

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,

1882.

“Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep?”

SHAKSPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÖTTE.

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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JULY 1, 1882.

ART. I.—CANADA AS A HOME.

THE fact that during fifteen months ending on the 30th of September last, nearly nine hundred thousand immigrants, largely drawn from Great Britain and Ireland, arrived in the United States, can hardly be regarded with satisfaction by those Englishmen and colonists who wish to see the waste places of the Empire filled up by an industrious population.* It is true there has been an influx of immigrants into Canada, particularly into her north-west, during the same period, but it has been a mere ripple compared with the tide which has flowed into the neighbouring country to give still greater impulse to its already remarkable industrial activity. It does not require any elaborate argument to prove that it would be of infinite value to the Empire at large were Canada and the Australian colonies in possession of all the national wealth that would be represented by at least one-half of the people that have given the preference to the United States for many years past. But this is an old grievance of the colonial dependencies of England. Canada has never yet received her fair proportion of the enormous immigration that has for half a century left the shores of Great Britain and Ireland. More than ten millions of souls have made the United States their home within that period. Since

* The figures respecting American immigration have been given the writer by Mr. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, and compiler of the "American Almanac." The figures were exactly: for twelve months ending the 30th of June last, 660,239; for three months ending the 30th of September last, 171,800.

1867, when the provinces were united in a Confederation, a larger population than is now in all Canada has emigrated from Europe to the United States. It is true that Canada has prospered all the while, despite that policy of indifference to imperial interests that has left the stream of emigration to flow away from Great Britain without direction. And if the Dominion has now a population of between four and five millions of people, enjoying no small amount of happiness and prosperity; if her commercial and industrial progress is in some respects even greater than that of her neighbour; if her political and social conditions rest on a secure and healthy basis; if her prospects are now of a most encouraging character, she may thank her own public men, who have succeeded, against many obstacles, in developing a country to whose importance, as a factor in the world's progress, statesmen and publicists, not only in England but in France, the original colonizer of Canada, are commencing at last to give a measure of recognition.

It was inevitable that Canada should occupy, during the early years of her career, a position of considerable disadvantage on this continent. In those times, which now seem so distant, when she was a colony of France, the people that dwelt by the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers were distracted by war and cramped by a system of government most antagonistic to colonial growth. The more liberal institutions of the old English colonies of America gave greater scope to the industrial activity of their people, and prepared them for all the legitimate results of national independence. For many years after Canada became a British possession she continued to occupy the same disadvantageous position. The British American Provinces were always overshadowed by the powerful republican confederation to their south. Previous to 1840, there was certainly some reason for the unfavourable comparisons that English statesmen and writers were always making between the two countries. "The contrast which I have described," said Lord Durham in his report, "is the theme of every traveller who visits these countries, and who observes on one side of the line the abundance, and on the other the scarcity, of every sign of material prosperity which thriving agricultural and flourishing cities indicate, and of that civilization which schools and churches testify to the outward senses." These words were true enough when written, over forty years ago, while Canada was torn asunder by intestine strife. The union of 1840, however, caused a remarkable change in the material, social, and intellectual development of the Canadian Provinces, and, with the progress of free institutions and responsible government, schools were established in every direction, commerce flourished, and villages, towns and cities

sprang up all over the face of the country. But, as a rule, the United States have continued the cynosure of attraction for the European emigrant, anxious to change his poverty in the overcrowded old world for the new hopes and aspirations that America offers to himself and children. The influence of immigration on the relative progress of Canada and the United States during the past forty years, whilst the former has enjoyed self-government in its fullest sense, and has assumed almost national responsibilities, may be estimated from the fact that to-day one has a population of fifty millions, and the other only between four and five millions of inhabitants. Yet both countries entered on their work on this continent about the same time in the world's history. Quebec and Port Royal were in existence when the Puritan pioneers were toiling among the rocks of New England. But ever since Canada became a dependency of Great Britain, her progress has been more or less retarded by the fact of her close neighbourhood to the American Republic. Millions of British subjects have ignored the existence of a section of the Empire, where they could find every legitimate comfort and happiness, without forswearing their natural allegiance. A stranger to Canada and her resources would naturally suppose, on revising the statistics of emigration in the past, that there must be some radical weakness in the political institutions of the Dominion, some illiberality in its system of government, or some insurmountable obstacle arising from soil or climate, or a comparatively limited sphere of natural resources, to account for the remarkable preference so systematically shown by the European world for the American States when it comes a question of leaving the old home for one beyond the seas. No doubt a great deal of ignorance has prevailed, and still prevails, with respect to the advantages that Canada offers as a home. Nor would it be difficult now-a-days to find in the utterances of some English statesmen and writers more encouragement for the United States than for the Canadian provinces who, so far, certainly, have shown no other aspiration than to work out their national destiny in the closest possible connection with the Empire. So distinguished a writer as Mr. Goldwin Smith, since he has become more closely identified with Canada, has never ceased throwing his *douche* of cold water on Canadian aspirations, or advocating that "Continental system" which, once carried out, would eventually make the Dominion a member of the American Union. Happily for Canada, an amount of interest is being at last taken in her affairs that would have been impossible not many years ago, when the visits of Canadians to London were generally associated with colonial grievances, and the assistance of the American Minister had to be evoked on

some occasions to obtain "provincials" an introduction into particular circles. The development of the vast North-west Territory simultaneously with the agrarian difficulties and agricultural distress in Great Britain and Ireland, have had the very natural effect of opening the eyes of some British economists to the value of the Dominion, when compared with the United States, as a desirable field of immigration; and it will be most fortunate for the Empire if this growing interest in Canada should have some practical effect in diverting the stream of British emigration from the United States into England's most prosperous dependency. In such a case, the very condition of Ireland itself may be used to benefit the Empire. The Irish make up no inconsiderable proportion of the large immigration that has passed into the United States for the past two or three years. It is a sad admission, but nevertheless true, that a large number carry with them into their new home a feeling of bitterness against England, which, sooner or later, finds expression in her trials and difficulties. On the other hand, the Irish element in Canada forms an influential section of the population, orderly, industrious, occupying positions of trust and responsibility in all parts of the Confederation; and it is a fact that in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and in the absence of old grievances, the Irishman is happy and contented, and seems to have forgotten those times when he was so restless a subject of the Crown. In view, then, of the happy results that have illustrated the career of the Irishman in Canada, it is unfortunate for the Empire that this class should, as a rule, go to build up the fortunes of the United States, instead of being induced to come into a country where, in the course of no long time, as experience has shown us, they must forget their old animosities and cheerfully testify to the value of the institutions that make Canada one of the happiest countries in the Empire.

It is undoubtedly a matter of pride to Canadians that a kindred people should in the course of a century of national existence have made such remarkable material, as well as intellectual, progress. The United States must necessarily continue in the career of national prosperity that has distinguished them for many a decade. Their system of government, despite certain inherent elements of weakness to which we shall allude further on, has in itself that influence which stimulates the pride and ambition of the people, since the highest honours are open to the humblest. The spirit of the country is essentially commercial, and yet nowhere is intellectual culture being developed more rapidly than among the people of the United States. The variety of climate and resources—the cotton and sugar of the South, the wheat and corn of the North and West, the oranges

and grapes of California and Florida, the gold and silver of Colorado and the Pacific States, are among the examples of the remarkable resources that abound in the Republic. But whilst admitting the wonderful enterprise and the immense natural wealth of their neighbours, Canadians who know their own country well are not prepared to confess that the Dominion, when compared with its great rival, offers in every way far inferior advantages as a home for the millions of people who are giving the preference to the latter. Canadians cannot help feeling that the superiority that the United States have now in wealth and population, would not be quite so striking had the statesmen and people of Great Britain been, years ago, more alive to the importance of a national policy of emigration in connection with the Colonies that would direct systematically the stream of population to those portions of the Empire that seem best calculated to develop the highest attributes of British energy.

In the past the victory has been with the United States, and it must be admitted that the world has gained much by the success of the Republic in building up new States through the aid of European emigrants. Canadians themselves are proud of such brilliant achievements, and believe that it illustrates the career of their own country in the immediate future, if it has anything like fair play in the race on which it has entered. In this paper we propose to group together, as concisely as possible, such facts and arguments as clearly prove that there are certain material, social and political considerations which render the Dominion a most desirable home for all classes of industrious people, especially for those who have a small amount of capital and are ready to take up lands in the old provinces or in the new territories. We wish to present such salient facts as may especially attract the attention of those educated, thoughtful men whose influence ought to radiate among the classes who are anxious to try their fortune in a new country. It is to such men Canada looks for sympathy and assistance in the national work in which she is now engaged; for that work may well be called *national* which consists in developing the resources of an important dependency with no other or higher aspirations than to strengthen and draw closer, if possible, the bonds of connection between the parent State and the Dominion. With this object in view we shall, in the course of this article, present to our readers such facts as, to the mind of a Canadian, seem to render a Canadian home more desirable than any other, in any land whatsoever, for that large class—unhappily for the old world far too large—who find life a never-ceasing, unfruitful struggle, cramping all their best energies, and leaving them too often at last mere wrecks on the shore of hopeless poverty.

Considerations of national sympathy for a people who have always been attached to the Empire and its institutions should theoretically influence Englishmen to throw the weight of their assistance in favour of Canada ; but looking at the matter more practically, it is hardly to be expected that any such national sentiment can prevail with that class who wish to make new homes for themselves and children. When men and women have toiled and slaved for years, amid surroundings of utter wretchedness, in the old world, it almost seems natural that they should come to think, when they think at all, that they must forswear their natural allegiance and seek new homes under a foreign flag. Perhaps some such feeling may often turn the scale against Canada when men are hesitating between the United States and a colony, which, in the minds of many, is even yet wrongly associated with inferiority in some shape or other. Be that as it may, the astonishing progress of the American States, and the comparatively humble position which Canada is still supposed to occupy, have certainly some effect on the minds of the European masses in the way of leading them to suppose that their future prosperity depends on their residence in the American Union. We are convinced, however, that the immigrant, whether small capitalist or humble settler with little more than his industry to aid him, will soon find by experience that the Dominion offers him every comfort and advantage that he can fairly expect. In not a few respects indeed, he will find that Canada is making greater progress than her neighbour, and there are more advantages open to men in the provinces and new territory of the Dominion than in many States of the American Confederation.

Several considerations will naturally prevail with an emigrant of ordinary intelligence when he is considering the question of his future home. In the first place, the all-engrossing question will be whether Canada possesses those resources within herself which will enable him to invest his capital with safety and advantage, whether that capital be represented by his money or his labour. The stability and freedom of its Government must also be a question of all engrossing interest to men about to embark on a venture, where they risk all, in a new world. Some may associate lawlessness and peril with new homes in the vast districts which Canada is now opening up to the world, and may be in doubt whether a mere dependency is equal to the task of assuring their comfort and security in the Western wilderness. Others, again, will inquire, with much curiosity, into the social characteristics of the country. Among the emigrants who come yearly into America there is always a proportion of persons with pecuniary means and social tendencies, who desire to live in the

vicinity of the towns and older settlements, and who must be more or less prepossessed in favour of a country which offers them educational facilities not surpassed by any country in some respects, as well as many luxuries and comforts not attainable except by the rich in older lands. No doubt the man who has no other alternative before him than to go at once into the forest with his axe, and build a log hut—and such a person represents the mass of emigrants—thinks little for the time being of educational or social advantages. But as time slips by, and the sunlight dances over his broadening clearings, and his neighbours crowd upon his farm, he begins to be animated by the ambitious natural to his improved position, and to think at last of the education and future of his children. Then, as he looks around, he will soon learn that the public men of the country where he has made his home have perfected a system which enables a group of people in every section of the Dominion to educate their children. In this, as in all other respects conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a people, we shall see that Canada compares most favourably with her powerful neighbours, notwithstanding that they have succeeded, by their remarkable energy and enterprise, in leaving her far behind in the competition for the wealth and population of the old world.

