twelve miles an hour. In 1850, we communicated over immeasurable distances in inappreciably infinitesimal subdivisions of time. The experiment was made, and a message was transmitted from Belgrade

to Liverpool *instantaneously.* A spark given at Dundee could fire the cannon of the Invalides at Paris. Here, too, at a single leap we have reached the *ne plus ultra* of earthly possibility. In ten years—nay, in five—we have cleared the vast space between the speed of a horse and the speed of lightning.

What more remains? This—*diffusion to all of the acquisitions made by and confined to a few.* We cannot travel faster than seventy miles an hour, but we may enable all, however humble, to travel at that speed. We cannot transmit intelligence with a celerity exceeding that of the magnetic spark, but we may make that mode of communication accessible to every class. We cannot surpass Pericles, or Plato, or Praxiteles, but we may look forward to the day, and contribute to hasten its arrival, when mankind shall be made up of such,—when these great men shall have become types, not anomalies,—specimens, not marvels,—when the Ideal shall be realized, and the selected good and the surpassing great of former ages shall be the average actualities of Being, and not, as now, at once our reproach and our despair.

ART. V.—1. *Oxford Reform, and Oxford Professors.* By HENRY HALFORD VAUGHAN, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London, 1854.

2. *University Reform: A Speech delivered in the House of Commons, on the Oxford Reform Bill, on 27th April* 1854. By EDWARD HORSMAN, Esq., M.P. London, 1854.

3. *National Faith considered in reference to Endowments.* By H. A. WOODGATE, B.D., late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. London, 1854.

4. *Objections to the Government Scheme for the Present Subjection and Future Management of the University of Oxford.* By CHARLES NEATE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College. London, 1854.

THE reform of the English Universities has at length commenced. The citadel of conservatism has been compelled to yield to the spirit of the nineteenth century, and after some two hundred years of independence, the champion of indefeasible rights, of non-resistance, of High Toryism in Church and State, must submit to learn the unwelcome truth—that the University of Oxford is a national institution, deriving its existence and its privileges from the sovereign power of the State, and liable to be brought into harmony with the progress of society by the same process as that which has modified so extensively the constitution of the Legislature itself.

By the Act of 1854 Oxford has undergone a revolution which is very characteristic of our age. A new order of things has been established, not by the Crown, in imitation of ancient precedents, nor by the self-reforming authority of an independent corporation, but by Parliament,—an event of vast significance, not only as clearly defining the title under which the University holds its functions and its rights, but much more as determining the certainty and the character of future reforms. Henceforward Oxford must keep her eye fixed on Parliament and the public opinion of the nation. It required a great effort to interfere with an ancient institution, which had not been touched for two centuries, and which, amidst glaring defects and shortcomings, still rendered eminent services to the country. But the intervention of Parliament having once been called in, no other limit can be set to its future action than such as its own sense of right policy shall prescribe. No question that has once entered the arena of Parliament can ever afterwards retreat from its jurisdiction. Whatever judgment, therefore, may be passed on the provisions of the new Act, it is indisputable that a great and solid advantage has been gained for the cause of progress, and a most material guarantee for the introduction of such improve-

ments as shall be required by the wants of each succeeding generation. *This Bill is not and cannot be final.* It forms a great era: not as substituting one constitution for another, but as enacting a constitution *through public discussion in Parliament.* That constitution was adopted as best calculated to render Oxford efficient in performing the services required of her by the nation. If the services are not accomplished; or, still more, if the growth of civilisation should desire the spirit and character of those services to be altered, or new ones to be added, the precedent of 1854 will be revived, and it will be the duty of Parliament, a duty as national and acknowledged as it will be imperative, to bring the defects of the University under revision, and to apply such remedies as may seem expedient. The immensity of the change thus brought about is obvious; and it is pregnant with vast consequences for the future.

But what has the Oxford Reform Bill actually accomplished? It is the fruit of an agitation longer than twice the length of the siege of Troy. It is the issue of a struggle against interests so powerful, so diversified, so deeply intrenched in the habits and associations of English life, that nothing but an exposure of the most glaring defects could have opened a breach for the assaults of reformers. Have these defects been removed? Have the reasonable demands of University reformers been conceded? Before we can give the answer, we must know the problem. The Bill must be judged by a comparison with the requirements which it professes to satisfy. What, then, were the complaints of the nation against the existing state of the University of Oxford?—It was certainly not the reconstruction, but the improvement of the Universities which was sought. The people of England appreciated the excellencies of their academical system; they were conscious of the peculiar elements which distinguish that system from all others in the world, and they knew how precious many of these elements were. The Universities are strong in the affection of the English nation. It cherishes with pride and gratitude institutions which bring a larger number of the best and happiest influences to bear on the training of young men than have ever been employed elsewhere. It loves and prizes academies, which rear up the flower of the country's youth in associations which possess the complexity, the unity, the patriotic feeling, and self-consciousness of a true commonwealth; in which reverence for age and station is mixed with a wise respect for the young, and subordination to authority with the just freedom and reasonable independence of the juniors; where a wide diversity of ranks is so happily blended as to regulate the intercourse of all with each other, not by the conventional pedantry of mere teacher and disciple, but by the laws of a noble manhood and gentlemanly feeling; where the young not

only acquire knowledge, but are also initiated in the great lesson of social life, by living in communities which assign to talent, conduct, and character, the noblest fields for development; where the most powerful force in education, the social action, namely, of the young on each other, the public opinion of the world they constitute, is tempered by the counsels and influences of older and more experienced friends; where religion unites with learning to impart the highest culture and the most elevated sentiments to the youthful mind; where acts of self-denial and devotion and resolute industry are called forth by examinations and distinctions which arrest the attention of the whole country, and furnish the most advantageous introduction to after-life; where prizes are held forth which not only confer an honourable maintenance, but also membership of corporations of no small social and political importance; and whence a stream annually issues forth of men that fill the foremost ranks in every department of public life, and successfully sustain the power and the glory of the greatest nation of modern times.

No unknown and suicidal passion has craved for the subversion of such institutions. No demand for reform was ever founded on a deeper appreciation of the worth of what it sought to amend than the prayer for university reform. Indeed, it may be truly asserted, that with the exception of persons who felt themselves shut out from Oxford by religious tests, those who were most active in promoting a revision in Parliament of the academical constitution, were some of the most affectionate and dutiful sons of Alma Mater. Could those cause the complaints alleged? The most conspicuous Oxford scandal, moreover, interested the largest number of persons in its removal. The great mass of parents clamoured for the abolition of favouritism and of local or personal preferences in the appointment to Fellowships and Scholarships. They demanded that merit alone should be regarded in all academical elections. They cited the example of Cambridge, which had got rid of many of the restrictions imposed against the choice of the most meritorious candidate; and where in every college the most successful student was sure to obtain a fellowship. It was an intolerable grievance that the claims of a distinguished scholar should be held of lighter account than those of the nominee of a canon, or a native of Westmoreland. The injunctions of founders were pleaded in bar of the exclamations of the public; but this plea, though it perhaps silenced opposition for a while, ultimately led to disasters. Reformers were driven on by it into an examination of collegiate statutes, and of the authority which sanctioned the present administration of the colleges: and it was soon perceived how preposterous it was to fall back against the public good on the literal wording of a single ordinance,—where the ancient spirit of

the foundation had passed away, and the general effect contemplated by its authors was wholly rejected,—where observances to which all the members of the college had pledged themselves by the most fearful oaths were omitted without compunction,—where institutions founded for the purposes of a particular religion had been handed over to those whom the founders would consider heretics and traitors,—where prayers were no longer offered daily for the souls of benefactors, although this was the special object which had induced them to bestow their means on those associations,—and where a multitude of rules, out of date now, it is true, and inconvenient, still perfectly practicable in themselves, were buried in an unauthorized, however expedient, oblivion. It was seen that college practice was arbitrary and capricious, varying in different colleges, obeying or violating regulations according as chance or private interest directed, and resisting, above all, improvements advocated on the ground of the public good, because it was felt that that public good contained a principle which, amidst the manifest non-observance of the statutes, possessed the right to overhaul the entire management of college affairs. These facts, officially proclaimed by the careful Report of the Royal Commission, made the necessity universally felt of reconciling college practice with college duty, and altering by competent authority, (which could be none other than that of the State,) statutes which, though sworn to, were not and could not be obeyed. But it was not in the colleges alone that solemn oaths were habitually violated and legality lost for the daily course of affairs. The veteran university reformer, Sir W. Hamilton, had long ago, in writings distinguished by admirable knowledge and research, drawn public attention to the revolution which had been consummated in the government of the university itself. Supreme power had been transferred to an oligarchy of the heads of colleges, the university transformed from a commonwealth of graduates composed of several faculties into the confederation of the existing colleges, the right of opening new halls suppressed, the liberty to teach, formerly open to all M.A.'s, restricted virtually to the officers of the colleges, the Tutors,—the instruction in all the faculties, except that of Arts, suffered to die away, and an entrance to the university forbidden except on the condition of admission into a college, a condition which placed the student under the absolute despotism of a college Head. Hence had resulted an aggregate of collegiate monopolies; for there was no real competition of the colleges themselves with one another, and there were students enough to fill all the colleges. The public examinations were practically reduced to the standard of the worst college. The university studies were limited to what could be taught by college tutors,—each of whom commonly lectured on all the subjects which formed the

academical course; and the Professors were degraded and their courses rendered nominal. Every attempt to remove these usurpations was crushed by the Board of Heads, who had no inclination to overthrow their own monopoly by submitting remedial measures to the academical legislature. Then came the natural concomitants of such a system,—a want of zeal and earnestness in curbing the extravagances of youth, often a decided preference for such students as could afford a large expenditure, and a growing necessity for the grievous and burdensome extra of private tuition, the inadequacy of the regular Tutorial instruction of the college compelling students to supply the defect by the expensive and unauthorized aid of the Private Tutor.

Moreover, if the Universities were unwilling to carry out the course prescribed to them by their constitutions, much less would they listen to suggestions of improvement made by the expanding intelligence and altered circumstances of the nation. New classes had risen to wealth and importance, who were shut out from the Universities by the absence of all specific instruction adapted to their peculiar wants. They were seeking in other schools an education which necessarily engendered sentiments of antagonism, not seldom of direct hostility, to Oxford and Cambridge. The stationary numbers of the academical students, contrasted with the wonderful expansion of England's wealth and population, significantly proclaimed how much of the new life-blood of the nation was alien to the Universities: the power and influence of the England of the future were rapidly passing into the hands of those who knew nothing of Oxford and Cambridge. Even those classes which had been educated at the Universities for generations were now eager for an enlargement of their studies: they felt that the progress of society required that the foremost youth of England should be something more than mere classical scholars or pure mathematicians; whilst the amount of attainments required at the age of twenty-two from the large body of pass-men was a disgrace to the educational condition of a great people of the 19th century. An efficient instrument for wiping away this discredit had been frequently pressed upon the Universities by many of its best friends, who had advocated the institution of a general examination of all Undergraduates at entrance,—a measure already adopted with marked success in the best colleges, and calculated to exercise a most powerful and beneficial influence on all the classical schools of the country. But the authorities of the University were alarmed by the risk of diminished numbers: they shrunk, too, from applying an unwelcome pressure to the ill-trained expectants of family-livings; and so refused to adopt a measure by which the University and the education of the country would

have been equal gainers. On the other hand, the Tutorial machinery did not readily accommodate itself to the introduction of new studies. It was alone the imminent peril of reform by external authority which extorted from the academical government the creation of additional schools in history and the physical and moral sciences. Besides all this, it was obvious that the national feeling was daily becoming more alive to the impolicy and injustice of excluding Dissenters from the Universities. Their numbers were growing in the state; their weight in Parliament manifestly increasing; so much so, that Mr. Heywood obtained the large number of 106 names of members of the House of Commons to a memorial which prayed Lord John Russell to free the admission to the Universities from all religious tests. On the other hand, Oxford shewed no symptom of relaxing a single link of its connexion with the Church of England; and the necessity for the interposition of Parliament gathered strength from the conflict of feeling.

But those who cherished the noblest conceptions of the peculiar services which the old Universities could render to English civilisation in modern times—who were most eager to preserve and enlarge their influence as a counterpoise to the ideas and tendencies generated by the material developments of our age—these true sons of Oxford and Cambridge beheld with grief the existence of deeper defects which were steadily lowering them in public estimation, and pined for a reform that should do something more than sweep away superficial faults and anomalies. They lamented that Oxford was degenerating more and more into a mere school, and that the Tutorial system thought only of examinations and honours, and forgot all the higher functions of a University. It was the calling of a University to be a sanctuary for learning as well as a school for youth—to be the depository of studies for which the distractions of common life left no inclination or leisure—to be the guardian of those elements of man's spiritual and intellectual nature, which constituted his higher being and the essence of a true civilisation. Here the nation was to look for that knowledge and culture which should regulate and refine the tone of its literature—guide the principles of its statesmen—purify and elevate its moral conscience—expound and defend its religion. Here ought to be found the supreme authorities in all the great departments of literature and science—the champions of England's intellectual fame—the pioneers of her literary progress—the bulwarks of her faith against the assaults of an unbelieving philosophy and a rationalizing scepticism. Such is the ideal of Oxford's greatness as conceived by her best friends: What was the reality she presented? For the power and authority of pro-

found learning she substituted the virtues of a schoolmaster; instead of the wisdom and knowledge which could direct the course of the intellectual movement of the world, she boasted of the number of young men who had passed brilliant examinations. Some remains of literary eminence still lingered among new times and new races; but they only rendered the decay of learning more apparent, and testified to the changed qualities of the incoming generations.

Nor does Oxford seem to be aware how calamitous, even for the interests of education alone, is the absence of authoritative learning. Young men of energy and talent are quick to distinguish between the retailers of knowledge at second-hand, and the real leaders of science. The latter class command their reverence and determine their views; and if these masters of thought do not exist at Oxford, the allegiance of her students will be transferred to London and to foreigners. Oxford prides herself in training the young in sound religion and useful learning; yet by neglecting to cherish within her own bosom authorities confessedly pre-eminent, she practically surrenders her pupils to a teaching of which she does not determine the spirit, and to influences which lead to results which she avowedly but fruitlessly condemns. She is compelled to allow London and Germany to form the minds and principles of her students, though London instils in them admiration for democracy, and Germany inoculates them with the poison of scepticism. It is no light matter for England that the ardent minds of her noblest youths should plunge into the exciting studies of theology, philosophy, and history, and not have near them a single theologian, historian, or philosopher, to whose counsels they can listen with the deference due to acknowledged greatness. If Oxford does not lead in philosophy and theology, she must follow. If the University does not herself sustain an independent and progressive pursuit of knowledge, she must submit to the ignominy and the loss of letting her pupils derive their conclusions and their views from extraneous but authoritative sources. The protestations of age and station will be levelled in vain against the invasion of books of deep research, however one-sided or perverted their principles may be; this will be no more heeded than the commands of Canute by the advancing tide. So notorious is the fallen state of Oxford becoming, that when Mr. Horsman, in a speech distinguished alike by extent and solidity of information, and statesmanlike ability to grasp the manifold bearings of the subject, displayed to the House of Commons a picture of the inroad of German influence and literature into Oxford, the filial piety of Mr. Gladstone, unable to deny the truth of the representation, could only

supply the sorry comfort, that we are a practical people, and that our glory is not to be sought in the region of science and literature.

Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

Mr. Gladstone is the last man to be ignorant of what Englishmen have been and have done in every department of human thought; is he content that this generation should lower their pretensions below the standard of their forefathers? And if he is not ambitious of intellectual greatness for his country, is he insensible to the danger of foreign influence? Is he satisfied that England henceforward should follow the guidance of minds formed under influences very dissonant from her own? Germany has reconstructed ancient history by the powerful machinery of a renovated criticism: does Mr. Gladstone think that the practical talent of England, unaided by learned research, will overthrow the rationalistic remodelling of that sacred narrative which is the basis of the Christian faith? Does he suppose that English parents have learnt without alarm, that in an age of active inquiry, and in a University incessantly agitated by theological discussion, their sons are attracted by elaborate scholarship, profound philology, and unwearied diligence, to seek interpretations of the Sacred Volume from commentators, who treat it as replete with the ordinary failings of human composition, and who reject the authenticity of many parts of the Canon, and the inspired authority of all? Does he believe that they are greatly consoled by his assurance that England produces able statesmen, wonderful engineers, practical merchants, and intelligent artisans? Can he doubt the existence of an indignant sorrow that Oxford provides no antidote; that she possesses no men competent to refute the Germans, much less to present counter-attractions to draw away English youths from such dangers?

The wish to remedy this disastrous decay of learning has all along been one of the most animating motives of the ablest University reformers. It was not difficult to discover the cause of the malady; and an effectual remedy was at hand. *That cause is the excess of Tutorism; and the remedy is the introduction of a modified Professoriate.* Oxford is the victim of the utilitarian tendencies which she is so fond of denouncing. She saw the increasing estimation in which a good Degree was held; and she was contented with satisfying this educational want of the public. She sank without compunction into a public school. Yet even as a mere public school, Oxford suffers some important disadvantages. It is a school administered by a peculiar race of schoolmasters. They are unmarried men; a fact productive of

many consequences. They are necessarily young men; for their office constituting no profession, they are ever seeking to exchange it for other occupations. Hence they are not even the best schoolmasters which the University might command; for the ablest of her sons readily obtain large incomes and permanent posts in the masterships of other schools. So unfortunate is the University, that she cannot retain within her walls those of her members who have the most eminent gifts of teaching; and to such as she does keep she holds out no inducement to improve themselves as schoolmasters, or to devote themselves to a single learned study. The Tutor is engaged in little more than imparting to men somewhat younger than himself those attainments which he acquired in preparing for the Bachelor's degree. No definite study is proceeded with; there is no demand made on the Tutor by his position in the University or the country to increase his learning or ripen his knowledge. Hence the marvellous spectacle of a great University of a nation pre-eminent for practical talent allowing its public teaching to sink so low, as that Theology, Philosophy, History, and Philology, should be often taught by the same man; hence the mischievous anomaly, that a boy in progressing from school to college, passes from a superior to an inferior instructor. The activity with which this schoolmastering process is carried on absorbs all the energy of the University. There is no leisure for meditation; no call for the higher instruction of Professors; they are suffered to wither away into insignificance. Neither are the highest academical dignities applied to their natural use, of encouraging men of the most promising talent to residence and industry. Headships are not the rewards of learning; the possession of learning is generally no recommendation for obtaining them; they are bestowed commonly from motives which have nothing to do with the welfare of the University. The whole force of Oxford, its life and energy, are concentrated in preparing Undergraduates for the Bachelor's degree. When a young man has entered into manhood through the portal of a high Degree, he is provided with no subsequent career by the University; he is abandoned to the attractions which entice him away from her society, or he is harnessed into the objectless and unimproving drudgery of a Tutorship. Thus neither age nor station in Oxford imply any literary or scientific eminence; and thus the principles and knowledge which regulate the intellectual life of the students are sought from men and books that are strangers to the University.

Such are the fruits of the collegiate monopoly; of that monopoly which extinguished the University, placed supreme power in the hands of College-heads, made admission to a college the

condition of entrance into the University, and transferred her public teaching to Tutors; not to a Tutorial body, be it remembered, which dealt with the mass of the students collectively, and assigned to each Tutor those offices of instruction for which he was best qualified, but to the Tutors of each college separately, that is, to two, three, or four theoretically omniscient Fellows, however ill-chosen, inferior, and incompetent might be the body itself which supplied the Tutors. Such is the system which some of the most active reformers wished to amend.

The working of the Tutorial System had given birth to an institution, which, though an abuse and an evil, nevertheless pointed out the quarter in which to look for a remedy. The inefficiency of the Tutorial teaching, called Private Tuition into existence. This was an abuse, because the instruction necessary for the degree had to be paid for twice; and an evil of no small magnitude, by throwing a vast amount of absorbing and unimproving labour on the ablest men, at a time when naturally they would be devoting themselves to some special pursuit. Still Private Tuition indicated the correction which Tutorism needed. The Private Tutor has pupils from any college in the University; he commonly lectures in one department only; he is selected solely for his ability, being freely chosen by pupils who know him to be capable of imparting the instruction which they purchase in an open market. These were the chief elements of the ancient Professorial System, when every Master of Arts could lecture to any student, and every Doctor was a Professor; and their great value has led all the most influential writers on University Reform, and we may add, all the best Tutors, who saw in a reform of the University a guarantee for their own improvement and progress, to urge the *revival of the Professoriate*, and a modified combination of *Professorial* and *Tutorial* instruction.

Such was the problem of University Reform; such the defects and evils which the government of Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen felt themselves irresistibly impelled to correct. The first official step was taken by Lord John Russell, who appointed Royal Commissioners to inquire into the state of the Universities. The Oxford Commission was composed of persons who were practically acquainted with the working of the system, who had filled high offices in the University, and were known to be free from any spirit of rash innovation. They were the last men to put in peril the benefits which Oxford conferred on England. The Commissioners presented their Report to Her Majesty on April 27, 1852. In this most able State Paper, the history of the University and the colleges was traced out with

admirable perspicuity and knowledge; the present constitution and operation of the University thoroughly explored; whilst a large body of evidence, collected from every quarter willing to assist the Commission, sifted closely the advantages and defects of the actual system, and set forth the amendments suggested by the best talent and experience connected with Oxford. The Report concluded with recommendations, which satisfied University reformers generally by the thorough reform which they carried out, and yet dealt tenderly with the University, and were eminently conservative of her true spirit and character. The Commission advised, first of all, that the constitution of the University, which they showed to be open to grave questioning, should be placed on a legal basis by authority of Parliament. In lieu of the exclusive right of originating measures now enjoyed by the Board of Heads, they raised up by the side of this board another body, called Congregation, with equal power to initiate legislation, in which the Professors and other non-collegiate elements had an influential share. They farther recommended the extension of the University, by conceding to its members the very important right of opening new halls; and they did not even shrink from reviving the ancient practice, still retained by the Scotch Universities, of allowing Undergraduates to live in private lodgings without connexion with a college or hall. They advised a public examination at matriculation, the foundation of new professorships and sub-professorships, the emancipation of undergraduates from tutors during the latter part of the academical course, the cultivation of special branches of study, the abolition of all oaths imposed by college statutes, and of all declarations against change in the statutes, the removal of restrictions on fellowships and scholarships generally, including the obligation to enter Holy Orders, the regulation of the value of fellowships, the appropriation of some fellowships to the encouragement of new studies, the foundation of new professorships out of the revenues of some of the colleges, the opening of Headships to all Masters of Arts, and liberty to the Heads and Fellows of every college, under proper control, to alter their statutes from time to time. No suggestion was made as to the admission of Dissenters, the Commissioners having been specially interdicted from entering on that subject. Well might the Commissioners profess, "in offering these recommendations, to have been guided solely by the desire to render the great institution of the University greater than it has ever been;" so truly reforming, and conservative because reforming, were the suggestions. Legislation could not be long delayed after the publication of such a report, and accordingly Lord Palmerston announced to the academical authorities in the autumn of the last

year, the intention of the Government to bring a Bill into Parliament for the reform of the University of Oxford.

It would have been a noble triumph if the rulers of this great society had proved themselves superior to the spirit which animates ordinary corporations: if, by carrying out a real self-reform, they had won for themselves a social and moral eminence as elevated as their intellectual. But they achieved no such greatness. They submitted to the ordinary law of humanity, when invested with place and power. They were incapable of taking a comprehensive view of the improvements of which the University was susceptible. Nor had they such a spirit of self-devotion as to make changes dictated by the sole but noble motive of raising Oxford to the highest pitch of excellence and efficiency. They had combated the Commission as illegal; with trifling exceptions, they had withheld all help from it in its inquiry; and now they would hold no communion with the spirit or the letter of its recommendations. They had not, it is true, obstinately refused all improvement. Whether under the impulse of fear, or the enlightening influence of discussion, two great changes had been brought about. A middle examination in the second year, called Moderations, was interposed between the first and last examinations; and a School of History and Moral Sciences and another of Natural Philosophy, were added to the previously existing Classical and Mathematical Schools. These were excellent improvements and in the right direction; but they came too late to avert the interference of the State, and, moreover, they offered no guarantee that the oligarchy of the Heads, and the monopoly of the Tutors, could be removed by the internal energy of the University.

Some of the advocates of the University took high ground; claiming for her the exclusive right of managing her own affairs, they repudiated the intervention of Parliament as unjust and unconstitutional. But no argument can establish such a position. In the first place, it is impossible to deny that the University, as distinct from the colleges, is a public corporation, endowed with public functions and privileges, and therefore as much open to the revision of the Legislature as any other corporation in the realm. In the next place, the University could not, by its own act, regain a position of legality; and we have seen that the Commissioners, following the lead of Sir W. Hamilton, shewed that the existing constitution rested, to say the least, on a very dubious basis of law. Then, again, the University has no power of dealing with the Statutes of college-founders; it has not even the means of learning what they are, much less of inquiring how they are observed, or introducing any necessary alterations. It is notorious that many

of the Statutes have become obsolete, and that the present administration of the colleges is something wholly different from what the founders intended to establish; yet no competent authority has sanctioned this revolution, nor does any such authority exist within the limits of the whole University. Some, indeed, have pretended to find such an authority in the permission of Visitors; but it must have been felt that the case was desperate before recourse was had to such a refuge. No Visitor in modern times, we believe, has ever formally compared the whole state of a college with the injunctions of its founder, and officially ratified it as fulfilling these injunctions; and even if such a judgment had been rendered, it would have been nugatory. The judge himself, the Visitor, is not the judge contemplated by the Statutes. Most of the colleges have a bishop for their Visitor; and no Roman-Catholic founder would have considered a Protestant bishop to be a bishop at all. The institution had already travelled beyond the pale of founders, when a heretic was pronounced to be the Statutory Visitor: it had fallen under the jurisdiction of the State, from whose decree alone the present Visitor derives his authority. The only point, therefore, which could be legitimately brought under debate, is the expediency, not the right of Parliamentary interference; but this is a point on which the nation had made up its mind, and the conclusion to which it had arrived was the reverse of the advocates of the University.

The rulers of the University, alarmed by the communication from the Home Secretary, now saw that the Report of the Commissioners must be combated with other weapons than contempt. They had, by their refusal to furnish evidence to the Commission, lost the opportunity of making their views known to the public. To remedy this inconvenience, they appointed a Committee of the Hebdomadal Board, for the purpose of collecting evidence from their friends, and making such suggestions to Parliament as in their opinion would meet the requirements of the times. A goodly octavo volume was the result of their labours. Little stress was evidently laid upon its recommendations; for they were miserably insufficient, indeed nothing but mere shifts to save the Hebdomadal oligarchy; but much was expected from a vehement and elaborate assault directed against the dreaded invasion of the Professoriate, by Dr. Pusey, the Regius Professor of Hebrew. Common fears and common dangers had brought about this strange alliance between the excommunicators and the excommunicated; between the condemned arch-tractarian and the judges who silenced him. The Heads sacrificed their dread of Puseyism to their love of power; the Professor denounced his order in convulsive alarm at the

approach of influences which would emancipate young men from the fetters in which he held them. He knew that the fresh air of vigorous intellectual activity was an atmosphere that was fatal to spiritual despotism. He knew, also, that no system could present more favourable conditions for Tractarian teaching than one which repelled ability and learning from the University, and placed at its head chiefs incapable of swaying the minds of the young by the influence of knowledge and intellectual superiority. For the sake of preserving his own spiritual power, the Professor fought the battle of the Heads; and he fought it with an energy and force which astonished his allies, though it did not save them from defeat. The overthrow of the Heads was consummated; nevertheless the Professor gained his own especial end. He encountered, it is true, in his colleague, Professor Vaughan, an adversary who, with superior eloquence, sounder knowledge, and calmer dignity, swept away the angry charges which had been brought against the Professoriate; yet there is reason for believing that the entreaties and the protestations of Dr. Pusey succeeded in effectually damaging the Professorial portion of the Government Bill. That measure had not escaped the usual dangers of English legislation. Its course had been diverted by one of those political accidents which so often alter the character and destiny of measures that are launched on the restless ocean of Parliament. Lord John Russell was the political parent of University Reform: he had issued the Commission, and he brought the Government Bill into the House; but the child was not his. University Reform was inaugurated when Mr. Gladstone was in opposition: it was realized when he was in power: and this single fact led to the substitution of an Improvement for a Reform Bill. The Act would have given reform had Mr. Gladstone been its antagonist: he was its expositor, and it lost its vital principle. The collegiate monopoly remains master of Oxford: improved indeed, and likely to be better worked, but in essence and spirit still the same. This result is to be imputed to Mr. Gladstone chiefly: and we think that he would not disclaim the imputation. Lord John Russell's academical life was spent in Scotland: it was natural that he should surrender to his able and accomplished colleague the management of a Bill involving such a vast extent of detail, and requiring so much peculiar knowledge to carry it safely through a Parliamentary struggle. Mr. Gladstone had eminent qualifications for this task: a great academical name, a deep interest in literary and theological questions, an intimate acquaintance with Oxford life, unwearied assiduity, indefatigable zeal in gathering suggestions from every side, an immense power of work, and a knowledge of the subject capable of meet-

ing the endless windings of a discussion in Parliament. But on the other hand, Mr. Gladstone had disqualifications as strong. He was Member for Oxford: the persons to be reformed were his constituents: and it was hardly possible for him to do even-handed justice, between the claims of the nation and the feelings of his friends. It was hard for him to rise as a statesman above the Tutorial world, not because he is incapable of acting an unselfish part, but because the men he most respected were for the most part Tutors, and he heard and saw little at Oxford, except from a Tutorial point of view. But there was more yet. In early years, Mr. Gladstone drank deeply at the fountain of Tractarian theology: and though an enlarged knowledge of mankind, and a broader experience of life, have emancipated him from much of its thraldom, his mind still bears the scars of the wounds which it received. He has unlearned many of the positive doctrines of Anglo-Catholicism: but the general leaning of his religious feeling still shews unmistakable tendencies towards the spirit of that school. Revering Oxford, therefore, not merely as the hearth at which he was raised, but also as the central luminary which diffused the light and fire of Anglo-Catholic religion throughout the Church of England, the conscientious advocate of the paramount supremacy of authority in matters of faith would be slow to touch an academical system which, discouraging the presence of inquiring intellect, could claim respect on no other principle than authority. When Dr. Pusey, therefore, addressed his remonstrances to a friend with a mind thus constituted, he was sowing in a soil prepared to receive the seed. It was impossible that Mr. Gladstone should not be moved by passionate declamations against infidel Professors, unbridled discussion, unchecked investigation, and irreverent demands for the grounds of belief. He lacked, we fear, a perfectly firm faith in the triumph of revelation in the open field of free inquiry. He shrank from giving free play to learning and intellect at Oxford, and constructed accordingly the Bill for the reform of the University.

The Bill was brought into the House of Commons on the 17th of March. It was at once manifest that the spirit which had animated the Report of the Commissioners had not guided the formation of the Bill. Indeed Mr. Gladstone, whilst eulogizing that Report, distinctly confessed that its recommendations had not been adopted, and claimed for the Government the right of judging for itself what measures would be most beneficial to the University. Strong disappointment was felt by many of the reforming party, that proposals which met the requirements of the case so efficiently should be set aside without any attempt to demonstrate their inexpediency. The change of influence at

the helm of reform produced its natural effects. The Bill removed the more glaring defects of Oxford. It satisfied the desires of the bulk of the public, who wanted to clear away certain abuses which worked to their disadvantage, but troubled themselves little about the higher functions of the University. Fellowships were thrown open to merit; preferences attached to particular schools, counties, or families, were for the most part abolished. Every parent of a promising son might now hope to see him win the best fellowships in Oxford. Those who were offended (but we were not of the number) by the sight of a few barristers or clergymen retaining their fellowships up and down the country, without doing any thing for their money, were gratified by a restriction on the tenure of fellowships, which forfeited them after more than one year's non-residence. But here the *animus* which lurked beneath the Bill very curiously came to light. A special exception was made in favour of fellows who were employed in parochial work within a radius of three miles from Oxford, a regulation which would have filled all the parish churches within that limit with fellows for curates, and would have given Dr. Pusey and the Bishop of Oxford the command of a well-disciplined phalanx to act on the spirit and legislation of the University. A valuable relaxation of the obligation to take Holy Orders was granted by a clause, which in any case would have exempted one-fourth of the fellows from that necessity, but which was so ambiguously worded, as to admit the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Gladstone himself, that it would authorize a college, in the reconstruction of its statutes, to remove the obligation altogether. It is greatly to be regretted that this excellent provision was swept away by the avalanche which carried off at a later period so large a part of the Bill. All oaths which bound the juror not to disclose any matters relating to his college, or to resist any change in the statutes, were henceforth declared to be illegal, whilst the scandal and immorality of pledging men by oath to obey statutes whose observance the lapse of time had rendered impossible was removed by provisions for a complete recasting of the statutes of the colleges. A special machinery was instituted for this purpose. Every college was empowered to amend its statutes, and to frame new ordinances for carrying out the objects specified in the Bill; but these new ordinances were subjected to the approval of five Commissioners appointed by name in the Bill. The important provision was added, that if, after the expiration of one year, the authorities of the college had failed to frame regulations which received the sanction of the Commissioners, the Commissioners themselves were required to proceed at once to frame such schedules as would effect the objects contemplated by the Bill. This com-

pulsory power would have secured a sound and adequate reform of the colleges, if the Commissioners were men who took a wide view of the requirements demanded by the progress of society, and possessed the necessary zeal and energy for enforcing them. They were required to provide authority for the future amendment of the statutes, to apply a portion of the college revenues to the founding of new professorships, and the erecting of affiliated halls,—to regulate the election and duties of Headships,—to appropriate certain fellowships to special studies,—to regulate the emoluments of fellowships,—to amalgamate distinct foundations,—to enlarge the power of appeal, and to alter or repeal any oaths now taken on admission to any collegiate foundation. With regard to the University, as distinct from the several colleges, important changes were proposed. New Professorships were to be created, as we have said, out of college funds; and a blow was dealt—with what success we shall consider presently—against the monopoly of the colleges, by granting the power to every Master of Arts, to open, under appropriate regulations, a private hall for the reception of Undergraduates. But the most decisive measure was the overthrow of the legislative supremacy of the Board of Heads: and strange to say, in this respect alone, the proposal of the Government widely overstepped the recommendation of the Commissioners' Report. A new constitution and a new legislature were constructed for the University: the old domination was entirely swept away, and new rulers were called to preside over the future career of the University. The Royal Commissioners had retained the old Hebdomadal Board concurrently with the Congregation which they proposed to create, and they reserved to it its present executive and administrative functions, as well as its right of initiating legislative measures. According to their scheme, therefore, two bodies would have enjoyed the right of submitting new laws to Convocation, the Hebdomadal Board and the Congregation. The Ministerial Bill suppressed the Board of Heads altogether; and the executive government of the University, as also the right of initiating new measures, were exclusively confided to a new Hebdomadal Council, composed of the Vice-chancellor, the proctors, six Heads elected by Congregation, and one by the Chancellor; six professors elected by Congregation, and one separately elected from among the professors of theology; and six members of Convocation similarly elected by Congregation. The Congregation, accordingly, was the constituency created by the academical Reform Bill; its original constitution, as proposed by the Government, embraced only a portion, though a large one, of the resident graduates; the Act which was ultimately passed extended the franchise to all resident members of Convocation.

It cannot be disputed that the Bill of the Government enacted

some excellent reforms. It removed many of the most glaring scandals. It gave a sound *parliamentary* title to the University. It brought it into good working order, extinguishing statutes of impossible fulfilment, and substituting ordinances of easy execution and suited to the circumstances of the age. It abolished a legislative monopoly, or as some called it, usurpation; and created a constitution which combined the activity of young men with the experience of seniors.

The announcement of the Government proposals excited very diverse feelings throughout England. At Oxford the majority of resident reformers were satisfied: power was transferred from the Heads to the Tutors. On the other hand, the tidings of their approaching dissolution filled the Heads with the deepest grief and dismay. Their feeble suggestions had been contemptuously thrust aside: the strenuous efforts of the forgiven Professor had failed to arrest their fall: the tender and filial proposal of the Commissioners, which preserved their corporate existence, and preserved for them the semblance of outward dignity, had been passed over: they had fallen under the dominion of young men, and there was no one to lament for them. The dreaded interference of Parliament had arrived at last: and the whole country acknowledged the necessity for its action.

A loud cry, however, and not from the Heads alone, was raised against the violence done to the wills of the founders. Justice and expediency, it was urged, forbade the profanation of the sanctity of bequests. Benefactors had specially bequeathed their property for the good of their kinsmen, their fellow-townsmen, or others, for whose welfare they were particularly concerned: by what right could an advantage, so deliberately intended, and so legitimately granted, be set aside? Above all, the diversion of college revenues to the endowing of University Professorships was indignantly resented as a spoliation of private property. The progress of society, it was true, had rendered certain modifications of the injunctions of founders indispensable: certain customs had become obsolete: the founders themselves, were they alive now, would not wish for their continuance. But the impossibility of observing some regulations furnished no reason for not obeying others which the lapse of time had not affected. The English law, by its doctrine of *ci-près*, inculcated the duty of respecting to the utmost the dispositions of founders, and furnished a ready rule for fulfilling it. But to divert their endowments to purposes wholly different from the objects which they contemplated was an intolerable invasion of the inalienable right of property. The State was appropriating what was not its own: it was breaking faith with the dead. In creating those trusts with the sanction of the State, they had entered into a

real contract with the State, and had relied on the honour and good faith of the State, for the honest discharge of the engagement which it had formed. But for this reliance on the State, the founders would not have disregarded the claims of relatives, and devoted their wealth to public objects To sanction the principle involved in the proposals of the Bill would shake all confidence in wills, and dry up the fountain of endowments.

To these arguments it would be answer enough to say, that when the main design of an institution has ceased to be practicable, injunctions and regulations have ceased to be entitled to regard. The legal doctrine of *ci-près* becomes a fiction or rather a mischievous snare, when it presses the strict observance of the letter of a bequest to a result which was entirely foreign to the thoughts of the bequeather. When the execution of a bequest has clearly passed beyond the vision of the donor, it has lapsed, not to the Court of Chancery, but to the State. The Court of Chancery is not justified in decreeing any execution of a trust, which it may not declare to have formed a part of the actually conceived designs of its creator. It has no right to speculate on what a founder might or might not have wished under altered circumstances. If what the founder actually contemplated is impracticable, the bequest is at an end, either reverting to the heir-at-law, or remaining subject for its future application to the disposal of the State. Now we know that college endowments came, for the most part, from Roman Catholic founders, and were prompted by a desire to secure for them the benefit of the prayers of those who profited by their bounty. The State, by taking away these endowments from Roman Catholics, and bestowing them on Protestants, has put an end to all prayers for the dead founders. By this Act the State has done two things: it has absolutely extinguished the object for which collegiate foundations were created; and, further, has taken them away from the founders, and positively appropriated them as its own. Protestants hold them as a gift from the State, not as an inheritance from their founders: for what founder would not have shrunk with horror from endowing heretics with his bequests? To parry this fatal argument, it is often asserted that the benefactors, could they rise from the dead, would be Protestants now, and, as good men, would desire to see their trusts administered in a manner which would be in our days the most beneficial to the University; but the rejoinder is easy. It is a gratuitous and by no means necessary assumption, that the founders would have ceased to be Roman Catholics; and, secondly, if they had become Protestants, they would not have founded these colleges at all. English Protestants do not bequeath endowments to collegiate institutions. They lack the decisive but purely Romanist motive: they have

no hope of getting good to their souls after death by the prayers of college-foundationers. In fact, to insist on the intentions of founders, against the modifying control of the State, can lead but to one conclusion, which is little heeded by Oxonian Conservatives: it establishes the wrong, the real, positive wrong, done to the munificent benefactors of colleges, according to the belief of Roman Catholics, that is, of the majority of European Christians even of our own age. If the State has not the right of not merely amending, but even annulling the injunctions of a trust, the founders are deprived, by an act of tyrannical force, of the precise benefit to which they applied their wealth, and their souls may be lingering in the pains of Purgatory for the want of those very prayers which, with the consent of the nation, they purchased with their bequests. There is no escape from this dilemma. It is perfectly possible to pray for the souls of founders. Either, therefore, the State possesses the right of altering or superseding the injunctions of founders, or the right of the founders to the prayers of their foundationers is incontestable; and the injury which they suffer cries loudly for the only just and possible redress, the re-transfer, namely, of the endowments of Oxford to members of the Roman Catholic Church.

But in truth, far higher ground must be taken on this important question, in which not only the Universities but every trust and endowment in the kingdom are concerned. The dead have done with this world. They ruled and disposed of it during their generation. Since they have passed away, they have no more interest in it than a babe yet unborn. The right of disposing of property is not a natural right inherent in human nature. It is accorded to the deceased, not because he retains the slightest possession of the wealth bequeathed, but as a beneficial and politic arrangement for the sake of the living. It is controlled and modified in every imaginable way in every country; not a few nations repudiate it altogether. In France no testator has the smallest power over his lands,—in England entails are limited to three generations. It is a wide-spread but most erroneous confusion to suppose that a dead man by his will bestows what is his own, just as much as if he had parted with it during his lifetime by gift or sale. To be able to deal with it as its owner may choose, is the very essence of private property. This is a right which no civilized Government, except for very cogent reasons, invades. But the laws of inheritance have always been variable; they have always been held to be subject to the changing opinions of each age and legislature, upon the very intelligible principle that the dead have ceased to own property, and that it belongs to the living to control the course of wealth as of all other human affairs. In England the national sentiment attributes greater advantages,

as regards the inducement to accumulate wealth and its wise distribution, to the power of disposal by will than to a compulsory and previously-defined descent by law; but, be it carefully remembered, it is a regard for the best interests of society, and not reverence for an imaginary inherent right in the dead, which has established this mode of inheritance amongst us. Now, in respect of ordinary private property, the dispositions of testators are subject to all the influences which guide the application of wealth by living owners. The dying share the opinions, feelings, and principles of the generation which they are leaving, and the inheritances they bequeath follow the same general purposes as the sales and gifts of their survivors. But an endowment which aspires to perpetuity is subject to other conditions. The man who pretends to control the will and action of distant ages by the laws of his endowment, attempts an injustice and an impossibility. We are none of us anything more than life-tenants of the properties we possess. It is palpably absurd to suppose that any portion of the land of England must be irrevocably devoted to any special object, because such was the will of its proprietor some dozen centuries ago. The pretence that the original design of a founder must be carried out, whether it may have been a payment in honour of Juggernaut, or a college dedicated to Venus, or the laying waste for ever of a whole county, is too ridiculous to need refutation. Nor is there any weight in the objection raised by Mr. Woodgate, that the nation entered into a contract with the testator, and pledged its faith to the perpetual observance of the trusts he created. The appeal to the examples of the national debt, or grants made by perpetual charges on the public revenue, is inconclusive. Here the State made a specific return for value given or services rendered. The covenanted repayment must be discharged, either in the stipulated form or by compensation to the inheritors of the claims. The utmost, therefore, which could be demanded upon the hypothesis of this analogy holding good, would be compensation for those of the living whose pecuniary interests were injured by a change in the endowment. Such vested interests always receive the tenderest consideration in England, and no one proposes to violate them in the case of the Universities. On the other hand, England and all that it contains belong not to the dead but the living; and this very obvious truth of necessity implies that the State is by the nature of things perpetual and paramount trustee of every public trust of whatever kind. The State is compelled, by the law of human life, to judge from time to time of the desirableness of the objects to which endowments have been devoted. It ought not to interfere lightly,—nor will it; for the friction engendered by all interference with the enjoyment of

property provides ample guarantees against precipitate innovation. But, on the other hand, no fear of breaking faith with the dead—a romantic but most unfounded illusion—will ever prevent changes which the lapse of time has rendered inevitable. It is certain that the changes will be made. That the dead are utterly powerless to avert: and the supposition of a breach of trust towards them would not prevent its perpetration in the future any more than in the past, but would simply raise the question, whether the guilt ought to be imputed to those who suffered wills sanctioned by oaths to become obsolete, or to the State, which, calmly considering the best use to which the endowments might be applied, deliberately modified the injunctions of founders. It is obvious that testators cannot fasten on posterity an inevitable guilt. The supposition of guilt is absurd; for there can be no guilt in not executing what is morally as well as physically impossible.

Who, then, will leave his money to endowments? All who ever intended so to do, and are not such utter fools as to imagine, that what they think to be desirable ends now will be thought equally desirable a thousand years hence. But we go still further. We would rejoice to see the precedent of the limit assigned to entails extended to the region of endowments. It needs only a slight acquaintance with the state of the public charities of the kingdom, and the unauthorized uses to which their funds are applied, for a man to become convinced of the expediency of such an enactment as would subject endowments to an effectual and real revision after the lapse of 80 or at most 100 years. If testators choose to withhold their gifts on any conditions short of immortality, better, we say, would it be to have no endowments at all than to sanction the false and impossible pretension to dictate unalterable injunctions to future generations.

We have ventured to risk the wearying of many of our readers by the discussion of what must seem to them a self-obvious proposition, because we know that not only the stiff-necked bigotry of Oxford Toryism, but also the conscientious scruples of many good and even liberal men, have pleaded the sanctity of the wills of founders as a bar to the diversion of college-revenues to the foundation of Professorships. The final state of the new Act leaves this important matter open to the decision of the authorities of each college and the Commissioners. It is highly desirable, therefore, to clear up the principles of the subject, and to remove any impediment which might prevent so beneficial a measure from being consummated.

But the Bill, though containing valuable improvements, was not worthy of the occasion which gave it birth. The interven-

tion of the State, after the lapse of two centuries, had been imperatively demanded by the voice of the country. It was, therefore, reasonable to hope that the Government, forced at last into action, would have organized a reform that would have given new life to the University, and rendered Oxford an institution worthy of our age and nation. These expectations were disappointed. The various elements of the University were polished up or transposed; but the seed of a new organization was not planted. Mr. Gladstone left Oxford as he found it, Tutorial. The domination of Tutors was made more universal and more secure by this measure of the Government. The Tutor, that is, the young clergyman, unmarried, looking out for extra-academical preferment, devoted to no definite pursuit, retaining merely the knowledge collected before he was twenty-two, progressing in no direction, with no feeling of the University being his home, qualifying himself for no future efficiency, either in the Church or University, commanding no authority over the student by depth of learning or literary eminence, remained still the sole active functionary of the University. The Tutor and the Private Tutor were continued still the sole regular organs of the intellectual life of Oxford. No career was opened to stop the flight of the ablest men from the University; no sphere of active usefulness was held forth, to attract distinguished scholars into residence; no guarantee was provided to raise Oxford into something more than an aggregate of schoolmasters and idle dignitaries. The monopoly of tuition enjoyed by the Fellows of each separate college remained undisturbed; every student was still to be handed over to the Fellows of his college, instead of University officers, for instruction in every branch of study. There was no revival of the Professoriate; no sincere effort to recall this ancient instrument of academical teaching into activity. There was, indeed, an appearance of doing something for Professors; but matters were carefully managed so that there should be nothing but an appearance. A third of the legislative council was allotted to Professors; but the representative Professors were to be elected by Congregation, a body in which the Tutorial interest was all-powerful. It was easy to foresee that the choice of the Tutorial electors would not fall on those Professors who were known to possess the Professorial feeling in the greatest vigour, and had the advancement of the Professorial cause most at heart. There would be no want of respectable Professors to put upon the council, to whom the idea of a vigorous Professoriate would be as foreign and as embarrassing as to the most veteran Tutors. But, if by some unaccountable accident, a wild elephant was returned to the council by the Tutorial Congregation, there was an abundance of tame ones to reduce him to discipline. Two-thirds of the council

belonged to the Tutorial party, who could easily prevent any revival of the Professoriate, which would threaten the position, gain, and influence of the college Tutors. It was proposed too, as we have seen, to found some new Professorships out of the revenues of the colleges; but so long as no definite sphere was provided for the Professors, so long as their lectures were not incorporated into the regular and necessary preparation for the public examinations, Professors would remain on the outside of the University system, mere excrescences, without importance and without influence. Here it was that the Government signally failed to discharge the most weighty duty which devolved upon it in attempting to reform the University of Oxford. Oxford of itself can neither revive nor create a real Professoriate. The Government talked much in the House of Commons about an improved constitution, better chosen Fellows, a more vigorous administration of the University, and the great improvements hence to spring hereafter. But a more general election of fellows by merit can generate only improved Tutors; no surrender to University officers of any portion of the tuition can be expected from college Fellows. The Tutors have but gained strength by the Bill. They will stand higher in public estimation, when no longer elected upon narrow preferences; the desire for reform will have been largely appeased, whilst the chance of an infusion of Professors will be more remote, in fact hopeless. Parliament alone can incorporate Professors into the academical system. Parliament alone can do, what a legislature of Tutors can never be expected to do, assign such functions to Professors, as will attach a real value to their teaching, and give them a share in the life and business of the University. This is the reform which has been most prominently urged by the ablest writers on the English Universities; its introduction or omission constitutes the vital difference between a true Reform Bill and one of mere secondary improvements. The Government recognised by the composition of the council, and the proposals for new Professorships, the necessity of such a modification of the educational machinery at Oxford. They had been repeatedly warned, both by public and private representations, that Oxford itself could not give birth to such a reform, that it must come from external authority; yet they framed a Bill which riveted the chains of Tutorism more firmly on the University, and degraded that great institution more hopelessly into the rank of a public school.

Reformers now turned their eyes to Parliament, but the prospects in that quarter were far from encouraging. The Bill had been received with the most surprising apathy. A law deeply affecting the education of the highest classes of Englishmen excited no more interest than if the House had been discussing the fate

of some parochial school. When the measure was first brought into the House, and when it was afterwards read a second time, the House might often have been counted out; there were not forty members who cared to watch the fortune of the University. The Conservatives felt that resistance was hopeless; the majority of the Liberal party had very vague ideas about the English Universities, and left the whole matter to the management of the Government. The ignorance of the actual state of Oxford, displayed during these two debates, was truly astonishing; in such an assembly, a Government led by a chief so profoundly acquainted with the subject, and so ready both at assault and defence as Mr. Gladstone, seemed omnipotent. But a remarkable change occurred on the 27th of April. Mr. Heywood feeling that the Bill had been imperfectly discussed, and that the House needed much more instruction before it was qualified to pass a judgment on so great a matter, moved that the Bill should be referred to the consideration of a Select Committee. On that occasion Mr. Horsman made the speech to which we have already alluded, and which was certainly one of the most important and distinguished speeches of the session. He aroused the House to a sense of the greatness of the question submitted to it for legislation; he showed how it involved considerations affecting the intellectual and moral and religious condition of the kingdom of so large a character, that in importance and interest it ranked second to none that could engage the attention of Parliament. He then drew an admirable analysis of the state and working of the English Universities, and of the relation in which they stood to the civilisation and literary development of Europe; he pointed out how lamentably they fell short of the great duties they had to perform; and then tracing their defects to their causes, he indicated the remedies, and triumphantly refuted the objections which prejudice, ignorance, and self-interest opposed to their application. The effect produced by this speech was immense. The interest of the House was thoroughly awakened, and never flagged thenceforward. The benches were crowded every night that the Oxford Bill was discussed. All parties poured in amendments; every amendment was eagerly debated, and every debate raised some question of the highest national importance. The debate, however, which followed Mr. Horsman's speech did not correspond to the elevation on which he had placed the subject. His description of the evils of Tutorism was not refuted even by its accomplished advocate, Mr. Gladstone; but the House was not yet capable of a satisfactory discussion of the Professoriate; it was too new to the subject, and needed more time for reflection. But the prospect was very cheering. Mr. Horsman had made a profound impression by his powerful exposure of the absurdity of branding the intro-

duction of Professors as an invasion of German infidelity, at the very time when the works of German Professors were daily in the hands of every student, and were revered as the highest authorities in every branch of learning. The House of Commons now became conscious of the cardinal fact that Tutors were but secondary lights, reflecting the knowledge of others; and so caught a glimpse of the all-important deduction to be drawn from it, that if the students ultimately must be trained by Professors, it was far safer that they should take English rather than German Professors for their guides. It was now seen to be the duty of Parliament to raise up English Professors on English soil, thoroughly imbued with all the distinctive elements of English culture, and carrying into their literary investigations the character and principles of Englishmen. It may be confidently presumed that plentiful discussion in the then session, and a postponement of the Bill to the next, would have ended in the passing of an Act worthy of Parliament and the country; but unfortunately the state of politics prevented such a conclusion. Six out of seven great measures had been lost; and Mr. D'Israeli had taunted Ministers with the impending failure of the last, the Oxford Bill. The Government felt that such a Parliamentary disgrace must be averted at any cost. It held the passing of the Oxford Bill to be the condition of their continuance in office; and the Liberals sacrificed Oxford to the political necessities of their party. It was resolved, therefore, to push the Bill through the Session, substantially as the Government had framed it. Under these circumstances, there seemed to be only two amendments which could be made in favour of the Professoriate, with any chance of being adopted. These were, 1*st*, That the several elements of the Hebdomadal Council should be chosen on the principle of sectional election, as it was called —the whole body of Heads electing the representative Heads, and the whole body of Professors the representative Professors; and, 2*d*, That a legislative proposal which had been unsuccessfully submitted to Convocation by the Board of Heads, should be inserted in the Bill, by which the Professors belonging to each of the four schools at Oxford would be associated with the Vice-chancellor and proctors in the nomination of public examiners in those schools. The Conservatives had also proposed sectional election through Mr. Walpole, not from any wish of strengthening the Professors, but with the sole view of saving the Heads from the dreaded indignity of being submitted to the choice of young men in Congregation. Mr. Walpole moved the amendment; and the immediate consequence of this was, that the debate did not turn on the Professoriate, but simply on the general expediency of making the members of council chosen by one or several constituencies. In reference to this point, there was a

consideration of great moment, which peculiarly affected the Professors. The Government Bill recognised the importance of giving weight and influence to the Professors in the council; yet, in carrying out this object, they had devised the extraordinary machinery of placing the representation of the Professoriate in the council in the hands of their direct antagonists, the Tutors. The election of the Professors was committed to Congregation, in which the Tutors were predominant; what then was the value of the restriction, which required six members of the council to be Professors? What chance was there of the election of a Professor who was known to be able and willing to dispute the Tutorial monopoly of teaching? What political constitution, what dream of an Abbé Sieyes furnished a precedent for the notable device of making the representation of an adverse interest wholly dependent on the choice of those whom every consideration of influence, position, and pecuniary interest rendered its natural enemies? Why did not Mr. Gladstone persuade Lord John Russell to introduce this wonderful invention into the political Reform Bill? Why was not the election of the House of Commons entrusted to the Landed Interest, on the condition of electing a certain number of merchants, manufacturers, and lawyers? What would these classes have thought of such a representation of their interests? And how could a Professor who was dependent on a Tutorial constituency heartily engage in advancing the Professoriate in the University, when his constituents were likely to consider what was granted to Professors as so much taken from themselves?

If a Professoriate is ever to become a reality in Oxford, it must stand on an independent foundation; and sectional election was the only machinery compatible with the frame-work of the Bill, which would render the Professors an independent and substantive body in the University. And this is the answer to the objection so warmly urged against the amendment by many of the liberal party. It is true that the constituency would be narrow, a conflict of class-interests probable, and strife and irritation possible. But these evils must be charged to the peculiar mode which the Government adopted, of giving influence to Professors at Oxford. Unless wilful deceit was intended, the framers of the Bill must have distinctly contemplated the probable existence of these results. They placed Professors on the council, obviously implying thereby, that without such a position the Professorial element would not obtain its just weight in the council; and as obviously intending that the Professor-councillors should sustain the academical position of the Professoriate against antagonistic influences. Something more than the continuance of the present nullity of Professors was plainly designed, when one-third of the council was allotted to that body.

The manifest object was to obtain from academical what was refused by parliamentary legislation, a real incorporation of the Professors into the working of the University; and for this the independence of the Professoriate, when combined with the Tutors, was indispensable. But how is it possible for Professors to attain a fitting position at Oxford by means of an academical statute, except by those party-conflicts which are inseparable from all mixed legislatures? If such debates were thought to be dangerous to the peace of the University, there were only two reasonable courses by which they might be avoided. Either a definite position ought to have been bestowed on Professors by Parliament, or the cause of Professors being abandoned, no seats should have been reserved for them in the council, and the Tutorial congregation should have been left free to select for its legislators those whom it believed to be best qualified for the office. By rejecting both these courses, and composing the council on the principle of a balanced representation of opposing class-interests, the Government rendered sectional election practically necessary for giving reality and meaning to their scheme.

Sectional election was carried in the Commons by a small majority. The Government pretended that they had sustained a serious defeat; and afterwards reproached the reformers with having forced them by their vote to abandon the latter portion of the Bill. This was an extraordinary statement, seeing that the draft of the Bill, which was circulated in Oxford before its introduction into Parliament, adopted the plan of sectional election. The Lords, however, threw out the amendment, and dissipated the hopes of obtaining an efficient Professoriate by the Bill.

The other measure for giving life to the Professors met with an earlier doom. Ever since it had been aroused by Mr. Horsman's speech, the House of Commons had taken up the discussion of the Oxford Bill with extreme interest. Every clause, often every line of a clause, gave rise to long debates, involving a large consumption of the public time; and the end of the session was approaching. Ministers, therefore, being bent on carrying a Bill, of whatever kind, took the desperate step of mutilating their own measure. They abandoned the remodelling of collegiate statutes by Parliament, the regulation of fellowships, the improved election of Headships, the abolition of preferences in the election of scholars and fellows, the limitation of the obligation to take holy orders, and the compulsory powers of the Commissioners. Along with the clauses which perished, the opportunity for inserting an amendment for giving the Professors a voice in the choice of public examiners was lost; and thus a Bill which was forced upon the Government and the University by the public demand for incorporating Professorial teaching

into the Oxford system ended by doing nothing whatever for Professors, beyond granting permission to the colleges to create, if they were so pleased, out of the college funds, formidable rivals to the monopoly of instruction which they now enjoy.

But the withdrawal of the compulsory powers of the Commissioners dealt the most fatal blow to the hopes of reformers. The Commissioners, if men of resolution, might, by the first Bill, have enforced on the colleges such a reconstruction of their statutes as would have secured the main objects of collegiate, as distinct from University, reform. But the Act, as passed, merely requires the assent of the Commissioners to any new statutes proposed by the colleges, but confers on them no power of compelling the colleges to propose satisfactory statutes. Two-thirds of the governing body of a college may absolutely prevent any alteration of the statutes, provided they feel themselves able to certify that, "in their opinion, the ordinances proposed by the Commissioners will be prejudicial to the college, as a place of learning and education." They thus possess a veto on their own reform, and though they may want the courage to brave public opinion, and reject all amendment, they nevertheless, with such a veto, must be able to exercise a vast influence on the character of the improvements to be introduced into the statutes.

To the Government and the Liberal party belong the discredit of having brought the Oxford Reform Bill to such an issue. It was natural for the Tories to accept a measure which sacrificed, indeed, the oligarchy of the Heads—(but that they knew to be past saving)—but retained the sweets and advantages of privileged possession. The Liberals acted in the name of higher motives. They had set out in the avowed pursuit of nobler objects. Postponement to another session could not have entailed worse terms, and success even in this was perfectly possible, by uniting all the reformers into doing something earnest and effectual for Professors. But Mr. Gladstone was devoted to the Tutors, and was resolved to give no real help to the Professoriate; and the Liberals wearied out with long debates, and many of them unacquainted with the Universities, cared only about saving a Ministry, which feared, above all things, the disgrace and danger of losing every great measure of reform which it had announced at the opening of the session.

One important measure escaped the general wreck. The ancient right of Masters of Arts was restored by a clause which empowers members of Convocation, under regulations to be framed by the University, and, in default thereof, by the Commissioners, to open private Halls for the reception of students, who shall be matriculated and admitted to all the privileges of the University, without being entered as members of any exist-

ing college or hall. The labours of Sir William Hamilton bore fruit at last. The usurpation of the exclusive right of receiving students by the colleges, which he had so perseveringly exposed, fell before his assault; but it is to be feared that he gained the name rather than the substance of a victory. Such an extension, if capable of being largely carried out, would change the face of the University. It would lay the axe to the root of the Tutorial monopoly, and create a soil from which flourishing Professors would hereafter spring forth. Every line of the Bill shews how vehemently Mr. Gladstone would deprecate such a misfortune; but in making the concession, he was free from any alarm of it occurring. Private halls cannot compete with the colleges. A college possesses a large range of buildings, kept in repair by the college-funds, rent-free residences for the Head and Tutors, and an ample supply of rooms for students, the rent of which is all clear profit. On the other hand, a private hall is an adventure involving the outlay of a large capital and many risks, the profit of which must provide for repairs, taxes, and depreciation, before it can yield any income to the Principal. The Head and Fellows of a college, besides entire exemption from risk, enter the lists with a handsome income derived from the college-funds: the Principal of a hall has nothing but the rent and fees paid by the students to look to for a remuneration of his labour, and repayment of his obligations. He may have been popular enough to fill his hall; but in the event of sickness or death, where is the successor to be found, able and willing to take the hall, with reimbursement of the outlay? A hall will have no advantages for tuition. College Tutors will still regulate the examinations; and, being a body constantly changing, will as constantly alter the character of their questions. Hence, young Tutors, fresh from their degrees, will continue to be the men best qualified to prepare students for the degree: whilst the Principal of a hall, who will be a married and permanent officer, must inevitably, however able, grow more and more out of date, and less qualified to meet the shifting phases of the examinations. He may, indeed, be a man of progress and true learning, and keep his eye on his science, instead of the examinations: alas, he will be only the more unsuited to help his pupils to first classes, for he will only load them with lore, which no questions of the Tutor-Examiners will elicit. All, therefore, that we expect from the opening of private halls is the springing up of a few institutions for the reception of a poorer class of students, built and probably endowed by private benevolence, and under special restrictions as to the mode of life and discipline of the students. They will be, so far, a valuable addition to the University; but will exercise no influence

in modifying its system, or creating a career for learning within its pale.

Mr. Heywood succeeded in obtaining another extension of the University, demanded alike by expediency and justice. He has brought a college-education and the bachelors' degree within the reach of every class of the Queen's subjects. The Act forbids the imposition of any religious test or oath, whether at matriculation or the taking of the bachelor's degree. It will hereafter become a matter of astonishment that so just and reasonable a regulation should have been so long and so bitterly resisted. The State has the deepest interest in the education of all its members. The Dissenters, in respect of numbers, wealth, and Parliamentary influence, constitute a very important part of the community: and if the boast be true, that our Universities furnish the noblest culture England possesses, and produce the citizens most deeply imbued with the highest refinement, the most elevated principles, the most gentlemanlike feelings, and the soundest knowledge, surely it directly concerns every Englishman, that those who may be our actual legislators, and who certainly will have great weight in determining the course of public affairs, should be brought by the State under the moulding power of the Universities. It is not the Church, but Dissent, which incurs risk by the admission of Non-conformists to institutions administered by Churchmen exclusively; and if hereafter—as must inevitably happen—Convocation and the academical franchise are thrown open to Dissenters, their numbers in the University will be so few, as to bring no danger on a reasonable connexion of it with the Church. The bulk of Dissenters is composed of classes who dream not of college-education; whilst the absorption of their wealthier families by the Church is incessant. The Dissenters will never convert Oxford to Dissent; but they will soften its exclusiveness, and bring it more into harmony with our time. Dark hints, indeed, were bandied about in the debate on Mr. Heywood's motion, that the colleges might shut the door which Parliament had opened, and that enforced attendance on the college-chapels, and even compulsory participation of the sacraments, according to the ritual of the Church of England, would exclude those who could no longer be driven away by tests. It is hardly to be believed that the colleges will attempt so desperate and losing a game, as a direct quarrel with Parliament, backed by the public opinion of this country. Many Dissenters would readily attend at the chapels, and some few would join in the celebration of the Communion, according to the service of the Church of England; but so unfitting, so arbitrary a regulation, as the employment of the services of the Church for the purpose of

banishing Non-Conformists from the University, could lead only to a severance of the union, not only of the Universities, but also of the colleges, with the Church. In any case, the opening of halls by Masters willing to receive Dissenters could not be prevented; and the peace, as well as all the best interests of the University, would be brought into jeopardy by the spirit of faction and jealousy which such an antagonistic division of the contending parties could not fail to produce.

For the sake of clearness, let us briefly recapitulate the chief provisions of the Act. It substitutes for the Hebdomadal Board a Council endowed with the exclusive right of proposing measures to the academical legislature. That Council consists of the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, six Heads, six Professors, and six members of Convocation, the last eighteen being all elected by a new constituency called Congregation. Congregation is composed of all resident members of Convocation, besides the Heads, the Professors, and other officials. To Congregation every statute framed by the Council must be submitted. It is allowed the use of the English language, but is incapable of making any amendment in the proposals of the Council. Every member of Congregation, however, may, on the promulgation of a proposed statute, send amendments in writing to the Council, to be dealt with according to their pleasure. The Academical Bill, to become law, will require the sanction of Convocation as heretofore. —Licensed Masters are entitled to open private halls, under regulations to be made by the University,—colleges are empowered to alter and amend their statutes, and the objects they are to aim at are specified,—election to Headships, Fellowships, and Scholarships by merit, alterations in their tenure, abolition of preferences, the promotion of the main designs of founders and donors, the consolidation and redistribution of emoluments, the conversion of fellowships and scholarships attached to schools into exhibitions, and the amending of the statutes from time to time with the consent of the visitor. But the colleges are only invited to make these reforms. If they object to make such ordinances, the Commissioners are authorized to frame statutes for the colleges, subject, however, to an absolute veto, conferred on two-thirds of the governing body of each college who may prevent such statutes from taking effect, by a declaration under their hand and seal, that in their opinion such ordinances will be prejudicial to the said college as a place of learning and education. The right also of preference belonging to schools is not to be abolished, if their governors or the Charity Commissioners dissent therefrom.

And now, what will be the future of Oxford under the ope-

ration of this Act? Will it discharge those high functions which belong to a great University? The answer rests with the new government of Oxford. An improved class of residents will now administer the affairs of the University; for in spite of the mischievous veto on their own reforms accorded to the colleges, it cannot be doubted that the elections to fellowships will be purified by new statutes, and that the appointments of the University will be filled by better men. An oligarchy of seniors, who possessed no intrinsic qualification for supreme power, and who being nominated for life, kept up little sympathy with the intellectual life of their juniors, has passed away; in their place Oxford has obtained an elective government, with a large infusion of young men, and composed of the representatives of various interests. Such a body will be far more alive than their predecessors to the feelings, opinions, and requirements both of the University and of England. Patriotic and energetic men will doubtless spring up in the Council who will prove themselves superior to the selfish promptings of class-interests, and will advocate reforms suggested by a single-eyed regard to the welfare of the University. Then it is a great matter that both the collegiate and the University authorities will henceforth possess a clear conscience towards the statutes under which they act. The consciousness of defective legality opposed infinite impediments to improvements. Men were afraid to repair a building whose foundations were known to be unsound. Even minor and unobjectionable reforms were avoided, because they raised the embarrassing question, on what principle any change whatever could be effected. The University now enjoys a clear and irreproachable title; her statutes can now be obeyed, and provision has been made to alter them, whenever there shall be need. Thus the University will be amenable to the national will, and yet will possess an independent existence of her own. The Act puts Oxford in the stream of public opinion, and the consequences of this fact will henceforth reflect the common sentiment, and no longer that of a peculiar and isolated body. This much is carried, and beyond the power to revoke of all shortcoming Commissioners or reactionary academicals.

These considerations would make us very hopeful, were it not that the Act has made Tutorism dominant at Oxford, and that *the reform of Tutorism is the very essence of University reform.* Tutorism—that is, the monopoly of the public instruction of the students by the fellows of each college separately—has swallowed up the University, annihilated the faculties, destroyed all demand, all room for learning, driven away the ablest men into other professions, extinguished the vigorous and

independent pursuit of knowledge, and made Oxford a mere aggregate of schoolmasters. To exterminate these evils is to reconstruct Tutorism; and will a Tutorial government be capable of such an effort? We fear rather that the evils will continue; and then when the disappointed nation perceives that a solid reform has not been gained, the struggle will be renewed. Public attention will then be directed to the Professoriate, and the House of Commons will recover that debate on Professors which it lost by the abandonment of the latter part of the Bill. We will conclude by a few words on this vital point.

In his elaborate attack on the Professoriate, Dr. Pusey has placed the contest between it and the Tutorial System on a false issue. He assumes throughout, that the University must adopt one or other of two opposite systems; that it must elect between catechetical teaching, or Professorial lectures, delivered to large classes, without any personal contact between teacher and pupil. Dr. Pusey knows right well, that if he can persuade the country that the University can employ one only of these methods of instruction to the exclusion of the other, his triumph is secured. The common sense of Englishmen will never tolerate the notion of sending their sons to a university to lounge away their years in the lecture-rooms of Professors. By the help of this fallacious assumption, Dr. Pusey avoids all discussion of the defects of Tutorism; he frightens the world with the bugbear of dilettante Professorial classes,—with youths sitting with listless inattention, or writing down without thought the undigested lore which drops from the lips of a great Professor, and then quietly takes for granted, that if young men are to be well worked by their teachers, Tutors alone must be employed. These are the shifts of a man who is anxious that the whole truth should not be seen. Catechetical teaching is in no danger at Oxford, whether Professors or Tutors be the public instructors of the University. So long as a severe examination in specified books and sciences awaits students, so long will they seek and obtain that personal instruction which alone can prepare them for such a trial. Hence the vigour with which Private Tuition flourishes at both Universities. It is sanctioned by no public authority; yet it is the most effective instrument of the academical system, and that precisely because it furnishes the closest catechetical teaching. At Cambridge, the Private Tutor does become practically the sole real teacher of the University; at Oxford, though his career is less developed, he is rapidly reducing the lectures of Tutors to insignificance. If, therefore, these lectures were abolished, and Professorial instruction, even of the quality described by Dr. Pusey, were substituted for them, the only result, as far as cate-

chetical teaching is concerned, would be that it would become universal. It would flourish in its most energetic form, the direct, close, personal contact of Tutor and pupil, consulting his particular wants, remedying his peculiar difficulties, and insuring his actual progress in every part of his studies. The advent of Professors, on the hypothesis of Dr. Pusey, would be the triumph of catechetical teaching.

But, in the next place, it is not the abolition of Tutors, but their combination with Professors, which is the reform demanded; and this, which is the true question at issue, Dr. Pusey does not meet. The wished-for reform might be correctly designated as rather the improvement of the Tutoriate than the introduction of the Professoriate. For what is it that the advocate of the Professoriate seeks? That the Tutor should devote himself to a single science,—that he should have strong and direct academical inducements to deepen his knowledge of that science,—that he should teach in conjunction with a Professor,—and that the Tutorial career should be the regular preparation for the Professorship. The Tutor would thus obtain a real profession within the University,—his instruction would acquire an ever-increasing value for his pupils,—and his learning would win for him a prize of the highest distinction in England. The Tutoriate and the Professoriate would thus constitute two divisions of the same system. How different would then be the Tutor's position from that to which Dr. Pusey consigns him. The advocate of the Tutors cares little for their welfare. He disconnects the pursuit of knowledge from their office—treating, in fact, the Tutorship as an unimproving, but comfortable provision for the Fellow till the college-living falls vacant, or preferment beyond the University opens the real business of life. Not one suggestion does Dr. Pusey make which has the real improvement of the Tutor for its object; so unerring is his instinctive feeling that to promote the good of the Tutors is to advocate the Professoriate.

But can the union of the two bodies be accomplished? We answer, that the only thing wanted is an earnest will on the part of the University to carry out the measure. No difficulty need be found in forming such an organization as would place every student under the care of a Tutor in each branch of his studies, under the guidance of occasional lectures from Professors; and by giving the Professors an influential, but not exclusive, weight at the public examinations, would enforce careful attention to their lectures both by Tutors and pupils. Such a Professoriate, amply endowed, and subject to no excessive amount of labour, training Tutors and Under-graduates at the same time, and bringing the most accomplished science to bear directly on the spirit

of the University, would offer the noblest field for eminent genius and intellectual power. It would escape the perils which Germany has witnessed. It would be effectually checked by the public examination, and the necessity for mastering the books prescribed by the examination statutes. Its lectures would resemble those of Germany solely in being delivered by the first men in each department of learning. Dr. Pusey objects, that such lectures would not expound the last discoveries in science, or the profoundest investigations of philosophy; why therefore employ so mighty an instrument as the teaching of the most learned men in the land for the training of under-graduates? Is it to be supposed, he asks, that Professors would find in the obligation to deliver such lectures a powerful stimulus for devoting unwearied labour to the cultivation of science? Certainly not. But the academical system will be so constructed, that the regenerated Tutoriate will infallibly produce eminent men; and the result will be, not that profound attainments will be acquired for the sake of delivering the Professorial lectures, but that the lectures will be delivered by men of profound attainments. Dr. Pusey intimates that books of lasting merit would not come forth from such men; but says Professor Vaughan,—

"Although Oxford has eagerly asserted her office as a teacher of the Moral Sciences, and stakes her character upon this, yet, while her tutors and heads of houses have scarcely produced a work of—I do not say European, I do not say national—but even of academical and Oxonian reputation, the professors of the Scottish, and French, and German universities have filled the world with their fame. The works of Smith, Reid, Stewart, and Brown—(for I will say nothing of Kant, Hegel, Schelling, and Cousin,) have been in the hands of all who take an interest in such subjects. Even those who have received moral truth from heathen writers, have ever referred to some German or Professorial work for a connected account of the doctrine and progress of the ancient philosophers of Greece. Tenneman and Ritter—generally known in Oxford as the authorities of the history of philosophy—were or are German professors. Again, ancient history owes little or nothing to Oxford, and much to professors. . . . . . In studies purely classical, with one or two recent exceptions, nearly everything has been done by professors. Porson was a professor, Elmsley a professor, and Gaisford a professor; and German names, printed and ticketed on the backs of useful and valuable books, cover, it might be said, the interior walls of our colleges. Ruhnken, Valckenaer, Ernesti, Heyne, Hermann, Lachmann, Bekker, Dindorf, Doering, Orelli, Bähr, Goeller, Poppo; and scores more might be noted, but it is enough to say that not only the familiar, but almost the only books known to classical literature, are those furnished by a Professoriate."

Dr. Pusey would have us believe, what he has not dared openly to assert, that Tutorial instruction leaves nothing to be desired on the score of efficiency; but no man who has had any experience in education, not even Dr. Pusey himself, will dispute the enormous difference in value between the teaching of a superior and that of an inferior man. That those who have explored the widest boundaries of a science are generally also the clearest expositors of its rudiments, has almost passed into a proverb. "There is a freshness in the view of facts, however long known, of one who has the powers and the habits of advancing a science: there is an insight, an accuracy and a caution in his statement of principles already established, and a general appreciation of their value and ground-work, which an inferior man can never possess, and which give a reality, a truthfulness, and a hopefulness of still higher laws, or more correct expressions to his teaching of even elementary propositions. It is therefore of importance that the services of the investigating and creating mind should be given to the class-room; the more so, as by such employment, the Professor does not lose all time and opportunity for the advancement of truth." Who has read the sketches of Niebuhr's Professorial lectures, and not felt the power of his intimate familiarity with ancient Rome, of his vivid realization of her very aspect, and of the public and private life of her citizens, as if he had lived amongst them, of his creative genius in reproducing every Roman as a living man, as though present to his very eye? There is no novelty here; no learned and profound disquisition; no recondite erudition; yet this is the very pith and marrow of history; and what no one but a great historian can produce. Can the inestimable value of such teaching enforced, too, with impressiveness of countenance, gesture, voice, and personal presence, be questioned?

Dr. Pusey has raised a violent outcry against the infidelity of German Professors; and he insinuates that they were infidels because they were Professors. It would have been more to the purpose if he had met the historical question, whether they were not infidels because they were Germans,—Germans of a particular age, under peculiar circumstances, both political and social. To assume a necessary and inseparable union between a Professoriate and infidelity, in the face of the history of every University in Europe, is simply absurd. But we are reminded that we have no space left for entering on this topic. We refer our readers to the masterly and eloquent argument of Professor Vaughan. For ourselves, we content ourselves with the remark, that the Church and nation which have been most distinguished in Europe by steadiness of belief, whose faith in every essential element has never varied since the Reformation, whose con-

stancy in the Christian profession has been the most unshaken, are also the Church and nation who have educated their clergy, down to this day, by the agency of Professors. Professorial Scotland has not reared an infidel clergy, and she has done what Tutorial Oxford has failed to do; she has retained a pure and unsullied allegiance to the doctrines and principles of her Church. Scotch Professors, unlike Oxford Tutors, have not inculcated a teaching which terminates in a long series of defections from Protestantism. Dr. Pusey, of his own free choice, has imported religion into the discussion of academical reform. He has voluntarily invited public attention to the religious results of the Tutorial system; the prudence of such an appeal is more than doubtful. It may be very edifying to Dr. Pusey to see around him so many young men submissively imbibing the elements of Tractarian doctrine; and doubtless he finds in such a sight a gratifying proof of the excellence of the Tutorial method; but will England be content to continue Oxford as a nursery for Rome? Nay, much more, will she obtain in Anglo-Catholic teaching a real security against the infidelity with which Dr. Pusey attempts to frighten her into support of Tutorism? No truth is more firmly established by history than that the abuse of the principle of authority is the high road to rationalism. Oxford has reached the first stage; may she not travel to the journey's end? The Romish priesthood has often been a seminary of unbelief, not by accident, or by force of circumstances, but by the operation of a necessary law. If thoughtful minds are required to accept, as the unerring interpretation of divine truth, the opinions of a few generations of fallible men, under the impressive name of the Church, they will inevitably be driven into a disbelief of the existence of a real standard of religious belief, or into rationalistic processes for eliciting its meaning. Such has been the fate of Roman Catholicism; such might be the fate of Oxford, if Dr. Pusey's teaching became supreme.

There are many circumstances belonging to our age which heighten the danger of rationalism. Unless we are to be forbidden to think, it is impossible, or rather it is most undesirable to withdraw the sacred volume from the investigation of historical criticism. Nothing could be more fatal to the cause of revealed religion, nothing, we add, more false, than to suppose that the Bible will not bear the fullest examination. One battle in this field has already been fought and won. The revelations of geology—for they are the revelations of God working in nature—alarmed many for the safety of the Bible. Science pursued its way; and the discoveries of geology, it may be confidently asserted, have not cost Christianity a single believer. It

will be the same with Historical Criticism. It must not, it cannot be checked; let us only hold firmly by the faith, that in the fresh air of free discussion we need not fear for the truth. Dr. Pusey once taught this great lesson; now he would stifle investigation by peremptorily appealing to what Cyprian and Augustine thought and wrote. He scorns to shew that Cyprian and Augustine were good scholars and good critics. He cannot afford to prove that their interpretations of Scripture are borne out by the laws of Greek and historical science: for to sit in judgment on the opinions of these eminent Christians, and to *prove* them to be correct, would be the overthrow of the principle of authority, and an admission of a higher tribunal. But he forgets the fearful danger to which he exposes the religious belief of his youthful hearers. When the conviction dawns on their minds, that scholarship and critical science find one meaning in the Bible, and those with whose opinions Christianity is authoritatively identified find another, what will be the issue? The results of one experiment point out what may be expected from another. The attempt to found the Church of England on the authority of the fathers has made many renounce that Church, and has not won a single convert from Rome. Dr. Pusey will not be more successful in the second and far more dangerous attempt. The laws of language and scientific investigation will prevail; and if, when they refute the assertion of the fathers, young men are taught that to differ from the fathers is to reject Christianity, what can the end be but a swelling of the ranks of the unbelievers?

We require to know the grounds on which Cyprian and Augustine framed their opinions, and to forbid us to form an estimate of the sufficiency of those grounds is as foolish as it is impracticable. This is not to trample on authority; for if authority has its rights, it has also its limits. The example furnished by successive generations of Christian men can never be stripped of its legitimate weight. The record of what the Christian faith has done for the world, of the heroism it has sustained, of the elevation to which it has raised the human race, must attach supreme value to the belief which has been the animating principle of Christians in each age. But that belief has ever been an aggregate of many elements,—some divine, others earthly. In the divine elements dwells the living force of Christianity,—the earthly are coloured by the state of knowledge and the mode of thinking of each successive age. From the days of the Apostles down to our own, the opinions of no single generation have presented unmixed truth to the reception of the Church. To sift, therefore, the chaff from the wheat, the human from the divine, is the abiding duty of the Church.

It is a process which never ceases, but it is also one which the Church has ever been anxious to escape. The human heart is impatient of the consciousness of the admixture of error with religious truth. It refuses to acquiesce in the manner in which God has willed that His revelation should exist in the world. It has made every effort to determine the truth once for all. At one time, the decrees of Councils,—at another, the declarations of a Pope,—at a third, the consent of a few selected generations called "antiquity," have been held up as the embodiment of pure truth. But each attempt has failed. It has always been easy to point out error in the declarations of the pretended oracle. Hence the necessity for revision and modification incessantly recurs. No angry protests against unsettling men's minds,—no fond imaginings that certainty has been reached, will ever remove this necessity; the admixture of human thought will crumble away, and if Christian thinkers fail to repair the breach, infidel assailants will enter.

These considerations establish the vast importance of a perpetual school of scientific theology. We are often told that theology is not a progressive science. If this assertion is intended to mean that theology leads to no discoveries, it is true; but if it is meant that the materials of the Christian faith admits of no reconstruction, or of no difference in the mode of viewing them, it is entirely and dangerously false. To take one instance out of many,—Can any educated man doubt that the fundamental question of the canon, the basis of all revelation, the source of every special element of the Christian faith, demands the study of the most accomplished scholars of every age? or that the authenticity and claims to inspiration of each of its parts will always be subjected to renewed investigation? Can any one be ignorant that such inquiries are and will be prosecuted both within and without Christianity, whatever may be thought of them by the authorities of the Church; and that if false conclusions are not refuted by superior learning, grievous wounds will be inflicted on the power of Christianity over the world? It may suit some to teach that the Church has pronounced finally on these matters; but such a dictum will not be enough for those who know that the so-called judgment of the Church is nothing more than the opinion of men who lived several centuries after the composition of the Sacred Book, and were little qualified by critical ability to settle questions which even at the time were much contested. To inculcate on young men the perfect sufficiency of *such* judgments, whilst forbidding them to prove their soundness by independent examination, is only a sure way of delivering them over to the influence of unbelieving criticism.

This is a matter which concerns Oxford deeply. Dr. Pusey advocates Tutorism, because it is the guarantee of no-progress, and leaves the field open to him for preaching submission to authority. If such preaching produces its natural fruits,—if it swells the ranks of the rationalists and the infidels, Dr. Pusey submits as to an evil inseparable from the moral constitution of the world. The truth, forsooth, is the only remedy for sin and error. It is the Christian teacher's duty to proclaim the truth, and to leave the issue with God. But it behoves well the people of England to consider whether they will expose their sons to the fatal assumption which underlies this statement, namely, that the opinions of any number of fallible men are the divine truth itself. They will disbelieve, we are persuaded, the possibility of recalling any past age, or of converting the nineteenth century into the fourth. They will see that the teaching which attempts to resist investigation, to stereotype thought, and to substitute trust in others for insight and conviction, abandons the highest elements of man's nature to the unbeliever, and renders him supreme in the domain of reason. They will refuse to believe that this is the condition to which Christianity has called the human race. They have more faith than to believe in so miserable a theology. They believe rather that Christianity is a leaven, empowered by Divine might to animate the mind of man, under every possible development of his religious, moral, and intellectual faculties. They believe that God the Creator is the same as God the Saviour; and that the freest exercise of the reason which is His gift will but attest the revelation of His Son.

And if this is so, English parents will desire to see intellectual progress, not ignored, but mastered by a sound theology. They will hesitate to place their children under the terrible dilemma of repudiating either their understanding or their faith. They desire that their sons should be reared with a noble and manly training, under the guidance of men who are masters of the highest knowledge, and thereby capable of confirming their pupils in the Christian religion. Only they have been slow to perceive the impediment which Tutorism has opposed to the accomplishment of this great end. They have been alarmed by Oxford Tractarianism. They have been startled, too, by the exhibition of prominent Deistical writings, which have emanated from Oxford men. But they have not fully apprehended the necessary connexion of both these phenomena with each other, and with Oxford Tutorism. Hence the victory which Tutorism has been suffered to win in the Bill of University Reform. The Bill has not attacked the malady which afflicts the University. It has opened no career for learning, furnished no incitements

to the independent pursuit of knowledge, provided no great authorities to command the reverence of students in a single department of human thought. It has done nothing to avert the flight from the University of every man of superior talent and learning. It has left Oxford dependent for her theology, her philosophy, her history, and her scholarship, on London, Paris, and Germany. It has not accomplished the grand object of University Reform. That Reform is still to come. We have shewn that the composition of the new academical constitution forbids us to expect Tutorial reform from its hands; and the election of the members of the first Council have confirmed our forebodings. Tutorial influence is predominant in it; so much so, that we should cherish stronger hopes of obtaining liberal measures from the old Board of Heads than from the new Council. The reformed constitution cannot, we are persuaded, generate an efficient Professoriate. Without such a Professoriate, Oxford remains unreformed.

Art. VI.—*Evidence before the Committee on Public-Houses,* 1853, 1854. Report, 1854.

A "SOBER LIFE" is one of the first things prayed for in the Liturgy of the Church of England. Of course, the phrase must be taken in a broad sense. But even were it cut down to its narrowest signification, it would be no unfit prayer for the Christian Church in any of the British isles. Startling as it may appear, it is the truth, that the destruction of human life, and the waste of national wealth, which must arise from this tremendous Russian war, are outrun every year by the devastation caused by national drunkenness. Nay, add together all the miseries generated in our times by war, famine, and pestilence, the three great scourges of mankind, and they do not exceed those that spring from this one calamity.

This assertion will not be readily believed by those who have not reflected on the subject. But the fact is, that hundreds of thousands of our countrymen are daily sinking themselves into deeper misery; destroying their health, peace of mind, domestic comfort, and usefulness; and ruining every faculty of mind and body, from indulgence in this propensity. And then what multitudes do these suicides drag down along with them! It would not be too much to say, that there are at this moment *half a million homes* in the United Kingdom, where home happiness is never felt, owing to this cause alone; where the wives are broken hearted, and the children are brought up in misery. For the children what hope is there, amid ceaseless scenes of quarrelling, cursing, and blows,—when, as Cassio says, "It hath pleased the devil drunkenness to give place to the devil wrath," and the two devils together have driven from the house all that peace and sweetness, which should be the moral atmosphere of the young? Then the sober part of the community pays a heavy penalty for the vices of the drunkard. Drink is the great parent of crime. One of the witnesses before the Committee of the House of Commons states that he went through the New Prison at Manchester (it contained 550 criminals) with Thomas Wright, the prison philanthropist. "I spent an entire day," he says, "in speaking with the prisoners, and in every case, without exception, *drinking was the cause of their crime.*" One of the Judges stated, some time ago, at the Circuit Court in Glasgow, that "every evil seemed to begin and end in whisky." Judge Erskine

in the same way declared at the Salisbury Assizes, in 1844, that ninety-nine cases out of every hundred arose from strong drink. The Admiral of the Mediterranean fleet has stated, that since the allowance of spirits was reduced to one quarter of the old amount, the number of punishments has fallen more than 70 per cent! Where a hundred men were punished before, only twenty or thirty are punished now.* The amount of evil to which drinking leads in this respect is incalculable. It would not be too much to say that if all drinking of fermented liquors could be done away with, crime of every kind would fall to a fourth of its present amount, and the whole tone of moral feeling in the lower orders might be indefinitely raised.

Not only does this vice produce all kinds of positive mischief, but it also has a negative effect of great importance. It is the mightiest of all the forces that clog the progress of good. It is in vain that every engine is set to work that philanthropy can devise, when those whom we seek to benefit are habitually tampering with their faculties of reason, and will,—soaking their brains with beer, or inflaming them with ardent spirits. The struggle of the school, and the library, and the Church all united, against the beer-house and gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell. Well may we say with Shakespeare, "O that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains! that we should, with joy, pleasance, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!"† The alarming amount of madness in the United Kingdom is well known to be in great part owing to the abuse of fermented liquors. Lord Shaftesbury states that having been for sixteen years Chairman of the Lunacy Commission, he has ascertained that no less than three-fifths of the cases of insanity, both here and in America, are from this cause.‡ It is, in short, intoxication that fills our gaols. It is intoxication that fills our lunatic asylums. And it is intoxication that fills our workhouses with poor. Were it not for this one cause, pauperism would be nearly extinguished in England.

One of the reasons why pauperism, especially, is so greatly enhanced by these habits of drinking, is, that the health of the poor is seriously damaged by them, and the lives of tens of thousands cut short. Dr. Carpenter gives a fearful list of the diseases that are generated by alcohol,—delirium tremens, insanity, oinomania, idiocy, apoplexy, paralysis, epilepsy, moral perversion, irritation of the mucous membrane of the stomach,

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* Dr. Carpenter's *Physiology of Temperance*, p. 53.

† Othello, ii. 3.

‡ Speech at a meeting of the Manchester Association Public-houses.

gastric dyspepsia, congestion of the liver, and a multitude more. And he shews that even moderate doses of the poison, regularly taken, tend to produce the same result, and also to elicit all kinds of diseases that might else have lain dormant, and slowly to sap the faculties of body and mind. There is no doubt that a large amount of suffering is caused by drinking, even when it does not by any means bulge out into drunkenness.

Looking, then, at the manifold and frightful evils that spring from drunkenness, we think we were justified in saying that it is the most dreadful of all the ills that afflict the British isles. We are convinced, that if a statesman who heartily wished to do the utmost possible good to his country were thoughtfully to inquire, which of the topics of the day deserved the most intense force of his attention, the true reply—the reply which would be exacted by full deliberation,—would be, that he should study the means by which this worst of plagues can be stayed. The intellectual, the moral, and the religious welfare of our people; their material comforts; their domestic happiness, are all involved. The question is, whether millions of our countrymen shall be helped to become happier and wiser,—whether pauperism, lunacy, disease, and crime, shall be diminished,—whether multitudes of men, women, and children, shall be aided to escape from utter ruin of body and soul. Surely such a question as this, enclosing within its limits consequences so momentous, ought to be weighed with earnest thought by all our patriots.