Nearly all the natural advantages possessed by the United States exist in a greater or less measure in the Dominion. We may leave out of consideration the Southern States, where the population that yearly flocks into America hardly ventures; for the tropical heats of those regions repel the northern races, who make up the great majority of emigrants. It is to the north and west that the hopes of Europeans are directed, and it is certain that the Dominion has a soil and climate no way inferior for the sustenance of life and the growth of all those valuable products which are most in demand the world over. The fisheries of the provinces, including those of the Pacific Coast, and the lakes of the interior, are confessedly the most valuable in the world, and have mainly aided in developing that important marine, which now places Canada in so high a position among maritime powers. Her maritime interest alone—that is to say, her fisheries and ships—has an estimated annual value of at least ten millions of pounds sterling. The agricultural interest takes a very extended range, increasing in importance as the traveller goes West. The annual export of agricultural produce alone now reaches upwards of twelve millions of pounds, of which between £600,000 and £800,000 are represented by horned cattle. On the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts are very extensive coal areas, sufficient to supply for centuries untold millions of people on this continent. The coal of Nova Scotia and Vancouver is bituminous,

and excellent for domestic and manufacturing purposes—the annual export being valued at over £600,000, apart from the large output used by the people themselves in the provinces. The Pacific States of the Union must depend for their supply on the rich mines of Vancouver, which are only in the infancy of their development. The forests continue to supply superior pine timber to England and the United States—the annual export being some four millions of pounds. Though the gold area of Canada is but insignificant, so far as it is known, compared with that of the United States, yet British Columbia sends abroad nuggets, bars, and dust of the annual value of £200,000. The iron, copper, phosphates, and building stones of the provinces have a good reputation abroad, and are being gradually developed in the face of many obstacles, chiefly the want of sufficient capital. The progress in all these industries, so varied and valuable in their nature, is steady and encouraging—enterprising Americans themselves coming into the country year by year, and bringing their capital and energy to bear on the development of the forest and sea.

But it is to her agricultural interest that Canada must always look, as the great source of her future prosperity. All the grains and fruits to be found in northern latitudes flourish most successfully, in every section of the Dominion once despoised by a king of France as a worthless region of frost and snow. Valuable tracts of farming lands exist in all the provinces, even in Nova Scotia, with its rock-bound coast of noble harbours, where more vessels are owned in proportion to the population than in any State of the American Union. The farming lands of New Brunswick and Quebec are of large area, and there are still districts where in those provinces, emigrants—especially those with a little capital—can find comfortable homes. Prince Edward Island is of limited extent, but it is a garden capable of bearing the most prolific crops. It is, however, in Ontario, with its large area of fine soil and temperate climate, modified by its situation on the Great Lakes, that agriculture has found its most successful development. One may travel for days by the different lines of railway that intersect this noble province, and see on all sides comfortable mansions of stone or brick, and wide stretches of fields of wheat and other crops. It is true many farmers are at present leaving Ontario for Manitoba and the North-west, but these represent, for the most part, either men dissatisfied with their present homes in some less favoured locality, or those carried away by the allurements of a new existence in the West. Others illustrate mortgages to the foreign loan companies, which have been tempting the farmers for years, and forcing them to build too expensive houses, or make other unnecessary improvements.

The majority, however, illustrate that spirit of restlessness which is peculiar to the American character, and send men year by year from New England and the older States, to found homes in the new territories—that very spirit which has built up Illinois and every great commonwealth in the West. Still, Ontario is the wealthiest, most enterprising and populous member of the Confederation. Her population continues to increase, and her prosperity to expand, in a greater ratio than the older States of the American Union. She has always a large surplus crop to export abroad. Her production of wheat is above the average of that of most American States, and nowhere in America is there finer stock, except perhaps in the eastern townships of Quebec, always noted for its good farms and thoroughbred cattle. In Ontario we see the finest cities and towns of the Dominion, excepting Montreal, which has to a large extent been built up by Western trade. Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, London, Kingston, St. Catharine's, Brantford, in the character of their buildings and the energy of their people, illustrate that proverbial Western "go-aheaditiveness," which Americans would like to claim exclusively for themselves. The most striking effect of the rapid increase of population in America is the rise and growth of Western towns and cities. At the head of a lake, or where a stream empties into one of those inland seas, and forms a natural harbour, or upon the bank of a navigable river which flows through a fertile country, a pioneer, or an adventurous speculator sets himself down, and says that "here shall be a city." If his judgment be good, and the country around his imaginary "Thebes or Athens" be inviting, the waves of population which perpetually flow westward, stop for a time at his "location," and actually verify his dream. This is literally the history of the foundation of Brantford and London, and many other places in Canada. Not an old inhabitant of these places but can recount numerous instances of property, now worth thousands, even tens of thousands of pounds, being bought not very many years ago for a cow or a horse, or small quantity of goods out of a shop, or a few weeks' or a month's labour of a mechanic. The prosperity of one of the wealthiest families in Ottawa was founded on a tract of land given for payment of wages. These things form the topics of fireside history in these places. The poor refer to them as foundations for hope. The rich regard them as matters of congratulation. The speculator and man of enterprise learn from them how and where to found a town and to make a bold bid for fortune.

It is in that vast North-west territory, to which so much attention is now being directed, that we may expect to see for decades to come those illustrations of progress of which Illinois and other Western States are remarkable examples. The

extent and value of that immense region, watered by the Red, Saskatchewan, Athabacsa, and Peace Rivers, besides other streams of minor importance, cannot yet be very accurately stated; but the explorations of the Government, and the pioneers who have already ventured into its solitudes, demonstrate that there is a sufficient area of rich land, out of which probably *ten* States, as large and productive as Illinois, may be eventually made. Reams have already been written during the last ten years concerning this country; and every tourist who spends a few weeks on the prairie thinks himself bound to give the public the benefit of his experience in some shape or other. Much allowance must of course be made for the enthusiasm of travellers and speculators, as well as for that spirit of patriotism which makes us eulogists of one's own country; but at any rate there can be no question that, sooner or later, the great centre of the agricultural production of Canada will be found in the new provinces that are in course of development in the North-west. American authorities themselves admit that the land of the Red River Valley, as well as of the Saskatchewan and Peace River country, so far as it is known, is more prolific than that of any Western State. One writer, in a very widely-circulated periodical,* does not hesitate to express the opinion that "this country produces the cereals in a state of perfection which has not manifested itself further south." It appears, from all the data at hand, "that the latitude and soil of the North-west are remarkably adapted to the cultivation of wheat." In a climate warmer than is needed to bring it to maturity, wheat shows an imperfect development of grain, with a deficiency in weight. It is always more subject to drought, the hot sun acting both to evaporate moisture from the ground and to burn the plant afterwards. The superior quality of the wheat raised in this new country may be better understood by reference to the relative market values of northern and southern grains at Buffalo, where what is called "No. 1 Hard Duluth" was quoted last season about twopence a bushel higher than "No. 1 Red Winter," and a penny three-farthings higher than "No. 1 Spring," and from four to sevenpence higher than the inferior grades of wheat grown in a more southern region; whilst the flour from the same superior hard wheat brought eight shillings more a barrel. The secret of its superiority lies in the fact that the wheat of the northern latitude makes a flour of greater strength. The northern wheat is flinty, and contains more gluten; the southern is soft, and contains more starch. It is also stated, on unexceptionable authority, that throughout the North-west wheat may be planted in April, or fully as early as spring wheat is sown in the

* *Harper's Monthly* for September, 1881, "Wheat Fields of the North-west."

United States. As respects the rapidity of growth, the explanation is very simple. Situated in a high latitude, there is afforded to vegetation a greater number of hours of sun each day during the entire season. The winter cold, continuous, and with light falls of snow, freezes the ground to an extraordinary depth. Under the disintegrating power of frost, the lower soil is broken up each season, for the sustenance of plants, as thoroughly as if done by the best artificial means. Later, throughout the period of growth, it keeps within reach of the roots a moisture which renders drought impossible. The soil of the Red River Valley is an alluvial black loam, with an average depth of twenty inches, resting on a subsoil of clay. It is an established fact, that the average yield of wheat per acre is twenty-nine bushels, as against seventeen in Illinois and Wisconsin; of barley, forty, against seventeen in Illinois and twenty-five in Minnesota; of oats, fifty-seven, as against twenty-eight in Iowa and thirty-seven in Minnesota. It is the opinion of the same American authority, already quoted as that of an impartial observer, "that the attention of the United States will, within a few years, be drawn sharply to the supply of grain coming from this new quarter, if the reclamation of land goes on with its present movement." With the advent of better means of intercommunication, there is every reason to believe that "the development of the interior will continue at its present rate, and even go forward with a rapidity never witnessed before. However uncertain may be its effects on the United States, we may expect that the centre of activity in wheat, never very stable, will soon pass to the Red River Valley, to go, later still, further to the northward."

The progress we may expect in this territory year by year may be illustrated, in a measure, by the fact, that last year, in the State of Kansas, no less than 15,000 buildings were erected by new settlers, some 700,000 acres of wild land reclaimed, and 350 school-houses built at a cost of £40,000. The population of Ontario increased 300 per cent. in twenty years, from 1841 to 1861, during which the largest immigration took place into the province. Toronto increased 95 per cent. in the same period. Already there are indications that the progress of the North-west will be more rapid than that of Ontario, but all depends on the interest taken by England in its development. Winnipeg, in 1870, had only a population of 300 souls, and when incorporated as a city, in 1873, the number did not exceed 2,300; whilst now, in seven years' time, it has increased to probably 20,000 at least—showing a more remarkable increase than any city or town in the West—with the prospect of becoming the Chicago, the distributing point of the great country around and beyond it as far as the Rocky Mountains.

"Nowhere," said Lord Lorne, in a recent admirable address, "will you find a situation whose natural advantages promise so great a future as that which seems reserved to Manitoba, and to Winnipeg, the heart-city of the Dominion. The measureless meadows which commence here stretch, without interruption of their good soil, westward to the boundary of the province. Manitoba is a green sea, over which the summer winds pass onward, quietly stirring the rich grasses and flowers; and on this vast extent of fertile land it is only as yet here and there that a yellow patch shows some gigantic wheat-field."

These "yellow patches" promise to stretch far and wide in this fine wheat land. Cities in embryo are being already "located" at points which Nature seems to have destined for a centre of trade. Emerson is already a considerable town, while Rapid City and Battleford promise to be of importance. Most sanguine hopes are entertained that the very recent visit of His Excellency the Governor-General, who has gone over a very large portion of the North-west, will have a beneficial effect, in showing the British people the favourable opinion entertained by that nobleman of the vast region from which Canada expects so much in the future. Sooner or later this country must become the wheat granary of the Continent, and feed millions in Europe. To the people of the old world the progress of these new countries is something astonishing. The same facts are sure to present themselves in every new territory opened up in the West. To-day there becomes to-morrow, as if by a miracle; prophecy is so swiftly succeeded by fulfilment, that the two may be almost said to move hand in hand together. The railroad creates traffic, instead of being created by it; farms are multiplied with a rapidity that confounds all calculation; the minister, the schoolmaster, the milliner, and the music-teacher, come in with the first crop; the newspaper is printed under a tree—

"While city lots are staked for sale
Above old Indian graves."

In her foresight to open all the avenues possible to her great Western trade, and carry it to the ocean for distribution to the European market, Canada has fully kept pace with her American rival. Nature has endowed the Dominion with a noble artery of communication from the Great Lakes to the sea in the St. Lawrence, as remarkable for its picturesque scenery as for its commercial value. Of the great rivers of the American continent none surpasses the St. Lawrence in the length of its navigation, the volume of its waters, or the fertility of the vast area of country of which it forms the highway of communication with the Atlantic Ocean. Following it, not from its remote

sources, but from Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior, to the Straits of Belle Isle, the entire distance is nearly three thousand statute miles. In order to appreciate to the fullest extent the importance of this river from a commercial point of view, it is only necessary to consider its natural position and its relations to the vast area of country which extends from the Appalachian or Alleghany Range on the east, to the Rocky Mountains on the western, or Pacific side of the continent. The resources of the territory to which the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes are tributary, and form the natural communication with the ocean, are most varied, and have been developed of late years to an extent without a parallel in the history of commercial enterprise. At an early date in the history of Upper Canada, her public men were carried away by an ambition to make this river the great thoroughfare of the Western region to the ocean, and went into large expenditures for canals, which the means of so young a country hardly justified. After the union of 1840, the same wise policy was carried out, and up to the present time some ten millions of pounds have been expended on the St. Lawrence system of navigation, so that the largest class of lake vessels may float from the upper lakes to the head of ocean navigation, without once breaking bulk. The new Welland Canal, now drawing to completion, is justly described by American writers: "A Titanic work, by which Canadians hope to divert the carrying trade, not only from Buffalo, but even from New York, and to control the exports of the mighty West for more than half the year."