The causes of this characteristic national vice,—the reasons why some countries, especially Ireland, Scotland, Sweden and Norway, Russia and England, are so much more drunken than, for example, France, Italy, Spain, and the southern countries of Europe, is an important subject of inquiry, and one on which much light has not yet been thrown. One thing, however, seems clear, that cold and damp are motives to intoxication. The stomach is a short-sighted guide. Where the atmosphere is wet and chill, it issues orders for carbon, of which fermented liquors afford the largest supply. It does not reflect, that though the demand may be proper at the outset, indulgence will rapidly turn it into a mere craving for stimulus. This, however, seems to be a chief cause of the greater comparative drunkenness of the north of Europe. We see the principle illustrated every day. Cold and exposure send their victims to the gin shops. The cabman yearns for his glass of cordial more than the clerk at his desk, and more in a bitter north-easter than when a July sun is shining. Brewers find that their trade falls off in sharp weather, which might seem to point the other way; but the reason has been ascertained to

be, that the public betakes itself to spirits at such times in preference to those drinks that contain less carbon.*

But whatever account science may give of the causes, the dreadful result is before us. As Gloucester says in King Lear, "Though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects." It remains true, that the British people, one of the most intelligent, religious, and prudent in the world, is also among the most drunken. It is surely worth our while to inquire diligently by what means this scandal may be removed from our national character. Happily in this investigation we have the encouragement of knowing that, though a century ago drunkenness was almost universal in the middle and upper classes, it has been nearly expelled from them; and though it is difficult to trace this happy result to its causes, at least here we have a rock of hope as to the lower orders. We have actual experience to prove that the hold of drunkenness upon large masses of the community *can* be overthrown.

Nor are we without encouragement as to the working-classes. According to the evidence given before the Committee on Public-Houses in 1853 and 1854, by those who have had opportunities of judging, the country *is* by degrees improving in sobriety; and some statistics are furnished which bear out this view. For instance, Mr. Alderman Wire gives a table, from which it appears that had each man, woman, and child drunk as much in 1851 as each man, woman, and child drank in 1836, there would have been 140 millions of gallons more consumed in 1851 than were actually used. In other words, the quantity consumed in 1851 is less by 140 millions of gallons than it would have been, had each person drunk as much as was usual fifteen years before.† The fact is encouraging. It implies that the moral

* Sir Benjamin Brodie, in his amusing "Psychological Enquiries," remarks, that "According to Mr. Brande's tables. the proportion of alcohol in gin is as much as 50 per cent., while in London porter it is not much more than 4 per cent. The porter drinker, therefore, must drink 6¼ pints of porter to obtain gradually, the effect which the gin drinker obtains at once from half a pint (eight ounces) of gin. Gin drinking, however, is in some other respects better suited to the ill-disposed part of the population." *Inter alia*, it does not distend the stomach so much. But, query, does it matter whether the stomachs of the ill-disposed part of the population are distended?

† This is borne out by statistics given by the Manchester Association for the regulation of Public-houses. They shew that the average consumption of spirits was,—

12,170,000 gallons in 1831-2
13,774,000 „ „ 1850-1

Increase, 1,604,000

But as the population meanwhile had increased by four millions, it follows that

agencies that have been at work during the last twenty years have been really influential.

But this should act as a stimulus to further efforts, and we shall accordingly proceed to suggest some means that seem likely to tend to a victory, which, if achieved, would outweigh in real importance to our country the capture even of Sebastopol or Cronstadt. Some of the practical suggestions that we shall put forward may appear startling,—but the country must be willing to make large sacrifices, for the sake of lessening the load of misery and guilt, which daily spring from the drinking habits of the working classes.

And our first proposal is, that the sale of intoxicating liquors should be forbidden after *ten o'clock at night.* We are convinced that such a measure, if rigorously carried out, would be one of the greatest blessings that the Legislature could bestow upon the country. How thankful would tens of thousands of men, and hundreds of thousands of wives and children, have cause to be to the strong arm of law, if it did for the bread winner what he is really unable to do for himself,—if it forced him to go home when the natural time of rest had come! What multitudes who now go late to their work in the morning, surly, discontented, with aching heads and bitter hearts, would rejoice that they had been fairly *driven* from the temptations which they had not power to resist. Of course that large class, who are more terrified by the possibility of imaginary inconveniences, than touched by the certainty of present evils, will say that it is necessary to have the public houses open to a very late hour, because of the travellers, cabmen, and others, unavoidably in motion at night, who all the more require refreshment, because it is the night time.* But the reply to this difficulty is simple. *Let the coffee-houses remain open as long as they choose.* Thus refreshment of the best kind would always be at hand. There are about 1400 coffee-houses in London, for example, and doubtless their number would rapidly increase, if they alone might supply their harmless beverage to the night customers. That coffee is a sufficient drink has been established over and over

the consumption of spirits had fallen from $\frac{8}{10}$ths of a gallon per head in the former years, to $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a gallon in the latter, or 15 per cent.

So, too, as to malt liquors, while $2\frac{3}{10}$ bushels per head were consumed in 1831 and 1832, only two bushels were consumed in 1850 and 1851.

* The clubs would not come under the rule, because they are the property of those who use them. A man may of course drink in his own house. If it be thought hard that places of public amusement should not be allowed to sell liquors after ten, might not a license for selling after that hour be had for a very high price, say £50 yearly. We do not wish this, but we would submit to it.

again. An additional proof has been afforded by the experience of the workmen at the Crystal Palace, many of whom we have observed making their coffee for dinner, having renounced all stronger liquors.*

We trust that no squeamish timidity will prevent our Statesmen from cutting the knot, and making it the regular duty of the police to see that all the houses for the sale of fermented liquors are shut up at the time proposed. And one way of facilitating such "early closing" would be by making every customer found in the house after that hour liable to a fine, as well as the publican to more serious penalties. This would not only punish the guilty all round, instead of selecting a single victim, but it would enable the publican to turn out his customers with ease, by reminding them that they were themselves in peril. "The men tempt the landlords;" we are told in evidence, "they say, If you will not serve us now, we will not come here again. In some cases the landlord is almost compelled to serve them; and if you punish the men who hold out the temptation, you would cut at the root of the evil." So a publican states to the Committee, that if the landlords had an opportunity of saying "No; if I serve you, you will be punished for it," it would have a most powerful effect.

Upon the point of the immense importance of early closing, the evidence is most emphatic. We shall only quote that of a city missionary,† who says,—"In my opinion the houses should be closed at ten o'clock. . . . . . Take the crime of wife-beating; men do not beat their wives before ten o'clock at night,—a working man goes to the public house where he has men of his own class to talk with,—he calls for his pipe, and sits talking comfortably till, say ten o'clock,—he is then what the publicans call mellow; and if the house closed then, he would go home and take his beer to his wife, but if you keep that man till he is getting really drunk, and he keeps on drinking till twelve, he is then perhaps turned out of the house and makes a disturbance in the street, and then goes home and beats his wife. . . . . . Upon the question of prostitution, one woman who kept twenty-six bad houses told me, that if all the public houses were closed

* As far as travellers are concerned, of course, hotels and inns would open their doors to receive such for the night, and give them refreshment. That would be a totally different thing from the gin palace, standing with its doors invitingly open, with blazing lights, and every temptation to the passer-by to go in and drink. But the legal definition of a *bona fide* traveller must be, that he has paid for a bed at the house where he wants to be supplied with liquor after ten o'clock. Such a definition is essential; without it there will be perpetual inconvenience and confusion.

† Mr. Wayland, author of *The Million Peopled City.*

early she should have to close some of her houses. The women I have placed in institutions tell me that their best time is when men are excited with drink. They come out of the houses at eleven, twelve, or one o'clock, and during those hours they have more command over the men than at any other time."

It is needless to pile up evidence. No one who knows anything of the working classes can feel a moment's doubt as to the advantage of the change. We trust that another session may not pass without a measure of the sort indicated being carried into effect. At any rate, even if Parliament cannot make the effort, let it place the power to do so in the hands of the magistrates or of the rate-payers themselves. The Committee in their Report name eleven o'clock as the hour they would propose; but we see no reason for not going further. That hour—from ten to eleven—is the very turning-point in which drinking grows into drunkenness. Let us not be satisfied with half the good, when we can double it so easily. The essence of the plan is *to remove the man before his drinking has gone to excess*, not merely to turn him out when already "half seas over." Of course, so great a blow to the drinking of fermented liquors would excite some outcry among the publicans. But we repeat that the evil we have to deal with is so vast and terrible, that the remedy *must* be sharp. Moreover, it should be remembered that though a noise might be made by a portion of the publicans, a large number of them, and those the most respectable, would hail the reform with pleasure. Their long hours are painful to them and their families.

And while we would urge the closing of public houses at ten o'clock on week-days, we trust that the reform which has been adopted in Scotland, with respect to the Sunday, will be extended, *though with some decided modifications*, to England as well. The results of the Scotch experiment have hitherto been satisfactory. In Edinburgh in the first six months, the number of persons charged with Sunday drunkenness by the police, fell from 171 in 1853, and 240 in 1851, to 30 in 1854! In Glasgow, from an average of 577 in former years, the number fell in the first three months to 223. In Dundee it diminished by 663 in the first five months. From other towns we have no official returns, but what is particularly satisfactory is, that crime has also diminished in a remarkable manner. The daily average of prisoners in the Edinburgh City Jail fell from an average of just 600 in the same months of the previous seven years, to an average of 415! And this, though sixty-one of the prisoners were in jail before the Act came into force. A city missionary in Edinburgh states, that since the Act the attendance in the

mission church has been doubled, and that in visiting the homes of even the most degraded people in his district, he has not seen so much as one case of drinking on Sunday.

In England some important steps have been already taken in the same direction. The first move took place in 1839, when it was made illegal to open public houses from midnight on Saturday till mid-day on Sunday, and "the results," we are told in evidence, "have been highly favourable to morals and good order." In Lancashire, for example, the apprehensions for drunkenness fell off by thirty per cent. in the six months after the Act came into force, while in the metropolitan districts the diminution in the first five months was from 2301, as the average of the two preceding years, to 1328, or forty-two per cent.* The Superintendent of Police at Bradford states, that this partial closing has been most beneficial. "Truly the change was wonderful," he says. "The most horrid scenes of drunkenness and riot used to take place on the Sunday mornings . . . . but so soon as the new regulation was put in force, the Sunday morning's riot and debauchery were at once stopped. The beer-houses in this borough were as well conducted as in all large towns, yet here there is a fearful amount of crime and desecration. In some of them, on the Lord's-Day evening, there are rooms filled with both sexes, drinking, smoking, and indulging in loose jests and obscenity. I have seen about fifty to sixty of both sexes, from fifteen to ten years of age." Mr. Hunter, a beer-seller at Birmingham, says,—"When I first entered the business, I was allowed to open at four on Sunday morning, and I kept open till ten in the morning, and that caused a great deal of drunkenness." . . . . "The best thing," he adds, "for the improvement of the morals of the working classes, was the closing of the public-houses on the Saturday night, and not opening them till half-past twelve on Sunday. It has worked a miracle to a very great extent. You do not see one drunken man on Sunday out of twenty that there used to be in Birmingham."

A further advance, it is well known, was made by Parliament last session, in closing the public-houses at ten o'clock on Sunday night, and we are assured that much benefit has accrued; but we are not in possession of any official statistics on the subject. In the "Times," however, of January 8, we observe a statement by Mr. Clay, the Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, that he has examined the cases of committals to the prison of men for drunkenness, and for offences caused by drunkenness,

* Report of the Commissioners of Police to the Statistical Society, read May 1841.

during four months before and after the passing of the Act. The following are the particulars :—

Committed for Trial.	
Four months before the passing of the Bill, . .	65
Four months after, ...	33
Committed Summarily.	
Four months before the passing of the Bill, . .	106
Four months after, ...	67
Committed Summarily on Mondays.	
Four months before the passing of the Bill, . .	35
Four months after, ...	17

The reverend gentleman remarks,—"A decrease of more than 31 per cent. on the whole, and of more than 50 per cent. on the Monday committals, is a pretty strong proof of the beneficial working of Mr. Patten's bill."

How ripe public opinion already is for the extension of these reforms, is proved by the immense number of petitions presented to Parliament last session, and which contained 270,000 signatures. At Dublin, a petition was signed by 70,000 persons of the poorer class, and another by 700 persons of high respectability. At Merthyr Tydvil a petition has been numerously signed, not only by working men, but by the whole of the publicans in the neighbourhood, with one exception only. They crave to have rest on Sunday, like other tradesmen. The chaplain of Preston Jail states, that "almost all the labouring classes, when they are sober, and have the use of their reason, would wish to have the public-houses closed on Sunday. Their wives would be more glad than any other portion of the community." From the Evidence it appears, that in not closing the public-houses on Sunday, (except from one to three and five to eight,) Parliament is actually refusing a boon for which the working classes would be grateful, because they earnestly desire to be *saved from a temptation* which they cannot overcome of themselves. Mr. Haddocks, a joiner, says,—"The general opinion of mechanics is to have the houses closed on Sunday." Mr. Bowthorpe, a coach-painter, observes,—"I believe the mechanics would approve of it very much. None of the working classes, except the most immoral, leave their work on Saturday evening with the *intention* of spending two or three hours at a public-house, but they have not sufficient moral rectitude to resist the temptation. They turn in and waste their money. Then they go home. The wife generally remonstrates, unless she is broken in to it, and then there ensues one of those

family quarrels which the magistrate is supposed to settle; but a great many of these cases never come before the magistrate. I believe it is the *temptation which induces the men to use the public-house on the Sunday.*" A cab-driver states that the majority of cabmen would like the public-houses to be closed on Sunday, "as that might induce their masters to take out a six-day instead of a seven-day license. The men would be a soberer set of men, and spend less money at the public-houses. Many men since those 'six-day numbers' have been out, are a different set of men altogether. They are more moralized and better behaved. They begin to have a little self-importance which they had not got before." * He adds a curious fact, that they gain more, because they look more respectable, clean their cabs better, and do not sleep and loiter away their time so much,—so essential is a day of rest to man.† A stone-potter again is asked whether, if the public-houses were closed on Sunday, except from one to three, anybody would complain of any inconvenience? "Not the slightest, I should think," is his reply; and having stated that it had been a frequent topic of conversation with his brother mechanics, and that out of sixty, fifty signed a petition in favour of entire Sunday closing, he adds, "They believe it would be a benefit to their wives. They would miss it at first, and it would appear hard at first, but they believe ultimately they would reap the benefit. . . . . Some of the men do not now go to the public-houses at all on Sunday, and there has been a marked difference in the appearance of the men, and of their families. . . . . Were the public-houses closed, they (the drinking men) would speedily be better clothed, and be out enjoying themselves with their families, those that did not prefer going to places of worship. . . . . They would begin to get a kind of self-respect for themselves."‡

There seems again to be no doubt that a large part of the trade would rejoice in the relief which such a restriction would give them. Several, of whom Mr. Glass and Mr. Chamen were called before the Committee, have on principle given up opening their shops on Sunday. They have provided jugs with close fitting lids, in which on Saturday they send out beer for the Sunday dinner to those customers who require it. They say that they have not suffered at all by the alteration.

Mr. Maber, a publican at Islington, carried round a petition one evening in favour of Sunday closing, to twenty-four houses,

* Since this was written, we hear that an end has been put to the six-day licenses, on the ground, it is said, that the revenue suffered from so many of them being taken out!

† Report, 1083, &c.

‡ Report, 1854,—1000, 1080. Dft. p. 18.

and the landlords of nineteen of them signed it. He thinks that the respectable publicans would be in favour of such a measure, and as to the customers, he says, "There appears to be a better feeling existing respecting the matter, things are so altered; people see things in a different light. There is a great deal more comfort in a family when a man takes home his refreshments, and has them with his wife and family. Closing the houses on Sunday morning has a great deal to do with it." "*If we have a great evil to deal with*," he adds, "*we must use strong measures.*" A city missionary in Marylebone says he tested the feelings of the publicans and beer-house men, by offering them a petition to sign in favour of Sunday closing, and forty signed the petition for entire closing; thirty-six were for closing except at mid-day; fourteen would give no opinion; only thirty-four out of the 125 were entirely opposed. And 600 or 700 working men put their names to the petition. The "constant answer" that he received from men whom he knew to be drunkards, and whom he found in the tap-rooms, was touching. On his saying "we are going to try to close the houses partly on Sunday," "Oh, close them altogether, sir," was the invariable reply.*

There is another restriction which we hope to see placed on public-houses, and that is, that *no wages should be paid in them.* Serious evils ensue from the system which is pursued in many parts of the country of regularly paying wages in the pot-house. The consequence is, that many employers of labour set up beer-shops for the express purpose of paying their men in them, and compelling them to lay out a large part of their money there. Mr. Charles Balfour, who has had rare opportunities of mastering the subject, says that he has *always, in every case*, found the payment of wages in public-houses to have a demoralizing and injurious tendency. Among others who bear similar testimony, a city missionary relates that the mechanics say to him, "We are told to be at a certain public-house by seven o'clock, and we do not get our wages till half-past eleven, and the publican looks black, and the men joke us if we do not drink, and we are obliged to drink." There is no reason at all why the employer of labour should not pay his men at his own home or office, or on the spot where they work, without exposing them to a strong temptation to throw away their wages on liquor. In our opinion, any publican convicted of allowing such payments in his house, and also the persons by whom the payments are made, should be liable to a fine.

* Report 1854, 2342, Dft page 21.
Do 24, Do. 22.
N 2192,. Do. 22.

There is one other regulation which we rather suggest for consideration than recommend, viz., that if any person is found in a public house, or coming out of it, in such a state of drunkenness that the police have to take charge of him, not only that drunken person,* but also the publican, should be fined: And still more strongly would we urge, that if the individual thus found be a *woman*, the publican should be fined still more heavily. Perhaps such a rule may remind the reader of the ukase of the Empress Catherine, for the regulation of evening parties at St. Petersburg, in which she forbade the gentlemen to get drunk before nine o'clock, and the ladies to get drunk at any time, or on any pretence whatever. Gladly, however, would we make it penal to sell spirits to a female at all, if there could be any machinery for enforcing the law. Perhaps the nearest practical approach to it would be to inflict a somewhat heavy penalty on any one who should allow a woman to get drunk in his house. If any steps can be taken to diminish female drunkenness, they ought to be adopted at once. Of all the afflicting spectacles that can be witnessed, there is none so utterly dreadful as to see a woman,—a wife,—a mother,—staggering drunk out of a gin-palace. The imagination shrinks from following out the evil to all its results; but no one can have visited the poor in great cities, without being profoundly conscious of the desolation caused by female intoxication. Why not punish the man who supplies the means of such ruin?†

Such, then, are regulations which we would fain see imposed upon the sale of fermented liquors. They should not be sold after ten o'clock at night, except to actual lodgers. Nor on Sunday, unless during a very limited portion of the day. No wages should be paid in public houses. The publican should be liable to a fine for suffering a customer to get drunk.‡—No one, surely, will deny that if these regulations were carried into effect, they would be a powerful hinderance to intoxication. But the only question is whether they could be *enforced*; and upon this point we would offer a few suggestions.§

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* At present the fine for drunkenness is 5s. This is so large that the law is forced to allow the man a fortnight to find it, and thus it is hardly ever paid. A one shilling fine might be exacted at once.

† Mr. Neison has shewn that the proportion of female criminals to male criminals, is the same as that of female drunkards to male drunkards. In each case there is about one woman to five men. (*Dr. Carpenter's Physiology of Temperance.*)

‡ It might be well to require the publican to hang up these rules in a conspicuous [illegible] in his shop, so that he and his customers might be continually reminded of them.

§ May we suggest that the present arrangement should be altered, by which the policeman has to attend at the court, *in his own leisure time*, to convict any

We are glad to observe that the Committee adopt a suggestion, which was several times thrown out in the evidence, in favour of appointing Inspectors of public houses. The success of Lord Shaftesbury's experiment of inspecting lodging-houses, is adduced in the Report as a strong argument in favour of the plan, and we heartily hope it will be carried out. It would go far to extinguish the worst class of public-houses, and it would also stimulate the police to great activity.†

But if Parliament really intends to cause the trade in liquors to be conducted with propriety, and to make it the interest of the publican to prevent drunkenness and disorder, the first thing to do is, to revise and reform the LICENSING SYSTEM. The main features of that system are as follows. Any one can demand a license for selling *ale* or *porter* from the Excise, on payment of three guineas,—if six householders will sign his certificate, and his house is rated at a certain amount. But the permission to sell *spirits* can only be granted by the justices or magistrates, and they may refuse it if they please. This plan looks well, and certainly is better than nothing at all. But practically it is found to have serious defects. The truth is, that it is not a proper thing to leave it to a small body of men, however respectable, to decide whether a district shall or shall not have any more shops of a certain kind: and who, out of many applicants for them, shall be successful. It is a power with which no individuals can fitly be entrusted, especially when they can have so little ground for their decisions.

The great defect, however, in the present system is, that it inevitably produces a monopoly in the sale of spirits Obviously, if the magistrates will not license any new public-house in a street or district, because they consider it to be supplied already, then the existing publicans are freed from any intruding competition. Beer-shops, indeed, may be set up by almost any one, but they do not seem able to vie with the public-houses so effectually as might be supposed. It is thought to be owing to this monopoly that there is so much difficulty in getting pure ale or

parties whom he has accused of breaking the law? Clearly if the State means a policeman to enforce the law, it should *not* require him to do so at the cost of his own rest, but should remunerate him fairly for the leisure which it thus exacts from him. This is a wholly distinct thing from giving him "blood-money" upon conviction. All we ask is that he should get a *quid pro quo*,—if it be but sixpence an hour,—for the leisure he sacrifices. Otherwise the evidence clearly proves that he will not take the trouble to carry out the law. Yet surely the State owes it to the fair trader to compel *all* to obey the restrictions it imposes.

† It should be one of the prominent duties of such an Inspector to find out what public houses (in which we now include beer-houses and coffee-houses) were used as brothels; and indict them accordingly.

porter. On this point, however, opinions differ, and the evidence seems to shew, that great competition *increases* adulteration in these articles, because then the publicans try to undersell one another, (knowing that the masses think more of cost than of quality,) and to do this they must put water and drugs* into their beer. The great facility and profit of adulteration will make it common under any system. But still the present one does certainly create a monopoly in the sale of spirits, with various ill consequences to the public.

It may seem inconsistent to blame the licensing system for being too stringent in its restrictions in the sale of spirits, and at the same time to blame it for its laxity as to the sale of beer. Yet this, in truth, is its most mischievous fault. Its inventors seem to have thought that ardent spirits alone were guilty of all the mischief caused by drunkenness, and that malt liquors could do no harm. But no one who has any acquaintance with the subject will deny, that this experiment of allowing any one (for that is practically the case) to set up a beer-shop has done unbounded mischief. At present, the beer-shops are the very hot-beds of vice and crime, and there is no one interested in the welfare of the working-classes, who will not joyfully hail any improvement in the plan by which such licenses are obtained.

Influenced, however, by the dread of monopoly, the Committee have gone so far as to recommend that every one who takes out a license for the sale of beer should be at liberty to sell spirits too. A more pernicious liberty than this would be, we can hardly imagine. As we said just now, the experiment of throwing open the sale of beer has caused more ruin and demoralization to the lower orders than any other measure of our day. Its whole career has been in beautiful keeping with its commencement, of which the Rev. Sydney Smith says, "The new beer bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state." Why such folly should be carried farther, by granting an equal facility to the sale of ardent spirits, the public will be at a loss to conceive.

There is something, no doubt, attractive in the simplicity of the Committee's proposal; the only objection to it is, that it would increase drunkenness instead of lessening it. We venture, in place of that proposal, to put forward a scheme which, unless we are mistaken, would be of more service to the country.

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* It has been ascertained, however, that sugar and salt are almost the only such ingredients used.

Let it be remembered what the points are at which we are aiming. In the first place, we want to lessen drunkenness. In the second, we want to do away with monopoly.

Accordingly, at the outset, we must sweep away the system of allowing A to settle whether B shall engage in trade or not, and whether the parish wants more liquor. Such arbitrary powers are sure to be abused. Caprice, ignorance, over-scrupulousness, political feeling, jobbery, and twenty other disturbing forces, come in; and in one district all the spirit trade will be confined to half a dozen hands, while in another it will be open to almost anybody. But, it may be said, are we to have no security for the respectability of the publicans? Certainly we must. But let the basis of our legislation be the principle, that any one shall be free to engage in the trade, who has given sufficient guarantees *in hard cash* for his good conduct of it. This principle would be simpler and surer, and would cause no monopoly,—except that mere riff-raff would be excluded.

The way we would apply it would be, that, in the first instance, a certain yearly sum should be paid to the Excise for the license, of whatever kind it might be: that for a coffee-house being cheapest; that for a beer-house decidedly more; that for a spirit-house perhaps twice as much. But beyond and beside this, no one should be allowed to take out any license for the sale of fermented liquors, without his first depositing a certain sum as *caution-money* in the hands of the Excise. This sum should be returned to him, if at any time he retired from the trade and surrendered his license, or to his family, in the case of his death. But in case of his being convicted of certain specific offences against the laws for the regulation of public-houses, a portion of this caution-money should be forfeited.. On a second and third conviction, further portions should evaporate in the same way. On a fourth, the remainder should disappear; he should lose his license, and be incapable of holding one again.

We are satisfied that this arrangement would be of great value. It would shut out from the trade the good-for-nothing persons who now set up a beer-shop when everything else fails them. It would imply that the applicant had at least that degree of respectability which the possession of a little capital generally indicates; and its tendency would be to prevent public-houses from multiplying with mischievous rapidity;—yet it would cause no injurious monopoly, because every respectable man with a sum of money in his pocket might step into the trade. And finally, the risk of forfeiting the caution-money would be a

powerful motive to the publican to observe the regulations proposed above.*

With the same view, of securing, as far as possible, that the trade in fermented liquors should be in respectable hands, and of increasing the motives to good order among those engaged in it, we would also urge a second recommendation, which, like the first, had the support of various witnesses before the Committee. At present no one can obtain a beer license unless he produces a certificate of character signed by six rate-payers. This is found to be of no use at all. Anybody will sign anything, if they are asked. Our proposal is that such a certificate, signed by at least four rate-payers, should still be necessary; but that if the holder were ever deprived of his license upon a fourth conviction, these four persons should each be compelled to pay a fine to the Excise in consideration of their having given him a false character. This would be more effectual than merely binding sureties to pay the publican's fines, in case he cannot do so, which is the proposal of the Committee. A plan of this kind would be a powerful check upon the publican; for he would be always afraid that, if he went on badly, his certifiers would withdraw their names, and then, if he could not procure substitutes, he would have to surrender his license. Of course, however, in such case his caution-money would be returned to him.

We believe that such arrangements would go far to secure both our objects. They would have the effect of confining the trade in fermented liquors to men of some credit and standing. And meanwhile the monopoly of the trade would cease, because at any time a respectable man, with a small capital, might set up a rival shop to those already existing.†

The Committee have made one recommendation which unquestionably ought to be adopted. There can be no doubt that coffee-houses should be included amongst other houses of entertainment, and that a license (though of much smaller cost than those for the sale of beer or of spirits) should be necessary for keeping them; and also that they, like public-houses, should be under the supervision of the police. We regret to say that many of them are far less innocent than their name might seem

* It has been suggested that the brewers would advance the money. If so, they would of course only advance it to a man whom they could trust, and they would take care that he did not forfeit it by breaking the law.

† That a certain degree of monopoly must be caused by any restriction is clear; but in this case the monopoly would at least be thrown open to every one who had saved or been intrusted with a small amount of capital, and whose character stood well in his neighbour's eyes.

to imply. Sir Richard Mayne represents them as scenes of "very great disorder and mischief." He believes that spirits are very frequently consumed in them, and that some of them are brothels. Mr. D. Whittle Harvey (head of the London police) says that he finds more violations of the law taking place in coffee-houses than in public-houses.

How useful the coffee-houses might become, under good management, may be seen from Mr. Balfour's interesting account of Mr. Pamphilon's coffee-house in Sherard Street, Golden Square:—"Mr. Pamphilon was a tailor, and he undertook to supply the working classes with a good meal and the best coffee. I say a good meal, because some of the coffee-shops sell very bad articles, not coffee at all, nor tea at all; but this man wanted to sell a good article, and to supply a good fund of literature. If you go into that house you can procure a good cup of coffee, and a loaf of bread and butter for threepence half-penny. You can read all the leading periodicals of the day, from the *Quarterly Review* to penny publications. He is so famous as a coffee-house man, that if a person were to establish a house in his name, he would get custom. He got a large custom of mechanics, gentlemen's servants, coachmen, and in fact all grades. The house is very much used by foreigners, and there is an excellent library."

We recommend this account to the notice of our benevolent capitalists. Might not a sum of money be profitably invested in such a house, if a thoroughly respectable manager were put in?

While proposing various legislative restrictions on the sale of intoxicating liquors, we must not pass over the idea which has been making way of late in some quarters, that the simplest way of dealing with the subject would be to pass a "Maine Law," forbidding the sale of them altogether Undoubtedly it would be a happy thing for our country if such a law were sought for by the people themselves, and enforced with their full concurrence. Experience has shewn that a "Maine Law," sustained by public opinion, is not by any means so absurd a piece of legislation as it looks at first sight. The experiment has been successfully tried in Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. A law against the sale of spirits has recently been enacted, and received the sanction of her Majesty, in New Brunswick. A still stronger one has been carried by ninety votes against five in the Canadian Parliament. A law of the same kind prevails at Buenos Ayres; in the Sandwich Islands; in Madagascar, and in Liberia. The Hindoos in some parts of India have petitioned that it should

be applied to them; and our own Government has put it in force among the miners at the Australian diggings.

From the States of Maine and Massachusetts we have the following returns:—At the City of Portland, Maine, during the nine months of 1851, before the law came into force, there were forty-two committals for drunkenness. In the three months after it came into force there were *none at all*. On June 15, 1852, the house of correction was empty! At Salem, Massachusetts, in the two months before the law came into force there were 150 committals for drunkenness, which were diminished by 115 in the two months after. At the City of Lowell in the two months of 1851, before the law came into force, there were 500 persons reported as drunk. There were 320 less in the two months of the following year. At Springfield the drunkenness was diminished by 75 per cent.; and we are also informed, that in Massachusetts the commitments for crime are officially reported to have decreased from 40 to 80 per cent. The Poor Rates have nearly vanished, and the gaols in some places are reported empty. The people rejoice in the law and sustain it heartily.*

The chief objection made to such a law is, that it would be greatly evaded. But the use of it would be, not so much to deprive drunkards of their liquor, as to *remove temptation from those who are not yet fallen.* We think, under these circumstances, it might not be amiss to permit the application of a similar law to some parts of the United Kingdom. In fact, we are ourselves acquainted with villages where it has been virtually enforced, with the utmost benefit, by the mere refusal of the landlord to allow any sort of beer-house on his estate. But what we would throw out for consideration, is the question, whether it should not be allowed, that where five-sixths of the rate-payers of a parish demand the entire extinction of all the places for the sale of fermented liquors, their prayer should be granted, and all licenses then existing should expire, after a fair time had been allowed for the publicans to make other arrangements.†

* These returns are all given in the Appendix to the Report on Public Houses. 1853.

† Perhaps it would be a good test of the reality and thoughtfulness of the feeling, if the rate-payers were not suffered to extinguish the public-houses without repaying their keepers the sums they had paid for their licenses, or even giving them some extra compensation. Indeed, the chief difficulty in the way of any application of a Maine Law, would arise from the hardship it would be to the publicans already established; and yet, if it were only done by forbidding the issue of any more licenses, so that at the death or retirement of each holder, his shop would cease to be a public-house, the process would be extremely slow. If the Maine Law were applied in the way we have proposed, it would in each case spring from the *public opinion* of the locality, and be supported by it.

Before we conclude the *legislative* portion of the remedies that should be set in array against Drunkenness, we must not omit to notice the great importance of lowering the duties upon tea, coffee, sugar, and perhaps also upon light French wines. We heartily go along with Mr. Gladstone's reduction of the tea duties, and we have no doubt that every 1d. a lb. taken off such harmless drinks has a powerful influence in promoting sobriety.* We shrewdly suspect that to the influence of tea and coffee, amongst many other causes, may be attributed that progress of the upper classes in this country in sobriety to which we have already alluded. One way in which every reduction of the duties on those articles would tend to temperance would be, that it would greatly stimulate the opening of coffee-houses, and by enabling them to procure coffee and tea at a lower price, an improvement would arise in the quality, and therefore in the attractiveness of the beverage they provide. Of course, while the War lasts we must not look for lowered duties; but we trust that the eyes of our statesmen will be turned this way, and that they will be ready to take their first chance of assailing taxes, which are such active partisans of drunkenness.

We have now recommended some means which our statesmen might put in action, to check the plague of drunkenness. Many superficial politicians, indeed, have a favourite dictum, that Government can do nothing to promote or preserve morality, and that therefore all such efforts must be vain. Of course, legislation does not go to the root of the matter. It does not begin by altering the character of the people—but it may be a most efficient auxiliary in the cause. Can any one doubt, that if spirits and beer could be sold by any one who chose, without any license whatever, there would be a vast increase of intoxication? Was it not proved to be the case in the last century when wheel-barrows of gin went about the streets, tempting every one to partake of the poison? Undoubtedly the State can do much to *lessen the temptations* to drunkenness, but still its efforts must be backed up by those of private individuals. We will go on, therefore, to consider some of the powerful agencies, which private persons might wield with great effect, in the same cause. For we firmly believe that if the middle and upper classes would sedulously set themselves to the work, this great evil might be exceedingly lessened, if not gradually overcome.

* In 1821, when the duty on coffee was 1s. per lb. 7,327,283 lbs. were consumed. In 1841, when it had been reduced to 6d, no less than 27,298,322 lbs. were consumed.—*Parker's Progress of the Nation*, p. 559.

We propose therefore to take a brief but broad survey of the methods which are already applied in various places, and which if universally pushed forward would tend to make Great Britain a sober land.

In the first place, it is certain that Education and Drunkenness are enemies, and that as you increase the one you lessen the other. It must be remembered, however, that the essence of the matter is not the *quantity* of education given, but the *quality* of the education. A mere mechanical driving of dry knowledge into the memory can have little effect in elevating the character out of the region of the grosser vices. Yet till lately such has been the nature of the ordinary education given in schools. Now, however, deeper and juster views are making way. In the schools for the poor, an attempt is now frequently made to call forth the powers of reflection, and the love of reading and inquiry. These are latent in human nature, and only need the stimulus of lively and cheerful, but earnest teaching, to come forth. The result of such education is sure. Train the working classes as Mr. Dawes did in his Hampshire parish, to open their eyes to the phenomena of the world around them—to feel wonder and delight in looking into the construction of the air, the water, the animals, the plants, and the earth itself, and most assuredly minds so brought out will silently rise out of the level of pot-house pleasures.

One of the chief reasons why education has not hitherto done all it might in behalf of temperance, is that its promoters have till the last few years been content with *starting it*, without carrying it into the lad's life, after his early schooling is over. Experience has shewn, that the teaching given in the first twelve years of life, however excellent, is soon rubbed off a boy's mind, unless the seeds then sown are watered for many years after. This is the grand educational problem which has to be solved, *how to go on educating a working boy till he has grown into a man.* Bitter are the complaints of all promoters and teachers of schools, that the children are rent away from their tending at a very early age—that their minds droop and wither because time has not been given to foster their intelligence. Now, as this difficulty is a fact which cannot be pushed out of the way, the only plan is to look for some way of getting over it. The problem cannot be solved unless pains are taken to give the school children *a taste for reading*, which should be maintained and nourished by Libraries of interesting books set on foot all over the land.

On this subject, three things may be affirmed with confidence: the one is, that the seeds of a love of reading lie hid in the soil

of nineteen minds out of twenty;* secondly, that these seeds must be nourished to make them grow abundantly; thirdly, that the crop they produce will consist, not of intelligence alone, nor industry alone, but of increased sobriety, order, and refinement of every kind.

For the whole tone of character is elevated by reading well-chosen books. But perhaps still more do we look to them as one of our best coadjutors in the cause of temperance, because they offer a *substitute* for the amusement of the pewter-pot and the gin-glass. Undoubtedly much of the dissipation that goes on in beer-shops arises simply from the vacancy of the long evening to the uneducated working man. He has no "pastimes" to give wings to the heavy hours; and since human nature must and will have some kind of excitement, he betakes himself to that afforded by the public-house. Now it is an ascertained fact, that where pains are taken to give school children amusing books, the parents in many cases take delight in listening to them, or reading them; and thus the germ is found of "evenings at home" in the poor man's cottage, in its most satisfactory form. If one of the family reads aloud, and the others sit stitching and listening to the tale, we need not greatly fear the allurements of the beer-shop.

The principle on which all this rests, is simply that the truest way to get rid of evils, is not to hack at them, but *to choke them out.* To kill weeds, sow wheat. You must turn up the ground indeed, and manure it, but then get in the good seeds, and trust to them to suffocate the bad ones.

This principle, that the way to get rid of evils is to supplant them, has another important application to our subject. We must set ourselves to drive out the gross pastime of drinking, by enticing the people to amusements that are at least harmless, and may be positively beneficial. It may be doubted whether the wise and good generally look upon amusement with the respect it deserves. It is rather borne with than sought out; allowed, as better than low enjoyments, than encouraged as being a really good thing in itself. Now, the truth is, that to a man who has been hard at work all day, it is a matter of much importance that he should be enlivened and cheered in the evening by gentle excitement. It is a right good thing for him to have social pleasure, to have his eye or his ear feasted, and if possible, that "his mouth should be filled with laughter." "*Desipere, in*

* These who doubt this, should see what is done in many schools where the teacher takes pains about it. Even in the lowest rank, you can get every child to love books by tact and perseverance.

loco," is not only *dulce* but *utile*. Indeed, the fact that amusement is congenial to man, is a proof that it is intended for his good.

Our present reference, however, is to the effect of amusements in withdrawing the working-class from low indulgences; and on this point much satisfactory evidence was laid before the Committee. At Birmingham, for instance, we are informed by one of the magistrates, that there are cheap concerts for the people every Monday evening; that they are crowded, and are very beneficial in keeping the working people from the public-house. Mr. Balfour again says, "I have conducted five or six very large festivals in connexion with societies which do not allow any strong drinks at their amusements. One festival was held two years ago, for two days, at the Surrey Zoological Gardens, and we had, I think, 37,000 persons on each day. We hired the gardens, and it was a proviso that no strong drinks were to be allowed. We had all sorts of fireworks, a band of music, dancing on the green, and other amusements of a harmless nature. They were principally attended by the working-classes, and during those two days there was not an individual in a state of inebriation, though we did not break up till ten o'clock at night. And the manager of the Surrey Gardens said, 'that not even a flower had been displaced.'" He gives other instances, equally satisfactory; and adds, "If large concerts could be got up at a cheap rate, it would be attended with benefit. The experiment has been tried at Leeds. A society there, called 'The Rational Recreation Society,' formed themselves for the express purpose of providing entertainments of a rational nature for the people; they had cheap concerts, and a band on the moor two or three times a week. When I was there, I was very much struck by the attention of the working-classes, in fustian jackets, at the concerts, and also to the band on the moor."

With reference to this point, it is painful in reading Mr. Balfour's evidence, to find how much worse was the behaviour of our navvies than that of the French ones upon the Havre railroad. "There were two Frenchmen to one Englishman, and at night the French would go and take their evening meal, and then go to their concert or their ball; while the Englishman would go to his drinking habits at the Café, and have his brandy, &c." He says, however, that they mixed up with the concerts and dancing amusements of the French "with avidity." We presume, he means, after a while; and this encourages us to hope, that if such recreations, under proper conduct, were provided, our people would soon take to them, and that this would do much for their sobriety. Mr. Balfour was present at one of the largest festivals

at Paris, and not a single Frenchman did he find, during the whole time, in a state of intoxication.*

The Rev. F. Bishop, minister of the Domestic Mission in Liverpool, after commenting on the mischief done by concert rooms and dancing rooms, where connected with public-houses, proceeds to say that there are Saturday evening concerts held at Liverpool, unconnected with any drinking house, which are attended by immense numbers of people, and are very beneficial. "It is a common thing," he says, "for the mechanics, with their wives and families, making parties to attend them, and go home after them at half-past nine or ten o'clock." Such cheap concerts as these ought to be in every way encouraged; and, therefore, we should propose that any one might take out a music license on paying half a guinea, provided that he was not the keeper of any kind of public-house. If so, the license should not cost less than ten guineas; for it is highly important to keep the amusements of the people apart from the sale of intoxicating drinks. And it would be desirable, that on a representation to the magistrates, they should be authorized to inquire into the character of the amusements provided by the holder of the license, and that if they should appear to be noxious and immoral, the magistrates should send for the holder, and warn him. If he neglected that warning, they might withdraw his license.

It would be well, too, if private persons would endeavour to stimulate the taste for music which prevails amongst the poor; and by opening school-rooms, &c., for very cheap concerts, at once give it vogue, and at the same time keep off disorder. A clergyman (or layman) might keep the lads in a parish very pleasantly together, after they had given up school, by assembling them once a week—perhaps round his own piano, to sing and chant with him, and afterwards to read some interesting story. Such intercourse between rich and poor would do good to both classes.

At a manufactory with which we are acquainted, the partners have occasionally invited a portion of the men, with their wives and families, to a soirce in the schoolroom, giving them tea and cake, and then a lecture. And afterwards the young men, who belong to the reading-room, have volunteered to recite passages from plays and poetry, intermingled with glees, and terminating with a hearty "God save the Queen." How

* A friend of ours saw written up on an inn in a back street in Paris, the following placard, "Comfort for the Englishman,—roast beef, plumpudding, beer, tea, gin."

much more pleasure is given, and good done, by such an entertainment, than by a formal dinner party, which probably would cost five times as much, while two hundred would enjoy the one, and twenty be bored to death at the other!

Lectures are greatly in vogue now-a-days, and are, we really believe, exceedingly useful; but they will never reach the lower classes unless they are very simple, very playful, and are illustrated by pictures or other objects to please the eye or the ear. The working man's Educational Union has issued several series of superb diagrams, at a small cost, to aid such lectures, and the effect will undoubtedly be good. The Birmingham magistrate whom we have quoted before, states that it is the increased taste of the people for lectures, and similar amusements, that takes a great many of them away from the public-houses. "I am told so," he says, "by police officers, who have a thorough knowledge of it."

The system of excursions into the country again is becoming so universal, that it requires no stimulus from us. We are aware that many persons look upon them with some degree of anxiety, thinking that people waste too much money upon them, and that they give rise to scenes of disorder. Undoubtedly some evil attends the good in this case, as in others; but we are convinced that the harm is greatly outweighed by the benefit. Such trips into the country promote the health and happiness of the poor, and also their intelligence; and divert them from the public house. They encourage family affection; for in such amusements the wife and children are almost always sharers.* They are still more harmless with the public-houses closed on Sunday. From London it is easy for the working-classes to run down by railway or steamer to places expressly provided for them, but in many country towns there are no such outlets; and it has often filled us with surprise and regret, that so many country gentlemen and noblemen, whose parks adjoin the towns of England and Scotland, take actual pains to exclude their poorer neighbours from them. There are indeed many noble exceptions;—among which we may mention Lord Westminster's opening Eaton Park, close to the town of Chester; the Duke of Devonshire opening Chatsworth; Lord Ellesmere doing the same at St. George's Hill, by the Weybridge Station, one of the loveliest spots within twenty miles of London; Mr. Barclay of Bury Hill, allowing the Dorking people the free use of the hill in his park. Such instances are not uncommon. Still

* In Mrs. Gaskell's tale, called "Tibby Marsh," there is a beautiful account of such an excursion.

the base and selfish course of closing the park gates to all but the wealthy, is much too common;* though to a man of ordinary feeling it would be more delightful to see the hard-worked mechanic, with his wife and children, enjoying a ramble among the trees and the cattle, than to feel—Here are my 500 acres, into which not a human being dares to come, "except on business!"

It may perhaps be said that it is disagreeable to have numbers of "snobs" running about one's grounds and doing damage. But that they would do damage, if they felt that they were kindly treated, we deny. And as to the destruction of privacy, might not the park at least be thrown open when the proprietor is away, or perhaps on one evening in the week. But we are sure that the proprietor who has once tasted the pleasure of seeing his poorer neighbours in high enjoyment of his advantages, will not be sorry to sacrifice to them the privacy of a part at least of his grounds; especially if he lays out one corner as a cricket ground or bowling-green, and another for quoits or such harmless games.

But perhaps the most important measure that a proprietor can adopt for the welfare of the cottagers on his estate, and for the lessening of drunkenness, is by providing allotments† for the poor. Nothing is more beneficial to them in every way; nothing tends more to make them contented, and comfortable, and thrifty; and no amusement is more fascinating for their children, than the cultivation, in their leisure hours, of their plot of ground. It is an unfailing source of interest for their minds, as well as of vegetables for their dinners. And happily it pays the landlord admirably, both by lowering poor-rates, and by the large rent which the peasants are glad to give. It has already spread widely through many parts of Britain; but still is far from being universal.

How much difference is produced in a village by a careful interest in the welfare of the people, is well illustrated by Mr. Balfour in his important evidence. He was employed to take moral stock, so to speak, in two country places; one of which had been neglected, the other cared for. In the former (a village in Bedfordshire) the females were in a very demoralized

* A painful case of this kind, is that of the Duke of Cambridge shutting up Combe Wood—the favourite resort for so many years of multitudes of Cockneys. As he does not live there, and as he is paid £12,000 a-year by his country, in addition to all his appointments, it seems hard. A foot-way is still retained, but woe to the man who moves off if even a few yards.