The railway system of Canada is another illustration of the practical energy and prescience of the Canadian people in their efforts to hold their own against American competition. Of the fifty-nine States and kingdoms of the world which have railway systems, Canada already ranks as the *eighth* in absolute mileage, and the *fifth* in the number of miles to each inhabitant. The Grand Trunk Railway parallels the St. Lawrence system of navigation, and extends beyond the Montreal headquarters as far to the east as Quebec and Portland. The traffic on this great thoroughfare is already enormous, and grain to the value of £300,000 is stated to be yearly transported by this route. The early history of this road was one of great extravagance and jobbery, as its original English stockholders unhappily know too well, but in these later times it keeps pace, under its present prudent, energetic management, with the general prosperity of the country, and especially of the West, from which it draws its main supplies. Connecting with the Grand Trunk at Levis, is the Intercolonial Railway, a Government work, which passes through New Brunswick and Nova

Scotia to Halifax, on the Atlantic seaboard, with branch line stretching to St. John, and to the Gut of Canso, whence it must soon have connection with the historic port of Louisbourg, the nearest to Europe. Along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, stretches from Quebec to beyond Ottawa another line of railway, to some extent a competitor of the Grand Trunk. The Great Western of Canada taps important points of the western American frontier, and assists in the development of western commerce. Numerous subsidiary lines run from cities and towns into fertile mining and agricultural districts, and help to swell the large traffic that now illustrates the industry and enterprise of the Canadian people. That eminently national project, the Canadian Pacific Railway, represents a continuous railway route of nearly three thousand miles from the Pacific Ocean overland to Montreal, and yet some six hundred miles less than the distance by the Union Pacific Railway to New York. On its immediate construction depends to a very great extent the future of Canada, for, with the development of the North-west, a new era must open up for the Canadian people. By the autumn of 1883 there will be railway connection, at least to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, through a country of whose surpassing fertility Lord Lorne has given his personal testimony in eloquent terms. Branch lines are contemplated in various directions, one of them to Hudson's Bay, by the Nelson River route; and it is quite within the possibilities of the future that the demands of North-western commerce will eventually open up this new route, which offers certainly three months' communication with Europe. It is said, on good authority, that the Northern Pacific Railway, now that the United States are entered on a new era of commercial enterprise, will be vigorously carried to completion by 1883; and as the Canadian Pacific will have connection with it by its branch lines, the North-west will not want facilities for trade in future. The powerful syndicate which now controls the Canadian Pacific are offering large inducements to actual settlers in the easy terms at which they are selling the valuable tracts of land which they owe to the liberality of the Canadian Government; and it now looks as if the efforts which the Company and the Canadian authorities are making in the direction of North-west development will meet during the coming years with a response from the British people which will assure the future of that region. But the fact which we now wish to impress particularly on the British public is the comprehensiveness and foresight of the Canadian policy for the development of their new territory, and for keeping within natural lines the right to handle its valuable products. At present there are over eight thousand miles of railway constructed throughout the Dominion, and in

1881, the last year of which the official statistics have been furnished, there was an increase of £90 16s. a mile over 1880 in the earnings of the railways in operation, and the net profits amounted to over £1,400,000. And it is certain there will be a corresponding increase during the present year, which has been distinguished for activity in all branches of commerce. The liberality of the Canadian people in matters affecting their commerce may be illustrated by the fact that they have contributed up to the present time over two hundred millions of dollars, or forty millions of pounds sterling, to the canal and railway system of the Dominion, in the shape of Dominion, Provincial, or Municipal aid. These facts are, perhaps, an all-sufficient answer to those English writers who, from time to time, are accusing Canada of extravagance, and pointing to her Federal and Provincial debts as so many reasons why English capitalists should lend no assistance to her schemes of development. The large sums that Canada has been for years, or is now, expending, have been directed towards strengthening Imperial interests on this continent; notably the Intercolonial and Pacific Railways, which are certainly Imperial in their conception, and to which the British Government has given no substantial aid, except on one occasion—viz., when it gave it an Imperial guarantee.

Another fact may most properly be noticed in this connection. The development of the North-west must give a very valuable impulse to the capital and enterprise in the older provinces, which have already built up so splendid a commercial marine. British and Canadian ships must carry the bulk of the Western trade of the future. It is a notorious fact that American trade continues to a large extent to be carried in foreign bottoms. The *New York World*, on the day after President Garfield's funeral, observed:—"On Tuesday last flags of mourning floated at half-mast from 57 ocean steamships, 53 ships, 246 barques, 49 brigs, and 189 schooners, riding in the port of New York, and making a total of 594 vessels. *Of the ocean steamships every one, and of the other vessels two-thirds, displayed the flags of foreign powers.*" Whilst the American marine is at so low an ebb, the Canadians still build and employ a large fleet. In 1881 the United States, with a population of fifty millions of people, had a commercial marine of only four millions of tons, of which one million was employed on Northern lakes and Western rivers. In 1880-81, the registered marine of Canada, with about one-twelfth of the population of her neighbour, amounted to one million three hundred thousand tons. The Canadians, therefore, naturally expect that, with the extension of commerce in the North-west, their marine will be built up to dimensions which may enable her eventually to rank above the United

States, and next to Great Britain on the list of maritime powers.

If we direct our attention to the social condition of the Dominion, we shall find that the older provinces offer many advantages to those who wish to make a home therein. It is hardly necessary to state that the pioneers in the North-west must expect to encounter privations and difficulties in the first years of their residence. But these new communities of the West make very rapid progress when railways once make their appearance; and it is safe to say that a decade hence Manitoba, and the new provinces to be formed in the North-west, will not be much behind the older provinces as respects their social condition. A very few years work a striking metamorphosis in the life of the industrious pioneer. The writer recollects his first visit, just twenty years ago, to a young settlement in a Western county. In a rude log cabin, in the midst of a small pine clearing, a young English couple were endeavouring to make a home, some twenty miles from the nearest village. Some patches of wheat and potatoes were struggling among the stumps, and a cow and horse represented the stock. The young man and his wife were courageous Devon folks, rather better educated than the generality of English peasants, and year by year the sun ripened wider patches, and broad fields without a stump illustrated the energy and industry of the pioneer, whilst communications improved, and a village with schools and churches grew up three miles distant, at the side of a little stream which turned several mills. Last autumn the writer visited the same place, but the log cabin had give place to a snug brick cottage, behind which large frame barns showed the farmer's wealth in grain and stock. The house itself had many comforts, and even luxuries, which people in the same condition of life in England could hardly have looked for. A piano, pictures, carpets, and walnut furniture were seen in the sitting-room, whilst in the kitchen and store-room were many evidences of good cheer. Three sturdy lads and two buxom girls, educated at the village school, represented the new generation of Canadians, brought up in substantial comfort, and knowing nothing of the poverty and privations of their English parents. The writer drove to the village on a market day, and counted no less than twenty-seven comfortable "buggies," and numerous waggons, belonging to the farmers who settled in the forest a quarter of a century or less before, and had now come to sell their surplus produce to the dealers. So must it be in the settlements of the North-west during the coming years.

Canada is undoubtedly the home for people of small means, who find it difficult to make both ends meet in the old world. A man with an income from £100 to £200 a year may buy a

small farm or patch in the vicinity of a town or city, and enjoy an amount of comfort and independence which would not be possible in the crowded, more expensive world of European competition. Four hundred pounds in Canada will give more comfort than three times that sum in England. The Canadian people live as well as their American neighbours. All the necessaries of life are cheap and abundant. The land produces those fruits which are not within the reach of the poorer classes in Great Britain. Apples and plums grow in great profusion in all the provinces, while peaches and grapes ripen perfectly in Ontario. Grapes are yearly becoming a large crop, entering into the consumption of all classes, and are made into wines which compare favourably with the cheaper light wines of France and Germany. If we look at the Imports of Canada, we obtain some idea of the mode of life, so far as it is illustrated by purchases from foreign countries. Canadians pay annually to England no less than £1,600,000 for woollen goods, and £2,000,000 for cotton manufactures; but such articles are necessaries, and we must therefore look further down the list for evidences of expensive tastes. Between £400,000 and £600,000 are paid for silks; £200,000 for hats, caps, and bonnets; £100,000 for furs; £100,000 for jewelry and gold and silver manufactures; and over £200,000 for tobacco and cigars. Their houses require English oilcloths and carpets to the value of £150,000, of which the greater amount was paid for Brussels and tapestry. Watches and clocks are bought to the value of £50,000; musical instruments to the value of £60,000. The large consumption of tea, coffee, and sugar in Canada can be seen from the fact that the people pay between £1,400,000 and £1,600,000 a year for these articles. They pay other countries nearly £200,000 for the paper used in journalism, books, counting-houses, and house decoration. Carriages are bought to the value of £30,000; and so we might go on extending the list of foreign purchases, which show how substantially, and even luxuriously, Canadians live. These figures increase every year as the purchasing power of the country improves. The imports for 1880-1 reached about £21,000,000, or four millions in excess of the previous year, and there is every prospect that there will be a considerable increase over those figures for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1882. Nor must it be forgotten that Canada herself is now a manufacturing country, and her people are buying largely every year, as well as exporting, fine pianos, carriages, boots and shoes, paper, tweeds, and sugars, besides other articles manufactured cheaply and well in their own country. The ability of the people to buy such articles can be estimated

from the fact that the people annually deposit in chartered banks, Government, and other savings banks, and building societies, over £20,000,000, and that the annual exports of the whole country are keeping pace with the imports, thanks to superabundant harvests, and a steady foreign demand for the products of the land and sea.

The Canadians have always had a hard fight with the forest and sea, but now that their early struggles are over, and they have won comfortable, even luxurious homes for themselves and children, they have commenced to give those evidences of culture which come with an older and more prosperous condition of society. Long ago, did they lay broad and deep the foundations of culture, by establishing and developing a system of education for poor and rich alike, which can bear comparison with that of Prussia or the New England States, and in some respects a superiority to either. Forty years ago, hardly *one* in *fifteen* of the children of Canada attended any school; now the proportion is *one* in *four*. The universities, colleges and high schools of the Dominion, number some five hundred, and the public or common schools fourteen thousand, attended by over a million of pupils, and supported by an annual contribution from State and people of over £1,400,000. The province of Ontario—in education, as in other respects, the premier province—contributes annually between £600,000 and £800,000 for all school purposes, or one hundred per cent. more than in 1867–8; and it is only necessary to visit her five thousand or more commodious and handsome buildings, well fitted with modern desks and apparatus, to see how generously and usefully the money is applied. From 1855 to the present time there has been some £140,000 expended for maps, apparatus and prize books, exclusive of the Public Free Libraries, which now possess some three hundred thousand volumes, which have cost the country at least £36,000. The grand total of library and prize books distributed to the counties of the province during a quarter of a century has been nearly a million and a half of volumes—so many auxiliaries to the intellectual culture of classes of the people, whose means of obtaining instructive literature have necessarily been limited; and it is safe to assert that the parent State in this respect is very far behind her young colonial dependency. The people import annually £200,000 worth of books and periodicals, which, taken in connection with the thirty millions of newspapers and periodicals that pass annually through Canadian post offices, proves how eagerly Canadians of all classes seek for literary and general information. But Canada does not depend exclusively on the outside world for literary food, or news intelligence, for her four or five hundred daily and weekly papers—now deservedly

standing high for enterprise and tone, supply every section of the Dominion with a large amount of reading matter. Even the North-west, which had only one paper ten years ago, has now sixteen at least, of which three are dailies. Canadian writers are increasing in number and ability, and year by year histories are produced of no mean order; and it is an interesting fact that the majority of these works deal with different epochs of the past of Canada, illustrating the national or Canadian spirit that is growing among all classes of the people. The churches and public buildings compare favourably with the handsomest edifices in the "Empire State" of New York, and the interior of Canadian homes illustrates the general refinement and taste of the people. Twelve years ago, theatrical performances had to be held in buildings of a most inferior character—mere wooden "shanties" in some cases—but now all the cities and large towns possess one or more opera-houses, handsome in appearance, and well adapted in every way to their object. Another illustration of the spirit of culture that is abroad in Canada, hitherto considered so prosaic and utilitarian a country, "so dreadfully new," is the establishment of art schools in the large centres, and of a Canadian Academy—the result of the laudable desire of the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise to stimulate a taste for art among the people; and it is a very significant fact that there are already several cases of young men who have embraced art as a profession, and have proceeded within a few months to the great schools of Europe to obtain that thorough artistic training which can alone be found among the master-pieces of modern and ancient painting and sculpture. It is a significant fact, which should be mentioned in this connection, that the value of the paintings and engravings of a good class annually brought into the country now amounts to over £100,000, all of which are imported free, with the view of affording as much encouragement as possible to so desirable an agency of culture. The foregoing facts are but a few among the evidences that can now be seen in Canada to prove the progress of art, literature and science in a country the greater portion of which, a half-century ago, was a solitude of river and forest, with a population of less than a million. It is probably yet difficult to disabuse the minds of certain classes of English people of the old idea that Canadians are, for the most part, rough and uncultured. Thanks to the English illustrated papers, the average native is generally represented as a white man in a blanket coat, with sash and capote, travelling on snow shoes; and we may consider it fortunate that he has risen so far in the scale of civilization as not to be pictured in complete Indian costume of paint and feathers. The social pleasures of the people are still believed in certain quarters to be made up in a great measure

of tobogganing, skating, shooting rapids, salmon fishing, or camping in the vicinity of interesting groups of Indians. It is true these are Canadian amusements—very novel and interesting to English tourists; but it does not follow that they sum up the social enjoyments of the better classes. Those writers and artists who describe exceptional phases of Canadian life might just as well make us believe that “the professional beauty” typifies the lives of the mothers and daughters of England, or that all the culture of London is “utterly utter” and “quite too too.” If there are any who wish to study the social characteristics of the Canadians, let them do something more than rush through the Dominion, and live only in hotels; let them remain some months, and visit the homes of the people, in town and country, and learn that knowledge and taste are not necessarily confined to the parent State, but may actually flourish in a mere dependency, which was only a poor, struggling French colony when Addison was writing his essays in the *Spectator*, and Handel was producing those noble oratorios, as remarkable for their musical expression as for the sublimity of their conception.

The political institutions of Canada, whose material and social condition has so far engaged our attention, seem admirably adapted to stimulate national energy, and give the largest amount of liberty compatible with order and good government. Previous to 1840, the provinces were agitated by political troubles, which found at last a happy solution in the extension of popular rights and the concession of responsible government. The provinces were thenceforth governed under a system, “the image and transcript of the British Constitution,” so far as it could be made to apply to a colonial dependency. According as the sphere of political action was enlarged in the provinces there was a corresponding increase of prosperity among all classes. English statesmen learned by experience that a people in a dependency could only be retained in the Empire by conceding to them the powers of self-government in the fullest sense of the term, and only exercising control over matters of Imperial import through a Governor-General, acting on behalf of, and responsible to, the Crown. The confidence felt in the ability of the British American people to assume still higher responsibilities as a self-governing community, was forcibly illustrated by the readiness with which the Confederation of 1867 was agreed to by the Imperial Government. The result has proved the practical wisdom of the promoters of that national scheme. The different provinces have been harmoniously united under a Federal system, which has developed the internal resources of the provinces, and at the same time given them a status, of importance and responsibility in the

Empire which would have been impossible as long as they remained isolated from one another. In maturing this system the Canadian people have had before them the practical experience of two great nations, England and the United States, from both of whom they have necessarily and wisely borrowed certain political institutions. The federal system of Canada is modelled to a large extent on that of the United States, which a century has already proved to be in many respects most admirably adjusted to the circumstances of a number of free communities, having certain distinct rights and interests which they wish to keep intact, whilst united at the same time under a general Government. But in one, and that a most important respect, the Canadian system appears to have a greater element of strength than its American prototype, and that is, in the distribution of the relative powers of the Federal and Provincial Governments. In the American system, each State is sovereign, and reserves to itself all powers not expressly conceded under the Constitution to the Federal Government, and hence has arisen that doctrine of State Sovereignty, which obtained such prominence previous to the Civil War, and is yet a fundamental principle, never practically yielded by a single State in the Union. In the Canadian system the very reverse principle obtains: the exclusive legislative power of the local legislatures is limited to the subjects specifically assigned to them by the Act of Union; all other powers of legislation for "the welfare and good government of the Dominion," including those which are specially assigned to the Dominion Parliament, are expressly and exclusively conferred upon the Parliament of Canada. In fact, "the authority of the Federal power over the matters left under its control, is exclusive, full and absolute; whilst even as regards at least some of the matters left to the Provincial Legislatures, their authority cannot be construed as being similarly full and exclusive, when, by such construction, the Federal power over matters especially left under its control would be lessened, restrained or impaired."* In all matters of constitutional controversy as to the respective powers of the Parliament and legislatures, the decision of the highest courts has been emphatically to secure to the Dominion Parliament the exclusive control and determination of all questions of national significance, and to restrain the local legislatures within the limits of their clearly defined statutory powers. Consequently, the Provincial Governments are not so many State sovereignties, asserting rights which, sooner or later, might threaten the peace and stability of the general Government,

* Judgment of Supreme Court of Canada, October 28, 1879.

on whose strength must depend the future greatness of the Dominion, but are in reality so many bodies, entrusted with certain defined minor powers of a provincial or municipal character. And while the Constitution has been thus wisely framed so as to give strength to the central authority, it at the same time gives to each province that perfect freedom of action necessary to develop its internal resources. Education, provincial works, public lands and mines, and all municipal matters, are under provincial control ; and it is only necessary to follow the history of provincial legislation for the past fourteen years to see how much valuable progress has been made in all such matters. Under no other system than one that gives a Provincial Government full jurisdiction over property and civil rights, and affords complete protection to its peculiar institutions, would it be possible to satisfy the French Canadian section of the Canadian people. As it is now, all elements of discontent have vanished under the operation of the Act of Union, and there is no more loyal or earnest member of the Confederation than the province of Quebec, which was once distrusted by English statesmen.

But it is not only in the distribution of powers that the Canadian system has undoubtedly a greater element of strength than the constitution of the United States. If Canada was obliged to imitate the Federal Union of her neighbours in some essential respects, yet the foundations of her Government rest on the broad, stable principles of the unwritten constitution of the parent State. The Queen is expressly stated in our Constitutional Act to be a component part of Parliament ; and in her is vested the executive government and authority over Canada. This authority is exercised by a Governor-General, appointed and only removable by the Crown. The Sovereign is consequently always represented—never dies or disappears with party changes ; and it is in the permanence and stability of the Executive that Canada, like other dependencies of the Empire, has a guarantee of peaceful and well-ordered government that seems hardly possible under an elective system which at short intervals gives full rein to the passions of party. This Governor-General is not an irresponsible head of the Executive during his term of office, but acts invariably under the advice of Ministers, in accordance with the wise British principle which withdraws the Sovereign from the arena of parliamentary and party debate, and makes some Minister responsible for every act of the Executive. The perils that surround the Executive in the American Republic have been sadly illustrated only a short while since. All England and Canada lately mourned the death of President Garfield :

“ A brave man struggling in the storms of fate,
And greatly falling.”

It is admitted that he fell a victim to that fatal system which makes the President responsible for every appointment to office. “ A million of needy or ambitious men,” said an American thinker at the time, “ besiege the President for the hundred thousand places in his gift. Murder for ever lurks in the concentration and distribution of patronage.” All quarrels over the distribution of these offices, all difficulties among the political party which elect the President, reflect more or less on the head of the nation, who must bear the full weight of the dangerous burthen. But a Governor-General in Canada cannot be brought into any controversy that may arise over a question of patronage ; for he stands above and aloof from all party strife, the representative of a Sovereign who “ can do no wrong.”

This question of patronage must always be fraught with difficulty in a country enjoying popular institutions. The atrocious doctrine that “ to the victors belong the spoils ” has its influence with the democracy, and it is the misfortune of the American people that the politicians have infected the whole body politic with this plague spot. Canada has so far escaped the infection, and though now and then after a fierce political contest some irresponsible journals of the lower type clamour for changes, yet the sound sense of the country at large has kept the Civil Service comparatively free from political taint. It is true, the strong pressure of party is continually overcrowding departments ; but, taking it as a whole, the leading public servants of Canada, the men who keep the machinery of Government in operation, whatever party may be in power, are a body of men whose ability and character are the best evidences of the strength of a system of Government, one of whose essential principles is a permanent public service. It is an encouraging and creditable fact that cases of peculation or dishonesty among Canadian officials are rare and comparatively insignificant, though the opportunities for abstracting large sums of money are necessarily large in a country with numerous Government savings banks, post-offices, and custom-houses in every section. No Star Route frauds have ever disgraced the political annals of Canada, and her public men have invariably preserved that reputation for integrity which is a distinguishing trait of English statesmen. It is true now and then, at times of violent party strife, irresponsible public writers make rash charges against their opponents, but, so far, such accusations have in every case been proved mere exhibitions of indiscreet party malice, and the only unfortunate result has been to lower the tone of political discussion, and weaken the influence of the press.

With a Federal system, which combines at once central strength and local freedom of action, with a permanent Executive independent of popular caprice and passion; with a Civil Service resting on the firm basis of freedom from politics and security of tenure, the Dominion of Canada possesses elements of stability which should give confidence to all those who make their homes within her limits. Nor is it among the least advantages of Canada that her people always show a respect for law and order which can well bear comparison with the condition of things even in the older States of the American Union. From time to time we read of bodies of American citizens attacking jails, and forcibly hanging criminals, because "Justice and the Courts are a farce;" and the most recent cases occurred in a village of Michigan, and at Bloomington, a rich and important city of Illinois, "confessedly one of the greatest and most enlightened of American commonwealths."* The vicious and dangerous system of an elective judiciary has never had its advocates in Canada. The judges are happily independent of all political influences, and can only be removed on the Addresses of the Senate and the House of Commons; and consequently there is very general confidence in the integrity and independence of the Bench. In fact, since the British system has prevailed in Canada, there has been no instance of the Crown having been obliged to displace a judge for corruption and improper conduct in connection with the administration of justice. It is also a gratifying fact that all over Canada there is a strong moral sense, which preserves the purity of domestic life, and assists in strengthening the marriage tie. A short time since a New York clergyman called attention from the pulpit to the melancholy fact that no less than two thousand four hundred divorces had taken place within twelve months in six of the older States of the Union. In the Dominion marriage and divorce are among the matters assigned exclusively to the Federal Parliament—so careful have the founders of the Confederation been to give full importance to those questions which lie at the basis of all society. Since 1867 the Dominion Parliament have only been called upon to pass some six divorce bills for persons living in the two large provinces of Ontario and Quebec.† Nor is it only in the older provinces that we may look for such illustrations of social happiness. No monstrous plague like Mormonism can ever be permitted to take such root in the Canadian North-west as in the territory of

* *New York World*, September 29, 1881.

† Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have special Courts of Divorce, as before the Confederation; but only a very few suits have taken place for many years.

Utah, where the whole power of the Federal Government seems unable to drag it out. Step by step the institutions of the older provinces follow population into the Western plains of Canada. Education, a Judiciary, Municipal Institutions, the Common and Statutory Law, are the natural sequence of settlement in the new territory. So far all the large powers possessed by the Federal Government in connection with that vast territory have been wisely administered, and all those who go into that country may depend on the ability of the Government to give every security to the life and property of the pioneer. The principles of justice and honesty which have always been observed in the relations of Canada with the aboriginal tribes—principles in such remarkable contrast with the chicanery and corruption of American Indian agents—give a guarantee of safety to the settler that he cannot find in the new States and territories of the greater Union. In short, every man, the moment he puts his foot on the North-west prairie has the assurance that he can rely on the protection of British laws and institutions, so modified, as to be adapted to the circumstances of a new land.