† The best amount is one-third of an acre, but it ought to be as near the cottage as possible

state, and a large number had illegitimate children; sixteen out of twenty of the women were opium-eaters, and a fearful state of ignorance and vice prevailed. In the latter, Luton, also in Bedford, and a great place for straw bonnet-making and plaiting, and therefore liable to unusual temptations, there was a "high state of morality among the females,"—only three illegitimate children in the poor-house, out of a population of 14,000, and the people temperate! This gratifying state of things he expressly refers "to the provisions made in a religious and scholastic point of view," viz., the schools, places of worship, libraries, missionaries, savings banks, &c. He especially remarks on the thrifty nature of the working men. "There is a building society, and it has had a very good tendency, as it has everywhere, in creating a saving habit amongst the poor. The more they save, the less they will go to drinking houses."

This last remark is of moment. Undoubtedly it is one of the surest ways of raising the moral tone of the working classes to teach them to accumulate; because it tends so much to give them *comfort* instead of *debauchery*—to make them thoughtful, and to induce self-control. Much is done for this purpose. Building societies, savings banks, &c., are spreading everywhere; and a new movement has been growing in the last four or five years in favour of penny banks in schools. One with which we are acquainted, established in a school in a very low part of London, but open to any adults as well as to the children, has been in existence for three years, and has already enrolled four thousand different depositors. Though the deposits are often called out, they are soon replaced; and meanwhile, instead of having been lavished on drink, they have been accumulated till enough was gathered to buy a pair of shoes, a Sunday coat, a neat gown, or pay for a trip into the country; all of which go some way towards the elevation of that lowest class, who avail themselves of such a provision.*

Employers of labour, whether masters with their servants, or manufacturers and others with their men, may do a great deal to promote habits of saving, by urging it strongly on them when paying their wages, and undertaking to deposit their savings for them. In one of the London breweries no less than £12,000 has been laid up in the brewery savings bank, by the working men alone, in addition to their benefit club;† but this result has been attained by pains on the part of both the partners and of the clerks at the head of the various departments.

* In this bank no interest is given, except 6d. a year upon each clear sovereign.
† *Fraser's Magazine*, Nov. 1854,—"London Stout."

One potent and harmless engine of amusement is already in the nation's hands, but is allowed to go to rust in a somewhat reckless way. * We refer to the Museums, scattered all over the land, but above all to the British Museum. It strikes us as one of the most singular instances of the "follies of the wise," that an institution which is managed by four-and-twenty of the best and cleverest men in England, and is backed up with the wealth of the nation, is yet placed under such strange restrictions. Think of such a source of innocent amusement, formed too at a vast expense, being only open to the public three days a-week, and these only from ten till four or five! What should prevent Museums from being thrown open at all hours, from nine every morning till ten every night, except one day in the week for cleaning? In fact, if they must from official obstructiveness be idle 150 out of 168 hours of the week, it would be far better that their few useful hours should be in the evening, than in the day time; for all the collections, but especially those of sculpture, (such as the Nineveh and Elgin marbles in the British Museum,) would look more splendid by gas light; and every one could go in the evening, while not one person in a hundred can go during the working hours of the day. And while the hours ought to be more liberally dispensed, Museums might be made very much more attractive, and very much more useful, if full explanations were attached to each object of curiosity, concerning its history or habits, so that it might become in fact a starting point for information and instruction, whereas, now it is a mere *object*, "and it is nothing more."

The great importance of better dwellings, improved drainage, and supplies of air and water, for the promotion of sobriety, as well as of health, is beginning to be clearly understood. It is a great misfortune that the Model Lodging-house Company has hitherto only paid a dividend of one and a half per cent. on its capital; for if the enterprise could have been so conducted as to return a clear six per cent., there is no reason why ten or twenty millions might not have been invested in that useful speculation. We think its promoters have too much set themselves to surround their tenants with every comfort; whereas it would be better to secure mere ventilation, water, cleanliness, and separation, to ten thousand families, than several rooms and conveniences to five hundred. We are convinced that such lodging-houses would pay a fair return if they were managed with economy; and till that is the case, they never will spread far and wide through our great towns.

* It is said that there might be danger of fire; but surely only the grossest negligence could cause any such risk, if gas were laid on through the building.

We should gladly dilate, if space allowed, upon the various methods that are at work at the present day, for the spread of religion amongst the working-classes; for assuredly we look to these as among the surest instruments for promoting sobriety, as well as all the other virtues. But we can only remark generally, that if the drinking class is to be reached, these means must be of an *aggressive* character. That class must be sought out in the byeways and lanes, *and compelled to come in*,—by Scripture readers, city missionaries, out-door preaching, ragged churches, and so forth. Building splendid churches is a very useful work, but the same money would go still further were rooms taken and fitted up in all the most beggarly parts of our great cities, and men of homely eloquence employed to give addresses in them every Sunday, and on one or two evenings besides. What we want is a more *retail* system of distribution, to carry religion like bread to an easy distance from every door, and, as it were, hold it up before the eyes of the populace.

We have only one more suggestion to make, and it has already been acted upon in Manchester with much spirit and success. It is, that those interested in the welfare of the poor should everywhere form local associations, for inquiring into the state of public-houses and beer-shops, and for watching their conduct. Not only would the publicans be made cautious if an eye were thus fixed on them, but the police would receive that stimulus without which our best legislation is vain.

Such, then, are some of the ordinary practical means, which, in our opinion, statesmen and private individuals might adopt to abate drunkenness in the British isles. And now a concluding word about Teetotalism.

There exists in many quarters a feeling of dislike to Teetotalism. It would root up the use, it is said, in order to remove the abuse of stimulating drink. Some object to it, because they think it substitutes low and material motives for the higher ones, that ought to conduct to sobriety; and others view it with dislike, because they think its results can only be temporary.

Whatever weight may lie in these objections, there is one not ineffective reply to them. Multitudes of drunkards have become sober men by means of the pledge, who probably could not have been reclaimed in any other way. We must have material facilities before moral influences can begin to work,—and that is just what the pledge affords. It arrests the drunkard in his career, and gives him the opportunity of listening to the voice of reason and conscience. As to the alleged exaggeration, unquestionably the best thing for a man to do, who cannot resist the temptation to take too much, is to take nothing at all. So insidious a fiend is drunkenness, that he who parleys with it is

undone. Nor is there much substance in the objection, that the teetotaller uses low motives, where high ones ought to bear sway. Providence has kindly given great force to the influence of public opinion upon man, and why should we not use the weapon which has thus been placed in our hands? When men associate themselves in bands to resist a certain vice, they as it were organize the force contained in the wills of all, and bring the aggregate to bear upon each. Each member is so much one with the body to which he belongs, that partly from sympathetic feeling, partly from the direct dread of what his brethren will say, his will is stayed upon theirs, till it has grown strong enough to stand alone. Is this a moral influence which a wise man would cast aside as unworthy and deleterious? The real defect in Teetotalism is, that it is often the child of excitement or fanaticism, and is apt to die if not nursed by influences of that class. But this is so far a defect, which it has in common with every other special and one-sided effort for the good of the poor. They must all languish if their promoters be not kept steadily in earnest. One element in them that without doubt tends to the decay of Teetotal Associations, is, that they are essentially negative not positive. The members say, We *will not* do this, whereas all vital energy arises from saying, This we *will* do. We would suggest, that such associations should in all cases become benefit, or clothing, or coal, or shoe clubs, as well as teetotal associations; and the comforts thus secured by the members would give respectability to such bodies in the eye of their neighbours. We fully believe that Teetotalism may thus be made an engine of real usefulness, if taken up by the clergy and other persons of influence, and worked with enlightened vigour. It is the Maine Law in its best form, when men *of their own accord* combine to protect themselves from temptation, to which single-handed they must fall a prey.

That Teetotalism, whether sound or not in theory, has already done good work, is proved by the extraordinary results produced by it in Ireland,—"The falling off in the consumption of spirits in that country in the year 1840-1841, is," says Mr. Porter, "one of the most remarkable events of the day. It resulted entirely from the efforts of one man, the Rev. Theobald Mathew, a Catholic clergyman, who availed himself of his power of influencing his fellow-men to produce a sudden change in the habits of vast numbers, reclaiming them from the vice of drunkenness and its accompanying evils to an extent which nothing short of the fact itself could induce us to think possible." In the five years, 1835-39, the number of gallons of spirits charged with duty for home consumption in Ireland amounted to fifty-eight millions, or eleven millions and a half per annum. I

the five following years, when Father Mathew's mission had taken effect, the number of gallons amounted to thirty-one millions, or six millions and a quarter per annum, being a decrease of *five millions per annum!* And the blow thus struck still retains a great part of its force, as it would seem; for in the five years ending in 1852, the number of gallons has amounted to thirty-seven millions, which is still short of the first amount by more than twenty millions, being a decrease of four millions per annum.*

We conclude, earnestly commending the suggestions thrown out in the previous pages to the consideration, if not to the adoption of our readers. We are face to face with the most prolific source of sin and misery in our age. Let us not be misled by a spurious humanity to deal with it softly. The evil is mighty. The remedies must be strong. But we feel about Parliament, what a certain lady once felt about her lord,

> "Yet do I fear thy nature,
> It is too full o' the milk of human kindness,
> To catch the nearest way."

In truth, the real responsibility rests ultimately with the public. The gales must blow off the "*popularis aura*," or the Legislature will not have the courage or the vigour, perhaps hardly the right, to rid the people of a yoke from which they show no zeal to be set free.

* Nor did these effects arise from greater evasions of the law. In the first five years we have mentioned, there were 15,800 such evasions detected by the police. In the second five years there were but 9500. In the last there were but 4900.

ART. VII.—1. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English Literature and the English Language.* Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. Two Vols. London, John Russell Smith, 1845.

2. *The Illustrated Book of English Songs, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century.* Illustrated London Library London, 1854.

3. *Songs from the Dramatists.* Edited by ROBERT BELL. London, John W. Parker and Son, 1854.

BY far the greatest proportion of our earliest English literature—that is, of the rude literary attempts which were made in the genuine English tongue before Chaucer enriched it and made it plastic by his genius—consisted, as all scholars know, of metrical narratives or romances, possessing little other merit than that of plot or incident. Literary historians attribute this fact to the influence of the Norman taste introduced at the Conquest. The very distinction between the Trouveurs, or minstrels of Northern France, and the Troubadours, or minstrels of Southern France, was, that the former occupied themselves chiefly in the production of narrative pieces of greater or less length, under the various names of *contes, lais, romans, fabliaux*, and the like, while the latter regaled the lords and ladies in the castles of the more sunny south chiefly with luxurious love-ditties, and other soft lyrical effusions natural to the lands of the olive and the vine. Whether this predilection of the Normans for the narrative over the lyrical form of literary composition was owing to their Scandinavian origin, we need not inquire. It is enough that such was the fact, and that the Normans, in coming over to this island, brought with them the taste for the narrative rather than the lyrical mode of literary production, and impressed it upon the nation which they helped to form. During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, one of the chief in-doors amusements of the Normans in their castles, both in England and Normandy, was listening to lays and romances in French verse, recited to them, with more or less of musical accompaniment, by professional minstrels who carried them about in their memory, and earned their bread by repeating them wherever they were wanted. Sometimes priests and monks, or lords and ladies of literary culture, employed themselves in composing such romances and committing them to

writing; but, in addition to these more ambitious compositions, some of which survive, the minstrels had a stock prepared by themselves, and better adapted for their purposes. The essential thing, in each case, was to have a story, no matter of what kind, so long as it interested the hearers. The passion of the time was for stories; and the business of the minstrel was to purvey stories from every possible quarter. Tales of actual Norman history were, of course, in demand; but, where these failed, tales taken from Scripture history, or from ancient Greek or Roman history, or from the times of Charlemagne and the Moors, or from the rich magazine of British and Armorican legends, were equally welcome. Moreover, besides the heroic tales or romances proper, there were facetious and satirical tales of real life, suited for special company and for lighter occasions. Still, essentially, it was the narrative, the succession of incidents, that pleased; it was this that the minstrels attended to, and it was by their superior adaptation to the prevailing taste in this respect that certain romances and jocose tales became more popular than others.

Precisely as it was among the lords of the Norman castles and their retainers, so, with but the difference of language, was it among the English-speaking part of the community. They, too, in their households and villages, required some kind of literary amusement, after their hard work in the fields and the workshops; and they, too, whatever were their original Anglo-Saxon tastes, learned to like best those rude narrative compositions in metre which their Norman masters had brought into fashion. Whether there ever was a class of English minstrels in the same strict sense as there was a class of Norman minstrels, may be doubted; Percy supposes that there was, and Ritson maintains that there was not; it seems certain, however, that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, if not as early as the twelfth, there were lame and blind old wanderers—the true ancestors of our popular men of letters—who earned their bread and their night's lodging by going about the country with their budgets of stories, and reciting them to delighted audiences in barns and at rustic firesides. Originally, these stories of the English minstrels, if so they may be called, were chiefly versions into the vernacular tongue of the stories which their more privileged brethren, the French minstrels, rehearsed in the halls and kitchens of the castles; and of the early English metrical romances that survive, the French originals of some may be yet identified. Occasionally, however, the Saxon genius would purvey for itself by going to new sources, and inventing stories out of fresh material. The fourteenth century was the most flourishing time of the English metrical romance. In that cen-

tury, in addition to such legends as "King Horn," "Sir Tristrem," and "Havelok the Dane," already in circulation, scores of metrical narratives were produced in English—some in the standard octosyllabic measure, which Scott, from a sense of its fitness for this kind of purpose, revived four centuries later; and some in the ballad stanza which has since been so general. It was in this century, too, that French began to fall out of use even among the nobles and higher ranks, and English, such as we now recognise it, began to assert its rights as the national tongue. Accordingly, the composition of French romances by natives of England became at this time more rare, and the whole nation, from the court downwards, accepted the English romances as their proper literary recreation. Men of rank and ecclesiastics began to attempt lengthy compositions in the prevailing form, but with more of pretension to regularity and art, and to publish them with their names attached. Such were Robert of Gloucester, Robert de Brunne, Adam Davie, Laurence Minot, and others, whose names figure as the earliest known names in English literature, simply because, arising in the midst of a community which already possessed a taste for everything in the form of metrical narrative, and also a stock of such narratives in circulation, they first brought clerkly talent into a popular field, and endeavoured to write for the eye as well as for the ear. Such was the condition of things when Chaucer appeared, dear and great old Chaucer, with his portly courtly figure, quiet downcast eyes, and wheaten hair and beard, of whom one cannot think, as he stood in the midst of all his contemporaries, with all the named and unnamed romancers of the three preceding centuries at his back, without saying, as the Host said of him to the company of his Canterbury Pilgrims,

> Now, ware you, sirs, and let this man have place.

There is nothing more astonishing in the history of literature than the appearance of Chaucer among his English contemporaries of the fourteenth century. There is hardly an instance of such genius, so isolated. There is nothing before him that can be compared with him, and one has to overleap two centuries before one comes upon another English poet or English writer worthy to be called his successor. And when one considers his place and function in the history of English verse, one finds that it consisted in this, that the genius for narrative and descriptive poetry, which had been rudely expressing itself before his time, and up to his time, in all kinds of rough metrical attempts, obtained in him its first great and cultured representative. Acquainted, as a reader, with all the metrical narratives, both French and English, which then constituted the literary stock

of the nation, and acquainted besides with much that Continental literature, and all the Latin literature of his time, could furnish in the way either of models or materials, Chaucer, like Shakespeare after him, obeyed the true instinct of the literary nature, and, instead of striving after new forms, adopted that which he found in use. Chaucer is pre-eminently a narrative and descriptive poet. Almost all his minor poems are narrative in their form, with but an occasional excursion into the region of the allegorical, or the moral and reflective; and his matchless masterpiece is a collection of stories, romantic, pathetic, and humorous, dramatically set, as it were, in a moving picture, or procession of incidents, from the real life of his own time. Like Shakespeare, he did not trouble himself with inventing the plots of his tales. He took his materials from every available quarter, and contented himself with linking the incidents he borrowed according to the suggestions of his fancy, as he wrote—enriching each, and sweetly prolonging it by additions from his own stores of fact and imagery; infusing into all the warmth of his gentle yet keen and clear spirit; adorning and clothing all with speech the most apt, and exquisite, and luscious; and rounding and smoothing all into the most finished shapes of verse. In short, the passion for narrative poetry, which the Norman Trouveurs had brought over into England, and which had given birth to numberless attempts, first in French, and then in English, since the date of the Conquest, put forth its blossom, and became mild and developed art in the poetry of Chaucer.

But though it was towards narrative and descriptive literature, in all its forms, that the genius of England tended, by an instinctive preference, during the first period of its exercise—and the immense number of Latin chroniclers of which England can boast during these three centuries after the Conquest, is but an illustration of the same tendency—there are not wanting literary remains of other kinds. The ethical and practical spirit of the Anglo-Saxons survived the Conquest, and re-appeared in such rough poems of a didactic character, and of direct social reference, as those which go by the name of Piers Ploughman. Some touch of this spirit, with a distinct ingredient of Norman wit and inquisitiveness, is to be traced in the poems of Chaucer himself. Above all, however, the English of those days had their songs. The literary genius of England, it is true, has never been conspicuously lyrical. It was the Trouveurs that first directed and inspired it. The Troubadours, with their canzonets and love-letters, remained in Provence and Italy, and their spirit passed rather into the literature of Southern Europe. Nor were the circumstances of the English nation such as to beget among them that kind of fervour and excess of emotional

faculty, which finds its natural utterance in bursts of song. In this respect there has always been a great difference between the English and the Scotch. The English have no body of song at all comparable to that series of songs which have sprung, during the whole period of Scottish history, from the heart of the Scottish people. Even recently, it is poets of Scottish or of Irish birth that have carried most of the lyrical fire into English poetry; and all along it may be observed, as Mr. Dallas has remarked in his Essay on Poetry, that such songs as English writers have produced, are songs not of primary or personal, but rather of secondary or represented emotion—songs made, so to speak, for characters and situations previously conceived by the dramatic imagination. There are exceptions, but such is the rule. Nevertheless, the English always have had their songs. In the old Norman castles, the minstrels not only recited *romans* and *fabliaux*—they also sang *chansons* to certain melodies, and with instrumental accompaniments. The Saxons, too, had their glees, which they trolled out with their manly voices—riotous and rough things, seasoned, in many cases, with bitter political allusions. And thus the composition of verses to be sung to known or to new tunes, was practised as an art after the Conquest, as well as the more extensive business of the preparation of romances and facetious stories. Nay more, then as now, without any such deliberate practice of song-writing by professional minstrels songs would be produced and put in circulation. Individual men walking over the fields, or by the sides of rivers, and humming their cares or their joys to themselves, would fling off their moods in snatches of song almost without knowing it; and sometimes the whole nation, excited by some public event, would rid itself of its peccant humour in an outburst of sarcastic doggerel ending conveniently in a chorus.

Of the numberless songs of various kinds which must have been in circulation in England before Chaucer's time, the specimens that have been preserved, sometimes in old manuscripts, and sometimes in the form of scraps quoted by the Latin chroniclers of the period, are extremely scanty. Recent research has added a few pieces to those recovered and published by Percy and Ritson; but probably, if all the scraps were printed together, they would not fill more than twenty or thirty octavo pages.

Strangely enough, the very earliest scrap of English song, if not indeed the very earliest bit of recognisable English speech, that is preserved to us, dates from before the Conquest—a circumstance which would corroborate the theory of those who maintain that the English language is not a mere disintegration of Anglo-Saxon brought about by the Conquest, but the continuation of a Saxon vernacular in use in England before the

Conquest. This precious little fragment comes to us embodied in the text of a Latin chronicle, called the "Chronicle of the Monk of Ely," written about the year 1166. The writer of that chronicle speaks of a song, called King Canute's song, said to have been composed by King Canute the Great (1017-1036,) and which was still, after nearly a century and a half, very popular in his days—"sung publicly in choirs, and repeated in proverbs." As King Canute was rowing one day on the river Nen, says the story, near to the Minster of Ely, the holy music from the choir of the Minster came floating on the air to where he was rowing. His Danish heart was touched, and listening at once to the music and to the soft plash of the oars, he became all of a sudden metrical. Keeping time with his head he chanted some verses to his knights, of which the burden was as follows:

> "Merrie sungen the monachs binnen Ely
> Tha (when) Knut King rew thereby;
> Roweth, knightés, near the land,
> And hear we these monachs' sang:"

Noble old Dane, one can believe of him more easily, after this, that other story of his commanding his chair to be taken down to low water mark, and sitting there, with all his knights about him, till the sea, contrary to orders, washed the sands at his feet, and convinced his knights that his power, though great, was limited! The Nen, we believe, still flows by Ely; and, should chance ever lead us into that neighbourhood, we hope to identify to the actual eye the spot, now seen only in vision, from which, eight hundred years ago, there was let loose from the lips of King Knut in his boat that little snatch of metre which, hanging, as it were, for a century and a half in the local air and memory, was at last booked for us by the monk of Ely, and so has come down to us as authentically the oldest bit of English speech of which there is any record.

It is a narrow escape, however, that English Literature has made in being able to date its beginning from so nice a little relique as King Canute's song. Supposing that this relique had not been preserved for us, we should, in that case, so far as appears, have had to date the origin of our literature from the following distich, which now stands second, by some fifty years, among our scraps of early English:

> "Hightest thou Urse?
> Have thou God's curse."

There is no genial man but must be glad that English literature has not to take its start from this. Yet it is good straightforward English, too, and it came from the mouth of an Archbishop. The scrap has been preserved for us by the chronicler, William

of Malmesbury, who wrote about 1130. According to this chronicler, who praises the neatness and elegance of the words, they constituted the salutation addressed by Aldred, Archbishop of York, who died in 1069, to Urse or Ursus, Earl of Worcester, when that nobleman had offended him by refusing to take down one of his castles, the ditch of which encroached on the burying-ground of a monastery. The Archbishop must have been a "good hater;" and we can make out a certain symbolic value in the fact that the very second specimen of literary English we have should have been in that mood. We trust it is symbolic also that it was not the first; for, with all respect for Dr. Johnson, we prefer King Canute's vein, and think that the "good hater" holds but the second rank throughout the whole course of our national literature.

The two scraps we have quoted belong to the eleventh century. Various little scraps might be cited from Ritson and others as reliques of the twelfth. Not to delay longer among these scraps, however, the interest of which is chiefly philological, let us pass at a leap to the thirteenth century, in which we first find any reliques of real poetic interest. Three reigns filled up this century in England,—those of John, (1199-1216,) Henry III., (1216-1272,) and Edward I., (1272-1307.) It is to the reign of Henry III., or the first half of the thirteenth century, that authorities agree to refer the following exquisite little song—a rote or rondo for four voices—the music of which, with directions for singing it, will be found in Ritson and in Hawkins's History of Music :—

Summer is icumen in ;
Loudé sing cuckoo ;
Groweth seed and bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood now.
Sing cuckoo !

Ewe bleateth after lamb ;
Loweth after calve cow ;
Bullock sterteth, bucke verteth ; (*goes to the 'vert' or ferns for shelter.*)
Merrie sing cuckoo.
Cuckoo, cuckoo !

Well singest thou cuckoo ;
Ne swike thou nauer noo. (*meaning obscure.*)
Sing cuckoo noo, sing cuckoo !
Sing cuckoo, sing cuckoo noo !

There is another fragment given by Mr. Wright in his *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* from a manuscript in the British Museum, and referred by him to the same period as the preceding. It has no

great merit, but may pass as a sample of the hymns or sacred songs that were then common. It is part of a hymn to the Virgin, and we quote but two stanzas,—

> Of one that is so fair and bright
> *Velut maris stella,*
> Brighter than the day is light,
> *Parens et puella,*
> I cry to thee, thou see to me:
> Levedy (lady), pray thy son for me,
> *Tam pia,*
> That I mote come to thee,
> *Maria!*
>
> All this world was forlore,
> *Evâ peccatrice,*
> Till our lord was y-bore,
> *De te genitrice.*
> With ave it went away,
> Thuster night, and comes the day,
> *Salutis;*
> The welle springeth out of thee,
> *Virtutis.*

Both the foregoing are in King Canute's vein rather than in that of Archbishop Aldred. But the state of England in the thirteenth century was such as to stimulate also to literary production in the Archbishop's vein. The reigns of John and Henry III. were times of vehement internal discord, occasioned by those long struggles between the Crown and the barons, which assured the liberties of Englishmen; and the reign of the great Edward was passed in continental wars, and in wars for the subjugation of Scotland. As was natural in these circumstances, there sprang up a crop of political songs, and of songs in celebration of remarkable historical events, most of them breathing the spirit of political or national partisanship. The most spirited political ballad of this period is undoubtedly the famous one first published by Percy, written immediately after the triumph of Sir Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, over King Henry III. and his party at the battle of Lewes (1264,) and directed particularly against Henry's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, then enjoying the dignity of Emperor of Germany, to which he had been elected in 1256. Richard, who had brought over a host of foreigners into the country, had accepted an offer made by the barons of thirty thousand pounds, on condition of his arranging such a peace as they wanted. Despite this agreement, he fought against the barons at Lewes; and so incurred the accusation of treachery which the author of the

song—evidently a vehement partisan of the barons against the Crown—brings against him. Two stanzas of the song will show in what a strong bold strain Englishmen could then express themselves.

"Sitteth alle still, and hearkeneth to me
The King of Alemaigne, by my leautié,
Thritty thousand pound asked he
For to make peace in the countré,
And so he did more.
Richard, though thou be ever trichard, (*treacherous*,)
Trichten shalt thou never more.

"Richard of Alemaigne, while that he was king
He spend all his treasure upon swiving, (*licentiousness*,)
Haveth he not of Walingford overling, (*lordship over Walingford*,)
Let him have, as he brew, bale to dring, (*drink*,)
Maugre Windsor.
Richard, though thou be ever trichard,
Trichten shalt thou never more."

Passing on to the fourteenth century, and to the reigns of Edward II. (1307-1327,) Edward III (1327-1377,) and Richard II. (1377-1399,) we find the number of reliques, both of the sentimental and of the political kind, increasing upon us—hardly in such abundance, however, as might be expected from our then being within the shadow of such a great poet as Chaucer, whose period of activity, seeing that he was born in 1328 and died in 1400, may be said to coincide exactly with the latter half of the century. Of the various songs of this period which we have seen, and on which we may fancy Chaucer nursing his genius in his youth, the best is the following, which we somewhat abridge, explaining the old words as we best can.

"Blow, northern wind,
Send thou me my sweeting,
Blow, northern wind, blow, blow, blow.

"I wot a burd in bower bright,
That fully seemly is on sight,
Menskful (*graceful*) maiden of might,
Fair and free to fond (*love*).
In all this worldlike won, (*habitation*,)
A burd of blood and bone
Never n'wist I none
Lussomer in lond.
Blow, northern wind,
Send thou me my sweeting,
Blow, northern wind, blow, blow, blow.

"With lockés liefélike and long,
With front and face fair to fond,
With mirthes monie mote she mong, (*meaning obscure*,)
That burd so breme in bower;
With lussom eye, great and good,
With browen (*brows*) blissful under hood,
He that rest him on the road,
That lovely life honóur.
Blow, northern wind, &c.

"Her lure (*complexion*) looms light
As a lantern a-night;
Her blee (*face*) blinketh so bright,
So fair she is and fine;
A sweetly swire (*neck*) she hath to hold,
With arms, shoulders, as man wold,
And fingers fair forty fold;
God wold they were mine.
Blow, northern wind, &c.

"She is coral of goodness,
She is ruby of rightfulness,
She is crystal of clearness,
And banner of bealtie (*beauty*;)
She is lily of largess,
She is perwink (*periwinkle*) of prowess,
She is solseckle (*sunflower*) of sweetness,
And lady of lealtie.
Blow, northern wind, &c.

"For her love I cark and care,
For her love I droop and dare,
For her love my bliss is bare,
And all I wax wan;
For her love in sleep I slake,
For her love all night I wake,
For her love mourning I make
More than any man.
Blow, northern wind,
Send thou me my sweeting,
Blow, northern wind, blow, blow, blow."

Almost as good as this, and in a graver strain, is the following, printed by Mr. Wright for the first time in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, and identified by him as the composition of Friar Michael of Kildare, in Ireland, a number of whose songs and hymns, written about the year 1310, survive in a manuscript in the British Museum. We simply modernize the spelling—there being no reason why the difficulty of reading such old

scraps should be increased by adhering to the old spelling, except where it indicates a grammatical or metrical peculiarity, any more than there is for printing Shakespeare according to the spelling of the original folio.

"Lully, lully, little child, why weepest thou so sore?
Need is must thou weep, it was y-yarkéd thee yore,
(doomed thee of old?)
Ever to live in sorrow and sigh and mourn evér,
As thine eldren did ere this, while they alives were.
Lully, lully, little child, child, lullay, lullow,
Into uncouth world y-comen so art thou.

"Beastés and those foulés, the fishes in the flood,
And each shape alive maked of bone and blood;
When they cometh to the world they doth themself some good,
All but the wretch brol (?) that is of Adam's blood.
Lully, lully, little child, to care art thou bemet;
Thou knowest not this world's wild before thee is y-set.

"Child, if betideth that thou shalt thrive and thee, (?)
Think thou were y-fostered upon thy mother's knee;
Ever have mind in thy heart of those thingés three—
Whence thou camest, whom thou art, and what shall come of thee.
Lully, lully, little child, child, lullay, lullay,
With sorrow thou came into this world, with sorrow shalt wend away.

"Ne trust thou to this world, it is thy full foe;
The rich it maketh poor, and the poor rich also;
It turneth woe to weal and eke weal to woe;
Ne trust no man into the world, while it turneth so.
Lully, lully, little child, thy foot is in the wheel,
Thou must whether turn to woe other weal.

"Child, thou art a pilgrim, but and an uncouth guest;
Thy days beeth y-told, thy journeys beeth y-cast;
Whether thou shalt wend, north other east,
Death thee shall betide, with bitter bale in breast.
Lully, lully, little child, this woe Adam thee wrought,
When he of the apple eat, and Eve it him betaught."

Some other specimens of pre-Chaucerian song may be found in Ritson. Chaucer himself, as befitted the great poet of his day, and the laureate of the splendid courts of Edward III., and his successor Richard, threw off from his easy pen numberless little songs and ditties, which, if they survived now, we should doubtless find as superior to the songs produced before his day, as his narrative poems are superior to the romances and tales

of his predecessors. We have his own authority for the fact, that he had written many such trifles in his time, of some of which he repented in his old age. Very few of these pieces, however, are now to be identified as the compositions of Chaucer.

Whoever knows anything of the history of English literature, knows that the period which elapsed between the death of Chaucer, and the appearance of the extraordinary cluster of poets and prose-writers who adorned the reign of Elizabeth, is one, not only of comparative, but of all but total literary sterility. From 1400 to 1570, in fact, is an absolute gap in English literary history. Not that there was not abundance of writing, and latterly even of printing, during these hundred and seventy years; but that the kind of matter which was then written and printed was not that of which posterity was likely to take much note. The period in question includes ten entire reigns—those of Henry IV. (1399-1413), Henry V. (1413-1422), Henry VI. (1422-1461), Edward IV. (1461-1483), Edward V. (1483), Richard III. (1483-1485), Henry VII. (1485-1509), Henry VIII. (1509-1547), Edward VI. (1547-1553), and Mary (1553-1558)—besides extending some little way into the reign of Elizabeth. Walking along this extensive tract of time, filled otherwise with so much that is momentous and interesting, one encounters as representatives of the literary activity of England, but such names as those of Occleve and Lydgate, versifiers of the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.; Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Woodville, Earl of Rivers, both of whom were writers of the time of Edward IV., and both patrons of Caxton the printer; Hawes and Barklay, versifiers of the reign of Henry VII.; John Skelton, the satirist of the same reign, who also lived into that of Henry VIII.; Sir Thomas More, and the reformers Tyndal, Latimer, and Cranmer, all of whom lived in the reign of Henry VIII., and some of whom survived him; and lastly the poets, Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, both of the same age. This may seem a tolerable list in point of number, and some of the names are those of men otherwise remarkable; but when we examine their claims on the score of literary merit, it seems preposterous to speak of them as the successors of Chaucer. In short, for about a hundred and seventy years after Chaucer, literary genius appeared to have vanished, or nearly so, from England. The causes of such a long period of literary dearth and littleness it is difficult to decipher. It cannot be that at this time there was any deterioration of the actual nerve and faculty of the nation, for during no period was England more energetic, or English society in a state of richer ferment, intellectually and politically. Most probably it was that the very agitation and ferment in

which English society was engaged during all that period, was of a kind to preclude the historical conditions necessary for the development of literature, and to compel intellect into other modes of exercise. Literature, as all know, flourishes best in times of order and national leisure. Men, indeed, write, and often in increased quantities, in times of convulsion and social excitement; but what they write is not true or pure literature—not histories, and poems, and tranquil essays,—but pamphlets and polemical treatises. At no time were the conditions of calm literary activity more absent from England than during the period in question. First there came the persecutions of the Lollards, with all the controversial zeal thence arising on both sides; then came the wars of the Roses, dividing England for many years into two camps, and keeping all in a state of restlessness; and, lastly, just as England was again becoming consolidated after the astute reign of Henry VII., came the great struggle of the Reformation, with its flood of vexed questions, perplexing the reign of his terrible successor. These agitations, as we have said, bred a literature of their own, but it was not a literature in King Canute's vein. It was rather in the style of the Archbishop's distich—a literature of terse argumentative prose, or of mutual objurgation and debate, or of ethical appeal, or of fierce invective and satire. Accordingly, if we were to select one man as more than any other the true literary representative of the period of English history intervening between Chaucer's death and the outburst of the Elizabethan drama, it would be Skelton the satirist. There was little in him of the Chaucerian spirit—which, so far as it lingered in England at all, passed rather through Lydgate and Hawes into Surrey and Wyatt; but he was, more than any of these, the man of his time.

Yet poesy was not extinct in the island; and Chaucer *had* his successors. It is a curious fact, that at the very time when literature in England was at its lowest, there took place that rich outburst of Scottish poetry, which is associated with the names of King James I., Henryson, Blind Harry, Gawain Douglas, William Dunbar, and Sir David Lyndsay. It was as if the spirit of Chaucer, taking possession of the Scottish King James I., during his captivity in England, had passed with him into the northern part of the island. James, Henryson, Douglas, and Dunbar, were far more worthy to be called Chaucer's successors than any of their English contemporaries. The song and poetry of Scotland, however, does not come within our present survey, and it is for evidences of the continuance of literary faculty in England, notwithstanding its apparent extinction in high places, that we are now looking. Are there any such? Undoubtedly there are. In the first place, the fifteenth century

seems to have been the time of the rise of the genuine ballad-literature of England. The ballad, in the form in which it is known from such specimens as "Chevy Chase," "Sir Cauline," "Robin Hood," and "Adam Bell and Clym o' the Clough," may be conceived as a development and modern improvement of the old metrical romance. The national taste for narrative remained powerful as ever in the popular mind even after narrative poetry had attained to its artistic perfection in Chaucer; and so, while Chaucer's poems served as full gratification of that taste, as it existed among the more cultured and courtly classes, and, by satisfying it, helped to change it, the peasantry and the people were still left to cater for themselves. The old metrical romances had become unsuitable in spirit and in form; and the four-line ballad—a kind of compromise between the mere metrical narrative and the actual song—took their place. Old subjects, which had been treated by the minstrels in romances, were redacted into the new and more convenient form; and new incidents, affecting the local imagination, either as they actually happened, or as tradition kept up the memory of them, were also thrown into ballads. In fact, the people would accept those narratives in which they delighted only in the ballad form; and hence the purveyors of popular literature over the country, who now stood in the place of the old minstrels, became makers of ballads. Thus arose most of those fine old ballads, which we now read with so much pleasure in the collections of Percy and others, and some of which are still in oral circulation in certain districts. It is curious that the north of England was more peculiarly the native region of these ballads. Indeed, with the exception of "Chevy Chase," and one or two others, the ballads printed in Percy are either Scotch, or common, with certain variations, to both sides of the border. In the north of England, then, we are to suppose that, amid all the convulsions and controversies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rural population, penetrated only superficially by the polemical spirit which prevailed in the south, and letting things take their course, had still leisure at their firesides, and still, for the amusement of that leisure, kept up a literature of their own in one favourite form. And so, also, in the matter of songs. For the production of one class of songs—those which are political or satirical—a time of social excitement, as we have seen, is by no means unfavourable; and there were always nooks and corners in England, where, whatever was going on in the nation at large, private love, or joy, or sorrow could have their usual lyrical scope. In short, precisely as, in the north of England, literature, driven from high places of society, lingered among the people in the form of ballads, so all over England it lingered among them in songs.

The specimens that remain of English songs belonging authentically to the fifteenth century, are more numerous than those referred to the fourteenth, but still not very numerous. Here, by way of example of the political song direct, are the opening verses, from Ritson, of a song against the Lollards, written apparently in 1413, with special reference to Lord Cobham,—

> "Lo, he that can be Christe's clerk,
> And know the knottés of his creed,
> Now may see a wonder werk,
> Of hard haps to take good heed.
> The doom of death is heavy dreed
> For him that will not mercy cry;
> Then is my rede, for muck ne meed,
> That no man mell with Lollardy.
>
> "I say for myself, that wist I never,
> But now late, what it should be;
> And by my troth I have well lever,
> No more ken than my A, B, C.
> To loll so high in such degree,
> It is no perfect policy;
> Safe sicker sample to thee and me,
> To be ware of Lollardy.
>
> "It is unkindly for a knight,
> That should a kinge's castle keep,
> To babble the Bible day and night,
> In resting time when he should sleep;
> And carefully away to creep
> For all the chief of chivalry.
> Well aughten him to wail and weep,
> That such lust hath in Lollardy."

The following are some verses from a song contributed by Mr. Halliwell to the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, and which, if it is not a latent attack on the Catholic clergy, and, therefore, an opposition song to the preceding, is but a piece of rhythmical nonsense.

> "The false fox came unto our croft,
> And so our geese full fast he sought,—
> With how, fox, how, with hey, fox, hey,
> Come no more unto our house to bear our geese away.
>
> "The false fox came unto our yard,
> And there he made the geese afeard,—
> With how, fox, how, &c.
>
> "The good wife came out in her smock,
> And at the fox she threw her rock,—
> With how, fox, how, &c.

"The good man came out with his flail,
And smote the fox upon the tail,—
With how, fox, how, &c.

"He took a goose fast by the neck,
And made her to say 'wheecum-queck,'—
With how, fox, how, &c.

"'I pray thee, fox,' said the goose, 'tho
Take of my feathers, but not of my toe,'—
With how, fox, how," &c.

Belonging to the period under notice, are a good many moral songs, or songs of sententious sarcasm and advice—as if the ethical and practical spirit of the Saxons were at this time in greater force than the pure poetical feeling delighting in mere phantasy and beauty. In fact, in England during the fifteenth century we find more of the influence of Chaucer's friend, the "moral" Gower, in such attempts at verse as were made, than we do of Chaucer's own higher cast of genius. Here is a specimen of one of these "moralizations;" we find it in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, certified by Mr. Halliwell as being of this date:

"Sit among the knightes all,
At the council but ye be call;
And see and say not all.
Whatsoever ye think avise ye weel.

"An thou go unto the wine,
And thou think it good and fine,
Take thy leave when it is time.
Whatsoever ye think avise ye weel.

"With thy tongue thou mayst thee spill,
And with tongue mayst have all thy will;
Hear, and see, and keep thee still.
Whatsoever ye think avise ye weel."

The following, from Ritson, is also a song in the genuine Saxon mood. It is entitled, "A song in praise of Sir Penny:"

"Penny is an hardy knight;
Penny meikle is of might;
Penny of wrong he maketh right,
In every country where he go.

"Though I have a man y-slaw,
And forfeited the kinge's law,
I shall find a man of law
Will take my penny and let me go.

"And if I have to do far or near,
And Penny be my messengér,
Then am I no thing in dwere, (fear),
My cause shall be well doe.

"And if I have pence both good and fine,
Men will bidden me to the wine.
'All that I have shall be thine,'
Sickerly they will sayen so.

"And when I have no more in my purse,
Penny bet ne penny worse;
Of me they holden but little force;
'He was a man, let him go.'"

The following from the same source, is in a more imaginative vein. It is of the time of King Henry VI., and is called, "A song on the ivy and the holly:"

"Nay, ivy, nay, it shall not be, I wis,
Let holly have the mastery as the manner is;
Holly stand in the hall fair to behold;
Ivy stand without the door, she is full sore a-cold.
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Holly and his merry men, they dancen and they sing;
Ivy and her maidens they weepen and they wring.
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Ivy hath a lybe (?) she caught it with the cold;
So mote they all have that with ivy hold!
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Holly hath berries as red as any rose;
The forester, the hunter, keep them from the does.
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Ivy hath berries as black as any sloe;
Here come the owl and eat them as she go.
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Holly hath birdés, a fair full flock;
The nightingale, the popinjay, the gentle laverock.
Nay, ivy, nay, &c.

"Good ivy, what birdés hast thou?
None but the howlet that cry, *how*, *how*.
Nay, ivy, nay," &c.

The holly puts us in mind of Christmas and its carols. Various English Christmas carols of the fifteenth century have been

printed by Ritson and others; but we have seen none so good as one printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, and contributed to that publication by Mr. David Laing, who found it in a MS. volume of "Metrical Romances and Moralizations," in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. We copy but a part of it:

"This endurs (indoors?) night I see a sight,
A star shone bright as day;
And ever among a maiden's song,
Was 'By, bye, lullay.'
This endurs night, &c.

"This lovely lady sat and sung,
And till her child did say,
'My son, my lord, my Father dear.
Why lies thou thus in hay?
Mine own sweet brid, what art thou kyd (?)
And knows thee lord of aye;
Never the less I will not cess
To sing, "By, bye, lullay."'
This endurs night, &c.

"This child until his mother spake,
And thus methought he said,
'I am kenned for heaven king
In crib though I be laid.
Angels bright shall to me light,
Ye wot right well in fay;
Of this behest give me your breast,
And sing, "By, bye, lullay."'
This endurs night, &c.

"'Mine own dear son, since it is thus
That thou art lord of all,
Thou should have ordained thee some biding
Into some kinge's hall.
Methinks aright a king or a knight
Should be in rich array;
And yet for this I will not cess
To sing, "By, bye, lullay."
This endurs night, &c.

"'My own dear son, to thee I say,
Methinks it is no lie,
That kings should come so far to thee
And thou not them deny.'
'You sarwn (?) see the kinges three
Upon the twelfé day;
And for that sight, ye may be light
To sing, "By, bye, lullay."'
This endurs night, &c.

"'My own dear son, sin it is thus
That all thing is at will,
I pray thee, grant me a boon,
Gif it be right of skill,
Child or man that will or can
Be merry on this day,
To heaven bliss grant it his,
And sing, "By, bye, lullay."'
This endurs night," &c.

To the foregoing specimens of songs of the fifteenth century might be added one or two composed by Earl Rivers and other known writers. What we have quoted, however, must suffice by way of sample of English song-writing in that age. Nor can we go on to give specimens of the much superior song-writing of the first half of the sixteenth century,—that portion of the century which preceded the great age of English dramatic literature. It is enough to say, that the age of Henry VIII. seems to have been very prolific in songs of all kinds—political, satirical, moral, fantastic, and bacchanalian; and that it seems to have been at this time, in particular, that those quaint sentimental songs were put in circulation, of which Shakespeare was evidently so fond, and many snatches from which are quoted in his plays. It is to be remembered that by this time printing was doing its work in this as in other departments of literature, and that songs instead of being, as heretofore, confined to manuscript, were now circulated in black letter sheets,—the effect of which was to make the same songs popular over the whole nation, and even to make certain songs, with but variations of dialect, the common property of England and Scotland. Most of these black-letter sheets have perished; and though Percy and others have recovered some of the old songs of that period entire, it is chiefly by their titles, or by scraps of them cited in the dramas of Elizabeth's time, that their character is known. A list of some fifty or sixty songs might be made out, all of the pre-Elizabethan part of the sixteenth century, of which scraps varying from a line to a verse or two in length still survive.

On the history of English song, as it was affected by the all but universal determination of the national genius towards the Drama, which took place in the latter part of the sixteenth century, we do not so much as enter. To those who desire to study this subject we recommend Mr. Bell's judicious and pleasant little collection of "Songs from the Dramatists;" while to those whose curiosity extends over the larger subject of the history of English song-writing from the sixteenth century to the present day, we may recommend the "Illustrated Book of English Songs," where there will be found an ample selection

of songs of all kinds ranged in chronological series. On the first topic, we will only say that it seems to us that the cause of song was improved by the rise of the national drama—not only because the necessity of lyrical interpolations on the stage, to be sung before large audiences, created a demand for finer and more finished songs than had previously existed, but also because, as we have already hinted, the composition of songs for dramatic situations seems more suited to the English genius for song, such as it is, than the composition of songs expressing primary and personal feeling. On the second point we will say, that, with considerable acquaintance with such English songs as have been composed since the sixteenth century, we know none that, in their kind, are half so exquisite, and true, and deep, as the lyrical snatches that occur in the plays of Shakespeare. Greatest in every other respect, he is greatest in this too; and if any Englishman were to risk the assertion, that the English could produce one or two songs as good as any of the Scotch, his only chance of not being laughed at, would be in proving his assertion by singing, as sweetly and thrillingly as we have heard them sung more than once, several of Shakespeare's keenest ditties. But Shakespeare knew the conditions of a true song:—

> "That piece of song,
> That old and antique song, we heard last night,
> Methought it did relieve my passion much,
> More than light airs and recollected terms
> Of these most brisk and giddy-pacéd times.
>
> . . . .
>
> Mark it, Cesario; it is old and plain;
> The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
> And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,
> Do use to chaunt it; it is silly sooth,
> And dallies with the innocence of love,
> Like the old age."