A few words in conclusion as to the future of a country whose progress not only illustrates the energy but the social elevation of the people. The Confederation is only in its infancy, and yet it is proving its capacity for national expansion. The Dominion Government has now, under its Imperial Charter, assumed many of the responsibilities of a nation. It exercises a powerful control over each province, inasmuch as it now possesses the power, formerly devolving upon the Imperial authorities alone, of disallowing Acts of the local legislatures, as well as of appointing and removing the Lieutenant-Governors, through the Governor-General in Council. The Central Government rules a territory, whose fertile area is at least equal in extent to three States as large as France, and new provinces can be established therein by Acts of the Canadian Parliament, which in this respect also discharges Imperial functions. Yet only forty years ago the provinces of British North America were poor, struggling communities of people, without a common purpose, without any position of importance in the Empire. Responsible government was conceded to them with considerable reluctance, through fears that it might clash at times with Imperial interests, and that it might not always be worked out with statesmanlike discretion. The large powers and responsibilities now entrusted to the Dominion sufficiently testify to the opinion entertained by England as to the ability and sagacity of the public men and the people of her most important dependency. So far the Canadians have, through good and evil report, been staunch supporters of Imperial connection, though their faith may have

sustained more than one hard trial when they have seen evidences of indifference to Canadian interests and a lack of sympathy with Canadian progress. No doubt the closing years of this century will form an epoch in the career of the Dominion. Now at last is her golden opportunity. For a century past the United States have been able to attract millions of souls, while Canada has been comparatively overlooked, through the belief that has too generally prevailed that she had far inferior material advantages to offer to intending settlers. Every year, however, is furnishing more convincing evidence that she possesses at last in the North-west a fertile area far more valuable and larger than any now owned by the United States, who have already exhausted the more considerable portion of their most available agricultural territory in the West. If population flows into the new country of Canada with any degree of rapidity during the next twenty years—and the present indications are very encouraging—the position of Canada in the commencement of the new century will be one that many nations may well envy. It will be an unfortunate day for the Empire if the coolness or apathy of Englishmen should at this critical juncture cramp the energies or damp the aspirations of Canadians. They believe that the story which the Immigration Returns of this continent have told for so many years back will be henceforth one more flattering to the Empire, and that the increasing interest taken in Canada will soon bear rich fruit in the development of her territorial resources. Imperial connection is still the motive power in Canadian legislation; and though changes may be demanded in years to come more commensurate with that higher position Canada must occupy in a not very distant future, yet there is every reason to believe that those changes can be made so as to give greater strength to the Empire, and at the same time open up a wider field to the ambition of the Canadian people. Perhaps the time may come when the Imperial State will find in the Federal system of the Canadian provinces a constitutional solution which will settle many national difficulties, and give that unity to the Empire which it now certainly has not. Such a solution may be only the dream of enthusiasts; and yet there are not a few men already, both in the parent State and its dependencies, whose aspirations take so patriotic a direction. If so magnificent a scheme could once be realized, then the memorable words of Edmund Burke would at last have their full significance:—

“The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive Empire in two capacities: one is the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately, and by no other instru-

ment than the Executive power; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *Imperial* character, in which, as from the throne of Heaven, she superintends all the inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any."

But it is in the "living present" that Canada has now the deepest interest. Her future mainly rests on the readiness with which the people of the parent State respond to her appeal in this crisis of her history. It will indeed be disheartening to her if her fidelity to British connection should only be rewarded by the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen yearly giving the preference to a country whose increasing greatness is being continually contrasted with Canadian weakness by the advocates of the Continental idea. But it is a mere delusion to imagine that Canada must, sooner or later, be absorbed in the United States. The conservatism of the governing classes, especially of the French Canadian element; the historic traditions and associations of the people; their natural aspirations in view of all they have achieved in the face of a powerful competitor, all tend to create a line of division between the two countries which must widen year by year, according as the prosperity of the Dominion becomes more assured, and public confidence is strengthened by success. Imperial interests emphatically demand that every encouragement and sympathy be given to this people. All those considerations of natural affection which keep a family together should tend to strengthen the position of Canada within the Empire. The people of the parent State may now see in imagination two sisters standing on the shores of the Western Continent. One of them, in the meridian of her beauty, in the possession of great wealth, has millions of people from all lands to pay her tribute. Long ago, she left the shelter of the "old home," and for years parent and child looked coldly on each other; but now, happily for both, old grievances and animosities are forgotten, and the daughter at last revives and cherishes old memories and associations of the land from which her ancestors came. But withal, she is sometimes wayward, too ready to yield to the popular passion and prejudice of the hour; and though the parent may be proud of her beauty and her success, yet he may not, in justice to those nearest to him, forget that it is to her sister close by that he owes the warmest affection and sympathy. This sister, of modest mien, points to her own home as one which, if less known to the world than that of her rival sister, offers nevertheless true content and happiness. With a serenity and constancy inherited from her northern lineage, she turns a confident, fearless look

across the ocean to the country of her allegiance, to which she has always been true. For her American sister, who has won the world's admiration, Canada has only the kindest feeling; but it is only natural that she should think that it is to herself that England owes the most. Not as a needy suppliant, but as a daughter, attached to the old home, yet prouder of the one she has made, she stands on the shores of the Dominion ready to welcome all who come to share that Canadian domain which illustrates the patient industry and indomitable courage of the years that have passed.

ART. II.—CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

1. *Œuvres de Camille Desmoulins, recueillies et publiées d'après les textes originaux, augmentées de fragments inédits, et précédées d'une étude biograph. et littéraire.* Par JULES CLARETIE. 2 tom. Paris. 1874.
2. *Camille Desmoulins et sa Femme.* Par JULES CLARETIE. Paris.
3. *Le Vieux Cordelier de Camille Desmoulins, avec aperçus historiques et littéraires, &c.* Paris: Baudouin Frères. 1825.
4. *Camille Desmoulins et Roch Marcandier; la Presse pendant la Révolution.* 2 tom. Paris. 1852.

“THOU poor Camille, say of thee what they may, it were but falsehood to pretend one did not almost love thee, thou headlong lightly-sparkling man.” The lingering sympathy thus characteristically expressed by Carlyle for him who was pre-eminently the journalist of the French Revolution, as David was its painter, and André Chénier its poet, is doubtless shared by his readers. What period richer in dramatic lives than the close of the eighteenth century? and of these lives whose more stirring in its course, more pathetic in its close, than that of Camille Desmoulins? His first appearance as a public man on the famous Sunday which preceded the taking of the Bastille; his address in the Palais Royal, borrowing an eloquence from his theme and his audience which Nature had denied him; then the brief, headlong career of this strange half-earthenware, half-iron vessel down the revolutionary torrent, ending with his too late discovery that terror, not clemency, was to be “the order of the day,” and that Robespierre, his former idol, was but a man

cased in the triple brass of soulless pedantry; his gradual revulsion from the principles and practice of his allies; his assumption of the rôle of "Vieux Cordelier" in place of his old office of "Procureur de la Lanterne;" his quarrel with St. Just, his trial and condemnation; those last terrible hours of life in the Luxembourg prison, when personal ties were found to be as brittle as political formulas were rigid, and only Lucile was true to the end; last of all, his execution on that sunshiny spring morning when the lilacs were in full bloom close to the guillotine, and all Nature, except human nature, spake of life and hope;—are not all these things told in the books of the chronicles of the French Revolution? But it is not so much the strictly historical side of Camille's life on which we would dwell now, as his character and literary genius, so far as they are reflected in his writings and personal relations to his contemporaries: we wish to present the man in his *robe de chambre*, and at his writing-desk.

We first get a distinct picture of him as a boy at the school of St. Louis le Grand, with Robespierre, and others whose names were hereafter to be "tolerably well known in the Revolution," for his fellow-pupils. It was here that he imbibed that taste for classicalism which was afterwards so prominent in all his literary work; it was here that his passion for verse found its earliest, and (fortunately, we may say) almost its only outlet, though in his last letter to his wife, from the prison of La Force, he wrote—with a misappreciation of his power, very pathetic and pardonable under the circumstances—that he was "born but to make verses."

He seems to have had a sincere and grateful regard for his instructor, the Abbé Berardier, of which he afterwards gave practical proof in a dangerous attempt to rescue him from the confinement to which his non-democratic proclivities had brought him. On leaving the college he addressed him in some lines (cited in "*L'Année Littéraire*" of 1784), which are not without a touching interest when read in the light of subsequent events. In this youthful production, he says of his school and school-fellows:—

"Là du patricien la hauteur est bannie,
Et la seule noblesse est celle du génie.
Tous cultivent les dons qu'en eux le ciel a mis;
En comptant leurs rivaux, ils comptent leurs amis;
Leurs talens nous sont chers, leurs succès sont les nôtres,
Et le laurier d'un seul couronne tous les autres."

One can hardly fancy Robespierre even as a boy existing in a little republic conducted on such self-denying principles as these.

Camille announces further on his intention of embracing the profession of an advocate, in which he hopes

“faire entendre une voix
Faible, mais qui, du moins, ne sera point vendue.”

He little knew then how distasteful the career of the bar would prove to him. Some years afterwards we find him escaping every Sunday with delight from his uncongenial week's labours to the gardens of the Luxembourg, there to find the charming Lucile Duplessis, together with her sympathetic mother, and occasionally, perhaps, her very unsympathetic father, and building up bright projects for the future under the very trees which were hereafter to form his only outlook from the window of his prison chamber. As time went on—the two were companions from a very early age—we can imagine Lucile feeling that Camille's thoughts were not always or absolutely of her. No wonder; another and a more exacting mistress had claimed a large share of his attentions: his other love now was, it is needless to say, Democracy. We can readily conceive, then, how the profession of the “avocat” repelled him more and more, in proportion to the growing fascination of politics and journalism; and how Lucile would come to have reasonable cause both for regret and gratification in no longer possessing an undivided dominion over his heart.

The little group which used to meet in the gardens of the Luxembourg is drawn for us by the different writers of the lives of its members, and in Camille's own letters: Lucile Duplessis, timid, enthusiastic, and melancholy by turns, always fresh and impulsive; Madame Duplessis, comforting and encouraging the two young people whom she had placed under her special protection, and peculiarly able to enter into the feelings of both; old M. Duplessis, a man of means, and an inveterate aristocrat at heart, with his prudential saws and dry maxims so chilling to the fitful fevers of youth; and, lastly, Camille himself, joined perhaps from time to time by his own patiently-toiling, rigid, but not unkindly father (the man who “hailed the one voice,” which prevented his election as lieutenant of the bailliage of Guise from being unanimous, “as a sign of freedom”), though the occasions must have been rare on which he was able to tear himself away from the home and legal studies which were almost a part of himself. It was in this house, presided over by this honourable *homme de loi*, that Camille's sisters and brothers and mother sacrificed many a domestic comfort to give opportunities to their favourite in his career.

We can figure to ourselves Madame Duplessis singing Camille's praises in the deaf and reluctant ear of her husband, who would

doubtless reply with tart criticisms on the young man's Bohemian appearance, with a flood of unanswerable details as to his want of funds, or with caustic sneers at the expense of this wild-eyed journalist who was ready to overturn everything but himself; pointing his observations, perhaps, with encomiums on other admirers of Lucile—smart military men, not lacking material wealth, such as Generals Dillon and Fréron; not that these did not subsequently out-Camille Camille (the latter of them at least); but M. Duplessis, a genuine type of the conservative spirit accustomed to wait on events without pretending to super-human gifts of prophecy, could not be expected to tell as much from their respectable exteriors and creditable antecedents. Now, Camille's outward habit and manner were not respectable according to the notions of a M. Duplessis. In the words of Sainte-Beuve, a contemporary (the father of the eminent critic), written on the outside of a number of the "Vieux Cordelier,"* — "Desmoulins avait un extérieur désagréable, la prononciation pénible, l'organe dur; nul talent oratoire; mais il écrivait avec facilité et était doué d'une gaieté originale qui le rendait très-propre à manier l'arme de la plaisanterie." No "rhetorical aptitude," so necessary to win the heart of a Frenchman; no funds, so desirable in the eyes of a moderately well-to-do bourgeois-parent, "with 20,000 livres in the funds," who had already refused more than one wealthy suitor; not much courtly suavity even, or deferential manner, to atone for his other deficiencies in the mind of an old-fashioned royalist! It was only in the nature of things that M. Duplessis could not at first, nor indeed for a very long time, look with favour on Camille's suit to his daughter. What new sort of being Camille might become at his writing-desk, what hidden forces he might there display, or what unknown wells of humour disclose—what changes he might "suffer into something rare and strange"—all this the old man could not even conjecture, and indeed took little pains about it. Perhaps, if he had fully appreciated the hopes that his future son-in-law was nursing in solitude, and the uncompromising republics that he was constructing on paper, the old political Adam in him would have been still more outraged; and he might have approved the harshest terms in which some of the contemporary portraits of him were expressed, and have shrunk more from his outspoken writings than from his hesitating words.