ART. VIII.—1. *Table Traits, and Something on them.* By DR. DORAN. Second Edition. London, 1854.

2. *Habits and Men;* with Remnants of Records touching the Makers of both.* By DR. DORAN, Author of "Table Traits," &c. London, 1854.

IF books find readers in proportion to the interest which their subject-matter awakens in the universal heart of society, these volumes must soon make their way into general circulation. We think of nothing so much as of our food and clothing, and the means of obtaining them. With a vast majority of men the necessity of providing food and clothing for themselves and their dependents is the great origin of human action. For food and clothing the labourer toils, the artisan drudges, the soldier dies, the author writes, the divine preaches, the lawyer argues, the physician cures. They are, indeed, the Alpha and Omega of humanity. In other words, they are the marks of the beast. They separate the human from the divine, and remind us almost every hour of our lives what miserable finite creatures we are.

This is a very obvious commonplace, but it is one of which, to speak paradoxically, we are only insensibly sensible. We are continually feeling the truth of it in detail, but we seldom recognise it broadly as a whole. To the very poor—the many condemned to endure day by day the misery of absolute cold and hunger—who do not ask what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed, but how they shall eat, and drink, and clothe themselves at all—this great matter of food and clothing is necessarily omnipresent, both in its integrity and its details. But, addressing ourselves to those who eat and drink and are sufficiently clothed, as a matter of course—who know neither the agony of famine, nor the intense enjoyment of a full meal after a protracted fast—to the classes, indeed, to which the readers of this Journal mainly belong, we would ask whether it has ever occurred to them at the end of a day to consider how large a portion of their thoughts has been devoted to, and in how large a degree both the pains and pleasures of the day have resulted from, the various complications of the great question of Food and Clothing. We speak now of the direct and immediate relations of cause and effect, without pressing into our service those lengthened chains or concatenations of accident, by following which we may often trace to some point of diet or costume a link-line of circumstances more or less affecting the happiness or misery of thousands. It has

been said, that an indigestion lost to Napoleon the Great the battle of Leipzig. We have little doubt in our own minds that the sanguinary contest which is now filling with fear and trembling so many homes in the three greatest countries of Europe, has its origin, humanly speaking, in some error of diet or costume—most probably of both—affecting the august person of the Czar Nicholas. But it is not, we say, of the remote and conjectural which we are now speaking, but of things much nearer and more demonstrable. Many a day's comfort and happiness have been destroyed by the loss of a button. A tight boot has turned joy into sorrow, thrown a pall over the beauties and benignities of Nature, and made the fresh cool air of heaven little better than a parching sirocco. A glass of wine and a biscuit have changed the whole aspect of the future, and given the fainting heart new courage to fight the battle of life, and to win it by brave exertions. Can we answer for the equanimity of any man who finds that his dinner and his wife are both badly dressed?

The same verb is of common application to both cases. Cookery, indeed, is but the art of costume appealing to the palate, instead of to the eye; or rather to the palate as well as to the eye. There is a sort of confusion, or joint-action as it were, of the senses, at times, which it is easy to understand, but difficult to explain. When the old Greek wrote *κτύπου δέδορκα,* (I saw the sound,) he used, doubtless, a bold figure; but it was an expressive one. The modern poet has no misgivings when he writes of the visible "music breathing from the face" of a young beauty. When Mr. Fudge, of the famous family of that name, speaks of the "eatable" little grisettes whom he saw in Paris, we by no means set him down as a cannibal. It is common to speak of a dish *looking* nice or savoury; and we may often know by the look of it how it will taste. This is partly the effect of experience and association. But there is some intuition in it nevertheless.

And yet, on the other hand, it is certain that many articles of food which we know to be savoury to the taste, have a very forbidding appearance to the eye. Indeed, the marvel is in such cases how we ever came to eat them. We wonder that Dr. Doran has not given us a chapter on "the origin of certain dishes." There would be room in it for little fact, but for a world of pleasant speculation and conjecture. We need hardly recall any reader's recollection to Charles Lamb's essay on the Origin of Roast Pig. It has often been said that he must have been a bold man who first ate an oyster. This is said in ignorance of the legend which assigns the first act of oyster-eating to a very natural cause. It is related that a man walking one

day πέρι θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης, picked up one of these savoury bivalves just as it was in the act of gaping. Observing the extreme smoothness of the interior of the shell, he insinuated his finger between them that he might feel their shining surface, when suddenly they closed upon the exploring digit with a sensation less pleasurable than he anticipated. The prompt withdrawal of his finger was scarcely a more natural movement than its transfer to his mouth. It is not very clear why people when they hurt their fingers put them to their mouths; but it is very certain that they do; and in this case the result was most fortunate. The owner of the finger tasted oyster-juice for the first time, as the Chinaman in Elia's essay having burnt *his* finger, first tasted cracklin. The savor was delicious,—he had made a great discovery; so he picked up the oyster, forced open the shells, banqueted upon their contents, and soon brought oyster-eating into fashion. And unlike most fashions, it has never gone, and is never likely to go out.

Whether this story be a fact or a fable, it would be highly satisfactory if we could account half as well for the origin of other popular articles of diet. It is a mystery to us how the eatableness of many things was first discovered. And equally mysterious, though their origin be less remote, are some of those strange combinations in which our palates do unaccountably rejoice. Who first ate currant jelly with venison, hare, and roast-mutton? One would answer that so discordant a mixture could have originated in nothing more dignified than the indiscriminate gluttony of a school-boy. Why is apple-sauce eaten with roast-goose? Was the combination first brought about by accident at some Michaelmas dinner, when plates were scarce, and apple-pudding eaten amidst the fragments of the bird that saved the Capitol? Who invented—a brave invention—the use of oyster-sauce with beef-steaks? On the other hand, there are some combinations rendered so natural to us by long habit, that we wonder, not how they first originated, but how the world ever existed without them. It is certain that for a great many centuries oysters were eaten before beer was drunk. Yet it is impossible now to help associating oysters (*au naturel*) with beer. Wine does not consort with them,—port, indeed, is said to turn them to stone,—and water is not to be mentioned. Who first ate sugar with brawn? Who discovered the peculiar suitability of brown bread and butter to white-bait? Tastes may differ about some of these appliances, but no one ever doubts the excellence of the last. Doubtless, there are yet more discoveries to be made, more combinations to be effected. To eat the materials of tartlets with roast mutton is a great stretch of civilisation; but who knows that our children

may not appreciate the advantages of eating treacle with roast-beef, or surmount the reported impossibility of oysters and brown sugar?

We could have wished that Dr. Doran had given us, in his pleasant manner, more about the discovery and discoverers of the various unlikely articles of diet, which we now take for granted and incontinently consume without a thought of the origin of the practice. One story he has given us relating to the origin of bottled beer, and we quote it in the Doctor's own words:—

"I think it is of Dean Nowell it is said that he grew strong by drinking ale. He was the accidental inventor of bottled ale. He was out fishing with a bottle of the freshly-drawn beverage at his side, when intelligence reached him touching the peril his life was in under Mary, which made him fly, after flinging away his rod, and thrusting his bottle of ale under the grass. When he could again safely resort to the same spot, he looked for his bottle, which, on being disturbed, drove out the cork like a pellet from a gun, and contained so creamy a fluid, that the Dean, noting the fact, and rejoicing therein, took care to be well provided with the same thenceforward."

We are thankful for this anecdote, affording as it does the traditionary origin of a very popular and deserving beverage; but it renders us doubly anxious for more in the same strain. There is nothing, indeed, of which we know so little as the origin of the different varieties of human food. Even our common vegetable esculents have, many of them, a repellent rather than an attractive appearance: and it would be curious to know how it was first discovered, whether the parts below the earth or the parts above were intended to be eaten. In Afghanistan, a country abounding in legends, there is one to the effect that Satan entered into a compact with the people, to teach them to cultivate the earth and bring forth its fruits; the produce to be divided between them. The bargain being made, and the soil prepared by the labour of the people, Satan produced his seeds, which in due course came up, as carrots, turnips, parsnips, and other vegetables, the value of which lies beneath the ground. When the division took place, the people in their ignorance took that which was above the surface. In time they discovered their mistake and loudly complained of their loss. Upon which Satan, with a bland smile told them that it should be different next year. And so it was. The people were to take all the produce that was beneath the soil. But this time the Devil had sown wheat, and barley, and other grain, whose fruit is above the surface. So the people, twice tricked, got nothing but the useless roots. Experience thus made them wiser, and they came

in time to know how to use the fruits of the earth. The tradition, at all events, suggests the very difficulty to which we have alluded. We know now that certain things, animal and vegetable, are good to be eaten in a certain way. It would be a great thing to ascertain how we first came to know it. The eye alone can never guide us to the truth. Grapes and peaches look as though they were meant to be eaten. But an ear of corn appears as though its property were only to choke.

After brief chapters devoted to the "Legend of Amphitryon," to "Diet and Digestion," and "Water," the author proceeds at once to business and seats us at the breakfast-table. A few pages being given to breakfast generally, Dr. Doran treats of its materials—of milk, of corn, of tea, of coffee, and other components of the morning meal. One of Leigh Hunt's pleasant genial papers in the "Indicator," is quoted to show what these components ought to be. "Here it is," (breakfast), says the Essayist, "ready laid. *Imprimis*, tea and coffee,—*secondly*, dry toast; *thirdly*, butter; *fourthly*, eggs; *fifthly*, ham; *sixthly*, something potted; *seventhly*, bread, salt, mustard, knives, forks, &c." The bill-of-fare is a commonplace, but not a bad one; a little too suggestive of hotel diet. It is a noticeable circumstance, that go where one may in England, and inquire what one can have for breakfast, the waiter is sure to suggest "broiled 'am." For our own parts, we like it better in the cold state; and not the less for that it seldom fails to remind us of two delicious lines which we chanced upon many years ago in one of the above-mentioned Mr. Hunt's volumes—the supposed speaker being a jovial monk of old—

> "Mysterious and prophetic truths, I never could unfold 'em,
> Without a flagon of good wine and a slice of cold ham."

The rhyme is unique and worth any thing in itself; and there is an *abandon* about the couplet generally which is perfectly delicious. It illustrates, however, rather the mid-day than the morning meal, (we conclude that it refers to an ecclesiastical luncheon,) and we are now only at breakfast; among the other materials of which Mr. Hunt has properly set down "something potted." The something, in our estimation, should be *char*, of which every visitor to Windermere will do well to carry off as much as he can accommodate in his portmanteau. It may be procured in perfection at the "Crown," and we doubt not at other hotels in Bowness. Eggs, lacking a poultry-yard immediately available of one's own—Mr. Hunt ever writes as a Londoner—are always debateable materials; for although boiled eggs are popularly held to be the only articles of diet by which we can not be poisoned, we are more frequently poisoned by

them than by anything else, and a miscarriage in this direction is fatal to any meal.

Fish is an esteemed article of breakfast diet, more common in the North than in the South, where it is a high-priced luxury beyond the reach, for ordinary home-consumption, of the majority of house-keepers. Its lightness seems especially to adapt it to our use in the early part of the day, when commonly our digestive organs are not in their fullest vigour. A mixture of fish and rice, with a lightly broiled egg to moisten the latter, and green chilis as a condiment—the ordinary breakfast of Englishmen in India—is a highly recommendable repast. It may be improved by the addition of fried prawns. At the sea-side a plate of fresh shrimps may stand in lieu of everything else: but it is a repast of difficult attainment. The world is full of shrimps. A stranger visiting this country from one of the plural worlds, would incontinently believe that their natural element is the streets of London, and that they grow there ready boiled. Of the thousands in the Great Metropolis who every day devour whole shoals of these little shell-fish, it would be curious to learn how many have ever seen one alive, or have the least idea where they come from. Even the vendors of them are for the most part in a happy state of ignorance upon these points. In London the supply of shrimps very rarely fails—but those which are not used for sauce, are principally consumed at the tea-tables of the lower orders. Many people think that at the sea-side it is their inalienable right to eat fresh shrimps for breakfast. If they insist on having shrimps they may have them—in all probability from London. But you must get up very early in the morning, literally as well as figuratively, if you are to purchase them alive.*

There is a great deal more to be said about the materials of breakfast, but we have neither time nor space for the saying of it. Something, however, ought to be said about tea. In England only the poorest of breakfast-eaters deny themselves this refreshing beverage. We have often been astonished at the consistency—or the obstinacy—with which very poor people, in

* Some years ago, at Brighton, we were greatly puzzled by the circumstance, that although boiled shrimps were abundant everywhere, in the fishmongers' shops and in the hawkers' baskets, unboiled shrimps were seldom to be obtained. At last we determined to solve the mystery by catechising an itinerant vendor of "fine large shrimps," boiled hard, rigid, and brown. Having stated the difficulty that perplexed us, we ventured to suggest to the woman that the shrimps were probably alive before they were boiled. She seemed at first inclined to combat the suggestion—but afterwards compromised the matter by saying, that they were never alive whilst she had anything to do with them, for they all came from London. Many eat these London-bought shrimps at the sea-side, who would not touch them, though necessarily fresher, in London, for the world.

spite of its high cost, cling to their tea. We have sometimes endeavoured to persuade them that cocoa is much cheaper and more nutritious; and we have practically enforced our argument by sending them packets of the prepared nut. But we have been convinced that if they ever used it at all, (of which we have sometimes been very doubtful,) it was out of sheer complaisance. "I misses my tea," is generally the final declaration; and every day a weak concoction of sloe-leaves, coarse brown sugar, skim-milk and water, washes down the morning and evening meal. We are forced, therefore, to believe that there must be some virtue in it. At all events, it is impossible to persuade a poor woman that there is *not.*

We may lament to see so large a portion of the scanty earnings of the very poor habitually spent on a high-priced, and by no means nutritive drug, but we can not bring ourselves to think it a deleterious one. Eighty years ago, however, many people believed that it was undermining the health of the people, and that in time it would break down the stamina of the nation. Even in the House of Commons it was denounced. Sir George Savile in the course of the inquiry into Lord Clive's case, declared that he objected to the whole Indian system, and hated the name of India, for that the East India Company were carrying on a destructive trade—by many of their importations, especially that of tea, ruining the health of the country. The stamina of the English—or, as our French allies designate it, *their* solidity—has not, however, been destroyed. We can fight as well as when we drank beer for breakfast, and can do many other things much better.*

There may be high authority in favour of breakfast as a social meal; but we cannot help thinking that, more properly, it is a sulky one. Mrs. Stowe relates how she breakfasted at Sir Charles Trevelyan's; and how Mr. Macaulay amused her by descanting on the specialties of breakfast-parties :—

"Looking around the table, and seeing how everybody seemed to be enjoying themselves, I said to Macaulay, that these breakfast parties were a novelty to me; that we never had them in America, but that I thought them the most delightful form of social life.

"He seized upon the idea, as he often does, and turned it playfully inside out, and shook it on all sides, just as one might play with the lustres of a chandelier—to see them glitter. He expatiated on the merits of breakfast parties as compared with all other parties.

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* Dr. Doran, in his very pleasant chapter on Tea, quotes the two well-known Latin puns, "Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te"—and "Te veniente die, te decedente notamus." Better than either, however, is the inscription written on the lid of a tea-chest, "*Tu doces*,"—which our lady-readers may translate, "Thou teachest."

He said dinner parties are mere formalities. 'You invite a man to dinner because you *must* invite him; because you are acquainted with his grandfather, or it is proper you should; but you invite a man to breakfast because you want to see *him*. You may be sure if you are invited to breakfast, there is something agreeable about you. This idea struck me as very sensible; and we all, generally having the fact before our eyes that *we* were invited to breakfast, approved the sentiment.

"'Yes,' said Macaulay, 'depend upon it; if a man is a bore he never gets an invitation to breakfast.'

"'Rather hard on the poor bores,' said a lady.

"'Particularly,' said Macaulay, laughing, 'as bores are usually the most irreproachable of human beings. Did you ever hear a bore complained of when they did not say that he was the best fellow in the world? For my part, if I wanted to get a guardian for a family of defenceless orphans, I should inquire for the greatest bore in the vicinity. I should know that he would be a man of unblemished honour and integrity.'"

Now, all this may be very true as far as it goes; but there is something to be said on the other side. An accomplished breakfaster-out is a man *per se*. There are very few who possess the faculty of being brilliant at ten o'clock in the morning. With the majority of men it is almost as difficult to talk without the excitement of wine and candle-light, as to dance without music. But every man can enjoy his arm-chair and his newspaper. The newspaper is, indeed, the best breakfast company in the world.* Breakfast is the time for newspaper-reading. There are thousands, ourselves included, who, except in a railway carriage, never read a newspaper at any other time. We contend that it is an Englishman's privilege to be sulky and unsocial at breakfast. It is intended to be an easy, lounging, self-indulgent, *déshabille* meal,—all taking and no giving. To call upon a man to sit up company and make himself agreeable before he has well rubbed the sleep out of his eyes, is to tax his social powers to an unreasonable extent. If he can answer the call, he is to be envied; but it is noticeable that whilst at the dinner table most men have something to say—at the breakfast table a large majority are silent. Sometimes, perhaps, Mrs. Stowe's informant does all the talking himself. And it may be added, as a further proof that the morning meal is not in-

* Mrs. Ellis, in her "Wives of England," a book which contains a good deal of shrewd common sense, propounds the truth that there is one rival to which every married woman must make up her mind to submit, and the more complacently she does it the better. That universal rival is the newspaper. It is generally triumphant at breakfast time, but not always submitted to, in spite of Mrs. Ellis's exhortations, with the best possible grace.

tended to be a social one, that the conversation which it elicits is seldom of a generous character. We have heard more bitter things said, more sarcasms uttered, more petty scandal talked at one breakfast party, than at all the dinners we have attended throughout a London season.

We repeat that it is an Englishman's privilege to be sulky at breakfast—and it is better to be sulky than to be spiteful. At dinner he is bound to be social. He has got over the serious business of the day,—he has done his work,—he may put care behind him,—he is free from impertinent intrusions,—he has a right to make himself comfortable and enjoy himself. "Man goeth forth to his work," it is said, "*until the evening.*" The evening comes, and he may give himself to society. After society there is nothing but bed. The sensation of coming out into the common work-day world, after one of those brilliant breakfasts of which Mrs. Stowe writes, is akin to that which we experience on coming out into the broad daylight from a morning performance by gas-light in a theatre or other exhibition room. To us it is always a melancholy and depressing one; but after the excitement of evening conviviality, there is no waking reaction. Fitly, then, comes the refreshment of sleep.

This is not one of the questions investigated by Dr. Doran; nor is it rightly, perhaps, one of the "traits" of which we have undertaken to discourse. It is time that we should return to the volume before us, and bethink ourselves of the "Materials for Dining," which necessarily furnish one of its most important chapters. Luncheon is hardly a recognised meal. It is one, however, that ought not to be neglected. Long fasting is destructive of the digestive powers, and therefore of the general health. Dr. Doran well observes, "It is said that the idle man is the devil's man; and it may also be said of the stomach, that if it has nothing to do, it will be doing mischief." Early breakfasts and late dinners are, to a vast number of people engaged in active business, the rule and practice of life. Many make a boast that they "never take luncheon," and forswear even that mild mid-day refection, a glass of wine and a biscuit. This, perhaps, accounts for the many bad tempers that are carried home every evening to dinner, and which generally clear up into serenity after the first glass of wine, and break out into cheerfulness with the second. The change results from the application of a sudden stimulus to a stomach weakened and collapsed by long fasting; and pleasant as the social effect may be, it is physically a very injurious one. We doubt whether this system of long fasting can be maintained for any length of time without permanent injury to the digestive organs. We have heard an adverse theory maintained, but never with good success.

We were once almost staggered by the *argumentum ad hominem* insisted upon by a certain ex-chancellor, who endeavoured to confute what we said about the evils of long fasting, by declaring that he had been condemned, during a life of unceasing activity in the law-courts, to fast, almost habitually, from morning to night; and was he, he asked, a bad specimen of a man at seventy-two. But before the conversation was at an end it transpired that in the vigour of his years there was not an Insurance office in London that would grant him a policy on his life. Some men, it is true, take a deal of killing. Napoleon said that he had twice beaten the English at Waterloo, but that those bêtes Anglaises did not know when they were beaten. There are some men who do not know when they are killed.

A light luncheon—it should be a very light one—is essential to the full and salutary enjoyment of a hearty dinner. That the prologue of such a dinner should be a plate of soup is an established rule in English society. Dr. Doran says, that "a small portion of soup is a good preparative to excite the digestive powers generally for what is to follow." This is one of the few exceptional sentences in Dr. Doran's book. All we can say is, that "doctors differ." The excitement, if there be any, is not a healthy excitement. As a general rule, it may be said that warm fluids at the commencement of dinner only weaken the gastric juices and diminish "the digestive powers generally for what is to follow."* If we are not mistaken, this may be found emphatically asserted in that very book which Dr. Doran says, of all the hundreds of works on this prolific subject, "Paris on Diet" is the best. We question whether the author of "Table Traits" would have penned the above sentence in praise of soup, if he had written M.D. instead of LL.D. after his name.

We do not mean that there is not a great deal to be written in favour of soup. Indeed, we are inclined to question whether the art of soup-making is sufficiently understood by the people of England. Large quantities of materials for soup are every day thrown away, from absolute ignorance of their value. The difficulty does not lie in deciding what will make soup, but what will not. It would be hard to say how many gallons of excellent soup—both palatable and nutritious—might be made every week out of the ingredients of our wash-tubs. Every householder, who, in his intelligent charity, has gone to the rescue, determined that his pigs shall not be fed before his neighbours, knows the value of these sweepings of his kitchen. There is an excellent

* In illustration of this truth, we may note, that Christopher North has somewhere said, that no man, knowing how to breakfast, will begin to drink his tea until he has nearly finished the solid portion of his meal. The fluids should be an after consideration.

little book called "Cottage Cookery," from which many valuable hints may be gathered. Soup-making for the poor is not popular in the kitchens of the rich. It gives trouble, and it diminishes perquisites. It requires some firmness and perseverance on the part of masters and mistresses to reduce it to a system; but once established it well repays all the trouble bestowed upon it. It is an immense boon to the poor. We were lately reading of a commentary made by a poor woman upon the death of the rector of an English parish, who had spent his life in doing good, and his substance in charity, and was greatly beloved for his kindness of heart. "You must miss Mr. —— very much," said a lady to one of her poor neighbours. "Yes, ma'am," was the answer, "we miss him very much *for his soup*." This was cited, but we think very unjustly, as an instance of the selfishness and ingratitude of the poor. The *soup* was, in the poor woman's mind, the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of the good man's charity. He was missed for his charity, (and what is any one missed for but his good qualities and their manifestations?) and of this charity the soup was the most appreciable token. Gratitude of this kind is acquired with no great difficulty. During a "hard winter," the refuse matter of our kitchens, now in too many cases utterly wasted, will gladden the hearts of thousands, reproduced in the shape of soup. Soup, indeed, properly manufactured, is a meal in itself, and an excellent one. But the rationale of this is very different from the dilution of our gastric juices with thin warm fluids at the commencement of a varied meal.

Soup naturally suggests wine, by a glass of which it is invariably followed. Round goes the butler with the proffered "Sherry or Madeira, Sir?" There are not many tables at which the old practice of taking wine with one another is preserved inviolate: but we honour the man who clings, in spite of modern conventionalities, to this good old custom, and asks his guests to take a glass of champagne or sherry with him, according to the capabilities of his cellar or his purse. We do not mean that the present system has not some advantages of its own. Assuming that the wine is carried round with sufficient briskness, (and under no other supposition is the system to be tolerated,) it insures to every guest a sufficiency of the stimulating fluid. It saves some trouble—occasionally, perhaps, some awkwardness and perplexity. It levels all invidious distinctions, and prevents any guest from thinking himself neglected. But these advantages are rather of a negative than a positive character. In the old custom there were many great uses and great privileges. An invitation to take wine has ere now turned a dinner-party, that threatened to be embarrassingly dull to a

little known guest, into cheerfulness and delight. Nothing sets a guest, in a strange house, more at his ease than such an invitation from the host, at an early period of dinner. It has, too, a further advantage;—it will sometimes happen that a man finds himself placed, or rather misplaced at dinner, beside an entire stranger—perhaps between two strangers. The quick eye of an experienced host will soon ascertain whether his guests are at their ease or not—whether conversation is passing freely at all parts of the table. Englishmen are proverbially reserved; and even if the majority of us were not slow to enter into conversation with men of whose names even we are ignorant, there is an awkwardness in such ignorance which may sometimes lead to embarrassing results. There are few men who have not in the course of their lives made some grievous mistakes in society, not by saying the wrong thing, but the right thing, perhaps, to the wrong person. Now, if the custom of taking wine one with another at dinner had no other advantage, it frequently enabled men to ascertain who were their neighbours, and thus conversation was promoted which otherwise would have drearily flagged. An experienced and kindly host would often adopt this means of indicating to a guest the name, and perhaps by some happy remark or suggestive question more than the name, of his immediate neighbour. Nor was the genial influence of this wine-taking confined to the relations subsisting between the host and his guests. It extended through all the varied relations of the latter. A glass of wine often became, what Mr. Dickens said of something much less palatable, a "conversational aperient." From great men to their inferiors the invitation was a mark of recognition—an act of kindly condescension, often greatly appreciated and sometimes requited by good service. Public men knew the use of this kind of tactics. It cost nothing; and often made friends and adherents without the smallest sacrifice of dignity or honour. There are always mean minds enough to be flattered and cajoled by such compliments. On such "Table Traits," however, it is not pleasant to dwell; and these last uses of wine-taking must be set down among its most doubtful advantages. Still, we can never bring ourselves to regard its desuetude without regret, so long as we can remember the smiling faces and overflowing *bon-hommie* of two or three hosts, whose names would be sufficient guarantee for any social observance, and whose kindliness and courtesy ever graced and illustrated the one of which we are now writing.

Among the "Materials for Dining," of which Dr. Doran so learnedly discourses, fish occupies a distinguished place. We wish that it could be made more generally to occupy a distinguished place at the tables of the people of England. The re-

sources of the ocean are inexhaustible, if we could only adequately develop them.* Except upon rare occasions, when the sea-board counties are deluged with sprats, fish is an expensive luxury in England, obtainable only by the few. In good condition, it is seldom or never cheaper than butcher's-meat.† The profits of the retail fishmongers are large—the extremely perishable character of the supplies seeming to justify, under the present system of distribution, the high prices which are put upon them. For the "dishes of fish," especially the large turbots which grace our London dinner-tables, astonishing sums are given. To secure a fine fish it is necessary to make application to the fishmonger in the early part of the day. Prices fall towards the dinner-hour; and we have known men expert in catering of this kind, who have made surprising bargains both in fish and game just at the critical hour when deterioration is about to commence, and the dealer recognises the wisdom of obtaining a small price rather than none. But it requires no small amount both of nerve and experience to venture on traffic of this kind; and it is only within the reach of idle men, with a natural taste for such recreation. We knew a clergyman of the Church of England with a surprising genius for bargains of this kind, who not only supplied his own table, but often enabled his friends to dine sumptuously at less than the cost of a leg of mutton.

It is to be regretted that so genial a writer as Dr. Doran, whilst treating of the subject of fish, has not devoted a page or two to white-bait dinners. They are the only institutions of the kind of which Englishmen have any reason to be proud. Unfortunately, however, they are of so local and accidental a character, that it is only under certain favouring circumstances that we can demonstrate to a foreigner the existence of this one green spot in the great desert of culinary insignificance. A white-bait dinner at Greenwich or Blackwall, is an oasis in the dreary life of an ill-fed Londoner; and for the credit of the nation, where opportunity offers, we should endeavour to make foreigners acquainted with that which alone, speaking gastronomically, redeems us from utter contempt. Opinions may differ about the white-bait itself, (which some irreverently liken to

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* In the Channel Islands the conger-eel is a common article of diet among the lower orders, and is not rejected by the higher. It is consumed in a variety of forms. It makes excellent and highly nutritious soup; and is very eatable, fried in slices. In Great Britain the conger is not a recognised article of diet; but we have heard that it supplies the "stock" of the greater portion of the turtle and other strong viscid soups consumed in London.

† Perhaps an exception should be made of those times when there is a general dread of cholera throughout the country. At such seasons fine salmon in good condition has found few purchasers at sevenpence a pound.

pancakes,) but we do not remember in the course of our experience to have heard a depreciatory verdict recorded against the *tout-ensemble* of the fish-dinners produced at Lovegrove's, the Trafalgar, or the Crown and Sceptre. Anglo-Indians speak with immense enthusiasm of the "mango-fish," which, like white-bait, enjoys a brief summer popularity, and is obtainable only in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. It is a small delicate fish, somewhat resembling the smelt, but with a large and delicious roe. During the season, no dinner-table in Calcutta, or the neighbourhood, is considered to be furnished without them; and they are eaten also at breakfast and luncheon. Many stories are told illustrative of the extreme affection with which they are regarded. Among others it is related that a certain Calcutta gourmand having been challenged to fight a duel, peremptorily declined to accept the invitation "till after the mango-season," when he would be entirely at the service of his opponent. He was willing to incur the risk of losing his life, but he could not think of losing his mango-fish.*

There is one general remark to be made on the subject of Meat,—that Englishmen consume it *au naturel* to an extent almost incredible to the people of some neighbouring countries. Whether the "solidity" so remarkable in war, and the stolidity so peculiar in peace, be the results of this excessive addiction to solid animal food, we can only conjecture. Certain, however, it is, that one of the most noticeable of our "table traits," is this excessive love for solid flesh in a state as near to that which it presents, before it is detached from the carcass, as is compatible with any cooking at all. We seem to rejoice in toughness for its own sake. It is not merely that the greater number of people refuse to cook their meat into a state of tenderness, but that they will not, on any account, allow it to become tender before it is cooked. The *pièce de résistance* is a national institution, and the resistance to mastication and digestion is generally complete. We esteem it a virtue to live upon "plain roast and boiled;" and believe that this simple fare is conducive to good health. And it might be, under certain conditions; the first of which is, that the meat should *hang* a sufficient time before it is cooked. There is nothing in our household economy so much neglected as this. We may venture to say, that in a large majority of establishments our meat appears at

* The fish are called Mangos after the fruit, being in season at the same time of year. The natives call them *Topsa.* Before quitting this subject of fish altogether, we would refer approvingly to a recently published volume, entitled "Prose Halieutics, or Ancient and Modern Fish-tattle." It is the work of the Rev. C. D. Badham, M.D.,—and is as full of instruction as it is provocative of amusement. It contains a very encyclopædia of fishy learning.

table on the very day on which it leaves the butcher's shop. There is, we believe, in the minds of many housewives an obscure idea, that this is good thrift. The larder is religiously kept empty; as though it were more wasteful to eat Monday's joint on Saturday, than to consume it almost quivering from the shambles. Samuel Johnson's famous description of the leg of mutton which he ate somewhere on the Oxford road—that it was ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, ill-dressed, and ill-served—is of general rather than particular application. A leg of mutton, not meriting the greater number of these epithets, is a rare exception to a general rule.

If we were to say that men sometimes hang themselves, because their cooks will not hang their mutton, we might be accused of sacrificing truth to an epigram. But it is not very far from truth. It is hard to say how often those horrible indigestions, to which Englishmen are so liable, and which sometimes drive their victims to the commission, and frequently to the contemplation of suicide, are inflicted upon them by the hard sinewy masses of teeth-defying meat, which they every day do not eat, but swallow. Such solid food as joints of meat, roast, and boiled, chops, and steaks, is probably, under certain conditions, nourishing—but the first condition is, that it should be digestible. Digestion is primarily necessary to nutrition. There may be more nourishment in an ounce of well-digested, than in a pound of ill-digested food. We may gorge beef-steaks by the pound, and not derive as much nourishment from them as from a smelt or an ortolan.

It is hard to say whether our national addiction to animal flesh *au naturel*, is the result of choice, or necessity. In all probability there is a mixture of both. There is a sort of sturdy prejudice in all this beef-eating, very characteristic of John Bull. He professes an unflinching hatred of "kickshaws," and is not satisfied if his fork will not stand upright in his dinner, as it would in a deal-table. He considers the stew-pan a vile cheat, and protests against having all the substance and succulence of his meat simmered away upon a slow fire. He hates all disguises, and vows that he likes to see what he is eating. But in the great majority of cases he cannot help himself. Amongst ourselves the science of Cookery is in the lowest possible state. Our cooks are mere scullions,—utterly without either genius or education. They are equal to little more than the dressing of a joint of meat, and that they do badly. Consider the Frenchman's triumphs over the natural difficulties of veal. There is a story, illustrative of this, which we had purposed to introduce in another place. We had noted it down with the intention of capping Dr. Doran's gastronomic anecdote, which he has en-

titled "A Dinner for Two." It is, emphatically, "a dinner for one;" but scarcely less to the point, as illustrating the capacities of a Frenchman's stomach, than as exhibiting the powers of the Frenchman's cuisine.

It is related that a French officer undertook for a wager to produce a soldier in his company who would eat a calf of a certain age. The bet was accepted. The soldier, without any reluctance, undertook to do his best, and the day and hour were fixed for the trial. The carcass of the calf was handed over to an artist, with instructions to do his best with it, but religiously to serve up the whole. At the appointed time it appeared on table in a variety of costumes, all more or less inviting. With a light heart and a lively countenance, the soldier addressed himself to his task. Dish after dish disappeared before him, as he commended their flavour and talked gaily of the affairs of the day. The commencement was a prosperous one, and delighted his backer. In this easy trifling manner, more than half the table was cleared, when, to the dismay of his captain, the soldier paused and laid down his knife and fork. It was a moment of terrible suspense. The opposite party who had been losing heart during these earlier operations, now began to glow with new hope. But the triumph was short-lived. "Mon Capitaine," said the soldier, with all imaginable vivacity, neither his voice nor his countenance indicating anything like repletion; "these *entremets* are really very seductive; but if I eat any more of them, I shall spoil my appetite for the calf." The result need not be declared. In England, the unfortunate man would have sat down to loins and fillets, and would either have broken down before these mountains of solid flesh, or died of an indigestion.

In the present state of the culinary art in England, the consumption of these unyielding masses of solid flesh is more or less a necessity; but the necessity would seem to have been induced by the choice, or rather the habits or the prejudices of Englishmen. For it is not to be denied, that we carry these habits or prejudices with us even to countries in which cookery is better understood. Every writer on the manners and customs of the English in India, tells the same unvarying story of the gigantic saddles and sirloins which are served up at the dinner-tables of our Indian Presidencies. And that, too, it must be remembered, in a climate fatal to the preservation of masses of meat, and in a country where the servants will not touch the food prepared for ourselves. As the Indian cooks are among the best in the world, this addiction to the solidities, even in the tropics, can only be accounted for by a reference to the constitutional prejudices of our countrymen. Go where we will, we yearn after the substantial, and carry our *atra cura* and *atra bilis* with us.

On the subject of Game and Poultry, much might be written, but we are necessitated to pass lightly over it. We are indebted to the feathered race, of all sorts and sizes, from the Turkey to the Ortolan,* for many inestimable articles of diet. An eminent experimentalist asserted, that he found mind and body both in the highest state of vigour when he had banqueted on roast goose. As a set-off to this it may be mentioned, that a painter of an enthusiastic temperament and a fervid genius informed us, that when employed on any great work to which he desired to devote all the energies of his mind, he lived, not upon roast goose, but on roasted apples. These may almost be regarded as the two extremes of diet—the one being as heating and stimulating as the other is mild and inactive. The inference to be drawn from the two "traits," is one corroborative of the old proverb that, "what is one man's meat is another man's poison." We should ourselves be very sorry to be condemned to write a book, or even an article on roasted apples. Of game generally it may be said, that it mingles largely the *utile* with the *dulce*. It is as wholesome as it is pleasant, as an occasional article of diet. Dr. Doran says truly, "It would be well for weak stomachs to remember that wild birds are more nutritious than their domesticated cousins, and more digestible. But the white breast or wing of a chicken is less heating than the flesh of winged game." Whether the latter can be eaten continually not as a relish, but as a meal, may perhaps be doubted. We know, at least, that a gentleman undertook for a wager to eat a woodcock and a sixpenny mince-pie for his dinner every day for a fortnight, and that he failed. This is one of those feats which, as Lord Lyndhurst said of newspaper-leader-writing, appear to be so uncommonly easy, until they are tried.

The mention of mince-pies brings us in due course to the subject of Pastry; but it is one into which we have no inclination to enter with any minuteness. We have never been able to sympathize with Mr. Disraeli's celebrated hero, Mr. Vivian Grey, who had, or pretended to have no better notion of a dinner than to declare, that he was well content to come in for "the guava and the liqueurs." At this stage, we hold that a man ought to have completed his meal. A woman or a boy

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* Ortolans are held in esteem, and deservedly, as the highest possible luxury in many countries, both in the East and in the West. Mr. Browning hardly exaggerates when in his beautiful dramatic poem of "Pippa Passes," he puts the following words into the mouth of an Italian girl :—

> "Do you pretend you ever tasted Lampreys
> Or Ortolans? Giovita of the palace,
> Engaged (but there's no trusting him) to slice me
> Polenta with a knife that has cut up
> An Ortolan."

may give in to the foolery of tarts. And, *à propos* of this, we may cite here one of Dr. Doran's anecdotes. It is a "table trait" which to us, at least, recommends itself by its novelty:—

"The lad's answer was as much food for mirth at *Sans-souci* as was that of the Eton boy who was invited by Queen Adelaide to dine at Windsor Castle, and who was honoured with a seat at her Majesty's side. The boy was bashful—the queen encouraging; and when the sweets were on the table, she kindly asked him what he would like to take. The Etonian's eyes glanced hurriedly and nervously from dish to dish, pointing to one of which he, in some agitation exclaimed, 'One of these twopenny tarts.' His lynx eye had recognised the favourite '*tuck*' he was in the habit of indulging in at *the* shop at Eton, and he asked for it according to the local phrase in fashion."

With all our faith in Dr. Doran, we are sorry to say that we do not believe this story. At all events, if true, it is marred in the telling. No Eton boy ever talks, or thinks about "tuck." There is no such word in the Etonian vocabulary. And there are so many "*sock*" shops in Eton and Windsor, and so many kinds of pastry devoured by Eton boys, that it is questionable whether he was likely to have identified, under the phrase mentioned, the pastry at the Castle with any particular article of school-boy consumption. Add to this, that there are few Eton boys who do not know better than to point at anything, or to commit themselves by the puerile gaucherie which Dr. Doran describes. If the boy was invited to the palace on account of his position in the school, say as captain at Montem, or any other time, he would have been too old to make such a blunder—if, on account of his connexions, he would have been too well-bred. There are not many Eton boys whose "young eyes" are not so familiarized during the holidays to the sight of all kinds of entrées, savoury or sweet, as to be sufficiently well able to describe them in other than "local phrase." The matter is of little consequence, any farther than that it is a pity *all* the anecdotes of so accurate a narrator as Dr. Doran should not bear dissection, and this certainly is at least apocryphal.

Ben Jonson, upon whose "Leges Conviviales," by the way, Dr. Doran might have founded a most amusing and instructive chapter, speaks in one of his epigrams, inviting a friend to supper, of "digestive cheese." And there is an old saying, to the effect, that it digests everything but itself. Toasted, in that formidable condition in which it is known by the name of a Welsh rabbit, or *rare bit*, it may defy the digestion of an ostrich, and is only recommendable when a man desires to dream Fuselian horrors. In its natural uncooked state, it is innocuous and perhaps "digestive." Scraped Parmesan at the end of dinner is

especially to be commended. Dr. Doran, we are pleased to observe, gives his verdict in favour of beer, which he declares to be favourable to digestion. The conjunction of cheese and malt liquor is one which comes naturally to Englishmen, but it was once anathematized by Brummel, whose climax of vulgar horrors closed with the celebrated words, "he ate cheese and malted." The general use, however, of "bitter ale," within the last few years, and its general recommendation by the Faculty, has somewhat familiarized the minds even of the most fastidious to this excellent beverage. That it has strong tonic properties is undeniable; and if in some cases chamomile or gentian be substituted for the hop, the fraud is a comparatively harmless one.* There was once a vulgar belief that the use of beer made men heavy and stolid. "Drink beer, think beer," became a proverb; but it is now well-nigh exploded. It is true that a man may muddle himself with beer, as he may with wine or spirits. But taken in moderation, it is cheering and invigorating; and if a man has got anything in him, it will not keep it from coming out.

It need scarcely be said that some considerable portion of Dr. Doran's "Table Traits" is appropriated to the subject of Wine and its consumers. There are many strange facts and racy anecdotes brought together in this part of the work. If there be one thing on which the present generation congratulates itself more than another, it is that gentlemen do not get drunk after dinner—or before it. Drinking, gaming, swearing, and that style of conversation which the elder Walpole declared he always talked after dinner, because everybody understood it, have all gone out together. We read now, with something of wonder, of Charles Fox and the Prince of Wales getting drunk *tête-à-tête* in St. James' Street, and of Pitt and Dundas riding home in the same happy state from Addiscombe, bilking the turnpikes, and being fired at for highwaymen. Imagine the effect of modernizing such "Table Traits" as these,—Lord Palmerston and Prince Albert intoxicating themselves *en petit comité*, or Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert riding frantically home to the terror of toll-keepers, after dining with Lord John Russell at Richmond. Sixty or seventy years ago, it was not supposed that a man made a worse Minister of State for going to bed night after night in a helpless state of intoxication. Whether he did or not, is a question which may be raised, but it is hardly worthy of consideration. We may have had great Statesmen in a profligate age, and small in a decorous one. But the great men

* Consumers of bitter beer were considerably alarmed a short time ago by a report, that strychnine was extensively used in its preparation, but it was shewn to be a mere fable.

would have been greater, and the small smaller, if the case had been reversed. There is nothing sadder in the study of all history than the thought of what Charles Fox might have been, and what he might have done in a less corrupt state of society.

Scarcely less noticeable than the "traits" of inebriate Statesmen to which Dr. Doran alludes, are his references to the vicious excesses of authors. Whether in this direction the social improvement is as marked as in the other, may possibly be disputed. One thing, however, in connexion with this matter may, we think, be asserted without any misgivings. Authors do not in these days write to one another about the quantity of wine which they drink. They are generally silent on the subject of their potations. Less than a century ago there was, as it were, a bacchanalian stamp upon the literature and conversation of the age. Men were continually talking and writing in some manner or other about wine, and measuring each other according to the standard of their capacity of absorption. Now an evil notoriety only is to be gained by an accomplishment of which our grandfathers were extravagantly proud. The ambition to be described as a "four-bottle man," is, it may be presumed, utterly extinct.

It has been said that if, in these days, we drink less wine after dinner, we drink considerably more *at* it. Even admitting this, the gross consumption per head, at an ordinary dinner-party, is now comparatively small. No gentleman, on rising from his seat at the dinner-table, is in an unfit state to "join the ladies" in the drawing-room. Half a century ago the man who, after dinner, *was* fit to "join the ladies," was a noticeable exception —a white swan among the black. The after-dinner sederunts of these days are growing shorter and shorter. At the present rate of abridgment coffee will soon be brought in before the cloth is removed;* but the encroachments of the drawing-room upon the dining-room may be carried a little too far. Many an interesting conversation which may never be renewed, is broken in upon by the rising of the host. In London, and in some large provincial towns, it is a common thing to combine with a dinner entertainment a small evening party. The advantages of this arrangement to the entertainers are obvious. The saving of money and trouble is great,—the same lighting up of the house,—the same hiring of extra waiters, and to a considerable extent, the same viands, will serve for both occasions. The convenience and economy of the thing are not to be doubted; but

* This must be taken rather figuratively than literally—for in these days it is the fashion not to remove the cloth—a loss, certainly, in those good old houses where the well-polished mahogany, on the removal of the damask, flashed back our faces, like a mirror, to the pride and delight of the butler and his master.

the advantages to the entertained are questionable. The dinner-guest finds himself surprised into a rout, and is detained an hour or two longer than he expected; and the "few friends" who are invited to the evening party are offended because they were not asked to dinner.

To those who eschew breakfast parties, and all who cannot afford to be kept from their business till the afternoon must eschew them, the after-dinner sitting is the only opportunity afforded for social converse. There is less of this sort of thing allowed to us every year. At public entertainments, at which men only are the guests, the time is occupied with speech-making. Dr. Doran tells us that Lord Nelson was only afraid once in his life, and that was when he was invited to dine with the Lord Mayor. We know more than one brave man whom the necessity of this after-dinner speech-making keeps in a continual state of disquiet throughout the whole of the preceding entertainment. Except on really great occasions, when there is something more than the formality of stock-toasts, the continual cry of "Silence, gentlemen—chair," is a nuisance and an aggravation. We soon weary of being told that the Queen is the best of Queens—the Prince-Consort the best of Prince-Consorts—the Army and Navy the bravest of Armies and Navies—the Clergy the most immaculate Clergy—the Judges the wisest and justest of Judges—and her Majesty's Ministers, whether Whig or Tory, the best Ministers that ever ruled the State. This evil of much speech-making has increased and is increasing; and sometimes even breaks out on occasions sufficiently private to be left to the insignificance of ordinary after-dinner talk. Many dinners which would otherwise be very pleasant, are spoilt by this oratorical fever. Good talkers are often bad speakers. The art of thinking aloud on one's legs is so rarely acquired in such a manner as to give pleasure to one's hearers, that except upon really great public occasions, it would be well for us to keep our seats.

It is time, that we should pass on to Dr. Doran's second volume, but before leaving altogether the "Table Traits," which have detained us so long, we must thank the author for his chapter on "Strange Banquets," which contains many interesting illustrations. Among others, is a spirited translation of Uhland's poem of the Castellan de Coucy, based upon the old legend of the jealous knight, who served up to his unsuspicious wife a dish composed of her lover's heart. As Dr. Doran says, the story is "extant, and written in very choice Italian," by the at once seductive and repulsive Boccaccio. "It is," he adds, "one of the least filthy of a set of stories, told with a beauty of style, a choice of language, a lightness, and a grace, which make

you forget the matter, and risk your morals for the sake of improving your Italian. In Boccaccio's narrative, the lady is of course very guilty, and the husband also of course murders the lover in as brutal and unknightly a fashion as can well be imagined. Nothing else could be expected from that unequalled story-teller, (unequalled as much for the charm of his manner as for the general uncleanness of his details,) who but seldom has a good word to say for woman, or an honest testimony to give of man." Unhappily this is just criticism in the main; but how happens it that Dr. Doran's well-stored memory here plays the traitor in so signal and disappointing a manner? In this chapter on "Strange Banquets," reference, as we have seen, being made to the Decameron, we expected to come upon that story of the knight who, with beautiful chivalry and devotion, served up to the lady of his love, that which next to her he most cherished in the world—the trusty falcon which had so long been the one companion of his poverty. This was surely a "strange banquet," and the story is one in which Boccaccio had "a good word to say for woman and an honest testimony to give of man." It refutes the doctor's assertion, that "human nature presented nothing beautiful or estimable to him." The story is a favourite with our English poets, who have versified it again and again—loving it on account of the beautiful and the estimable which flush it with the mellow light of the tenderest romance, and almost atone for the dark shadows of the other stories. Barry Cornwall, Leigh Hunt, and, among our younger poets, Coventry Patmore, have found matter for good verse in it; but in none of their versions is the story so effective as in the simple narrative of the Italian.

In subsequent editions of Dr. Doran's book this "strange banquet" might be considered not unworthy of mention by the erudite author. It might further be remarked of this story, as of the less-pleasing "table trait" of the lady who ate her lover's heart, that "there are few nations whose story-tellers do not celebrate it" in some shape or other—the same, perhaps, "with a difference." Like the majority of good stories which have furnished themes to the poets and dramatists of the West, it seems originally to have come out of the legendary East. It is probably of Arabian origin. At all events, it was related to Captain Abbott, when on his famous journey to Khiva, in this wise: Dr. Doran may thank us for the reference:—

"Hautim was an Arab chief, in the days of Nowshirwaun. He possessed a horse, marvellous for its beauty and speed, the wonder and pride of Arabia. The king, who had heard of this horse, sent a nobleman of his court to purchase it. The emissary arrived at Hautim's tent, when every item of household stores, his camels, sheep,

goats, and even horses, had been consumed in hospitality. The beautiful Arab horse alone remained. Hautim's heart bled for his steed, as, without hesitation, he slew him to feed his guest. The next day the emissary opened his mission, by stating that he was sent by the king to purchase, at any price, Hautim's steed. 'I deeply regret,' answered Hautim, 'that you did not at once intimate your purpose; you ate the flesh of my horse last night. It was the last animal left me, and my guest had a right to it.'"

The rest of the story is worth telling;—but this is sufficient for our purpose. It is a "table trait" worth noticing under the head of "Strange Banquets."

We should lay aside Dr. Doran's first work with regret, if its successor were not on the table before us. The volume denominated "Habits and Men" contains as much pleasant gossip on the subject of Clothing, as "Table Traits" on the subject of Food. It is written in the same genial strain, and indicates an equal measure of varied erudition; but it may perhaps be questioned whether the theme is so generally popular. The doubt, however, requires some qualification. It is certain that men think more about their diet than their dress. But the latter subject is more attractive to that sex which, if it does not care more about dress, may be fairly assumed to care less about diet.

To the present generation, indeed, of Englishmen, dress is a mere matter of course. It is a necessity to be clothed; but to a large number of "men," the nature and description of their "habits" is a matter of sovereign indifference. The indispensable condition of not being conspicuous once fulfilled, all the rest may be left to chance or one's tailor. Few men, in these days, are known or are describable by their costume. Dress is the greatest leveller of the age. Between my Lord and his Butler—between the Cabinet Minister and one of the junior clerks in his office, there is no other difference, than that the latter are, in all probability, sprucer and better brushed than their masters. In the morning we bundle ourselves into our clothes in a sleepy mechanical manner; and in the evening we change them with no greater bestowal of serious thought upon the occupation. They who "give their minds" to a waistcoat or a neck-tie are deemed fit subjects for the satirical pencil of Mr. Leech or Mr. Doyle. It is now, indeed, considered almost a disgrace to a man to spend much time or much thought upon the adornment of his person. What it has now become the fashion to call "a swell" is sneered at by men, and held in no great estimation by women.

As long as a man is externally distinguished by anything like a *made-up* appearance—as long as there is any trace of art or study, any symptom of consciousness about him—he is altogether in the wrong. The characteristic of modern refinement is ease. In this respect we have gained in one direction if we have lost in another. Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers made themselves up to attract and to fascinate, spent hours at their toilets, and were turned out at last elaborate fine gentlemen, stately and starched. Now-a-days, the wherewithal we shall be clothed enters little into our calculations. No man of sense now ever thinks of dressing at a woman. Let him do what he may, he can not beat in mere costume the unliveried waiters who stand behind his chair at dinner. Mr. Dickens shows a keen appreciation of the distinctive characteristics of the fine gentleman of the present as contrasted with him of the last century, when he sketches in his recent story of "Hard Times," the "Easy Swell," Mr. James Harthouse. "He don't," says young Gradgrind, "seem to care about his dress, and yet how capitally he does it. What an easy swell he is!" Hang up beside this the portrait of Mr. Chester in "Barnaby Rudge," and the contrast is complete.

That in one respect at least the gain to the present generation is considerable we have incidentally admitted. But the picturesqueness of our manly costume is gone, and seemingly for ever. In these days a coat is a coat, and a prince of the blood cannot get a better one than his valet. There are no longer any social gradations in this matter of costume—no longer any room either for display of taste or prodigality of expenditure. We have by degrees fallen into a style of dress so inornate and so uncostly, that it is attainable by men of all classes above the very poor. The distinction between gentle and simple is to be looked for in carriage, in mien, in gesture—in a word, what Mr. Turveydrop, senior, called generally "deportment," and which is as distinctive and unmistakable as is the difference between velvet and sackcloth. There may, we repeat, be advantages in all this. The costume of the present day is not provocative of foppery or extravagance—it encourages neither a waste of time nor a waste of money; and so far it fulfils two important conditions. But a question will suggest itself as to whether it might not fulfil these and other important conditions, and yet be less unpicturesque and unbecoming than it is.

"Since the beginning of the present century," says Dr. Doran, "the laws of fashion have been stringent; those of taste ever execrable. Taste, in its true sense, and as applied to costume, has never of late been—

> 'The admiration
> Of this short-coated population—
> This sewed-up race, this buttoned nation—
> Who, while they boast their laws so free,
> Leave not one limb at liberty;
> But live, with all their lordly speeches,
> The slaves of buttons and tight breeches.'

Even George the Fourth, and his favourites, could not bless or curse the nation with a taste for dress." George the Fourth, the "first gentleman in Europe," who is said to have caused the wrinkles to be snipped out of his royal inexpressible and fine-drawn, whilst on his august person—a process which, but for certain painful considerations, he would gladly have had performed on his face—encouraged that tightness of apparel from which we are now gradually emancipating ourselves. Lord Petersham, whose pantaloons the wits of the day compared to the two French towns *Toulon* and *Toulouse*, endeavoured to set a fashion of a different kind; but looseness of apparel was then considered extravagant and ridiculous, and his commodious garments only raised a laugh at his expense. In this respect, however, we have greatly advanced. A gentleman is not now-a-days compelled to ring for a servant to pick up his pocket handkerchief. The curse of buttons, however, still sits heavily upon us. Within the last few years we have to a great extent rid ourselves of straps at one end of our trowsers, but we are still strapped at the other; and we are buttoned in all directions from our heads to our heels—from our shirt-collars down to our shoes. We are emphatically, indeed, "a buttoned nation." If to be "close-buttoned to the chin" be a characteristic of an "honest man," we are certainly the honestest people in the world.

The connexion of Buttons and Honesty is not very apparent; but they are brought into curious antagonism in the following passage, which we cite from Dr. Doran's book. We suspect that the information which it contains, will be new to a great number of our readers.

"Touching buttons, I may observe that there is a curious law extant with regard to them. It is by Acts of Parliament passed in three reigns—William III., Anne, and George I.—perfectly illegal for tailors to make, or mortal man to wear, clothes with any other buttons appended thereto, but buttons of brass. This law is in force for the benefit of the Birmingham makers; and it further enacts not only that he who makes or sells garments with any other than brass buttons thereto affixed, shall pay a penalty of forty shillings for every dozen, but that he shall not be able to recover the price he claims, if the wearer thinks proper to resist payment. Nor is the act a dead letter.

It is not many weeks since that honest Mr. Shirley sued plain Mr. King for nine pounds sterling, due for a suit of clothes. King pleaded non-liability on the ground of an illegal transaction, the buttons on the garment supplied being made of cloth, or bone covered with cloth, instead of gay and glittering brass, as the law directs. The judge allowed the plea; and the defendant having thus gained a double suit without cost, immediately proceeded against the defendant to recover his share of the forty shillings for every dozen buttons which the poor tailor had unwittingly supplied. A remarkable feature in this case was, that the judge who admitted the plea, the barrister who set it up, and the client who profited by it, were themselves all buttoned contrary to law."

We wish that Dr. Doran had mentioned the Court in which, and the judge before whom, this curious case was tried—a case in which, as our author insinuates, the plaintiff gained his suit in more senses than one, and of which it might be further observed, that he had so much natural brass about him, that he did not need any on his coat.

We do not know whether it was, in any wise, in connexion with this subject of buttons, that Sir Harry Smith, at the Cape of Good Hope, conceived the idea of weaning the Kaffir chiefs from the predatory habits, which had occasioned and were occasioning so much border-warfare, by encouraging them to indue tail-coats. But he unquestionably regarded broad cloth as a powerful agent of civilisation, and, in order to give it full effect, proclaimed that he would receive at the durbars, or levees, which he held on the frontier, only those savages who appeared decently attired in tail-coats. The result we are assured was curious. Cape Town and Graham's Town were largely indented upon for these symbols of civilized life; and the warriors of South Africa might have been seen scrambling to and from the camp of the English chief with their naked bodies thrust into swallow-tailed coats, and their naked limbs dangling down beneath the produce of the European slop-shop.

In the East, however, it is not the tail-coat, but the round hat that is regarded as the emblem of Christian civilisation. A topi-wallah or hat-wearer is only another name for a Christian. Dr. Doran asks his readers if they know why beaver was originally the favourite material for a hat. And, anticipating their ignorance, he answers that "Dr. Marcus was told by a Jew physician of Ulm, that by wearing a cap of beaver's fur, anointing the head once a month with oil of castor, and taking two or three ounces of it in a year, a man's memory may be so strengthened that he will remember everything that he reads." "I would eschew," adds the Doctor, "French velvet, and stick to beaver, if I thought that." Whether he would be equally

willing to take the required quantity of castor oil internally, he does not think it necessary to indicate.

The subject of *Hats* is a melancholy one. Dr. Doran says, with exceeding truth, that "the ugliest article that ever could be devised for the purpose, seems to be planted upon our unwilling brows for ever."—The ugliest—the most inconvenient—and the most uncomfortable. We do not know one single appreciable condition which the Englishman's round hat fulfils. And yet from the constancy with which it is maintained from year's end to year's end, it might be presumed that we had discovered the great τὸ καλὸν in this class of apparel, and that the art of man could not possibly improve it. Everybody complains of it—but everybody wears it. In spite of the universal acknowledgment that the hard ungainly cylinder, with which we afflict ourselves, is, in every sense, an abomination, we have not the courage to adopt anything more pleasant to wear, and more comely to look upon. At the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, one or two London hatters, encouraged by the notion that the congeries of all nations, which it was believed would be huddled together in the metropolis during that remarkable summer, would present a motley variety of costumes; and that, therefore, any departure from the conventional style of dress would be less noticeable than at other times, took advantage of the occasion, and endeavoured to introduce a new and improved form of manly head-gear. Many varieties of hats figured in the shop-windows. There were lowerings of the crown, and widenings of the brim; and, here and there, a suggestion of feathers. The idea of feathers was of course preposterous, being utterly out of keeping with stand-up collars, stiff neckcloths, tail-coats, and long trowsers; but there were other more moderate innovations not unworthy of general recognition. The attempted reform was a laudable one; but it failed. Whilst the metropolis was full of strangers, a small number of these improved beavers were sold, and one or two sanguine tradesmen began to think that an improved hat, presenting fewer of the features of the old chimney-pot, would really come to be adopted. But the Exhibition was closed; the men of "All Nations" dispersed; and the adventurous gentlemen, who had donned the new-style hats, lost heart, and fell back upon the old conventionality.

It would be wrong, however, to say that of late years the hat-movement has been entirely resultless. The extensive use of those light, limp, low-crowned, broad-brimmed head-pieces, known as "wide-awakes," is an indication of the good sense of the people. They are very comfortable, very cheap, and very becoming. At the sea-side, in rural districts, in the railway-carriage, on the steamboat, they are worn without reserve or

compunction. There are few men, be their status or their dignity what it may, who have not invested half-a-crown in a wide-awake. But the good sense of the people seems to stop short of the towns. The wide-awake is as yet only regarded as a type of semi-civilisation. It is still an eccentricity—an excess; a thing rather tolerated than accepted, and therefore of limited social application. We shall rejoice when it surmounts all prejudice, and silences all misgivings. Perhaps that good time coming is not very remote.

From hats, by a natural and easy transition, we pass on to the consideration of wigs; and thence to beards, and their wearers. In illustration of this last subject, he tells us that the Dutch philosophers confidently assert that Adam was created without a beard, but that this mark of the beast was inflicted on him when he fell from his high estate. "Van Helmont," he adds, "in support of this theory, asks us if we ever saw a good angel with a beard." This we might readily answer by asking him, if he ever saw a good angel without one. Southey, however, as quoted by Dr. Doran, refers, in like spirit, to painted angels, saying, "Take the most beautiful angel that ever painter designed or engraver copied, put on him a beard, and the celestial character will be so entirely destroyed, that the simple appendage of a tail will cacademonize the Eudæmon." That angels are painted without beards is true. Otway explains this pleasantly enough, when he says, apostrophizing woman,—

"Angels are painted fair to look like you."

That they were painted beardless is a necessary corollary. It is not quite so obvious that the beard is incompatible with the maintenance of the celestial character. The Saviour is commonly painted with a beard. That which purports to be an authentic portrait of the Incarnate Godhead is rendered with a long flowing beard. We know, indeed, on the best authority, that he wore one. What then becomes of Van Helmont's assertion, that men who wear beards are guilty of profanity? His conclusions, indeed, are directly at variance with his premises; for if the beard was inflicted on Adam as a punishment, it is surely the duty of his sons to bear it. If there be any profanity it is in shaving, which, in this view of the case, must be "flying in the face of providence." Dr. Doran, however, questions the premises, saying, "If this be fact, one may wonder why Eve and her daughters generally escaped this badge of opprobrium." Why? because they have a badge of their own, of which badge the daily misery of the razor has been declared to be the proper masculine equivalent:—

"Condemned to child-birth, as men for their sins
Have shaving, too, entailed upon their chins."

The extent to which hair may be decorously worn upon the face has recently furnished much food for exciting discussion; and the argument has taken a decidedly practical turn. In other words, there has been what is called a "movement," and beards and moustaches have appeared largely where they had never appeared before. We cannot help thinking, on a review of all that is commonly said on both sides of the question, that the advocates of the razor have the worst of the argument. *Long* beards are, we admit, entirely out of harmony with our present style of dress. They cannot co-exist with stiff neckcloths. But the unsparing use of the razor is unnecessary, inconvenient, often painful. It causes a large expenditure of time and of patience. It is distressing to see the gashes which appear on the faces of elderly gentlemen who are their own barbers. The modern style of clean-shaving cannot be conducive to health. On the other hand, there are many conditions in which the retention of the moustache and beard would (demonstrably) promote health and prolong life. Both have, and doubtless were intended to have, a protective power, and were given to us (for wise uses) to be worn. Indeed, it is above all things difficult to believe that all this hair, which, at a certain period of life, grows about our faces, was designed by the Almighty only to be cut off, by a process of an afflictive kind. *Cæteris paribus,* the loss of time would decide the question against the razor;—but it is seasonable that we should now quit the theme of masculine adornment, and turn to the more important division of this branch of our subject.

A French author has recently written a book on "The Duty of a Pretty Woman to look pretty." Such a work, doubtless, has its uses; but it is of limited application. We should have rejoiced in a title of more extended significance, with contents corresponding to the title. The subject should have been, in effect—word it as you may—The Duty of every Woman to look as pretty as she can. Some women are unfortunately not pretty; but there are few women who cannot impart something of comeliness even to an ill-favoured face and a misshapen figure, if they will only take the trouble.

We speak very gravely when we say that there are few relations in life, or rather that there are few relationless conditions, in which this is not a duty. That cleanliness is a virtue is seldom denied. Dr. Doran tells us of a saintess who lustrated her internal self so effectually that she had no need to resort to any external ablutions. But although cleanliness be not before

godliness, we have good authority for believing that it is next to it. It is not, however, to mere personal cleanliness that we now allude. A pretty woman, doubtless, looks prettier when clean, and an ugly one uglier when dirty. And there are duties beyond personal cleanliness. Neatness, tidiness, follows close upon it But something more may still be needed; and this something more, clearly seen and properly described—cut down the middle, as it were, like a pomegranate—is the least possible spice of coquetry.

We have all heard that "Beauty unadorned is adorned the most;" but like many popular sayings, in prose and verse, which have attained proverbial currency, it is only partially true. A yew-tree is, doubtless, a more beautiful object, left to its natural exuberance, than when cut into the shape of a peacock; and a box-hedge gains no real improvement from the shears. A forest is more beautiful than a gentleman's park; and there is nothing even at Chatsworth to compare with a country-lane, moss-banked and studded with wild-flowers. But the rule seldom holds good in its application to human beauty. We do not write theoretically, but experimentally—or, it may be, conventionally on the subject—as civilized Englishmen, in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is not our province to analyze the sources of the beautiful. We are not pleased or disturbed by things themselves, but by the ideas we entertain of those things—*οὐ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρι τῶν πραγμάτων δόγματα*—and we have come to entertain an idea that, in civilized Europe, women should be well-dressed. We are all, indeed, converts to Mr. Philosopher Square's celebrated doctrine of "the fitness of things." It seems fitting to us that a statue should be little draped or not at all.* We are contented that a Hindoo woman should wrap a sheet about her body, and throw the ends of it over her head. We think that she would be spoilt by stays and a bonnet. But stays and bonnets become white women; and the most beautiful woman almost ceases to be beautiful, if she be badly dressed.

And the converse of this is generally true. A well-dressed woman, however little she may be favoured by nature, ceases to be plain. It is difficult, indeed, to limit the extent to which a woman, by due attention to dress, may improve her natural attractions, or obviate the disadvantages with which she was

* And it is not fitting that a statue should look like life. A figure carved in white marble is more beautiful, according to our notions, than one of equal symmetry, moulded in wax. Tinted marble, in which we read that an experiment has recently been made, under very respectable auspices, is not likely to enchant the world. There are things, or ideas of things, proper to statuary; and others proper to real life.

born. And that it is her duty to do this, whether she be well or ill-favoured, is something more than a maxim of mere worldliness. To endeavour to the utmost to please those with whom we live is unquestionably a duty. Such habitual efforts to please constitute benevolence, and not of the lowest order. If we do not love—and that of which we are now speaking is the practical expression of love—those who are nearest to us, those whom we see every day, how shall we love, how shall we seek to please Him whom we have never seen?

Benevolence of this, as of every other kind, may run into excess. Our vices tread closely on the heels of our virtues. Indeed there are few vices which are not virtues in excess. It is no argument against the practice of any domestic or social amenity that it is liable to abuse. We admit at once, in the present instance, that it is only good in moderation. Over-dressing in any sense —whether with reference to an undue amount of time or of money expended upon it—is so obviously wrong, that it is mere waste of time to enunciate the commonplace. We need not to be told that dress is a snare. It has lured women ere now to destruction. But many a household wreck has been occasioned by the rocks which lie out in the opposite direction. Many a home has been made miserable—many a domestic tie has been broken by an habitual disregard of "trifles." We use the word of common acceptance with people who are pleased to take what they call high ground, and to walk with their heads *in nubibus*, crushing earth's fairest flowers under foot. But it is hard to say what, in the daily and hourly intercourse of domestic life, *is* a trifle. The proverb—one of the best and truest ever coined—which sayeth, "Take care of your pence and your pounds will take care of themselves," has an application beyond the regions of finance. Take care of these "trifles," these pence, these minute fragments of domestic charity, and the great sum-total of love and happiness will take care of itself.

There are women, severely virtuous, who argue that the love, which is in any way dependent upon such accidents as the handiwork of the dressmaker, the milliner, and the shoemaker, is of very little worth. They know that there are better things than dress, and qualities more estimable than skill in attiring and adorning one's self. They are conscious of being virtuous wives, excellent mothers, good economists—perhaps, pious sisters and charitable neighbours. And they argue, that these are the essentials for which they ought to be appreciated by their husbands. It may appear very shocking to say so, but we *do* say, that the woman who takes this "high ground" is lost. Her domestic happiness is sure to be wrecked. A man is not necessarily a trifler who thinks that his wife's virtues are none the

worse for a setting of comely apparel. The greatest of our philosophic poets speaks of "delight in little things" with feelings the very reverse of contempt. We cannot be always on the stilts. Men are of a mixed nature. They are not all good or all bad, all great or all little. It does not follow that they are incapable of lofty aspirations, because they have appetences and inclinations to which austere virtue may apply another epithet.

We may, perhaps, be accused of taking a very low view of domestic obligations and matrimonial duties, when we say that it is one of a wife's first duties to appear attractive in the eyes of her husband. But rightly considered, this obligation lies at the very root of the connubial contract. We believe that we underrate the case when we say that—setting apart those unhappy connexions which are formed from mere mercenary motives—in nine instances out of ten a man chooses a wife on account of something that is, in his estimation, or that at the time of choosing he fancies to be, personally attractive in the object of his choice. It may not be apparent to others, but it pleases *him*. He marries, indeed, for the sake of the "domus et *placens* uxor." He does not take a woman to his hearth because she is a philosopher, or an arithmetician, but because, in homely language, there is "something nice about her." It was, doubtless, the design of the Almighty in giving man a helpmate, that she should satisfy his natural craving after the beautiful, the graceful, and the gentle. For this was woman formed—

> "For softness she and sweet attractive grace."

The woman who forgets this ignores one of the great objects of her creation. The wife who forgets this violates one of the primal conditions of the connubial contract.

That some women are naturally more beautiful and graceful than others, is a fact which makes not against, but for our argument. Dress is common to all. It is a consolation to those not naturally gifted, that there is a point at which nature yields to art, and the work of men's hands is potent to supply the adornment not vouchsafed by Providence. It is surprising what a very little way mere personal beauty goes. Without precisely adopting the views of the Sybarite Italian in Dean Milman's tragedy, who thus enunciated his allegiance to the divinity of dress,—

> ———"I'm not one of the gallants
> That pine for a fair lip, or eye, or cheek,
> Or that poetical treasure, a true heart.
> But, my lord, a fair-ordered head-dress makes me
> As love-sick as a dove at mating-time:
> A tasteful slipper is my soul's delight:

Oh! I adore a robe that drops and floats
As it were lighter than the air around it;
I doat upon a stomacher to distraction,
When the gay jewels, tastefully disposed,
Make it a zone of stars; and then a fan,
The elegant motion of a fan is murder,
Positive murder, to my poor weak senses:"*

—without, we say, precisely going to such a length as this, we may confidently appeal to the experience of men of the world in support of the assertion, that the efforts of art are often more pleasing and attractive than the gifts of nature—in other words, that well dressed women are more admired than merely beautiful ones. Accident is beaten by effort in the great Olympics of Society.

It may be argued that taste in dress is scarcely less a natural gift than personal beauty. And to some extent, at least, the fact must be admitted. One woman has naturally an eye for colour and form, whilst another has neither the one nor the other. But there are few women who have not, or can not acquire, a sufficient knowledge of the becoming in costume for all domestic purposes. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the plea of incompetency is ever set up. The real secret of inattention to dress is carelessness—indifference—idleness. "It is not worth the trouble." Women do not always consider that what it is worth their while to gain, it is worth their while to keep. It is no uncommon thing for women to become slatternly *after* marriage. They say that they have other things to attend to, and dress is habitually neglected—except perhaps, on great occasions, when there is a display of finery and bad taste abroad, to be followed by greater negligence at home. Great respect is shown to what is called "*company*;" but apart from this there is a sort of *cui bono* abandonment, and the compliment which is paid to strangers is withheld from those who have best right to claim, and are most likely to appreciate it. This is a fatal, but too common error. When a woman, with reference to the question of personal adornment, begins to say to herself, "It is only my husband," she must prepare herself for consequences which, perhaps, she may rue to the latest day of her life.

The effect, indeed, of attention or inattention to Dress—and we include in the one little word whatever contributes to personal comeliness and attractiveness—upon the domestic happiness, especially of the lower and middle classes, cannot easily be overstated. The *placens uxor*, as we have said, is no small part of the totality of home. If a man finds that he has not

* Fazio, Act II. Scene I.

secured what he believed he had married, he has a right to feel disappointed. We do not say that he has a right to retaliate. The obligations of the connubial contract are not conditional but absolute. Negligence on the one side does not excuse negligence on the other; but it will very surely induce it. When there is nothing attractive at home, a man, however inexcusable such conduct may be, will seek it abroad, whether at the ale-house, the club, the theatre, the gaming-table, or only in what is commonly called "society." We do not mean to say that dress alone is the agency by which the erratic propensities of husbands are to be restrained, but that it is a highly important part of it. Indeed, it may be asserted that the absence of attention to this matter pre-supposes the absence of almost all other gentle, kindly, and attractive qualities. The woman who will not take the trouble to render herself personally attractive in her husband's eyes, has in all probability little or no desire to please him by any means. It may be said that there are some men who do not care for these things. There may be some, but there are very few so indifferent; and of these few it may be said, that they are not fit to have wives at all.

We are not unconscious that the didactic sobriety of these remarks is somewhat foreign to the lively, anecdotical character of Dr. Doran's book. And, indeed, we had intended to speak, only in an incidental sentence, of the moral importance of the subject. We must return now to the light details of which these amusing volumes are composed.

In the first page of "Habits and Men," the author puts forth a cautionary sentence, informing the reader, that "when he says 'Men,' he would imply *Man* in its general sense—a sense in which 'Woman' has the better and more perfect half."—But although she may have the better and more perfect half of the generality *Man*, she has not the better and more perfect half of Dr. Doran's book. Indeed, what appears to us somewhat more than a due share of the volume is devoted to the habiliments of man in the especial masculine sense of the word; to such manly appendages as swords and beards; and to sketches of noted beaux and illustrious tailors. We should have liked a little more of the feminine stamp upon these pleasant pages. We have, for example, a capital chapter on Hats, we should have welcomed one also on Bonnets, especially if the doctor had availed himself of the opportunity to censure the recent preposterous fashion of wearing these head-coverings at the back of the neck. What if men were to pin their hats on to the collars of their coats? That excellent humorist Mr. Leech, who catches folly as it flies with unerring aim, does not exaggerate greatly, when he sketches a tall footman holding a lady's bonnet pompously in his

hands, whilst she carries her head a little way before it. The protective uses of the bonnet are thus almost disregarded. Although the present style in which the hair is worn is auxiliary to this fashion, we do not apprehend that it will be of very long continuance. If we did, we should tremble for the complexions of our women. The parasol is an insufficient substitute in any weather; in some weathers it is no substitute at all. In connexion with this, it may be observed that the complexions of English women of the humbler classes are superior to those of women of the same station in France, owing to the simple fact of the latter going so much into the open air with no other head-covering than a cap. Very pretty and piquant these light head-gears are; and their wearers look marvellously well at a little distance. But great often is the disappointment on a nearer approach, when it is seen how sun and wind have done their unerring work—the best complexions being unfortunately those which are most readily destroyed by such exposure.

It is the tendency of all fashion to run into extremes. It is not strange, therefore, that coincidental with this practice of wearing the bonnet at the back of the neck, broad-brimmed hats have come into vogue for summer and autumn wearing in the country and at the sea-side. There is nothing more rational than this. These broad-brimmed hats are pleasant to wear and pleasant to look upon; and if they are sometimes worn by those who can lay no claim to juvenility, we may readily pardon the offence for the sake of the many pretty young faces, which look still prettier under them—or hand over the delinquents to no sterner executioner than our genial friend John Leech.

Among the subjects prominently treated in that excellent humorist's collection of "Sketches of English Character"—the choicest cream of *Punch*—lately published as a Christmas book, (and what could be more welcome?) is the now traditionary freak of Bloomerism. Dr. Doran incidentally, with reference to other matters, shows that something akin to this fancy flourished nearly two hundred years ago. In the chapter on Wigs and their Wearers, Mr. Pepys is quoted, to shew that women in his time aped the costume of men. Writing in June 1666, the journalist says, "walking in the galleries of Whitehall, I find the ladies of honour dressed in their riding-habits, with coats and doublets, with deep shirts, just for all the world like mine; and buttoned their doublets up their breasts, with periwigs and hats. So that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, no one could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and one that did not please me." Bloomerism, however, repudiates the "long petticoats, dragging," doubtless, in the mud. This, indeed, is the strong point

of the system; and goes far to redeem it from contempt. There may be worse things even than Bloomerism. There was, to our thinking, a substratum of good sense at the bottom of the scheme; and we were really heretical enough to hope that it might, in a modified shape, make some progress amongst us.

We hoped, at all events, that the exhibition of one extreme would rouse us to a sense of the folly of another. We might abridge the robes of our ladies without cutting them off at the knees. The garments of our women are on the whole graceful and becoming; but they are certainly unfavourable to the free use of the limbs. The length of the gown, as now worn, was surely never intended to promote pedestrian exercise. It is inconvenient and often unseemly. Even the plea of modesty fails; for women are compelled to hold up their gowns, and do so often with a liberality of exposure, which would be quite unnecessary if the dressmaker cut them a little shorter. But it is not a question of modesty at all. We never could understand the immodesty of a woman showing her feet. The lady who, being rebuked upon this score by another who was *décolletée* after the fashion of Kneller's picturers, answered, that she thought modesty would not suffer, if her friend pulled up her own dress a little, or cut a piece off the bottom to fasten on the top, laid bare by one of the most absurd of modern conventionalities. Modesty assuredly does not require that our women should sweep the floors or play the scavenger in the streets with the bottoms of their gowns.

So far at least it is clear to us that Bloomerism, which would abridge the length of our female garments, has the best of the argument. But our women still go on *draggling*, from year's end to year's end, and a lamentable spectacle they present in dirty weather, which in England is the rule and not the exception. Our female modesty seems to begin at the toes. What the code of decency is—by what considerations it is regulated, it is impossible to determine. It is said that an uneasy sense of certain imperfections in the lower extremities of Englishwomen is at the bottom of the matter. If it be, it may be doubted whether more rational proportions will be obtained even in our winter costumes. It is certainly a fact that small and well-formed feet are in this country much rarer than pretty faces, and that the two are very seldom found together. The majority, therefore, there is little doubt, will continue to array themselves in favour of the scavenger costume.

Many women who spend much time and much money in adorning their bodies, utterly neglect their feet. But no one is well-dressed who is not *bien chaussée.* Even a man well-gloved and well-booted may carry off a seedy suit of clothes. With

women it is essential to anything like success in costume, that they should pay attention to the decoration of their hands and feet. The latter may be little seen; but they are seen. As to the extremities themselves, the real state of the case may generally be gathered from inference and association. It seldom happens that a woman with large, mis-shapen, or flat feet, moves gracefully and well. In Sir John Suckling's famous description of the bride in his *Ballad on a Wedding*, as a piece of light sparkling writing unexcelled in the English language, there is, among other charming bits of temptation, a stanza which gives the grace of perfect finish to the whole,—

> "Her feet beneath her petticoat,
> Like little mice stole in and out
> As if they feared the light;
> But ah! she dances such a way,
> No sun upon an Easter day
> Is half so fine a sight."

The poet had before told us that,

> Her finger was so small, the ring
> Would not stay on that they did bring;

and from the descriptions of the young maiden's hands and feet, we are left to gather—as, indeed, we may completely—a just conception not only of her entire figure, but of the grace with which she tripped down stairs. The true artist knows when he has said enough. Thus, Mr. Thackeray, when he desires to tell us how the inimitable Becky fascinated Lord Steyne, enters into no very elaborate description of her person, but contents himself with shewing, both with pen and pencil, how from beneath the rustling folds of her gown, there peeped out "the prettiest little foot in the prettiest little sandal in the finest silk stocking in the world." This Becky is, indeed, altogether a case in point of what dress can do. She dressed her way to the hearts of men of all kinds. Without half the beauty, and with none of the goodness of Amelia, she captivated George Osborne even in the honey-moon; and even to the last, painting, drinking, gambling—a mere Jezebel—fascinated young Englishmen and old Indians, and had German students thundering for admission at her door. When Mr. Thackeray admits us to my lady's chamber, he shews us the brandy bottle and the rouge-pot; but by a fine stroke of art, he places upon the dressing-table a neat little pair of bronze boots. Maintaining the prestige of his heroine's fascinations, he suffered her to subside into divers unseemly habits, but he knew better than ever to suffer her to become *slip-shod.*

We have said that women with large or mis-shapen feet seldom or never move gracefully. They can neither walk nor dance well. And running is an impossibility. To real grace of movement, it would seem almost essential that the foot should be *arched*. This is coming to be better understood among us. Flat feet are too common in England—but dress, as we have before said, is a great leveller; and high heeled boots, now so generally used, give an artificial hollow to the foot. The frightful habit of turning up the toes in walking is thus almost entirely destroyed. Indeed, nothing is more observable than the improvement which, in this respect, has taken place in England during the last two or three years. Our women walk better than they did, and are better shod than they were. How it happened that we were so long in discovering that kid-topped boots are far more sightly than those made of cloth or cachemere, we do not pretend to know; but certainly the discovery is one of the best that has been made of late years in the regions of costume. High heels came in simultaneously, and may almost be regarded as part and parcel of this becoming innovation. Our streets are consequently far less disfigured than they were by the spectacle of shoals of women all showing the soles of their feet to people meeting them from their front. These high or "military heels" necessarily force down the toes, and compel the proper movement in walking—the proper exercise of the right muscles. The tendency of this elevation of the heel is to throw the calf of the leg out of the ankle, where, under bad treatment, it is too apt to settle. It is said, that, in this respect, the conformation of French women is better than that of our own, because the absence of *trottoirs*, or side pavements, from so many of their thoroughfares, and a very common use, in the large towns, of thin shoes, compels them to pick their way on their toes. We think that it is Dr. Arnott, who, in his *Elements of Physics*, illustrates the effect both of wearing thin shoes and standing on one's toes, by comparing the legs of two men, *cæteris paribus*, taken from the same station of life, the one to become a farm-labourer and the other a London footman. The thin shoes of the latter, and the habit of standing on his toes behind her ladyship's carriage, develop the calves and refine the ancles of Thomas, whilst the heavy hob-nailed boots of Hodge have an opposite effect, and reduce his legs to a perfect cylinder.*

* It must not be supposed that we are uttering a word in favour of an injudicious use of thin shoes, which may be fatal to the health of the wearer. The ladies of the United States are said to victimize themselves wholesale by the indiscriminate wearing of light slippers in all weathers. They have, as a class, much better feet than the ladies of England; and the women of South America have the best in the world. The extreme smallness and symmetry of the feet of

It may, perhaps, be thought that we have devoted too much consideration to this matter of the *chaussure;* but we look upon it as the very keystone of the architecture of dress, and that any inattention to it will loosen and destroy the entire fabric. How common is it to see, in this country, the becomingness of a whole toilet entirely nullified by a mistake of this kind, and, in spite of bonnet, shawl, and gown of the best character, the vulgarian betrayed by the boots. It is essential that the *chaussure* should be in keeping with the rest of the apparel; but the spectacle of really, in other respects, well-dressed women, with heavy black boots, under dresses of light colour and fabric, is one of the commonest in the world. Women so attired look like men in disguise.

We have little space to say more in conclusion. As there is no such thing as good health unless all parts of the system are in order, so there is no such thing as good dressing unless every component of the entire costume is well ordered and in good keeping. It is not in a bonnet, a shawl, or a gown; or in all together, though each be excellent in itself, that good dressing is to be found; but in the "full force and joint result of all." Above all things, it is desirable that there should be nothing conspicuous—that nothing should catch the eye. The best-dressed people are those of whom we have no other impression, after we have seen them, than that they *were* well dressed. We can give no account of the colour or the shape of their garments; but we know that there was a certain harmony and completeness about them which has left an agreeable impression on the mind.*

Another essential is, that the costume, whatever it may be, shall befit the age and condition of the wearer. There is a style of dress suited to the young, to the middle-aged, and to the old. We do not attempt to define the precise period at which these

the ladies of Lima, and the coquettish use which they make of them, have been descanted upon by more than one writer of travels. Some Lima ladies, being asked what they thought of a very beautiful Englishwoman, then moving in their society, said, that she was all very well, but that she had a foot like a *canoe*.

* We had purposed to have gone into detail respecting some other articles of feminine apparel, but the length to which this article has already extended renders it essential that we should bring it to a close. The accomplished author of "Helionde"—a work in which are apparent the learning of the schools and the acuteness of philosophy, combined with the graces of light literature and poetic fancy—says, that the ladies in the sun "laughed immoderately when they were made to comprehend that our women wear certain additions to their dress which shall be nameless;" and when the sun-traveller "explained the previous fashion of hoops, he feared they thought he was a sort of Bruce imposing upon their credulity." As to the "appendages," we are not sure that something is not to be said in their favour when they are discreetly managed. For a good deal of pleasant gossip on the subject of Hoops, we must refer our readers to Dr. Doran's agreeable volume.

different stages commence; the good sense of every one ought to suggest the limits. Dress, we reiterate, is a great leveller; but it ought not to be suffered to level all distinctions of age and condition. Goldsmith tells us, in one of his pleasant essays in the *Bee*, how he gave chase, in the Park, to an airily dressed damsel, "in all the gaiety of fifteen," who proved to be his cousin Hannah, four years older than himself, and he at the ripe age of sixty-two.* It was the complaint of his time, that "ladies not only of every shape and complexion, but of every age, too, are possessed of this unaccountable passion of dressing in the same manner." "A lady of no quality," he adds, "can be distinguished from a lady of some quality only by the redness of her hands; and a woman of sixty, masked, might easily pass for her grand-daughter." In the present day, this reproach is happily applicable to the few, not to the many. The Mrs. Skewtons, who attire their skeleton frames in gauze, hang their death-beds with curtains of *couleur de rose*, and with their dying breath exhort Betty to give their cheeks a little red, are rare blots on the surface of society.

We lay down Dr. Doran's amusing volumes with regret They are full of pleasant facts and racy anecdotes, charmingly told; and we know not whether to be better pleased with his illustrations of what concerns the inner or the outer man—with the volume on Diet or the volume on Dress. They are written much in the style of, and were, perhaps, suggested by the elder Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*; but we like Dr. Doran better as a narrator—there is more geniality about him. It is easy to fill a commonplace book with such illustrations as form the staple of these volumes, just as it is easy to fill a larder with food, or cover a shopboard with cloth; but it requires the hand of an artist like Dr. Doran to mould them into readable books; just as it requires the hand of another kind of artist to educe from the raw materials of the market or the loom anything that is worthy of being called by the name of Cookery or Costume.

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* As a set off to this incident may be cited one which we remember to have read in some book descriptive of Anglo-Indian society. An English gentleman driving through one of the most crowded thoroughfares near Calcutta, saw a native woman right in his way, and called out lustily, "Heigh! boorea, heigh!" (Heigh! old woman; heigh!) Upon which the female so addressed, suddenly standing still at the risk of being run over, turned upon the Englishman a lovely young face of sixteen, and with an expression partly of merriment, partly of resentment, in her large lustrous eyes, asked, "Toomera boorea kōn?" (Who is your old woman?)

ART. IX.—1. *The Museum of Science and Art.* Edited by DIONYSIUS LARDNER, D.C.L. On the Electric Telegraph. Vol. III. and IV.

2. *Mémoire de la Telegraphie Electrique.* Par M. WERNER SIEMENS, (de Berlin,) Ancien Officier D'Artillerie. Paris, 1850. Pp. 48.

3. *Reports by the Juries of the Great Exhibition.* Report of Jury X. London, 1850.

THE seven wonders of the world have passed into oblivion among the miracles of science which the present day has been permitted to witness. The inventions of former times, beautiful and useful as they have been, sink into insignificance beside those magnificent combinations of science and of art which every day excite our attention, and add to our happiness. The telescope and the microscope, the chronometer and the compass, and various other instruments which society has long possessed, —however much they have contributed to the advancement of science, and to individual and general interests, can scarcely be ranked among those grand inventions which ameliorate the social condition of all the races of mankind, which change the very habits of social life, and add to the physical and intellectual enjoyments of every inhabitant of the globe. The steam-engine, with its application to navigation, locomotion, and every species of labour once cruelly exacted from man and the lower animals,—the electric light, rivalling the sun in brilliancy,—the photographic art, by which invisible rays paint a portrait or a landscape, with unerring accuracy,—the lighting of our houses and streets by a gaseous element transmissible like water through pipes,—the electric telegraph, which dispatches its messages of lightning over the wire-girdled globe, are the great inventions which have sprung up during the life of men still alive, and which display those transcendent powers which have been given to man for the benefit of his race.

But while man has nobly executed the task which the Almighty has committed to his genius, we must not forget that it is to the elements themselves which he has subjugated to his will, and to the materials provided for him by his Creator's hand, that society is indebted for the gift they enjoy. The heat, the light, the electric fluid—the great cosmical principles which enliven and enchain the universe, have been the prime ministers of the philosopher, while the coal, the metals, and the water raised to his level from the depths of the earth, have been his humbler agents.

We should require to write the history of science, were we to

record the steps of discovery by which the physical laws have been established upon which these inventions depend, and to associate with each step the immortal name by which it was achieved. It is in records little known, and as little appreciated, that such names appear. It is to those who have applied the discoveries to practical use, that the prize of popular and successful invention is adjudged, and it is round their brow that the laurel of contemporary fame is entwined. The names of Oersted, Arago, and Schweigger, without whose discoveries the present electric telegraph would never have existed, are rarely pronounced even in union with those of the mechanical inventors who have been enriched by their labours.

In enumerating the wonders of the past and the passing age, we have omitted the greatest of them all. There is no principle stronger in our nature than that which prompts us to the reciprocity of kindness. Gratitude is one of the cheapest of virtues. To feel and to express it, is, in our individual capacities, to discharge the duty which we owe to a benefactor. It is different, however, with nations. The gifts which the philosopher confers upon his race can be rewarded only by the community to which he belongs. There is no cosmical legislature to take cognizance of the world's benefactors, and the principle of philanthropy combines itself with the patriotic impulse in stimulating Governments to the remuneration of national service. Is it not then the greatest wonder in the world, the most astounding truth with which we have to deal, and with which feeling has to struggle, that not one of the great men to whom the world owes the gigantic inventions we have enumerated, have ever received any of those marks of honour, which the selfish statesman takes to himself and gives to his accomplices;—which characterize the diplomatic juggler, and which shine on the breast of the human hyæna who has risked a useless life in the battle-field of unjust and aggressive war?

In an article like the present, and within so limited a space, it will be difficult to convey, without diagrams, a distinct idea of the various inventions which are combined in the construction and use of the Electric Telegraph, but with a little attention on the part of the reader, this difficulty may to a certain extent be surmounted, and we hope to be able to give an intelligible idea of the general apparatus and arrangements by which this noble art has been brought to such high and unexpected perfection.

The word Telegraph, which means to write at a distance, has been long in use, as the name of a very imperfect system of communicating intelligence by signals, which was used by the ancients, and is at present employed, under very rude forms, even

among savage nations. In modern times the art has been brought to great perfection, and was in general use in this country and on the continent during the last European war; but it has been entirely abandoned since the invention of the Electric Telegraph. Between Plymouth and the Admiralty in London, for example, various signal stations were established, and the messages sent from Plymouth passed from station to station till they reached the Admiralty. During the night the signals were of course luminous; but neither these nor day signals were visible in fogs, so that for whole days no telegraphic message could be conveyed. At the time of the peninsular war a very remarkable effect was produced, in consequence of a fog coming on during the transmission of a message from the seat of war to the admiral commanding at Plymouth. The words which reached the Admiralty were, "Wellington defeated." The ominous sentence arrived in the morning, and occasioned great anxiety till a clear afternoon brought up the other two cheering words, "The Enemy, &c. &c."

The first important step to the invention of the Electric Telegraph was made upwards of an hundred years ago by M. Le Monnier in France, and Sir William Watson in England. Le Monnier caused the electric shock to pass through an iron wire nearly 6000 feet in length, and found that it moved through that space in less than a quarter of a second. He then electrified a wire 1319 feet long, and he found that the electricity ceased at one end the moment the electricity was taken off at the other. Sir William Watson's experiments were made on a greater scale, and led to still more important results. On the 14th August 1747, he stretched a wire 6732 feet long over Shooter's Hill, and supported it upon rods of baked wood. This wire communicated with the iron rod which was to make the discharge. Another wire communicating with a charged Leyden jar was 3868 feet long. The distance between the observers was about two miles, and as two miles of *dry ground* formed part of the circuit, its length was upwards of four miles. When the shock was made to pass through this space, no time appeared to elapse during its passage, and the observers considered it as instantaneous. In another experiment, when the wire was 12,276 feet long, the very same result was obtained.