"Camille Desmoulins," says one of these portraits, "timid and with eyes bent to the ground whenever a respectable man looked him in the face, was, when he took a pen in hand, insurpassably terrible: at

* "Œuvres de Camille Desmoulins," par J. Claretie, i. 48.

such times he would confront any danger, paint virtue's colours on the face of crime, strip facts of their proper complexion, give them a fascinating twist, and believe that he had carried conviction when he had merely raised a laugh.*

Such were the sentiments of an enemy, no doubt; but M. Duplessis, one cannot help fancying, would at times have secretly sympathized with them. However, he found that Madame Duplessis was against him in the matter; and so, after Camille had waited eight years (1782-1790), Lucile's father gave in, and at last consented to the marriage. Camille at once tells the news to his father: †—

"To-day, the 11th of December, I see myself in the possession of my utmost hopes. Fortune has kept me waiting a long time, but at last she has come, and I am as happy as a man can be on earth. This charming Lucile, of whom I have spoken to you so often, whom I have loved for eight years,—well, at last her parents have given her to me, and she herself does not refuse me. Her mother has just this moment told me this news with tears of joy. . . . You will recognize her [Lucile] by this one trait. The instant after her mother had given her to me, she led me to her chamber, and I threw myself at Lucile's feet. Astonished at hearing her laugh, I raised my eyes: hers were in no better condition than my own; she was in tears. She wept profusely, and yet she still continued laughing."

Throughout his life we always see Camille at his best, as a man at least, in his tender moments by the side of his wife. The wanton "plaisanterie" of the writer, the unrestrained audacity of the revolutionary spirit in him too often, as he lived to regret more than once, suggested to others the indiscriminate gambols of a tiger. In his correspondence with his father he expressed his fierce exultation at the outbreak of the Revolution as unreservedly as we have just seen him unbosoming his gentler emotions. From these letters we may gather that if he was "pour aimer sans égal," he was also "sans pareil pour railler." But his father seems to have fairly understood and sympathized with both sides of his son's character. In this he formed a contrast to M. Duplessis. He was indeed alive—keenly alive—to the dangers incurred every minute by his impetuous son, and soon learnt that for an affectionate father to own a headlong and sensitive genius for his offspring was an honour, but not an unmixed comfort. The story that Desmoulins père prophesied that his son would one day come to the scaffold is probably apocryphal; but he often wrote to him in terms of warning; he was himself not altogether in love with the Revolution; the Prince de Condé—"votre prince de Condé" Camille banter-

* "Œuvres," i. 47.

† "Œuvres," i. p. 32, and ii. p. 353.

ingly calls him in one of his letters, and in "La France Libre" speaks of his being "publicly devoted to the infernal gods")—was his friend, and often visited him; he was not averse to grumbling, and loved to retail the prudent commonplaces or malevolent insinuations of his neighbours in Picardy as to Camille's strange proceedings; he sympathized, moreover, with many institutions in which his son saw only useless obstructions, or something worse; but he loved him sincerely notwithstanding, and entered into his hopes as far as he could understand them. A letter from father to son, of Jan. 2, 1790, is characteristic,* where (in view of a series of domestic and other disasters which had fallen upon himself and his family) the former speaks of the only relief to the gloominess of his position being "the hope that my son, with more modern and apparently much bolder principles, will be one of the first builders of the ark which should save himself and his brothers from the shipwreck of their common father." "I see," he continues, "that you belong to the small number of the elect who, together with printers and publishers, keep their heads above water in the midst of a Revolution which levels all else with the ground. Your undertaking is an immense one. I hear of your successes, and I am not insensible to them; but still more am I concerned at the hazards which you incur," &c.†

His last letter to his son was one announcing the death of his wife at Guise, which reached Camille on the very day of his arrest (Germinal 11th, 1794), and a few days before his execution, to add to his approaching fate at least one dismal consolation. In this (as also in the letter shortly afterwards to Fouquier-Tinville, a dignified appeal on behalf of his son, in which the intrepid old father scorned either to apologize for his deeds or to remind the infamous prosecutor of the abject terms in which not many years before he had sought and obtained a favour of himself, when their respective positions were very different), there was no word of reproach; he had arrived at a time when he saw that his son was past remonstrances; he accepted for better or worse this

"âme

Enfantine, et mobile, et folle; oiseau de flamme,
Esprit de faune, et cœur de femme."‡

* "Le Vieux Cordelier," p. 9.

† See "Camille Desmoulins and his Wife," pp. 317, 318.

‡ "Le Vieux Cordelier," p. 14. M. Duplessis, a few days before Camille's execution—it is a well-known story—was pacing up and down a room, and giving vent to his querulous regrets at having given his daughter's hand to an adventurer, when he caught sight of a statue of Liberty, seized it, and was

He was proud of him to the last, and would have sympathized, one cannot help fancying, with Lucile, if he could have heard her say to those who were anxious to save Camille at the expense of his duty—"Laissez-le remplir sa mission." But where Desmoulins saw heroism in Camille, Duplessis often refused to see anything but Quixotism and his daughter's chances thrown away.

However, to return to the betrothed couple. Camille duly presented himself to the curé, to make arrangements for the marriage, accompanied by a notary who subsequently put into writing the following curious dialogue which took place on the occasion :*—

" 'Are you a Catholic?' asked the curé. 'Why do you put the question?' replied Camille. 'Because, if you are not, I cannot let you partake of a sacrament of the Catholic religion.' 'Well then, yes; I am a Catholic.' 'I can hardly credit that in a man who has avowed in one of the numbers of his journal that for him the religion of Mahomet is as well established as that of Jesus Christ.' 'You read my journal, then?' 'Sometimes.' 'And you refuse to marry me, monsieur le curé?' 'I cannot unless you publicly profess the Catholic faith.' 'Well then, I shall appeal to the ecclesiastical committee.'"

Camille, however, did not take this step, but conferred instead with Mirabeau, with whom he was then on familiar terms. Mirabeau said that the curé was bound to marry him; that he had no right to judge of a man's belief otherwise than from his outward profession; and that, Camille having professed himself a Catholic, that was enough. Thereupon Camille again sought the curé, and expounded Mirabeau's views. As we may imagine, the curé was scarcely prepared to accept the ecclesiastical authority so strangely cited to him. "Since when," he asked, "has Mirabeau become a father of the church?" "Ha, ha! Mirabeau a father of the church!" laughed Camille, "I will tell him that; it will tickle him." Then the curé demanded, before the possibility of marriage, a retraction of Camille's very unorthodox opinions, which found, he said, a sufficiently outward expression in his journalistic writings. Finally a compromise was effected. Camille was to publish no more "numbers" before his marriage; he was to "satisfy all the requirements prescribed by the church" on the solemn occasion,

on the point of dashing it to the ground in impotent rage, when Lucile arrested his hand with the words, "No, my father, he dies for it."

* "Histoire des événemens arrivés sur la paroisse St. Sulpice pendant la Révolution (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapart, 1792), pp. 23, 24, 25. Cited by M. Barbier in "L'Examen critique des Dictionnaires historiques."

and he was to confess. "A vous-même, monsieur le curé," was the jaunty reply. Henry IV. thought Paris worth a Mass, and Camille evidently thought Lucile worth a confession, which accordingly took place, and was soon followed by the marriage ceremony, with Péthion and Robespierre among the witnesses. The bridegroom behaved very decorously on the occasion, and was even moved to tears by the curé's marriage-sermon, so much so, that Robespierre is reported to have muttered an acid aside, "Pleure donc, hypocrite," mistaking, after his short-sighted fashion, excessive volatility for hypocrisy.

At this time Camille was Mirabeau's protégé, as we learn from several of his letters to his father. "If you hear evil spoken of me," he writes to him at Guise (Sept. 29, 1789), "console yourself by remembering the recognition of my work which Mirabeau, Target, Robespierre, Gleizen, and more than two hundred deputies have accorded me;" and, a few days after this, he speaks of Mirabeau's having asked him to contribute to his journal; and, later still, of having passed "two charming weeks" with him at Versailles—so charming, in fact, that he humorously hints at the danger of being attracted to the corrupt ways of aristocratic delicacy, especially in the matter of dinners.

"The last eight days I have been with Mirabeau at Versailles. We have become great friends; at least he calls me his dear friend. He is constantly taking me by the hand, or giving me friendly nudges: suddenly he goes off to the Assembly, reassuming his dignity on entering the lobby, and there achieves wonders; after which he returns to dine with an excellent company, and sometimes his mistress, and we have capital wines to drink. I feel that his too delicate and amply-laden table is beginning to corrupt me. His Bordeaux wines and his maraschino have their value, which I in vain try to conceal from myself; and I have all the trouble in the world to regain my republican austerity, and to hate aristocrats whose crime it is to be fond of such excellent dinners. I work at preparing motions for him, and Mirabeau calls that initiating me in State affairs."

He goes on to say that he ought to feel happy, considering his former position at his native Guise, at having now become the friend and boon companion of Mirabeau, at having been burnt by the parliament of Toulouse (referring to his book, "La France Libre"), and at having acquired the reputation of an "excellent citizen and clever writer."

Even from this letter we may see how Camille hankered after an Athenian type of republic—a republic blessed with unrestrained freedom and gaiety of thought and life, rather than weighted with a Roman or Spartan "austerity;" and we can partially understand how, notwithstanding his occasionally

truculent witticisms, he at last became disgusted with Robespierre as a pedantically straightlaced apostle of the Revolution, with his "laws of the suspect," his virtues and incorruptibilities, his suspicion of the press, and his dislike of levity and masquerading. With Mirabeau, however, he could not work long in harness; their natural differences were great, however much they might be disguised. Camille was too audacious on behalf of revolutionary nihilism for Mirabeau, as he afterwards proved too audacious on behalf of revolutionary clemency to please St. Just and Robespierre. In one of his latest productions, "*Sur Les Ultra et Les Citra*,"* he reminds those who then accused him of being "a counter-revolutionist," that in former days he was often called—especially by Mirabeau—an ultra-revolutionary spirit. He speaks there of a conversation which he had four years back with Mirabeau, and which he took the trouble to put into a dramatic form at the time ("que je rimais et mettais en scène"). Its frankness is amusing:—

"*Camille.* Salut, saint Mirabeau.

Mirabeau.

Bonjour, incendiaire

Revolté.

Camille.

Dis plutôt révolutionnaire.

Mirabeau.

Oui, ce mot peint fort bien ton esprit novateur
D'innombrables abus heureux reformateur;
Mais qui cherchant toujours un mieux imaginaire,
Mieux que le ciel refuse au monde sublunaire,
Ne voit pas que ce mieux est l'ennemi du bien,
Et, s'il ne détruit tout, croit n'avoir détruit rien."

Camille goes on to declare that so every man has his boundary god, which it is criminal in his eyes for another to remove or go beyond, and that all are equally intolerant ("chacun pose à sa guise la limite de la raison, ou plutôt se pose lui-même pour limite, divinise cette limite, qu'il appelle le dieu Terme, comme Numa," &c.); and that Camille's limit was very different from that of Mirabeau was a fact which, in spite of aristocratic dinners, soon announced itself in satirical onsets on the one side, and contemptuous toleration and patronage on the other. Things went so far, that Camille began to call Mirabeau "the Mercury of his age, the god of orators, liars, and thieves;" while Mirabeau spoke of his fiery young assailant merely as "poor Camille," and "good boy," and contented himself with occasionally inquiring "whether his head had come right again."

* Printed as a "fragment inédit" in Jules Claretie's edition of Camille Desmoulins' works, vol. ii. p. 306. It was addressed to Collot d'Herbois and another, and written about the time of the last few numbers of the "*Vieux Cordelier*;" very shortly, therefore, before his death.