Although it was thus placed beyond a doubt that electricity passed *instantaneously*, or in a time too short to admit of being measured, no application of this valuable fact seems to have been made by the philosophers who were assembled at Shooter's Hill. It was reserved for a Scotchman, a gentleman residing at Renfrew, to suggest the idea of transmitting messages by electricity along wires passing from one place to another. This remarkable proposal was published in the Scots Magazine for February 1753,

in an article bearing the initials C. M., the only name which we shall probably ever obtain for the first inventor of the Electric Telegraph.* This letter, entitled "An expeditious Method of Conveying Intelligence," is so interesting, that we shall lay the whole of it before our readers.

"*Renfrew, Feb.* 1, 1753.

"SIR,—It is well known to all who are conversant in electrical experiments, that the electrical power may be propagated along a small wire from one place to another without being sensibly abated by the length of its progress. Let, then, a set of wires equal in number to the letters of the alphabet be extended horizontally between two given places parallel to one another, and each of them about an inch distant from that next to it. At every twenty yards' end let them be fixed on glass with jewellers' cement to some firm body, both to prevent them from touching the earth, or any other non-electric, and from breaking by their own gravity. Let the electric gun barrel be placed at right angles with the extremities of the wire, and about an inch below them. Also, let the wires be fixed in a solid piece of glass six inches from the end, and let all that part of them which reaches from the glass to the machine have sufficient spring and stiffness to recover its situation after being brought in contact with the barrel. Close by the supporting glass let a ball be suspended from every wire, and about a sixth or an eighth of an inch below the balls; place the letters of the alphabet marked on bits of paper, or any other substance that may be light enough to rise to the electrified ball, and at the same time let it be so contrived that each of them may reassume its proper place when dropt. All things constructed as above, and the minute previously fixed, I begin the conversation with my distant friend in this manner. Having set the electrical machine agoing as in ordinary experiments, suppose I am to pronounce the word *Sir*, with a piece of glass or any other *electric per se*, I strike the wire *S* so as to bring it in contact with the barrel, then *i*, then *r*, all in the same way; and my correspondent almost in the same instant observes those several characters rise in order to the electrified balls at his end of the wires. Thus I spell away as long as I think fit, and my correspondent, for the sake of memory, writes the characters as they rise, and may join and read them afterwards as often as he inclines. Upon a signal given or from choice I stop the machine, and taking up the pen in my turn, I write down at the other end whatever my friend strikes out.

"If any body should think this way tiresome, let him, instead of the balls, suspend a range of bells from the roof equal in number

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* When the writer of this article first perused this remarkable document, he sent it to the *Commonwealth*, an ably conducted Glasgow paper, in the hope that a real name might still be found to replace the initials C. M.

to the letters of the alphabet, gradually decreasing in size from the Bell A to Z, and from the horizontal wires let there be another set reaching to the several bells, one, *viz*., from the horizontal wire A to the bell A, another from the horizontal wire B to the bell B, &c. Then let him who begins the discourse bring the wire in contact with the barrel as before; and the electrical spark working on bells of different sizes, will inform the correspondent by the sound what wires have been touched. And thus by some practice they may come to understand the language of the chimes in whole words, without being put to the trouble of noting down every letter.

"The same thing may be otherwise effected. Let the balls be suspended over the characters as before, but instead of bringing the ends of the horizontal wires in contact with the barrel, let a second set reach from the electrified cask (barrel) so as to be in contact with the horizontal ones; and let it be so contrived at the same time, that any of them may be removed from its corresponding horizontal by the slightest touch, and may bring itself again into contact when left at liberty.' This may be done by the help of a small spring and slider, or twenty other methods, which the least ingenuity will discover. In this way the characters will always adhere to the balls, excepting when any one of the secondaries is removed from contact with its horizontal, and then the letter at the other end of the horizontal will immediately drop from its ball. But I mention this only by way of variety.

'Some may perhaps think, that although the electric fire has not been observed to diminish sensibly in its progress through any length of wire that has been tried hitherto, yet as that has never exceeded thirty or forty yards,* it may be readily supposed that in a far greater length it would be remarkably diminished, and probably would be entirely drained off in a few miles by the surrounding air. To prevent the objection, and save longer argument, lay over the wires from one end to the other with a thin coat of jewellers' cement. This may be done for a trifle of additional expense; and as it is an *electric per se*, will effectually secure any part of the fire from mixing with the atmosphere.—I am, &c., C. M."

Here we have an electric telegraph upwards of a hundred years old, which at the present day would *convey intelligence expeditiously*, and we are constrained to admit that C. M. was the true inventor of the electric telegraph, and that every step made since that time, however sagacious and valuable, can be viewed in no other light than an improvement. It is singular that the ingenious author should not have adopted some of the

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* The Author was obviously ignorant of Sir W. Watson's experiments.

obvious modes for diminishing the number of wires; but as he seems to have had no expectation of his invention being adopted, he probably contented himself with a general view of the principle.

Twenty-one years after this invention was published, in the year 1774, M. Lesage of Geneva is said to have established a telegraph there, which, in so far as it has been described, is precisely the same as that of our countryman C. M. It had twenty-four wires imbedded in an insulating material, with a pith ball electrometer attached to each wire, the motion of which indicated the letters of the alphabet.

When our countryman Arthur Young was in France in 1787, he either saw or heard of an electric telegraph which he thus describes:—"M. Lamond has made a remarkable discovery in electricity. You write two or three words upon paper. He takes them with him into a room, and turns an electrical machine, above which is an electrometer with a little ball made of the pith of a feather. A copper wire is joined to a similar electrical machine in a distant apartment, and his wife, on observing the movement of the corresponding ball, writes the words which it indicates, from which it appears that he has constructed an alphabet of motion. As the length of the copper wire makes no difference on the effect, a correspondence might be maintained at a great distance; for example, at a besieged town, or for purposes much more worthy of attention, and a thousand times more innocent" It is obvious from this description that the different letters of the alphabet must have been indicated by different numbers of displacements of the pith ball, making one wire the tedious narrator of the message.

In 1787, M. Betancourt, a French engineer, established telegraphic wires between Aranjuez and Madrid, and transmitted messages by successive electric discharges from a Leyden jar. Cavallo, in 1795, proposed to transmit signals along wires by the inflammation of several combustible or detonating substances, such as gunpowder, phosphorus, and phosphorated hydrogen, or by means of simple electrical sparks given out by the wire

An important step was made in telegraphic apparatus by Mr. Francis Ronalds. Previous to 1823, he constructed a telegraph on his lawn at Hammersmith, by insulating *eight miles of wire* with silk strings. He made the same experiments with 525 feet of *bronzed wire.* The wire was laid in a trough of wood two inches square, well lined both within and without with pitch, and inside the trough were placed thick glass tubes through which the wire ran. The joints of the glass tubes were surrounded with short and wider tubes of glass, the ends of which were sealed up with soft wax. The wooden trough was then placed in a trench four feet deep. An ingenious apparatus, with a

dial containing letters and figures, was fixed upon the seconds arbor of a clock, which beat dead seconds, and another in front of it with an aperture and an electrometer, so that the collapsing and diverging of the pith ball corresponded with the letter or number on the dial, as seen through the aperture of the plate in front of it.

In all these contrivances, ordinary or *statical* electricity, such as is produced by friction in electrical machines, was employed; and if no other form of the electric force had been discovered, it is obvious, from the preceding inventions, that we should have had at this day a real working electric telegraph, not so simple, nor with so many resources, but still an instrument which would have amply fulfilled the grand object of communicating intelligence with the speed of lightning. A new source of electric power, what has been called *dynamic* electricity, however, was discovered by Volta in 1800, and became the agent, in various new forms, of the electric telegraph. If we take a disc of *copper* like a penny piece, and another of *zinc* of the same size, and placing one above the tongue, and the other below it, make them touch at or below the tip of the tongue, we shall feel a sharp taste, which disappears as soon as the discs are freed from contact. If we now join these two discs with a piece of wire soldered to each, and place them in a glass or stoneware vessel of salt water, or water made acid with nitric, muriatic, or sulphuric acid, the water will be decomposed, and a current of electricity will flow from the *zinc* disc, which is the *positive* end, to the *copper* disc, which is the *negative* end of this little galvanic battery, as it may be called. When a number of these vessels, with their united discs of copper and zinc, are placed in a row, so that the zinc of one vessel is connected by a wire with the copper of another, we have a large and powerful battery, capable of giving severe shocks, and causing combustion, light, and chemical decomposition In order that this battery may produce any of these effects, one wire passes from the last *copper* disc at one end, and terminates in a point A, while another wire passes from the last zinc disc at the other end, and terminates in a point B, A and B representing the ends of the wires. When the extremities A and B are in contact, or if the wire has had no break at these points, the current of electricity would have passed from B to A, but when the current is interrupted, and bodies are placed between A and B, the current forces its way through them, turning and decomposing them, and producing sparks and shocks when the current passes through the human body, or any part of it. The electric force may be obtained by placing the zinc and copper discs in a pile above one another, and separating them by discs of cloth wetted with acidulated water. In this form it is called the Pile of Volta.

The first application of this new power to telegraphic purposes was made by M. Sœmmering of Munich in 1811, and by means of a very ingenious contrivance. 'Upon the bottom of a glass vessel he fixed thirty-five points of gold indicating thirty-five letters, and ten numerals from 0 to 9. From each of these thirty-five points there passed a copper conductor terminating in a small brass cylinder, in the middle of which was a groove for receiving a small screw nut for fixing the wires which united the corresponding point with the positive or negative pole of the battery or pile which he used. When the glass vessel was filled with water, and the electricity communicated to the letter at one end of a wire, the gold point corresponding to this letter gave out a bubble of gas which was largest when it was oxygen and smallest when it was hydrogen, so that he could transmit two letters at once. Sœmmering covered each of his thirty-five wires with silk, and surrounded the whole with varnish. Our limits will not permit us to describe this beautiful invention more particularly, but it is obviously one capable of doing real telegraphic work, and wanted only what he added afterwards, a contrivance or alarm, for calling the attention of the operator at the distant station. Like C. M. the Bavarian mechanician never seems to have thought of reducing the number of his wires by different combinations of his gas bubbles, as afterwards suggested by Schweigger, who proposed the detonating pistol of Volta as an alarm.

The grand discovery of electro-magnetism by Professor Oersted of Copenhagen in 1819, led to great improvements in the construction and use of the electric telegraph. By placing a compass-needle parallel to the conducting wire of a Voltaic battery, that is, parallel to the current, he found that it placed itself across the current, or at right angles to the wire. When the current passed above the needle, its north pole deviated to the west, and the current came from south to north, and the same pole deviated to the east when the current came from north to south. When the current passed below the needle the opposite effects were produced, the south pole being deviated to the east when the current passed from south to north, and to the west when it came from north to south. M. Ampere illustrated this in a very happy manner. He supposed a miniature figure of a man to be placed in a lying position along the conducting wire with the feet towards the zinc pole, and the head towards the copper pole, so that the current passing from the zinc to the copper pole entered at the feet and came out at the head, the figure having its face turned to the middle of the needle, the effect of the current will be always to turn its south pole to the left hand of the figure. The electro-magnetic force thus exhibited, even when extremely feeble, may be augmented to almost

any extent by the beautiful contrivance of Schweigger called a multiplier. If one wire produced a perceptible action upon the needle, he concluded that the effect would increase with the amount of wire, and having coiled a wire upon itself fifty or an hundred times, he found the result such as he expected, provided none of the electricity escaped from one wire to those adjacent to it. To prevent this or to insulate the wires, he covered each of them with a silken thread coiled so closely as to cover their surface completely. These multipliers have been made so powerful that they required a wire three miles and a half long.*

In 1820, M. Ampere was led to prefer the substitution of a compass-needle in the electric telegraph in place of the gold points and gas bubbles of Sœmmering, so that by touching a number of keys corresponding to each letter of the alphabet, the needles at the other end of the twenty-five wires were put in motion. A telegraph of this description was actually made in Edinburgh by Mr. Alexander in 1837, in which thirty wires communicated with the same number of magnetic needles, and the instrument was wrought by touching thirty keys as in the telegraph of Sœmmering. Coupling this idea with that of Schweigger to reduce the twenty-five wires to two by means of two piles, we have obviously an electric telegraph of a very high order perfectly fitted to perform telegraphic work, though still susceptible of many improvements. But even if the most perfect electric telegraph of the present day had been then invented, no person would have thought of making use of it. It is to the railway system alone that we are indebted in this country for all the advantages of telegraphic communication.

Our limits will not permit us, nor indeed is this the proper place, to give an account of the fine discoveries of Arago and Faraday, on the magnetic properties of electric currents. MM. Arago and Ampere magnetized needles instantaneously by placing them within a helix of insulated copper wire, so that the electric current passed in a direction perpendicular to their length. Mr. Sturgeon of Woolwich applied this principle to the construction of temporary magnets of great power by merely surrounding soft iron, either in the form of bars or of a horse shoe, with insulated coiled wire. The soft iron becomes a powerful magnet while the electric current is passing through the coil, and loses its power the moment the current is stopped. In this way Mr. Joseph Henry, now the distinguished Secretary to the Smithsonian Institution, produced magnets which were capable of lifting several tons, and the same principle has been employed by Logeman and others for communicating permanent magnetism to steel.

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* See our last Number, p. 202.

Mr. Faraday's beautiful discovery of electro-dynamic induction in 1832, was a most important step in the improvement of the electric telegraph. He demonstrated by two fine experiments, that an electric current is capable of developing at a distance by induction electric currents in a conducting wire. If we suddenly bring near to any part of a conductor forming a closed circuit another conductor traversed by a current, we produce instantaneously on the first conductor a current moving in a direction contrary to that of the inducing current, or that brought near the conductor, and when we reverse the inducing current we produce instantaneously in the first conductor a second current moving in the same direction as the current that is reversed. Mr. Faraday also found that a magnet is capable of inducing similar currents in a conducting wire, and that the phenomena of induction may be produced in the conducting wire itself, an effect which is termed the induction of a current upon itself. Mr. Faraday was thus led to the construction of a magneto-electric machine which was greatly improved by Pixii, Saxton, and Clarke, and extensively employed for telegraphic purposes.

Such is a brief notice of the history of the electric telegraph, and of the principal discoveries in electricity and magnetism, upon which the present telegraphic apparatus is founded. It is not our intention to give any account of the innumerable inventions, all more or less ingenious, by which telegraphic communications are genèrally transmitted. It is difficult for ordinary readers to understand these operations even with the aid of good diagrams,* and those who are desirous of making themselves master of the apparatus commonly employed, will do this most satisfactorily by visiting any of the stations where an electric telegraph is placed. Our object in the present Article is to give some account of the general telegraphic system, and of the labours and services of those who have been the means of introducing the electric telegraph on our railways, and who have invented remarkable contrivances for communicating intelligence, such as the printing telegraph, the electro-chemical telegraph, the autographic telegraph, and any others that are distinguished from those commonly used by remarkable peculiarities.

We have already seen from the experiments of Sir W. Watson, and the fact was evident from every future experiment, that the electric power was transmitted along wires instantaneously, or in so short a time that its velocity could not be appreciated by the ordinary instruments by which time is measured. Any more

* The reader will find the most complete and intelligible description of telegraphic apparatus in Dr. Lardner's admirable chapter on the subject, in the third and fourth volumes of his *Museum of Science and Art*.

accurate measure of its velocity was of no consequence for telegraphic purposes. Means, however, have been taken to obtain a rude estimate of its velocity, which of course must depend on the conducting power of the transmitting wire, though it does not upon its thickness. By a very ingenious apparatus Mr. Wheatstone found that the electric force moved along a copper wire at the rate of 288,000 miles in a second According to the more recent experiments of MM. Fizeau and Gonelli its velocity is only 112,680, less than half of the preceding estimate. In the iron wire employed for telegraphic purposes, its velocity, according to MM. Fizeau and Gonelli, is only 62,000 miles in a second; according to Professor Mitchell of Cincinnati 28,500; and according to Professor Walker of the United States, 16,000 miles. But it is obvious, that whichsoever of these velocities is the correct one, the electric influence is transmitted in so short a time that an effect produced at one station is produced simultaneously with the effect produced at another.

In order to transmit messages along the telegraphic wires, a certain amount of electric power is required, and this force must be increased in proportion to the length of the wire. A large wire, however, will transmit more electricity than a small one, in proportion to the squares of their diameters, or the areas of their section. According to some accurate experiments made by M. Pouillet, a distinguished member of the Institute of France, a voltaic battery of ten pairs of plates will supply electricity sufficient for telegraphic purposes by means of a copper wire one eighth of an inch in diameter, and 600 miles in length. A force of much less intensity, however, is amply sufficient, as it is easy to strengthen the current by batteries at intermediate stations.

Having obtained a cheap and durable line for conducting the electric influence, and a simple power for generating it of sufficient intensity, the next step is to place the lines or wires in a proper position. The general practice has been to support them by posts placed at the distance of sixty yards. On some lines the distance of the posts is much greater; and on the great telegraphic line between Turin and Genoa, the wires are carried across extensive ravines and valleys, from half a mile to three quarters of a mile in width, without any support whatever, and at an enormous height above the ground. When the line reaches Turin it passes under ground, and when it arrives at the Maritime Alps it stretches from crest to crest, hiding itself again in the earth till it terminates at the ducal palace in Genoa.

M. Siemens, whose ingenious telegraph received a Council Medal at the Great Exhibition, and which is used on all the Prussian lines, and those in the north of Germany, recommended the subterranean system of construction, and had it carried into

effect on upwards of a thousand miles of German railway. By carefully covering the copper wires, which were about the 50th of an inch in diameter, with gutta percha, to prevent the escape of the electricity, by placing them about 2½ feet deep in iron tubes, and by ingenious methods of discovering the locality of any defect either from the insulating coating or from the copper wire, he found the system answer so well, that at the end of three years the wires had not suffered the slightest change. There are obviously many advantages in the subterranean system. The wires are not influenced by rain or snow—they are secure against storms and hurricanes, and their locality in the earth, as well as upon the railway path, protects them from being injured by human hands. M. Siemens has observed two interesting facts on these lines. In the one a diminution of the effect is produced by inverse currents arising from the wires acting like a Leyden phial. The gutta percha which coats the wire is the glass of the phial, the wire is the internal coating of the phial, and the damp ground is the external coating, so that the opposite electricity of the ground acts upon, and neutralizes to a certain extent the internal electricity of the wire. It was apprehended that this disturbing cause would have interfered with the working of the subterranean wires, but the Magneto-Electric Telegraph Company, who have in work 900 miles of subterranean wire, and who often send their messages through 500 miles without any stoppage, have not experienced any inconvenience from it. The other phenomenon observed by M. Siemens is the electrical influence upon the wires by the Aurora-Borealis. During the brilliant display of this phenomenon on the 18th October 1848, he observed currents varying in intensity and direction, in the line between Berlin and Coethen, 20 German miles in length, the direction of which was E.N.E. to W.S.W., nearly perpendicular to the magnetic meridian. During the prevalence of this meteor, the electric telegraphs in England, with suspended wires, were temporarily unfitted for use.

In the telegraphic lines established in India by Dr. O'Shaughnessy, he has adopted both the aerial and subterranean system. He found that the wires used in England were quite insufficient in India. In his experimental line of eighty miles from Calcutta, he was obliged to employ iron rods resting on bamboos. Flocks of heavy birds like the adjutant perched upon them, and groups of monkeys followed their example, while loaded elephants broke them down when they came in their way. He therefore used thick galvanized wires suspended at the height of fourteen feet upon posts upwards of 200 yards apart, and so strong was the system, that a soldier suspending himself from the middle of one of these long wires produced on it but a small curvature. In

the subterranean system, where it is used in India, Dr. O'Shaughnessy lays at the depth of two feet his wires, coated with gutta percha, on wooden sleepers saturated with arsenic, in order to defend them from the white ants, which we suppose, like the rats in the north of Germany, reckon gutta percha a great luxury.

The wires employed for telegraphic purposes are commonly made of iron about the sixth part of an inch in diameter. They are coated with a plating of zinc, by what is called galvanisation. As zinc is very oxydable, it is soon converted by the air and by moisture into an oxide of zinc, which being insoluble in water, protects the wire from rust and corrosion. Mr. Heighton, however, has found that the gases from the smoke of large towns converts the oxide into a sulphate, which being soluble in water permits the wire to be corroded, and to such a degree that he found his wires reduced to the dimensions of a common sewing needle in less than two years. Some very peculiar conditions of the wires in America, which are not galvanized, have been discovered. On the telegraphic lines which cross the extensive prairies of the Missouri, the telegraphs refuse to act in the months of July and August during the four hottest hours of the day, from 2 to 6 o'clock!

Many inferior contrivances, which require diagrams to make intelligible, and which will be found clearly described in Dr. Lardner's volumes, have been adopted to insulate the wires in passing the posts. The wires at the posts generally pass through tubes of earthenware or of glass, or they rest upon cylinders or rollers of the same substance. In order to prevent the bending of the wires, and their mutual interference in high winds, an apparatus is placed at distances of half a mile for tightening them, and the posts where this is done, and which are larger than the usual ones, are called winding-posts.*

We have already stated that the electricity of the aurora, comparatively feeble as it is, deranges the operation of the telegraph; but the influence of atmospheric electricity in thunderstorms is of course much more injurious, and is often dangerous at telegraphic stations. The natural remedy for this is to place conductors on the top of each post, which is very easily done; but at telegraphic stations very beautiful and efficacious contrivances for their protection have been invented by Mr. Walker of the South-Eastern Company and M. Breguet of Paris. A remarkably fine copper wire is placed between the main wire and the station, so that any current of electricity imparted to the main wire must pass through the fine one before it reaches

* If we place our ear close to one of these posts during a breeze, sounds like those of falling water are distinctly heard.

the station: but the effect of powerful electricity upon a fine wire is to fuse or deflagrate it, owing to the difficulty that it has in passing along so narrow a channel; so that all communication between the wire of the station is cut off by the destruction of the fine wire. Cases have occurred in which these wires have been made red hot, and even melted.'

When the system of wires is thus erected either above or below the ground, it becomes interesting to see at what rate signals or words can be transmitted to great distances. About three years ago some interesting experiments on this point were made in Paris by M. Leverrier and Dr. Lardner before committees of the Institute and the National Assembly. In one experiment, a message of 40 words was sent 168 miles, and an answer of 35 words returned, in the space of 4 minutes and 30 seconds. In another experiment, a message of 282 words was transmitted along a continuous wire 1082 miles long. "A pen," says Dr. Lardner, "attached to the other end, immediately began to write the message on a sheet of paper moved under it by a simple mechanism, and the entire message was written in full in presence of the Committee, each word being spelled completely and without abridgment, in *fifty-two seconds*, being at the average rate of *five words and four-tenths per second!*" This was done by Mr. Bain's electro-chemical telegraph, which the writer of this article saw in operation at the time when this experiment was made in Paris, and which, from its peculiarly ingenious construction, we shall endeavour to describe.

The sheet of paper which is to receive the written message is wetted with an acidulated solution of the ferroprussiate of potash, and placed upon a plate of metal. If we now take a metallic point or style, and place it in contact with the paper, and conceive a current of electricity to pass through the style, it would enter the copper plate through the paper and make a blue spot, so that we could easily write upon the paper, as if blue ink streamed from the point of the style. Let us now suppose that the upper end of the style is connected by a wire with the positive pole of a voltaic battery, and the metallic plate with the negative pole, a current will flow through the point of the style whenever it is brought in contact with the paper, and will decompose the prussiate of potash, one of the elements of which will mark it with a dark blue spot. If the paper is moved or drawn aside, the style will trace a blue line upon it. If the current is stopped at different intervals, the blue line will be stopped also, and we shall have short or long spaces between the blue lines, in proportion to the length of the time during which the current has been stopped.

Mr. Bain has contrived various ways of moving the paper

beneath the style, but the one which he prefers is to lay a large circular disc of it upon a metallic plate of the same size, which is made to revolve by clockwork round its own centre and in its own plane, while the style has a slow motion from the centre to the edge of the disc. The consequence of these two movements is, that the style will describe a spiral commencing at the centre of the disc of paper, and terminating at its edge; and when the current passes through the circuit uninterruptedly, this spiral will be a continuous blue line, but if the current is interrupted, it will consist of short blue lines and white spaces of different lengths.

The next step is to construct an alphabet for this telegraph, which is done as follows:—The letter *a* is represented with one short line thus -, *b* - —— - with one long and two short lines, *c* —— - - with the same lines differently placed, *d* with four lines - - - ——, *e* with two short ones - -, *f* —— —— with two long ones, and so on, the greatest number for any letter being four lines, with short and long ones differently placed.

The message being supposed to be written out, a narrow ribbon of paper, about half an inch wide, after being unrolled from a cylinder, is made to pass between rollers under a punch, which by an ingenious mechanism punches out a hole beneath it, and through the paper when it is passing. Two or three of these holes form the short line *a* -, and several form the long lines, such as *f* —— ——. The operator is thus able to make short or long lines at pleasure, and can therefore perforate in the paper-ribbon or message-strip the message which is to be sent. In this work a number of agents may be simultaneously employed in perforating messages for the telegraph, to which they are applied in the following manner:—

The perforated message-stripe is now coiled upon a roller, and placed on an axle attached to the telegraphic machinery. The extremity where the message commences is then placed on a metallic roller in connexion with the positive pole of the voltaic battery, and is pressed upon the roller by a small metallic spring terminating in points like the teeth of a comb. This spring communicates with the conducting wire, and when it falls into the perforations of the paper, the electric current passes to the point of the recording style, which then makes a blue line corresponding to the one in the perforated stripe, but when the spring rests upon the white paper between the perforations, the electric current does not pass, and the style makes no blue mark, but leaves a corresponding blank. In this way the message of perforation is transferred in blue lines to the chemical paper a thousand miles off, and arranged in a spiral from the centre to the circumference of the paper disc. A boy previously

taught reads this record to a clerk as quickly as if it were in ordinary type.

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the singular beauty and ingenuity of this contrivance, imperfect as our description of it must be. When we saw in Paris the whole operation of perforating the message, and recording it in blue lines at the other end of the wire, it seemed more like magic than any result of mechanism which we have ever seen. The dry steel point, when tracing its spiral path, actually seems to be depositing blue ink upon the paper. But it is not merely ingenuity that is the characteristic of Mr. Bain's Telegraph. It is unlimited in its quickness, and unerring in its accuracy; and it has another advantage of requiring a battery of much less power than other forms of the telegraph. An example of the value of its accuracy was recently shewn in a case where the importance of a single figure was experienced. In an agitated state of the funds, a stock-broker in London received from a distance an order to purchase at a certain time of the day, £80,000 of consols. The broker doubted the accuracy of the number from the magnitude of the sum, and as the message had been sent by the *recording* instrument, it was found that the real message was to purchase only £8000 of consols, the transcriber having by mistake inserted a cipher too many.

But this telegraph has another advantage which no other possesses. It is a cipher telegraph, by which individuals may communicate with their friends, or companies with their correspondents, or governments with their distant functionaries. The short and long lines of the telegraphic alphabet may be varied in innumerable ways, which it would be impossible to decypher, and a punching machine, which would cost little, might be either in the possession of individuals, or at their command in the town or village where they reside. Any arrangement of this kind, however, is not likely to be adopted, except in a small number of cases, until the expense of telegraphic dispatches is reduced to a very moderate sum. But if such a change should take place analogous to the penny-post, as Dr. Lardner has stated, Mr. Bain's telegraph would be the only expedient of all those hitherto contrived by which such augmented demands could be satisfied, the instruments in common use, of whatever form, being utterly inadequate to the purpose. How this would be effected by Mr. Bain's telegraph, Dr. Lardner has satisfactorily shewn. "Nothing more," he says, "would be necessary than to engage a greater number of persons, for the purpose of committing the dispatches to the perforated ribbons. If a great number of dispatches, short or long, be brought at once into the telegraphic office for transmission, let them be

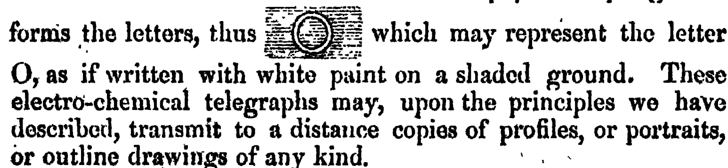
immediately distributed among a proportionate number of the persons engaged in the preparation of the ribbons. A long dispatch might be divided into several portions, and distributed among several, just as a manuscript report, intended for publication in a journal, is distributed among several compositors. When the dispatches thus distributed should be committed to the ribbons, new ribbons might be connected together, so as to form longer continuous ribbons, which being put into the telegraphic instruments, would be sent to their destination at the rate of 20,000 words an hour on each wire!"

In certain cases, such as the transmission of reports of debates, or speeches of public interest, or Government dispatches, the same documents are required to be sent to different places. We have then only to take the perforated ribbons to the different wires belonging to different places; or, as Dr. Lardner suggests, two or more ribbons might be perforated simultaneously, and the message which it contains sent at the same instant to different telegraphic stations, and transmitted in various directions. "In this view of the question," says Dr. Lardner, "the system of Bain is to the common telegraph what the steam-engine is to the horse,—the power to the hand-loom,—the lace frame to the cushion,—the self-acting mule to the distaff,—or the stocking-frame to the knitting needle."

With such peculiar advantages, which we trust will soon be realized, all letters which require dispatch will be sent by telegraph, and the post-office will be employed only for sending heavy orders or letters, when there is no occasion for extraordinary celerity of transmission. When the sixpenny or the penny telegraph comes into play, Mr. Bain will stand forth as the greatest of our telegraphic inventors, and Scotland will be able to boast that the telegraph was invented and perfected within her domains. Mr. Bain has hitherto, like all other great inventors, been unfortunate in not deriving from them those material benefits which their invention so amply confers upon others; but we trust that the time is not distant, when his merits will be appreciated and rewarded.

Mr. Bain's Electro-chemical Telegraph is in use upon 1200 miles in the United States, and such is its value, as we are informed by Mr. Whitworth, in his Report on the Industrial Exhibition of New York, that in damp and rainy weather, when Morse's telegraph works imperfectly, they find it convenient to remove the wires from it, and connect them with Bain's, in which "they find it practicable to operate when communication by Morse's system is interrupted."

A very ingenious and striking modification of the Electro-chemical Telegraph has been invented by Mr. Bakewell, and

was rewarded with a Council Medal at the Great Exhibition. It has been called the Autographic Telegraph, from its conveying the message actually written in the handwriting of the person that sends it. The message is written upon a sheet of tinfoil, with a thick ink like varnish, which, when dry, is a non-conductor of electricity. This sheet is rolled round a metallic cylinder, so that the lines of the writing are parallel to its axis. A blunt steel point or style is made to move over the message in lines, parallel to the axis of the cylinder which revolves round its axis, as if the steel point were obliterating the message by a number of parallel lines. The style, like that in Bain's telegraph, is connected with the telegraphic wire, at the other end of which is a similar steel point, which draws similar lines upon a sheet of paper wetted with a solution of prussiate of potash, and rolled upon a metallic cylinder. When the style, which passes over the written message, rests upon the tinfoil, the electric current passes along the wire, and the writing style at its farther extremity makes a blue line, but whenever it passes over the non-conducting varnish, the current is stopped, and the recording style leaves a *white space* of the same breadth as the breadth of the varnished lines. In this way, when the style has passed over the whole of the message in parallel lines, the recording style will have left the message written in white letters of exactly the same form, and relieved by the blue ground produced by the blue lines drawn on the chemically prepared paper. This operation is analogous to that of the workman who is cutting letters upon boxwood for a wood-cut. In cutting out the letter O, for example, he cuts away all the wood excepting what forms the circle. In like manner the recording style covers over with blue lines all the surface of the paper excepting what forms the letters, thus  which may represent the letter O, as if written with white paint on a shaded ground. These electro-chemical telegraphs may, upon the principles we have described, transmit to a distance copies of profiles, or portraits, or outline drawings of any kind.

The art of photography has for a long time been employed in France for the detection and identification of thieves and other criminals. When the culprit is brought into the police office, his picture is instantaneously taken, and though he has learned to put his features on these occasions into contortions, yet the artist never fails to catch them in their natural state. Mr. Gardiner, the governor of Bristol gaol, has recently introduced the same practice. His apparatus cost only £10, and the expense of working it is not above £5 per annum. The following case, which he has published, shews the great value of his plan, which he is anxious

to have introduced throughout the kingdom. "J. H. came the Bristol gaol upon commitment for trial, a perfect strang me and my officers. He was well attired, but very illiterate. The state of his hands convinced me that he had not done any hard work, while the superiority of his appearance over his attainments led me to suspect that he was a practised thief. I forwarded his likeness to several places, and soon received information that he had been convicted in London and Dublin. The London officer who recognised him by his portrait was subpœnaed as a witness, picked him out from among thirty or forty other prisoners, and gave evidence on his trial in October 1854, which led the Recorder to sentence him to six years' penal servitude." This admirable process may now be extended by means of the copying telegraph. We cannot convey a photograph along a wire with its lights and shades, but an outline either of the whole person, or of the head, or profile, may be easily transmitted, and there can be no doubt that an outline of the culprit, even if the face is not seen at all, may often be sufficient for his identification.

The next telegraph that attracts our particular notice is the printing telegraph of Mr. J. Brett, who received a Council Medal at the Great Exhibition for this and other inventions connected with telegraphic communications which he exhibited. By this telegraph communications are sent in any language, and printed upon paper with considerable rapidity and precision. The paper and ink are self-supplied from a store which lasts for a considerable time. Plumbago or vermilion are considered preferable to printing ink, as they do not require to be so frequently replenished. Mr. Brett arranges his letters on the type wheel in the order of the frequency of their occurrence, which is as follows—*e, t, a, i, o, n, s, h, r, w, d, l, c, f, m, u, b, g, p, j, y, k, v, x, q, z.* He assures us, that messages may be printed more rapidly than a well practised person could write them; and that after a little experience, "a clerk might manipulate upon the finger key-board upwards of 150 letters in a minute."

The American printing telegraph of Mr. House is a very complex but ingenious, and useful instrument. It has at the transmitting station a key-board with each letter of the alphabet upon a key. When the operator presses down the key with the letter A, for example, the same letter A, which is a type upon a dial or wheel at the recording station, is brought by the electric current into a certain position, and having in its passage to this position received ink from the inking apparatus, a band or ribbon of paper is pressed against it and receives an impression of the letter. The next letter of the message is brought into its position in the same way, and as the ribbon of paper is drawn

forward, its impression is made next to the letter A which preceded it. The advance of the ribbon, the inking of the type, and the pressure of the paper against it, are produced by an apparatus moved by the operator, at the recording station, by the action of a treadle. Grove's battery is used as the electric power, and about thirty cylindrical pairs are required to produce the effect for a distance of 100 miles. This apparatus was first employed in 1849 upon the line between Philadelphia and New York. It is now in use on upwards of 1358 miles of the American lines, and messages printed at the rate of from thirty to thirty-five words, or from 165 to 200 letters per minute, have been printed in common Roman character at a distance of 500 miles. The celerity of transmission must no doubt depend on the skill of the operator, for we are informed by Mr. Turnbull, that on one occasion 365 letters per minute, or upwards of six per second, were transmitted from New York to Utica, a distance of 240 miles. The average number, however, as we have stated already, is from thirty to thirty-five words per minute, or 500 letters, when, as a newspaper, abbreviations are allowed. In the autumn of 1850, a newspaper dispatch of 7000 words was transmitted from Syracuse to Buffalo in two hours and ten minutes, which is at the rate of fifty-four words in a minute.

The telegraphs most commonly used in this country are what have been called the Needle and the Dial Telegraphs. The first transmits messages by signals or the different positions of a magnetic needle, and the second by pointing in succession to the different letters of the message upon a dial-plate containing the letters of the alphabet and numerals. Although the telegraphs of both these constructions perform their work well, yet it seems to be the general opinion that the dial telegraphs are more easily wrought and less subject to error. In the needle telegraphs each signal is independent of those which precede it, so that in making up the dispatch the operator does not discover the error, whereas in the dial telegraph he notices any incoherence in the dispatch while he is reading it, as it were, upon the instrument.

The single needle telegraph consists of a galvanometer or coil of wires for strengthening the electric current, and a commutator apparatus, by turning the handle of which in different directions, the current may be either stopped or inverted in its direction. A magnetic needle is placed within the galvanometer, but on the same axis is placed another needle which may be either magnetic or not, but which, while following all the motions of the magnetic needle, indicates upon a dial plate the letters or signals which are to be transmitted, or which are received. The alphabet is placed in two halves, the first half from A to L on the left hand of the needle standing vertically, and the other half

from L to Y on the right hand of it. Beneath each letter is placed the number of motions of the needle by which the letter is expressed, the needle moving to the left for the first half, and to the right for the second half of the alphabet. In like manner a row of numerals is placed beneath the lower end of the needle, those from 1 to 6 on the left hand, and from 6 to 9 and 0 on the right hand, and the number of motions of the lower half of the needle which correspond to them is placed above them. The letter M, for example, is indicated by one click and motion of the upper half of the needle to the right, and the letter A by two clicks and motions of the needle to the left.

The double needle telegraph is merely a combination of two single ones, which can be wrought by the right and left hand of the operator, each telegraph working upon a separate wire. The object of the double instrument is to make the signals more rapidly, in consequence of a much greater number of signals being obtained by combining the deflections to the right and left of both needles.

The dial telegraphs which are used in this country, as well as in France and Germany, all indicate letters and numbers upon a dial-plate like that of a clock, the operator at the transmitting station turning the hand or index to a particular letter, and the operator at the recording station observing the index on his dial-plate pointing to the same letter. These effects, though of the same kind, are produced by different pieces of mechanism, differing more or less in their simplicity and ingenuity. The German telegraphs, however, constructed by Siemens, differ in one respect from all the rest. The dial is placed horizontally, and is surrounded by a circular key-board, the letter engraven on each key corresponding in position to that upon the dial. When the current is sent through the wires, the hand or index of the dial-plate at all the stations on the line moves with greater or less rapidity like the seconds hand of a clock, with uninterrupted but regular motion, and on all the dial-plates upon the line the hand reaches the same letter at the same instant. When the operator at the transmitting station places his finger upon the key of the letter A, the revolving index is stopped on that letter at all the stations, in consequence of the current being stopped. After the proper pause, he transmits the next letter, and so on till the despatch is completed. In this very ingenious telegraph, the index describes the semi-circumference of the dial in a second, that is, it gives fifteen signals in a second. In order to obtain this velocity, a pile of 5 couples of Daniell's battery is sufficient at each station for each apparatus; but the number of couples required does not increase in proportion to the length of the telegraphic

circuit which separates the instruments. With subterranean wires, M. Siemens found that for a distance of 50 German miles, a pile of 25 couples of Daniell's battery was sufficient; but this power is used only on lines where there are no intermediate stations. When there are such stations, instead of employing a more powerful battery, we have only to introduce into the circuit the electricity of the intermediate piles when despatches are to be sent between the extreme stations. M. Siemens, however, has invented an additional apparatus for working the telegraph at great distances without greatly increasing the strength of the battery. He has constructed also a very ingenious apparatus for printing the despatch by the ordinary type upon a ribbon of paper; but though it was generally used in Prussia for a considerable time, it has been replaced by the more rapid printing process of Morse.

Having thus given a brief history of the different proposals that were made during the last hundred years to construct electric telegraphs by persons who did not realize their schemes, and perhaps were not fitted to realize them, and described, in a very general manner, the more interesting as well as the more common forms of this noble instrument, we shall now endeavour to give a popular and general account of the labours of those individuals who have the high merit of having introduced the electric telegraph into actual use, either for private or public purposes.

MM. Gauss and Weber of Göttingen, were decidedly the first persons who applied an electric telegraph to purposes of actual utility. So early as 1833, they had erected a telegraphic wire between the astronomical and magnetical Observatory of Göttingen, and the Physical Cabinet of the University, for the purpose of carrying intelligence from the one locality to the other; but the wire was destroyed on the 16th December 1833, by a flash of lightning which struck it at the place where it passed the top of the Tower of St. John. They employed the phenomena of magnetic induction discovered by Mr. Faraday; and their signals were made by the different movements and oscillations of a magnetic needle observed through a telescope.*

The merit of inventing the modern telegraph and applying it on a grand scale for public use is, beyond all controversy, due to Professor Morse of the United States. So early as the year 1832, in the month of October, when on board the packet boat Sully, he described his invention to W. Pell, the captain of the packet-boat, and to Mr. Rives, the minister of the United States,

* See Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, Aug. 9, 1834. No. 128, pp. 1273, 1274, and 1835, No. 36.

to the French government. Both these gentlemen bear testimony to the fact in the most distinct manner;* and though an unsuccessful attempt has been made to rob the American professor of his just rights, by asserting that a Mr. Jackson had communicated the invention to him on board the same packet boat,† yet Mr. Jackson never prosecuted his views and turned them to public use; and even if, without any other evidence in his favour but his own, we were to admit that he did make a useful communication to his fellow-passenger, this would only make the invention more clearly an American one, and would still leave to Professor Morse the high merit of having realized the idea of another, and made it of general use to his own country and to Europe. While men high in office, and even men of science on both sides of the Atlantic, entertained doubts of the applicability and practical use of the telegraph, Professor Morse was actively engaged in pressing the importance of his invention on the attention of Congress, and "though only half convinced, by his earnestness and demonstrations, the federal legislature consented to make the experiment, and with that view appropriated a sum of money for the construction of a telegraph forty miles in length between Washington and Baltimore. This may be considered as the parent telegraph of the transatlantic world, from which a system has since sprung which, from its extent and achievements, is well calculated to fill both native and foreigner with astonishment."‡

Morse and his coadjutors took up the subject of the electric telegraph, not as a mere adjunct of a railway for railway purposes chiefly, but as a great national instrument for the rapid conveyance of intelligence, entirely independent of the railway system, and which might have been established if railways had never existed. The American telegraphs have therefore the peculiar character of not always following the railway lines, but of pursuing a shorter path from point to point through a wild, broken, and uncultivated country through which no railway could be carried. Many places have, therefore, been brought into telegraphic communication with each other between which no railway exists, and the inhabitants of distant and inaccessible localities, who never can expect the luxury of railway transport, are provided with all the advantages of telegraphic communication.

Owing to the independence of the telegraph system of lines of railway, it has necessarily made a more rapid progress in America than in any other part of the world. A large number of

* *Comptes Rendus, &c*, tom. vii. p. 593.
† *Idem*, tom. viii. p. 345.
‡ Mackay's *Western World*, vol. ii. p. 252.

independent Companies have been established, and new ones are constantly forming, each surpassing its predecessor in the extent and grandeur of its schemes. In all the American telegraphs the dispatches are conveyed by a single conducting wire. They all write or print their despatches, the telegraph of House in actual letters, and those of Morse and Bain in a cipher,—Morse by indenting short and long lines upon a paper ribbon, and Bain, as we have seen, by writing them upon chemical paper. The following was the extent of their lines in 1853 and 1854.

	End of 1852.	March 1854.
Morse's lines,	19,963 miles.	36,972
House's do.	2,400	3,850
Bain's do.	2,012	570
	24,375	41,392

the increase in little more than a year being 17,017 miles. The capital employed upon these lines is about a million and a half sterling.

A line of enormous magnitude, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, has been projected from Natchez in the State of Mississippi to San Francisco in California, a distance of 2400 miles, and a Company is said to be organized to carry out this scheme with a capital of upwards of a million sterling. When this line is completed, and Newfoundland joined by a submarine or transmarine telegraph with the old world, a message may be conveyed from Europe to the Pacific in less than a day.

This great extension of telegraphic communication in America arises from the extensive use which is made of it by all classes of society as a method of transmitting and receiving intelligence. The price of a message of ten words sent ten miles is about fivepence, and for greater distances it is about 0.035 pence per mile. The messages of the government have always the precedence, those for detecting criminals come next, then death messages, then cases of sickness. Important news by the press are next sent. Commercial men use the telegraph to a great extent, some houses paying even £200 per annum. Parties converse with one another at the distance of 500 or 700 miles. Sales are effected by it—absent friends correspond with their families—medical consultations pass along the wire, and in the towns near New York, invitations to a party, inquiries about health, and even jokes, all tremble along the copper line.

As one of the earliest inventors of telegraphic apparatus, and one of the first persons who erected a real modern telegraph, we must name M. Steinhill of Munich. The Bavarian telegraph, as this may be called, is an application of the discoveries of

Oersted, Faraday, and Schweigger. In a copper wire, about eight English miles long, and three-fourths of a line thick, M. Steinhill produced a voltaic current by the action of a rotatory magneto-electric machine, similar to that of Clarke. The conducting wire terminates at different stations in multipliers of from 400 to 600 coils of very fine and insulated wire, in the middle of each of which is a magnetic needle placed on a vertical axis terminated by two points. The deviation of this needle from its primitive position by the electric current affords the means of obtaining telegraphic signals. As visible signals, however, appeared to M. Steinhill to be imperfect, from their requiring the constant attention of the operator, he placed on the side of his two magnetic needles two bells with different sounds, and by changing the direction of the current, he could ring either of these bells at pleasure. By means of the deviation of the needle, he gave motion to two pointed tubes containing a particular kind of ink, so that at each stroke upon the bell one of the tubes pressed its point upon a ribbon of paper revolving with an uniform motion, and made a mark corresponding to the needle and bell to which it was attached. The marks of each point were, of course, formed in the same line, so that we have two lines of marks upon one ribbon of paper. By combining the sounds and marks to the extent of four, M. Steinhill has obtained a spoken and a written alphabet, comprehending all the letters which are necessary to write every word of the German language. These are exhibited in the following diagram, and if we conceive each four marks to be joined by lines, we shall see how they become more distinct as signals:

A B D E F G H CH SCH I K L M N O P R S T V W Z

.·. .·: ·. . :· ·: ·:· .... :: ·.· : :. ··· ·· ... ·.· .. :: : ·.· ·.·. :.

The ten numerals are distinguished in a similar manner. This telegraph was established in July 1837, and consequently it must have been invented, and its invention known, some time before. It commenced at the observatory of M. Steinhill in the Lerchenstrass of Munich, where the conducting wire was united to a plate of copper six inches square, buried in the ground. From this the wire passed over the houses to the Academy of Sciences, where the second station was established. From this it went to the Royal Observatory at Bogenhausen, where there was a third station, and where the wire terminated in a plate of copper six inches square buried in the ground.

M. Steinhill, to use his own words, "thinks that he has invented the first telegraph in the true sense of the word, that is to say, an apparatus which speaks a language easily comprehended, and

which writes what it speaks, or rather what we wish it to speak."* We concur with the inventor that this is the character of his telegraph, and we do not hesitate to express our admiration of the sagacity and ingenuity which it displays in all its parts. The fact that the earth may be used as one half of the conductor, is a discovery of vast importance, made, independently we doubt not, by him, but we owe it to Sir William Watson, who, in 1747, completed the circuit at great distances by water, and even by two miles of dry ground.† But while we give this well-merited praise to M. Steinhill, we are not prepared to admit that his was the first real telegraph of the modern type. The claims of Professor Morse cannot be overlooked, either as an inventor of telegraphic apparatus, or an active introducer of his invention as a national improvement. With all its ingenuity, the Bavarian telegraph had undoubted disadvantages, and we are told " that M. Steinhill himself has abandoned it in favour of a modification of the instrument of Morse."

We come now to the most interesting part of our subject, namely, the history of the introduction of the electric telegraph into England. We regret that this question has not been discussed by Dr. Lardner, who is better fitted to do it skilfully and honestly than any person we know. He has declined, however, on account of the space which such a discussion would have occupied, and the little interest which it would have inspired in " the masses to whom his Museum is addressed." So completely, indeed, has he shunned the subject, that he has hardly mentioned the names of the individuals to whom we are indebted for the introduction of this noble instrument into England. In the pages of a Review, however, such a discussion cannot be evaded, and we regret that a recent attempt to vitiate the history of the electric telegraph in England should give this discussion a controversial character.

About two years ago we became possessed of a printed document containing the views, or rather the decision, of two of our greatest men upon this very subject; and we intended to have placed this decision before our readers without any argument of our own, as the basis of the few observations which we meant to oppose to the vitiated history to which we have referred. We have been fortunate enough, however, to obtain, only this day, the copy of a pamphlet‡ which states the grounds upon which the above decision was pronounced, and which informs

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* See *Comptes Rendus*, &c. tom. vii. p. 590-93, where he has described his invention.

† *Phil. Trans.* 1747, or Priestley's *Electricity*, pp. 102-109.

‡ *The Electric Telegraph—Was it invented by Professor Wheatstone?* By William Fothergill Cooke, Esq. London, 1854. Pp. 48.

us, that all the documents and drawings relating to the subject are now in the press.

Mr. William Fothergill Cooke, to whom we owe the introduction of the electic telegraph into England, and who was the first English inventor of the telegraphic apparatus, held a commission in the Indian army. Having returned from India on leave of absence, and on account of ill-health, he afterwards resigned his commission and went to Heidelberg to study anatomy. In the month of March 1836, Professor Möncke of Heidelberg exhibited an electro-telegraphic experiment, in which electric currents, passing along a conducting wire, conveyed signals to a distant station by the deflexion of a magnetic needle enclosed in Schweiggor's galvanometer or multiplier. The currents were produced by a voltaic battery placed at each end of the wire, and the apparatus was worked by moving the ends of the wires backward and forward between the battery and the galvanometer. Mr. Cooke was so struck with this experiment, that he immediately resolved to apply it to purposes of higher utility than the illustration of a lecture, and he abandoned his anatomical pursuits, and applied his whole energies to the invention of a practical electric telegraph. Within three weeks, in April 1836, he made his first electric telegraph, partly at Heidelberg and partly at Frankfort. It was of the galvanometer form, consisting of six wires, forming three metallic circuits, and influencing three needles. By the combination of these signals, he obtained an alphabet of twenty-six signals. Drawings of the instrument are given in the work which we have already mentioned as in the course of publication. Mr. Cooke soon afterwards made another electric telegraph of a different construction. He had invented the *detector*, for discovering the locality of injuries done to the wires, the *reciprocal* communicator, and the *alarm*. All this was done in the months of March and April 1836; and in June and July of the same year, he recorded the details of his system in a manuscript pamphlet, from which it was obvious, that in July 1836, " he had wrought out his practical system from the minutest official details up to the records and extended ramifications of an important political and commercial engine."

When his telegraphic apparatus was completed, he shewed it in November 1836 to Mr. Faraday, and he afterwards submitted it and his pamphlet, in January 1837, to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company, with whom he made a conditional arrangement, with the view of using it on the long tunnel at Liverpool. In February 1837, when he was about to apply for a patent, he consulted Mr. Faraday and Dr. Roget on the construction of the electro-magnet employed in a part of

his apparatus, and the last of these gentlemen advised him to consult Professor Wheatstone. He accordingly went to him on the 27th February 1837. The following is Mr. Cooke's account of the interview and its results:—"He politely invited me to King's College, where I found, that in connexion with about four miles of wire, he was in the habit of using two galvanometers of different constructions in his experiments on the effects of electric currents in deflecting magnetic needles. He had no apparatus of any kind for giving signals; but he had two keyboards, one of which was occasionally used in our experiments.

"What he had done towards inventing the practical electric telegraph was confined to the 'permutating principle' of his keyboards. This principle, which diminished the requisite number of wires, was engrafted on my reciprocal telegraph, and became very valuable in connexion with later improvements; but though diminishing the number of wires, the permutating keys by themselves, and without the later improvements, would have been more complex than my first galvanometer keys; for each of the latter gave two signals by a single needle, (the plan now adopted on the Blackwall Railway,) while the former required the concurrent action of at least two keys and two needles.

"Though Professor Wheatstone was, when I first consulted him, in possession of a valuable principle, he had gone no further. Excepting the permutating principle, he was practical behind Möneke; for the latter had an instrument for giving signals, and Mr. Wheatstone had none. Even had all his apparent intentions been worked out, he would not then have fulfilled any of the fundamental conditions of the practical electric telegraph,—the power of detecting injuries to the wires by fracture, water, or contact,—of attracting attention at the commencement of the communication,—of sending signals alternately backwards and forwards by the same apparatus, and of exhibiting the signals to the operator, as well as to the recipient. In a word, he had no detector, no alarm, no reciprocal communicator."

The result of this interview was the formation of a partnership in May 1837, when it was agreed that in the joint patent, Mr. Cooke's name should stand first; that Mr. Wheatstone should pay £80, and Mr. Cooke £50 of the expense of the patent, and that an allowance of £130 should be made to Mr. Cooke for his past experiments.

After these arrangements were completed, and the invention had become the subject of conversation, it was ascribed to Mr. Wheatstone alone. Mr. Cooke's name, though standing first in

the patent, and though undoubtedly the original inventor, was never mentioned, and to such a length did this go, that in an account of the electric telegraph, published in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* for the 25th July 1839, and obtained from conversation with Mr. Wheatstone, Mr. Cooke's name never appears. The inventions of Mr. Alexander Bain, a most meritorious individual, the inventor of electric clocks, and of the beautiful electric telegraph which we have explained, were all ascribed to Mr. Wheatstone; and the members of the different scientific societies and coteries in London, the dispensers of contemporary fame, and to whom Mr. Cooke and Mr. Bain were unknown, were the tools by which these acts of injustice were perpetrated. Mr. Cooke, a soldier, an educated man, and a gentleman, was represented as a mechanic, and Mr. Bain as a workman, who had pilfered the inventions of Mr. Wheatstone.

The day of retribution, however, came, as it always comes, both in defence of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Bain. Mr. Cooke attempted in vain to have these erroneous impressions effaced by the help of Mr. Wheatstone himself, but having failed he insisted upon having it ascertained by arbitration, "in what shares, and with what priorities and relative degrees of merit the said parties hereto are inventors of the electric telegraph, due regard being paid to the original projection thereof, to the development of its laws and properties, to the practical introduction of it into the United Kingdom, since the improvements made upon it since its introduction there, and to all other matters which the arbitrators, or any two of them, shall in their discretion think deserving of their consideration." The arbiters were Sir Isambard Brunel, named by Mr. Cooke, and Professor Daniell of King's College, by Mr. Wheatstone, both colleagues of Mr. Wheatstone in the Royal Society, and Mr. Daniell, a brother professor of Mr. Wheatstone in King's College,—an important remark, the reason of which will soon appear. Mr. Cooke was a member of none of the London societies or coteries, but felt himself safe, as he might well do, in the high talents and established character of Sir Isambard Brunel.

In the course of five months the arbiters examined all the documents submitted to them, and on the 27th April 1841, they made the following award,—

"As the electric telegraph has recently attracted a considerable share of public attention, our friends, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone, have been put to some inconvenience by a misunderstanding which has prevailed respecting their relative positions in connexion with the invention. The following short statement of the facts has, therefore, at their request, been drawn up by us the undersigned Sir M. Isambard Brunel, engineer of the Thames Tunnel, and Professor

Daniell of King's College, as a document which either party may at pleasure make publicly known.

"In March 1836, Mr. Cooke, while engaged at Heidelberg in scientific pursuits, witnessed, for the first time, one of those well-known experiments on electricity, considered as a possible means of communicating intelligence, which have been tried and exhibited from time to time, during many years, by various philosophers. Struck with the vast importance of an instantaneous mode of communication to the railways then extending themselves over Great Britain, as well as to Government and general purposes; and impressed with a strong conviction that so great an object might be practically attained by means of electricity, Mr. Cooke immediately directed his attention to the adaptation of electricity to a practical system of telegraphing; and, giving up the profession in which he was engaged, he from that hour devoted himself exclusively to the realization of that object. He came to England in April 1836, to perfect his plans and instruments. In February 1837, while engaged in completing a set of instruments for an intended experimental application of his telegraph to a tunnel on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, he became acquainted, through the introduction of Dr. Roget, with Professor Wheatstone, who had for several years given much attention to the subject of transmitting intelligence by electricity, and had made several discoveries of the highest importance connected with this subject. Among these were his well-known determination of the velocity of electricity when passing through a metal wire;—his experiments, in which the deflection of magnetic needles, the decomposition of water, and other voltaic and magneto-electric effects, were produced through greater lengths of wire than had ever before been experimented upon; and his original method of converting a few wires into a considerable number of circuits, so that they might transmit the greatest number of signals, which can be transmitted by a given number of wires, by the deflection of magnetic needles.

"In May 1837, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone took out a joint English patent, on a footing of equality, for their existing inventions. The terms of their partnership, which were more exactly defined and confirmed in November 1837, by a partnership deed, vested in Mr. Cooke, as the originator of the undertaking, the exclusive management of the invention in Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, with the exclusive engineering department, as between themselves, and all the benefits arising from the laying down of the lines, and the manufacture of the instruments. As partners standing on a perfect equality, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone were to divide equally all proceeds arising from the granting of licenses, or from sale of the patent rights,—a per centage being first payable to Mr. Cooke as manager. Professor Wheatstone retained an equal voice with Mr. Cooke in selecting and modifying the forms of the telegraphic instruments; and both parties pledged themselves to impart to each other, for their equal and mutual benefit, all improvements, of whatever

kind, which they might become possessed of, connected with the giving of signals, or the sounding of alarums, by means of electricity. Since the formation of the partnership, the undertaking has rapidly progressed, under the constant and equally successful exertions of the parties in their distinct departments, until it has attained the character of a simple and practical system, worked out scientifically on the sure basis of actual experience.

"Whilst Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph as a useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance, and Professor Wheatstone is acknowledged as the scientific man, whose profound and successful researches had already prepared the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application, it is to the united labours of two gentlemen, so well qualified for mutual assistance, that we must attribute the rapid progress which this important invention has made during the five years since they have been associated.

"Mc. Id. Brunel.
J. F. Daniell.

"*London, 27th April* 1841."

"*London, 27th April* 1841

"Gentlemen,—We cordially acknowledge the correctness of the facts stated in the above document, and beg to express our grateful sense of the very friendly and gratifying manner in which you have recorded your opinion of our joint labours, and of the value of our invention. We are, Gentlemen, with feelings of the highest esteem, your obedient servants,

"Willm. F. Cooke.
C. Wheatstone.

"Sir M. Isambard Brunel and
J. F. Daniell, Esq., Professor, &c. &c."

With such a distinct verdict from so distinguished a jury, we should have thought that this controversy was for ever closed. The parties expressed their satisfaction, and it was to be presumed that the two arbiters, whose European reputation was at stake, had conscientiously discharged their duty to the real claimants and to the public. This, however, was not the result of the award. Mr. Cooke claimed nothing more than was adjudged to him, while Mr. Wheatstone again attempted to monopolize the honour of being the inventor of the electric telegraph. His numerous scientific friends propagated the tale, and against such odds the real and little-known inventor had no chance of protection. An humble inventor or discoverer in the provinces, or in the private circles of the metropolis, has no chance against the combination and partisanship of London institutions; but as happened before, a day of retribution again arrives for the protection of the helpless and the establishment of truth. In the

eagerness to seize the bubble-reputation, it often burst in the grasp. In the present case a fact transpires, in the ardour of pursuit, which speaks volumes on the subject.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Cooke applies for redress to Mr. Wheatstone, his partner in a lucrative concern, and on the 16th January 1845, thus addresses him :—

"It is now nearly two years since I remonstrated with you on the endeavours which your friends were making to undermine the award of Sir Isambard Brunel and Mr. Daniell, of April 1841; but as these remonstrances were met by the assurance of your solicitor (made in your name and by your expressed desire) in his letter of the 20th May 1843, that there was no truth in the report that you denied your full consent to the declarations contained in the printed paper,—an assurance further confirmed by his letter of the 27th June, in these words—'Mr. Wheatstone does not desire to escape from a single conclusion which the award warrants;'—all I could do, was to express myself satisfied with an explanation so unqualified.

"The same cause of complaint has, however, been repeatedly obtruded upon me since. And I *now hear from your own lips, that you have absolutely armed yourself with a letter from Mr. Daniell to counteract a certain construction of the award, which you consider objectionable.*

"This is indeed an alarming document to hold in reserve; and how Mr. Daniell could reconcile any such letter with the character of a Judge, remains to be explained."

If the letter from Mr. Daniell, thus singularly referred to, is a real document intended to affect the history of science, and the rights of an individual, Mr. Cooke and the public ought to call for its production. It will reveal a fact, hitherto unsuspected, that the arbiters did not agree on their verdict, and that Mr. Daniell conceded something to Sir Isambard Brunel in favour of Mr. Cooke, and against Mr. Wheatstone. In this there was nothing wrong. It happens in almost every arbitration, when two individuals are appointed by two contending parties, that each concedes something to the other to obtain a harmonious settlement; and it would not be unjust if each arbiter were to leave on record, in the hands of their respective friends, a memorandum of the points which have been thus conceded. But if one of the arbiters does this without the knowledge of the other, and puts it in the power of his friend, at any future time, to bring it forward in support of his original and rejected claims, that arbiter has acted *unjustly, illegally,* and *dishonourably;* and society should protect itself by marking such conduct with its severest rebuke. If this letter shall ever fall down upon Mr. Cooke's neck, above which it is now suspended, we shall then *conjecture* for ourselves the amount of concession which Sir

Isambard Brunel must have made against his own client, to balance the concession made by his brother arbiter; for we are sure that he has left no letter in the hands of Mr. Cooke to assist him in escaping from a single conclusion of the award. But if this letter is brought forward to alarm Mr. Cooke, the friends of Professor Daniell may well be anxious about the result, and we think it is their duty to demand its production. We have ample faith in the honour of Professor Daniell, and we willingly adopt the liberal sentiment of Mr. Cooke, that if he "did express himself incautiously in writing to his friend, no one acquainted with his manly and upright character, can suppose that he intended to sanction a clandestine use of his letter to assist Mr. Wheatstone," or to injure Mr. Cooke. Ignorant though we be of the nature of this singular document, we have no difficulty if it was written by Professor Daniell in predicting its contents. Its object, doubtless, was to sweeten the bitter pill of the award. It was an opiate tenderly administered to disappointed vanity,— a curb, perchance, to that morbid appetite for fame, which respects neither individual rights nor social feelings. By this anticipation of its purpose, we at once protect the character of its author, and the rights of the individual which it has been brought forward to assail.

The future history of this remarkable partnership is soon told. Mr. Cooke pursued, with unflinching ardour, his scheme of making the Electric Telegraph a work of "national importance," and being prepared by his own inventions, and by the joint invention in Cooke and Wheatstone's patent, he took steps in the autumn of 1845 to organize a joint-stock Company, which he effected in 1846. This Company, under the name of the *Electric Telegraph Company,* applied to Parliament in the session of 1846 for a Bill of Incorporation. This Bill was opposed by Mr. Alexander Bain of Edinburgh, who asserted in his petition that he had invented an Electric Clock, and an Electric Printing Telegraph,—that he had communicated these inventions confidentially to Mr. Wheatstone, and that the latter had claimed them as his own. Notwithstanding this opposition, the Directors of the Company carried their Bill, though not without difficulty, through the House of Commons; but when it came to the House of Lords, Mr. Bain's statement and the evidence which I gave in its support made such an impression on the members of the Lords' Committee, that on the afternoon of its third sitting, the Duke of Beaufort, as chairman, intimated to the Counsel of the Electric Telegraph Company that they should make an arrangement with Mr. Bain, "hinting," as Mr. Cooke says, "pretty plainly, that their Bill might be thrown out if they declined to do so." Mr. Bain accordingly received,

we believe, £12,000, and thus, to Mr. Wheatstone's extreme displeasure, became associated with the Company, binding himself to give them the use of his inventions. "About the same time the Directors had, unluckily, made an agreement with a Mr. Henry Mapple, in ignorance that this person had a similar controversy with Mr. Wheatstone respecting an improved alarum and a telegraphic rope," and "in consequence of these untoward circumstances, Mr. Wheatstone sent in an account of his expenses, and retired altogether from the Company's service."

Let us now see under what obligation, and how richly rewarded, Mr. Wheatstone left the service of the Company. So early as the 12th April 1843, Mr. Cooke entered into an agreement by which he was to pay Mr. Wheatstone a royalty varying from £20 to £15 per mile for every ten miles of telegraph he should complete during the year, £20 for the *first* ten miles, and £15 for the *sixth* ten miles and all beyond it, Mr. Wheatstone assigning to Mr. Cooke all the letters patent of Cooke and Wheatstone, and all future patents for improvements. In 1845, when the Electric Telegraph Company was in contemplation, and when many lines of telegraph had been already laid down by Mr. Cooke, he entered into a new agreement with Mr. Wheatstone, by which he bought up his royalty for £30,000, together with all arrears of royalty due at the date of the agreement.

Thus liberally rewarded for half of the joint patent held by Mr. Cooke and himself, one would have thought that all farther controversy was at an end. The Company succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations, and Mr. Wheatstone became discontented with his reward. He claimed to be the inventor of the electric telegraph! He forgot the rights of his partner and benefactor as conceded and signed by himself,—and as adjudicated by Sir Isambard Brunel and Professor Daniell. He forgot the concession of £12,000 by the Lords' Committee to Mr. Bain for his electric clock and his beautiful electric telegraph; and those eminent individuals ceased to be named but as mechanics and workmen, whom he had taken into his service! Mr. Cooke, whose forbearance we cannot but admire, maintained a dignified silence as long as the injuries which were done to him were whispered in private, or circulated in scientific coteries. The time, however, at last came, the crisis in Mr. Wheatstone's history as well as in his, when he was dragged before the public by a representative of Mr. Wheatstone's feelings as well as opinions, and compelled to appeal to its tribunal, in a voice as articulate as the railway whistle or the electric thunder.

An article on the Electric Telegraph appeared in the Quarterly Review for June 1854, in which the claims of Morse and Steinhill, and Cooke and Bain, are unceremoniously thrown

overboard, and Mr. Wheatstone pronounced the inventor of the Electric Telegraph!! That such a perversion of scientific history, and such a violation of recorded truth, should have appeared in such a respectable Journal, has greatly surprised us, and we confess that we feel as much for the author who has permitted himself to be a dupe, as we do for Mr. Cooke, whom that dupe has so wantonly made a victim. Roused by this attack upon his honour, and this attempt to wrest from him not what he claims, but what was given to him by the solemn decree of two of the most distinguished men of the day, and one of them Mr. Wheatstone's particular friend, Mr. Cooke has been driven to write the pamphlet to which we have referred, and to publish in support of its statements a volume of documents, illustrated by numerous plates.

Having been the first individual who introduced the Electric Telegraph into England,—having been the first constructor of a working telegraph and various pieces of valuable telegraphic apparatus, invented by himself,—having availed himself of Mr. Wheatstone's talents for completing the particular telegraph patented by Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone,—having paid Mr. Wheatstone £30,000 for his interest in the joint patent,—having established beyond the power of challenge his claim to "*stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having* PRACTICALLY INTRODUCED AND CARRIED OUT THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH AS AN USEFUL UNDERTAKING, Mr. Cooke succeeded, in 1846, in establishing the ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY, of which he is now one of the principal Directors.

Mr. Cooke was fortunate in obtaining the co-operation of such a man as Mr. Lewis Ricardo, M.P., by whose zeal and sagacity this Company has attained its present gigantic magnitude. By the outlay of *three quarters of a million of money*, this Company has covered England and Scotland with a complete net-work of telegraphs, extending along 5480 miles of railway lines, and employing no less than 21,000 miles of wire.* The following balance sheet, shewing the state of accounts of the 30th of June 1852, and the 30th of June 1854, will give the reader an idea of the nature and extent of the establishment.

* This is exclusive of wires used by the Railway Companies for their own purposes. These companies have wires of their own, with a license from the Telegraph Company to use them.

Balance Sheet for the half-year ending 30th June, 1854.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

SHAREHOLDERS' CAPITAL.	£	s.	d.
12,000 Shares, Class A, £20, . £240,000 0 0			
12,000 Shares, Class B, £20, 240,000 0 0			
	480,000	0	0
Debenture Debt, . . .	107,800	0	0
Sundry Liabilities as per Ledger, ...	86,611	2	2
Reserved Fund, . . .	61,033	0	0
30th June 1854, .	£735,447	2	2
" 1852, .	468,255	13	11

	£	s.	d.
Cost of Telegraphs Completed and in Progress, inclusive of cost of Patents, ...	576,908	19	9
House Property in London, ...	11,903	19	1
Due from various Companies, including the International Telegraph Company, ...	97,658	11	11
Spare Stock, . . .	22,070	16	9
Calls in arrear, . .	7,246	8	10
Cash and Securities in hand, ...	17,899	5	10
Value of Shares in trust,	1,759	0	0
30th June 1854, .	£735,447	2	2
" 1852, .	468,255	13	11

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.
Salaries and Wages, . .	21,911	8	4
Station Expenses, . . .	2,070	11	10
Rents, Taxes, Gas, and Insurance, ...	3,146	0	2
Books, Stationery, and Printing, ...	2,544	0	3
Postage, ...	145	5	8
Charges for Intelligence and Sundries, . . .	1,377	14	6
Law Charges, ...	610	5	3
Direction, Audit, and District Committees, . .	720	0	0
Superintendents, Stores, and Maintenance, . .	9,391	4	7
Interest on Debenture Debt, ...	1,918	3	10
Balance, ...	17,044	17	4
30th June 1854, .	£61,215	11	9
" 1852, .	27,437	4	8

	£	s.	d.
Receipts for Messages, Subscriptions, Interest, and Maintenance, . .	61,215	11	9
30th June 1854, .	£61,215	11	9
" 1852, .	27,437	4	8

GENERAL BALANCE.

	£	s.	d.
Dividend on 12,000 Shares, Class A, and 11,900 Shares Class B, at 7 per cent per annum, to be proposed at the General Meeting, ...	16,730	0	0
Balance, after payment of Dividend, ...	4,072	0	0
30th June 1854, .	£20,802	0	0
" 1852, .	10,177	14	1

	£	s.	d.
Balance after payment of Dividend, 31st December, 1853, ...	3,757	2	8
Balance of Revenue Account, 30th June 1854,	17,044	17	4
30th June 1854, .	£20,802	0	0
" 1852, .	10,177	14	1

The average number of messages sent *monthly* during the last quarter, was 58,000, and the average time occupied by a message in transmission was, on important circuits, *one minute*. This work is performed by a numerous staff, which, exclusive of the principal officers, are as follows:—

	London.	Liverpool.	Manchester.	Manchester District.
Male clerks,	141	34	41	59
Female* do.	52	12	17	
Messengers,	83	19	16	18
Engineers,	9			
	185	65	74	77

A staff of clerks and messengers is established also at Birmingham, Leeds, Holyhead, Dublin, and on all the railway lines. The number of the whole being as follows:—

Clerks and messengers, . .	994
Female clerks, ...	81
Engineers, ...	139
Total staff, ...	1214

For the accommodation of the clerks and messengers at the metropolitan station at Lothbury, the Company have established a lodging-house, under the personal supervision of the Directors, where the health and general welfare of their servants are liberally provided for.

Although the Company has expended large sums of money in purchasing the patents of various new and ingenious telegraphs, yet the double-needle telegraph is the one principally used. Mr. Bain's telegraph is used on certain lines, such as between London and Liverpool. "This," as Dr. Lardner observes, "is attended, as compared with the needle instrument, with two advantages; first, that it requires only one line of wire; and, secondly, that it writes its own despatch. With the needle instrument two copies of each despatch must be made, one to be delivered as addressed, and the other to be retained by the office. In using Bain's method, that which is written in telegraphic cipher by the instrument, is retained by the office, so that the time of one clerk is saved."

* The employment of female clerks at the London, Liverpool, and Manchester stations, is a step in social reform, which might be advantageously adopted in various other professions.

The following is the tariff of the Company:—

		s.	d.
Messages of 20 words to distance of 50 miles,		1	0
"	" 100 "	2	6
"	for all greater distances,	5	0
"	London to Birmingham, 112 miles,	1	0
"	" Liverpool, 210 miles,	1	0
"	" Carlisle, 309 miles,	1	0

The central station of the Electric Telegraph Company is in Founder's Court, Lothbury, behind the Bank, from which above 200 wires proceed to seventeen branch-stations, including the eight railway stations in London and its vicinity. In addition to this arrangement for transmitting despatches to different parts of the city, there is a very interesting one for the benefit of Members of Parliament, and of the different clubs in the Metropolis. From the octagon hall in the House of Parliament, a wire passes to the telegraph station in St. James' Street, which is near the West End Club, and by means of it reporters are employed by the Company to transmit an abstract of the proceedings of both Houses. This abstract, a *charta volans*, is immediately printed, and with the additions constantly made to it, is sent every half hour to the Italian Opera and all the principal Clubs at the west end. The following sheet, which we have obtained from the Company, is a *fac-simile* of the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Foreign Enlistment Bill, the House of Lords having adjourned at an early hour:—

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY,

(INCORPORATED 1846.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22ND, 1854.

TIME. H	M.		
4	0	House made.	
4	30	Petitions.	
5	0	Mr. Gladstone gave notice, that, in making financial statement for 1855, he should propose, that duty on tea remain at one shilling and sixpence per pound, until peace was concluded.	(5 : 35) Lords adjourned.
		Questions.	
5	30	House at rising to adjourn to January 23rd.	
		Sir E. Dering moved that Foreign Enlistment Bill be read third time this day six months.	
		Mr. Cobden against Bill.	
6	0	Still speaking.	
6	30	Ditto.	

TIME H	M	
7	0	Mr. Corry opposed
		Dr. Phillimore for.
7	30	Mr. G. Sandars against.
		Mr. Digby Seymour for
		Lord Lovaine against.
8	0	Sir E. Perry supported Bill
		(House thin.)
8	15	Mr. Evelyn against
8	30	Mr. Bentinck against
8	35	Lord Ebrington for.
9	0	Mr. P. O'Brien for.
9	10	Mr. Cowan, and Mr. Abel Smith for
9	30	Mr. Laing for.
10	0	Mr. W. E. Duncombe against.
		Mr. V. Scully for.
		(House filling.)
10	20	Mr. I. Butt against
		(House full.)
11	0	Dr. Michell against.
11	30	Lord J. Russell replying
12	0	Sir J. Pakington repeating his objections.
		(House full.)
12	30	Mr. Bright vindicating Mr. Cobden.
1	0	Still speaking
		(House very full.)
1	10	House divided.
		For third reading — 173
		Against it — 1[illegible]
		Majority for — 58
		Bill read third time
1	30	Solicitor General's clause agreed to.
1	40	Several clauses added
		Bill passed
1	45	HOUSE ADJOURNED till Two o'clock this day

By means of these flying sheets, the members of both Houses who frequent the Opera or the Clubs know the precise time their presence is wanted for a division, or when any of the great speakers are speaking or about to speak.

In conjunction with the Astronomer-Royal and the South-Eastern Railway Company, the Electric Telegraph Company have, at the expense of £1000, completed a chronometrical apparatus, for the transmission of mean Greenwich time to London and the provinces. It is erected on the dome of the Charing-Cross station, at the height of 110 feet above the level of the Thames. It consists of a long quadrangular pillar of wood, 38 feet high and 4 in circumference. The upper part of the pillar which rises above the dome, passes through the centre of a large ball, which falls every day at one o'clock, simultaneously with the similar ball on the top of the Greenwich Obser-

vatory, thus indicating the time to every locality from which it is seen. The ball is nearly 6 feet in diameter. It is formed of zinc, painted red, with a broad gilt belt round it, and weighs 186 lbs.; but its fall is broken by striking an air cylinder beneath. The instant that the ball at Greenwich falls the current of electricity, conveyed by the wire from Greenwich, draws an electric trigger connected with the ball at Charing-Cross, and causes it to fall at the same instant. By the aid of a galvanic clock at the Observatory, hourly signals transmit accurate Greenwich time to the central station at Lothbury, and also to that at Charing-Cross, and the time is transmitted several times a day to Tunbridge, Deal, and Dover.

The first promoters of the Electric Telegraph, sanguine as they were of its ultimate triumph over the prejudices of the railway companies, who at first rejected it, and of supine governments, who were blind to its advantages, and never contributed to its extension, they yet never anticipated that its lines would span wide arms of the sea, and, by crossing even oceans themselves, would girdle the terraqueous globe. The submarine telegraph was not a corollary of the terrestrial. It was a new idea, which it required genius to suggest, and science to realize. Dr. O'Shaughnessy, so early as 1839, succeeded in laying down an insulated conducting wire, attached to a chain-cable in the River Hoogly, which carried the electric current from one bank to another. Another step was made in 1847, by M. Siemens, who first applied gutta percha to the insulation of the wires, and laid down a telegraphic line to cross the Rhine at Cologne.

These steps, however though very important, were not to be compared with the bold and successful attempt to carry a submarine cable from Dover to Calais. In 1850, the Submarine Telegraph Company made the necessary arrangements with the French and Belgian Governments, and Messrs. Newall and Co., the celebrated wire-rope makers of Gateshead, were intrusted with the manufacture of 24 miles of a wire-cable, to stretch over a distance of 21 miles.* For this purpose, four copper wires, the sixteenth of an inch in diameter, were covered with successive coatings of gutta percha. The wires were then twisted together, and surrounded with a mass of spun yarn soaked in grease and tar, so as to form a compact rope impervious to water. In order to give strength to this combination, and protect it from external injury, ten galvanized wires are twisted round the rope, so as to form a submarine cable. This cable was completed in three weeks,

* An unsuccessful attempt had been made in 1850, when the cable broke by the action of the waves rubbing it against a ridge of rocks near Calais, at Cape Gris-nez

but, owing to an accident in laying it down, it suffered a twist or bend, which took it out of the direct line, and prevented it from reaching to Saugat, south of Calais. It was necessary, therefore, to add to it another mile of cable, which being immediately done, though the task was not an easy one, the communication between Calais and Dover was completed on the 17th October 1851, and since that time, Great Britain and the Continent of Europe have, by this iron larynx, conversed with each other on every subject which can interest humanity. The expense of the cable was £9000, and the station at Dover and Calais, £6000. This line of telegraph belongs to the Chartered Submarine Telegraph Company.

By the private enterprise of Messrs. Newall and Company, a still longer submarine cable was stretched across the Irish Channel from Holyhead to Dublin, or rather to Howth. In the deep sea portion of it, the gutta percha rope containing one copper wire was surrounded by ten twisted iron wires, and the shore ends of the same rope surrounded by six iron wires. Transported from the works at Gateshead on twenty waggons, it was sent by railway to Maryport, where the Brittania carried it to Holyhead. On the 4th of June 1852, it was deposited in the Irish Channel, where the depth of water is 70 fathoms, nearly double that between Dover and Calais. The length of the cable is 64 mile and the time of laying it down was 18 hours.

The next great submarine enterprise, under the direction of the Submarine Telegraph Company, was that of uniting Dover with Ostend, a distance of 70 miles. This gigantic cable, also the work of Messrs. Newall and Company, cost £33,000, and was laid down on the 4th of May. On the 6th of May it was the bearer of a friendly message from Belgium to London.

The Magnetic Telegraph Company and the British Telegraph Company, have, according to Dr. Lardner, laid down cables of the same kind from Portpatrick to Donaghadee. a species of rivalry which Parliament ought not to have permitted. The first of these Companies have established upwards of 2000 miles (many of them under ground) of telegraphic lines, and have 13,000 miles of wire in active operation, connecting England and Scotland with the principal towns in Ireland.

A Company, entitled the European and Electric Telegraph Company, which acts in common with the two Submarine Companies, now united, was established in order to connect the cables of those Companies with the metropolis, and with Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester.

Our limits will not permit us to give any farther details respecting these submarine establishments. The most important facts concerning all those which are yet completed, or in pro-

gress, are contained in the following table given by Dr Lardner:—

	No. of Copper Wires.	No. of Iron Wires.	Length in Miles.	Weight per Mile in Tons.
Dover and Calais, . .	4	10	25	7
Holyhead and Howth, . .	1	12	70	1
Dover and Ostend, . .	6	12	70	7
Port-Patrick and Donaghadee Magnetic Telegraph Company, . .	6	12	25	7
Ditto, do., British Telegraph Company,	6	12	27	7
Orfordness and the Hague, .	1	10	135	2
Across the Great Belt, Denmark,	3	9	16	5
Across the Mississippi, . .	1	8	2	2
Across the Zuyder Zee, . .	6	10	5	7½
Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island, ...	1	9	150	1¼
Spezzia and Corsica, . .	6	12	110	8
Corsica and Sardinia, . .	6	12	8	

A submarine line of much greater length than any of the preceding, and of high temporary interest, is about to be laid down by order of Government from Varna to Cape Chersonese or Balaklava. The length will be 300 miles, and Mr. Liddell, the engineer on the new Litchfield and Hitchin Railway, who has already laid down cables in the Mediterranean and other seas, has undertaken to complete it in two months. May its first message convey to Lord Raglan and General Canrobert the gratifying intelligence that they have conquered a secure and honourable peace.

We have already mentioned the contemplated line from Natchez to San Francisco in California, which will connect the Pacific with the Atlantic, and even with St. John's in Newfoundland, which is only five days' passage from Galway, and which would then connect the Pacific with Europe. But why may we not contemplate the union of Newfoundland with Europe by a submarine cable which has been already proposed? As a work of art it is doubtless practicable, and the European powers might contribute the means of thus uniting the two hemispheres of the globe.

A new principle of telegraphic communication, if it shall prove of practical value, may render such an enterprise within the reach even of the western states of Europe. The idea of what may provisionally be called a transmarine telegraph has been recently brought forward by Mr. Lindsay of Dundee. This plan is to send the electric current through great distances of water by means of long lines of wire stretching along the opposite shores. These lines communicate with a powerful battery, and their

four terminations dip into the sea, so that the electric currents flow in two different directions across the ocean. Mr. Lindsay had made experiments on a small scale in Scotland, which so far confirmed his views; but he repeated them on a larger scale last summer at Portsmouth, where he sent messages through a mile of water, though there were many ships in the intervening space, and many of them with coppered bottoms. In this experiment the length of the lateral wires was less than half a mile. We understand that a patent has been secured by a company who intend in spring to make experiments on a great scale.

Although it would be a work of supererogation to point out to our readers the various uses of the Electric Telegraph, yet there are some of them so little known, and others of so remarkable a nature, that they deserve the widest circulation. Among these uses, those of a scientific nature may claim the first place. The beautiful arrangement which we owe to Mr. Airy, the Astronomer-Royal, of transmitting to the most distant telegraphic regions the true time of Greenwich, is one of inestimable value. The difficulty of obtaining correct time for the accurate record of astronomical and atmospherical phenomena, has been experienced by all who do not possess astronomical instruments. This may, however, be completely removed; and even with ordinary house-clocks we may record our observations with a degree of accuracy sufficiently correct for those which can be made by private individuals. Mr. Airy, however, has gone much farther than this. By having the Royal Observatory at Greenwich* connected with the submarine cables at Brussels and Paris, he has been able to determine the correct latitudes and longitudes of their observatories, and the same process will doubtless be extended to every place in the telegraphic world. Geography will thus participate in the same advantages with astronomy, and the difficult and expensive operation of national surveys will be carried on with greater facility and correctness.

In meteorology, the Electric Telegraph will be found of singular utility. The frequenters of the Crystal Palace will recollect that the weather at the leading ports and cities of England was daily exhibited to them, a kind of information of great value to shipowners, and to the Royal and merchant navy. When the telegraph announces a storm upon our shores, the sea-faring traveller

* The beautiful application of electricity for recording observations, invented by Mr. Bond of the United States, has been carried into effect with great improvements, by Mr. Airy at Greenwich.

may remain at home with his friends till it has expended its fury.

But the telegraph may do more than this. When these violent convulsions of the atmosphere, in the form of tornadoes and hurricanes, advance along a line of coast, as they do in America, they move much less slowly than the electric message, and therefore preparation may be made for resisting them when we cannot disarm their fury. Ships about to sail, trains about to start, travellers about to drive, to ride, or to walk, may all receive a salutary warning to remain till the destructive agent has passed. If we ever shall be able to predict the phenomena of the weather, as we do those of the heavens, the simultaneous state of the atmosphere, over extensive regions of the globe, must be previously observed and generalized.

In conducting the business of Railways, especially in the central region of England, where they are almost jostling each other, the telegraph is indispensable, both for the efficiency of the system, and the security of the passengers. This cannot be better shewn than by the following table, given by Mr. Walker, which shews the number of messages sent along the South-Eastern Company's Railway in three months.

1.	Concerning	ordinary trains,	1168	Messages.
2.	...	Special trains,	429	...
3.	...	Carriages, trucks, goods, sheds, &c.,	795	...
4.	...	Company's servants,	607	...
5.	...	Engines,	150	...
6.	...	Miscellaneous matters,	162	...
7.	...	Messages forwarded to other stations,	499	...
		Total,	4110	

or about 16,400 in a year, or about fifty per day! "If," says Mr. Walker, "the trains are late, the cause is known; if they are in distress, help is soon at hand; if they are heavy, and progress but slowly, they ask and receive more locomotive power, either sent to them or prepared at their arrival; if there is anything unusual in the line they are forewarned of it, and so forearmed; if overdue, the old plan of sending an engine to look after them has become obsolete,—a few deflections of the needle obtain all the information that is required." All this information used to be obtained by pilot-engines, but Mr. Walker informs us that the expense of maintaining and working a single pilot-engine, was greater than what is required for maintaining the entire staff of telegraph clerks, and the mechanics and labourers employed in cleaning and repairing the instruments, and keeping up the wires of the line. With regard to the safety of the passengers, we cannot resist repeating, in the words of Elihu

Burrit, the following story: "During a storm and violent gale, the long railway bridge across the Connecticut was lifted up by the wind and thrown into the river beneath, 200 yards in breadth, which an unusual flood of rain had swelled to a dreadful height. The line is here crossed by a bridge fifty feet above the river. The passengers in the train are congratulating themselves on their comfortable position, thinking of the blessed homes and the firesides which they soon expected to reach. On flew the train,—the engine blowing off its head of steam, breasting its way nobly against the gale, which almost threatened to check its progress, the hot iron hissing furiously in the falling rain. No one knew that the bridge was gone. For two years, by day and night, the trains had passed and repassed, and obliterated the thought of even the possibility of danger; but no bridge was there to receive them; and the long train, with its precious freight, rushed on towards the precipice of destruction. It was not customary to stop at this place excepting to check the speed for the landing of passengers; but the people there had learned through the instrumentality of the telegraph, the loss of the bridge, and kept a sharp look-out for the approaching train. It came—the word is given, and they are safe. Every heart leapt from its place, and the head swam giddily with fear, as the thought came of that fearful leap in the dark; and long will the passengers remember that dreadful road and the friendly yet fearful cry, "THE BRIDGE IS GONE."*

Had not our space been exhausted, we should have drawn the attention of our readers to the great advantages which must accrue to individuals as well as to society at large from the introduction of telegraphic communication, and should have attempted to indicate some of those great social ameliorations which are yet to be derived from the reduction of its tariffs, and the universal application for its We look forward with faith to a time not very distant, when every village in the empire shall express its wants and receive its intelligence in telegraphic despatches, and when dumb and intellectual life shall no longer sink under burdens which can be borne by so many pounds of coal and so many buckets of water.

Omitting, therefore, all that the telegraph has done for the interests of trade, commerce, humanity, and justice, and all that it might be expected to do even for other interests, we shall content ourselves with noticing the advantages which have accrued to the State from the general extension of the telegraphic system.

* See the *Guide to the Electric Telegraph*, p. 39, by Charles Maybury Archer; and his *Anecdotes of the Electric Telegraph*.

Kings were once said to have long hands, but now they have long tongues and loud voices. Their will can, in a few minutes, reach the extremities of the empire, and all the powers of administrative government can be instantaneously summoned into action to revive patriotism or to repress crime. The approach of a hostile fleet would now be rung in the ears of the Admiralty before the hulls of the ships had surmounted the convexity of the globe; and the Horse Guards would be roused at midnight before an invading army could quit the beach on which it had disembarked.

The telegraph of planks and spars which formerly puzzled the provincial visitor of the Metropolis, and which had gloriously announced the achievements of the Peninsular war, was erected and maintained at the expense of the nation; but not a single wire of the million which, like a web of gossamer, cover the map of England, has been erected either with its funds or under its patronage. When the Messrs. Bretts Brothers, the original projectors of our Submarine Telegraphs, offered for £20,000 to lay down their wires across the Irish Channel, and to give the free use of them to the State, this boon to Ireland and blessing to England, was peremptorily refused by the Government.

Baffled in this purely British undertaking, these enterprising engineers addressed their next scheme of crossing the English Channel to the French and Belgian Governments. An exclusive privilege was instantly conceded, and the British Government concurred, on the condition of giving nothing, but of taking the use of the submarine cable. The idiosyncrasy of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose feelings and intelligence is tied up in his money-bags, may be some excuse for the meanness of the Government of which he is the organ, but no apology can be offered for the heads of successive administrations—the dispensers of cheap rewards—of laurels which they gather for their underlings, and plait for themselves. That the services of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Ricardo, to whom England unquestionably owes the introduction of the Electric Telegraph, and all its blessings, should never have been recognised by any mark of public gratitude, or Royal favour, is one of the facts in the history of England which may speedily excite a more general sympathy.

The nation now sees, and, we fear, will see more of the false consequences of this utter discouragement of theoretical and practical science. The horrors of the Crimean war—the tears of the noblest and gentlest of our families—the blood of the bravest of the brave, all cry out for wisdom in our councils, and for science in our fleets and in our camps. It is science which

teaches the gigantic shell to discharge its fatal contents,—which speeds the rocket on its incendiary errand, and which guides the rifle ball to the seat of life. It is science which constructs and impels our floating bulwarks,—which places its lanterns beside the Scyllas and Charybdises of the deep,—and which teaches us to predict and evade the hurricane and the storm. Law, Divinity, and Medicine, professions justly rewarded and honoured by the State, can neither equip armies nor reduce strongholds, nor supply the soldier with the instruments and materials of his art. It is the science of matter and of motion alone, which can create and perfect all the appliances of offensive and defensive war. It is in this department of science that our Enemy, and our Ally, have so signally and so painfully surpassed us; and if England shall ever be compelled again to send her brave legions to a distant battle-field, or even to secure her Island hearths against foreign invasion, she must enlist in her service, and dignify with her honours, the theoretical and practical science of the philosopher and the engineer.*

* We must again recommend to the reader Dr. Lardner's admirable account of the Electric Telegraph, which occupies a large portion of the third and fourth volumes of his Museum of Science and of Art. It is at once popular and scientific, and such as might be expected from a philosopher of his high attainments and extensive information.

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