Thus, by the time of his marriage, Camille had become an "excellent citizen and good writer;" he was thoroughly launched in his career as a popular—though, owing to "the infamous book-sellers," a poor—journalist, and as a revolutionary, even (in some people's eyes) an ultra-revolutionary, character. The deeds which distinguished the remainder of his life belong to history proper, and we do not propose to consider in detail what is sufficiently well known to most readers; but his writings, his journals, pamphlets, and letters, which are perhaps not quite so intimately known, still merit attention.*

Camille Desmoulins was, as we have said, before all things a journalist. He is so regarded both by the advocates and the opponents of a free press. M. Jules Claretie sees in him the incarnation of all the graces, and Edouard Fleury, the incarnation of all the evils, of journalism. "La biographie de Camille Desmoulins," says the latter, "c'est la biographie de la presse révolutionnaire tout entière pendant les six années terribles qui se sont écoulées de 1788 à 1794. Audacieux, agressifs, insolents toujours," and so on. Camille's inclinations from the first were in this direction, though circumstances required him to adopt the profession of the bar. His speeches, while he was a deputy in the Convention, were not good; and though he was so pleased with the post at first, and the glittering prospect which it held out to him, that he temporarily abandoned the pen, he soon regretted having done so, and seized the first convenient opportunity to return to the arena where he felt himself more free and capable. Such speeches—and they were few—in which he really succeeded, were mainly fiery addresses delivered under vehement emotion to an equally excited populace. In these, such, for instance, as his speech in the Palais Royal before the taking of the Bastille (speaking of which in a letter to his father he says, "J'étouffais d'une multitude d'idées qui m'assiégeaient; je parlais sans ordre"), there was a certain unkempt vigour; and we can conceive his addressing a small club-meeting felicitously, where his wit and versatility would have free play. But his more formal orations, his set discourses, were dull; he had not the power, which even the ponderous mediocrity of Robespierre possessed, of moving such an assembly as the Convention. This was from no want of inventive energy; on the

* A short account of Camille's life is to be found in each of the two works to which we have already referred. In "Le Vieux Cordelier," &c. (Baudouin Frères), it is political and personal mainly; in Jules Claretie's work, "Œuvres," &c., it is personal and literary. For Camille's domestic life and that of Lucile, see Jules Claretie's "Camille Desmoulins and Lucile" (tr. by Mrs. Hoey) and Michelet's "Les Femmes de la Révolution." For an adverse view of Camille, see Edouard Fleury's work.

contrary, the very fertility of his imagination (as has often been the case, notably with Cromwell and others) forbid him to exercise that economy of language, and anxiety to prevent his verb eloping from his nominative case, which are humble but essential points in the finishing, if not the making, of a good speaker. Lucile, in her merry moods, used to style him "Monsieur Hon-Hon," from the preliminary throat-clearing and hesitation which he never got over in public speaking. "Stified with a besieging crowd of ideas"—in these words of his we have the secret of his ill-success as an orator, and equally of his brilliancy as a journalist.

In this latter department he felt himself truly at home. His famous "à moi mon écrivain" shows us the career which he always loved best, and for which he was best adapted. In a letter to his father about the time (to which we have referred already) when he had temporarily abandoned his functions as a writer [April 3, 1792], he says:—

"Since I dropped my journal, I have made no money. It was a great piece of folly on my part to do so; since my journal was a power which made these enemies of mine tremble, who now, like cowards, throw themselves upon me, viewing me in the light of the lion whose claws had been cut by Amaryllis. I have taken up once more my old position as 'man of law,' to the duties of which I devote nearly all the time left me by my municipal and electoral functions, and the Jacobins—that is to say, little enough."

After expressing his disgust at being obliged again to plead in mere civil and commercial causes, after having handled such large interests and so general a cause in the face of Europe (a good deal of French vanity is perceptible in all Camille's letters), he adds: "If I had money, I would take up my pen again, and put several people back in their proper places;" the first part of the sentence being underlined, and meant as a strong hint to his father to supply funds. In fact, during the early part of his career, he was in terrible straits for money, and went through all, and more than all, the usual hardships of a struggling literary man. His piteous appeals to his father [Sept. 20, 1789] "to send him with all promptitude some shirts, and above all two pairs of breeches," and again for five or six louis, "which I beg of you in order to enable me to keep the promise which I made to my haberdasher," and even for a bed ("can you refuse me a bed?"); his complaints of the small instalments sent him of but two louis at a time, "with which," he says, "I have never yet found the secret of procuring goods or home;" and his description of himself as "audax et edax"—all these tell a sad tale of his want of that "*σχολή τῶν ἀναγκαίων*," so indispen-

able even to a philosopher, which he was not. What irritated him especially was that this impecuniosity beset him at the very time when Paris was ringing with his praises, and when he could write—not unjustifiably—“I have made myself a name, and I begin to hear people say, ‘There is a brochure of Camille Desmoulins out;’ not as they used to say, ‘of an author called Camille Desmoulins.’” This contrast between his high fame and low funds he indicates humorously as well as pathetically at the end of one of his letters. “I have a reputation in Paris. I am consulted on momentous affairs. I am invited everywhere to dine: there is no pamphleteer whose productions sell better than mine” [only the profits unfortunately went to “those rascals of publishers”]: “all that I need is a domicile; assist me, then, I entreat you, and send me six louis, or at least a bed.” The publishers, it would appear, made very hard bargains with Camille: “these booksellers are such Jews;” is his constant exclamation. At another time he writes that he is succumbing to fatigue and chagrin, and enriching only his publisher; and, again, speaks of buying a press himself, if he could only procure the necessary funds. Twelve louis was all that he got for his “Lanterne;” for his “*La France Libre*” only thirty, though it had brought a thousand to his publisher Momoro, “the first printer of national liberty.”

In addition to these pecuniary troubles, Camille’s opinions had alienated from him the sober Guisards, and men of Picardy generally, who were not slow, moreover, to impress the father with their views of the son. Camille himself was not a man to return blessings for curses, and not all his father’s entreaties would induce him to revisit his home. He calls his native district “the antipodes of philosophy, patriotism, and equality.” He speaks of “the people of Guise, so full of envy, of hatred, and of every petty passion,” and thinks it hardly worth while to attempt even “to open the eyes of those whom the light would only pain.” On another occasion, when more than ordinarily irritated by these men’s zeal or supposed misrepresentations of him to his father, he writes, somewhat self-consciously: “No; those who malign me are deceiving you. They are deceiving themselves too; in their heart of hearts they would wish to have sons resembling me. They assume the appearance of comforters, whereas it is only they who torment you. No evil is spoken of me except what these men say. They are Joseph’s brethren coming to console Jacob, and ‘Joseph’s limbs,’ say they, ‘have been torn in pieces by a wild beast.’ They themselves are the real monsters who have done so.”

There were circumstances enough, one may see, in this vehement journalist’s life, alternately to exalt and depress even an

ordinarily constituted individual. Golden opinions of the literary world, the embraces of patriots, and the love of Lucile, on the one hand; on the other, the malevolence of his *concitoyens* of "choleric Picardy" (as Michelet calls this country), his want of money, and the suspicion of being cheated of his earnings at the same time. So that, when we further take into account Camille's excessively volatile temperament, we are not surprised to find him confessing that, though his *amour-propre* was flattered every instant, he was far from attaining perfect felicity. "Dans un moment," he candidly exclaims, "je trouve la vie une chose délicieuse, et le moment d'après je la trouve presque insupportable, et cela dix fois dans un jour." The inevitable condition of an impressionable and effervescent character, such as was his, when brought into contact with such a "frightful welter" as Danton afterwards declared the Revolution to be! For times out of joint solidity is a necessary virtue; in default of that, even stolidity has been known to secure an immunity from discomfort to its possessor, and enable him "to bear arms against a sea of troubles"—arms of a kind against which even the gods, as Goethe tells us, fight in vain. Circumstances and his parents, however, had willed that Camille should be neither solid nor stupid.

The attitude of Camille Desmoulins towards the Revolution—or rather, towards the successive parties which supported it in their various ways—was not, as expressed in his pamphlets and other writings, always the same. When reproached with this, he would reply that it was the wind which changed, and not the weathercock—the men whom he successively opposed, and not the opposer. The illustration was not a happy one, "the wind" being so obviously suggestive, in this case, of Robespierre. At any rate, whatever were his motives, the fact is that though at first truculent, madly lavish of witticisms at the expense of Brissot, Roland, and the other Girondins, violently lashing aristocrats, enragés, federalists, and so-called counter-revolutionists in turn, he subsequently, though gradually, changed his tone, and became himself the thing he had so often derided, a counter-revolutionist. Notwithstanding his personal quarrel with Brissot, there is reason for believing that, during the whole trial of the Girondins, and even the proceedings preliminary to it in the meetings of the Jacobins, he had grave misgivings as to the justice of the course which, partly from that dread of apparent inconsistency which only minds of sterner stuff than was his can withstand, and partly under the still commanding influence of Robespierre, he was allowing himself to advocate—misgivings which finally, on his hearing the sentence of their condemnation, broke out into the bitterest self-reproach. The horrible working of the iniquitous "Loi des Suspects" completed the revolution in his feelings,

and led him first to remonstrate with his former brethren in political warfare; then to dissever himself from them, to protest, to denounce, even to scoff; and, finally, to go the way of all revolutionary leaders who prophesy too plainly to their associates. As the execution of the Giroudins was the event which determined, so the "Vieux Cordelier" was the pamphlet which expressed, the turning-point in his career.*

German criticism has permitted no author's life to be held truly great unless divided or divisible into its appropriate periods. It has freely conferred the honours of this post-mortem dissection, even of vivi-dissection in some cases, on men like Kant and Hume, Goethe and Shakspeare. But these were fairly long-lived men. Poor Camille's literary life was much too short to admit of being split into many of such periods. Still, it has not altogether attained to "oneness and indivisibility;" and, without doing any very great violence, an observer may venture to bisect it in accordance with the difference in his political position as pointed out above. To the first of these periods would belong his "La France Libre," the "Discours de la Lanterne," the "Réclamation en faveur du Marquis de Saint Huruge," "Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant," and "La Tribune des Patriotes," culminating in "Jean Pierre Brissot démasqué," and "L'Histoire secrète de la Révolution;" and to the latter his masterpiece, the "Vieux Cordelier," his longest and considerably his best work, written as it was with the vigour and wit of a man fighting on behalf of unpopular convictions, and in the face of probable, and at last imminent, downfall. These together complete the tale of those "eight republican books" in which he afterwards, with characteristic confidence, defied his enemies to find a single mistake. Throughout the earliest of them he appears as the "reforming spirit," if not the "rebellious incendiary," described by Mirabeau; but in his latter days he exhibits a genuine horror of mere destructive energy, when once it has become organized at the expense of individuality and sprightliness, and has set itself to destroy confidence by espionage, and stifle thought by arbitrary and wholesale restrictions on the liberties of the only peers of France whom he would recognize, the journalists. All this suited ill with his ideal of a republic.† Equality was well enough in politics; but there was this one aristocracy—that of the pen—which he could not brook to see inter-

* Camille thought, with Danton, that the momentary rage which was sanctified by the spontaneous impulse of a people, became a loathsome crime when systematized, as a fixed policy of vindictiveness, by individual leaders or parties.—*Vide* Lamartine, "Histoire des Giroudins," vol. viii. pp. 8, 9.

† For an eloquent adumbration of his ideal republic, see "Révol. de France," &c., Nos. 16 and 20, and "La France Libre," ch. iv.

ferred with or assailed, especially when the assailants were "the aristocracy of lungs." It galled him to see the very city which, even under a Bourbon, had done honour to a Voltaire, owning, in its republican attire, representatives who were able and willing to call to order every criticism a plain-spoken writer might pronounce; and that a common "clubiste" could now prescribe the paths and objects of a volatile and quick-witted journalist's "pleasantry." Was this the republic of his young dreams—this the freedom for which he decked his hat with the green ribbon of hope in the Palais Royal gardens?

Two things, above all, Camille Desmoulins wished the Government of France *not* to become: rigid, pedantic, and formal, in the first place; and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe, in the next. Robespierre and the Hébertists were doing their best to make it both the one and the other. That graceful Greek virtue of *εὐτραπέλία*, or versatility, was what he desiderated most in the party which eventually came to be all-powerful in Paris at the time when he wrote his "Vieux Cordelier."

"Now, by two-headed Janus,
Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time:
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes,
And laugh, like parrots, at a bagpiper:
And others, of such vinegar aspect,
That they'll not show their teeth by way of smile,
Though Nestor swear the jest be laughable."

The man of "vinegar aspect" in the chronicles of the Revolution was Robespierre; Camille Desmoulins, on the contrary, was the merry executioner, the "Jean qui rit"—the very quintessence of resilient vivacity. Robespierre was nothing if not ramming a formula down men's throats: he was respectable, gloomy, obstinate, business-like, vindictive. Camille was impulsive, bright, touchy on the score of *amour-propre*, but otherwise, and on the whole, tolerant. A greater contrast could not be conceived; and the wonder is, not that this ill-assorted couple should have eventually broken off their union, but that they should have contrived to work together as long as they did.

Nothing is more curious or perplexing in the history of the French Revolution than the number of parties and divisions of parties, clubs and sections of clubs, societies and "daughter-societies," opinions and shades of opinions, intersecting, overlapping, and mutually influencing one another. Each group was an Ishmael in relation to the others. It is not to be wondered at therefore that, when once the Revolutionary Tribunal was established, no one of them knew what the day would bring forth, or which of them it might not immolate on the shrine of

“La Sainte Guillotine” or to rise up on the wave of success. A combination of parties, bound together by the slight ties or momentary convenience and intrigue, would support some dozen men for a few weeks; the elements of the combination once dissolved, the men supported by it would sink, in most cases irretrievably. Then would come a new combination, and a new set of leaders. Who could calculate on the vortices of this mad dance of atoms? “Those who judge the founders of the republic so harshly do not put themselves in their place,” says Camille, in his famous No. III. of the “Vieux Cordelier,” where he describes some of the extreme parties whose influence he thought most dangerous—“See amidst what precipices we are walking! On the one hand is exaggeration in moustachios, which by its ultra-revolutionary measures does all it can to make us the horror and the laughing-stock of Europe;” and, though he proceeds to point out, “on the other side,” various branches of the “Citras,” as he elsewhere calls them, yet it was the “Ultras” against whom his “Vieux Cordelier” was really directed. The liberty of the press was the one thing which he could not see in danger, and stand calmly by. “People want,” he exclaims, “the Terror, that is, the terror of bad citizens, to be put in the order of the day; let them, therefore, put in it the liberty of the press, since it is the terror of scoundrels and counter-revolutionists.” Though he so far conformed, in these words, to the sentiments of his nominal leaders as to express the liberty which he claimed for journalism in terms of “the Terror”—though this self-styled “Attorney-General of the Lamp-post” once said that “he could embrace Liberty over a heap of corpses,” yet in his heart he really figured her to himself in a much more genial light and with much pleasanter accessories. He earnestly desired a freedom, joyous and bright, which should give space and scope, wherein every sort of mind might wander untrammelled. His was not a Liberty like that of the painter David—gigantic, grotesque, overpowering, as represented in that monster statue of her which caught Madame Roland’s eye as she was going her last journey to the scaffold, and suggested her well-known exclamation, “O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!” but rather something *petite* and lovable—the little statuette of Liberty which Lucile prevented her father from dashing in pieces, because “he was sacrificing his life for it.” David could never present her without clothing her in the attributes of a vindictive Nemesis, a thirsting Atê. He gloated over, and transferred to his canvas, every scene and incident of the Revolution which brought into strong relief its most repulsive features, its destructive wantonness and remorseless vengeance. Pity, and all the tenderer graces of freedom, found no place in the works of the painter, as

they did in those of the journalist and the poet, of these stormy times. These latter, Camille Desmoulins and André Chénier, with their outspoken exuberance of feeling, were not likely to find favour long with men like David, St. Just, Robespierre, Billaud-Varenes—

“ men, whose visages
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond ;
And do a wilful stillness entertain,
With purpose to be dressed in an opinion
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit.”

Camille's two earliest productions, “*La France Libre*” and the “*Discours de la Lanterne*,” are those by which, next to the “*Vieux Cordelier*,” he is perhaps best known. Both the former of these (composed in May and June, 1789, and first published in July, a day or two after the taking of the Bastille), and the latter (appearing soon after, and dated on the cover, “the first year of Liberty”)—but especially the former—mark the author's incipient struggles with the world to secure freedom for France, and fame for himself. The two motives, so constantly intermingled in most of his actions, peep out in an amusing fashion from his various letters of the time to his father. Still, after due recognition of the influences of personal vanity and ambition, great praise for intrepidity must be awarded to Camille for this his first pamphlet. It was written at a time when, as he said afterwards (in “*L'Histoire Secrète*,” &c.), “there were scarcely ten republicans in Paris ;” it was written in spite of discouragements from his native district, and even from his father, who told him that “it had roused general indignation ;” it was written so fearlessly, that not a single publisher would take it at first ; and Momoro, who eventually did so, waited until after the fall of the Bastille, by which time public opinion was in such a state that he could bring it out with safety. When once it appeared, its success was assured. It was patronized by Mirabeau (a good advertisement), and was burnt by order of the local parliament of Toulouse (a still better). It gained its author the enthusiastic admiration of Paris, and the cold suspicions of Guise. Camille rejoiced at both, and entered into the fray with delight. The consequence was that, lashing himself to yet greater fury, this militant apostle of liberty set to work on that indiscreet and unmeasured “*Discours de la Lanterne aux Parisiens*,” which he lived to regret so bitterly afterwards.

“*La France Libre*” breathes the very spirit of rejuvenescent freedom. In it is delineated a sort of informal creed or rude catechism of the doctrines to be subsequently embodied in the declaration of “*The Rights of Man*.” The author looks at the past forty years, and sees in them how philosophy, though nomi-

nally enchained to absolutism, had nevertheless unconsciously, though none the less really, been undermining it, and paving the way for a republic. "Just as Rome, before Cæsar's day, was already enslaved by her vices, so France, before Necker, was already enfranchised in the persons of her intellectual luminaries." He expresses his conviction that the whole nation desires freedom with one heart; and that therefore there will be no civil war, no divisions, no substantial differences of opinion, in attaining to this end. Confiding Camille! "All wish to be free, . . . and who is there who can prevent us from being so? . . . We are the more numerous, and the stronger, body."

Following out this idea in an imaginary dialogue between the Nobility and the Third Estate, he enters on the burning question of the day, and insists that the latter should vote *par tête*, and not in a body. He emphasizes further in this curious dialogue the rights of majorities—the rights of dissentient *minorities*—was a lesson which required a much longer experience to teach him—reproduces here, and opposes there, the theory of the Social Pact then familiarized through the writings of Rousseau, and gives vent everywhere to exuberant anticipations of the coming age, when "faiths and empires" shall "gleam, like wrecks of a dissolving dream." He sees no difficulties, if all unite. The impregnable Bastille fell before the common will of an enraged people: why not other primeval supports of tyranny? He did not at present concern himself about the possible *après*, when the destroyers would be at liberty (as the old Scotch general said on the occasion of a very different revolution to this), "to go to play, *if they do not fall out among themselves*." At present the nation wills to be free; its will is law; "to it alone it appertains to say—'such is our pleasure.'" There is no need of a king's sanction: the king is the nation's delegate, "it is for him to obey." "What the nation lays down shall be our Code, our XII. Tables, our Law, and the Prophets."

Imagine the flutter created in the dovecotes of Guisard respectability by this remarkable plain-speaking! Still more scandalized must the clergy have been by his intrepid attack on their order, their privileges, and their beliefs. We need not be surprised at the curé of St. Sulpice demurring to admit Camille to the sacrament of marriage in 1790, when we read the opinions of this intellectual "gamin de Paris," as expressed in the third number of this pamphlet of 1789. He maintains therein that two Orders at the most are required: as for the clergy, they are no Order at all. If they claim to be such in virtue of their mental cultivation, then, says Camille, the days for such a claim are past—we are all clerks now, we can all read. If, however,

they claim as ministers of religion—with delicate irony this is put as the less probable alternative—then religion herself, their own religion, assigns them the lowest rank; and Camille straightway proceeds to cite Scripture to his purpose. “But,” he adds, “if you do not in reality believe a word of what you preach, you are hypocrites and rascals; and we are giving you, most reverend father in God, my lord archbishop of Paris, 600,000 livres a year for you to make fools of us.” He points to the Abbé Maury “dans la chaire, chrétien, dans le fauteuil, athée,” and avows that he knows nothing so contemptible in society as “that which is called an abbé.” Then he speaks of religion in general, of the apparent indifference of all creeds in the sight of the Deity; and suggests that, such being the case, “could not we find ourselves a national religion?” and his ideal of a national religion corresponded with his ideal of the temper and complexion of a nation’s political creed. The existing type was odious to him. He did not want a religion “gloomy, austere, allied to inquisitions, kings, monks, and hair-shirts,”—a religion “hostile to the play of mind . . . and to all the sweetest inclinations of Nature,” with its anti-national maxim, “Subditi estote non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam dyscolis.” He advocated one which should be “sprightly, and favourably disposed towards gaiety, women, population, and liberty,”—one in which, as in an old Greek cult, dances, spectacles, and fêtes should constitute a large part of worship. After noticing that devotee-kings (Henry III. and Louis XI. especially) were the most detestably criminal of all in French annals, and comparing them unfavourably with even a Nero, who, at least, had the decency to respect the “Loin d’ici les homicides, les scélérats,” &c., of the hierophant, he passes on in the succeeding chapters to discourse of the nobility and kings; and having already demolished to his own satisfaction the *raison d’être* of the clergy, he sets himself to show that the existence of the two remaining superior orders so-called is also an injustice and an anachronism.

As to the former of them, “we do not want,” he says, “to make any more advances on the credit of their dead ancestors: the insolvency is too notorious;” and he contrasts the “equality of ranks and conditions” at Athens with the then state of France, and with the ancient orders of Sparta, masters and slaves, Lacedæmonians and helots. We are not dogs and horses that we should be judged by blood and pedigree. After some animated words of recognition addressed to that small minority of the nobles who had joined the people and renounced all the prerogatives of descent in order “to recommence their nobility,” and an exhortation to others to follow that example, and so

“learn the perfect ways of honour,
And by them claim their greatness, not by blood,”

he proceeds to pass in review the kings of France, as they had appeared in history, with one or two exceptions, selfish, greedy, cruel, hypocritical, or else merely incompetent, without either virtues or vices; and, in conclusion, asks “how he could more appropriately finish the chapter, than in the touching words which the dauphin, whom we have just lost, once addressed to his master, after a lesson of French history,—‘Father Corbin, in all these kings I see nothing good?’”

The last chapter, headed, “What Constitution suits France best?” contains a rhapsody in praise of the new era of liberty dawning upon the country, and summons all citizens to united exertions. “Popular government, the only government worthy of men, is moreover the wisest of all,”—such is the author’s uncompromising text. He combats objections, such as that which supposed a certain “dilatoriness in counsel” to be incidental to republican governments (though this sounds oddly enough, as an objection, where French democracy is concerned), or that again which urged unsuitableness in the physical conditions of the land; for liberty has won its way in lands the most dissimilar to one another, in Africa no less than in America, in Switzerland no less than in Holland, and will triumph, he infers, in France also. He is more impressed with the possibility of dismemberment—a possibility which Girondin federalism afterwards proved to be only too real; but he continues in a hopeful strain,—“Pourquoi nous désunir? Pourquoi vouloir être des Bretons, des Béarnais, des Flamands? Y-aurait-il alors sous le ciel un nom plus beau que celui de Français?” Then comes honourable mention of the “worthy representatives of the Nation,” and of the soldiers who had identified themselves with the popular cause, and had “exchanged a livery for a uniform;” and the pamphlet concludes by rapturous anticipations of an approaching epoch not less golden than poets have dreamt of, and the institution of a republic as utopian as Plato’s. We might be reading the last chorus of Shelley’s “Hellas,” instead of the last lines of a brochure; so thoroughly did this lively journalist believe in the imminence of a state of things, of which even the poet could scarcely descry the possible advent through the mists of fancy. “Freedom of commerce, freedom of conscience, freedom of the pen, freedom of speech”—all were at hand, thought Camille. In four years’ time there was in existence a “Law of the Suspects,” and a Revolutionary Tribunal; while the “Vieux Cordelier” was doomed to be burnt!

“La France Libre” appealed to more or less cultivated

classes; but Camille wished to have a more varied public, and a more extended influence. "La Lanterne," accordingly, was addressed to the masses, to the people of France, "always the same," as he calls them himself, "gay, lovable, and choice railers." He had expounded new theories, and demolished old-fashioned arguments in "La France Libre;" it was now his object to reach the heart of the uncultured many. His seductive logic and apt illustration had already won admittance to the closet: "La Lanterne" was to illuminate the pavement. Having eulogized the Legislative Assembly, and the "worthy representatives of the people," in his former production, he was now to caress the great Dêmos himself,—the monster who, in all his various moods, was to be found in his lair, the suburbs of St. Antoine, or the gardens of the Palais Royal, a well-meaning animal, on the whole, according to the "Attorney-General of the Lamp-post," notwithstanding occasional ominous ebullitions, and abuses (as Camille wittily said) of the liberty of the press, together with extraordinary motions, resulting in the loss of pocket-handkerchiefs.

"La Lanterne" (which, though doubtless more popular at the time than "La France Libre," is for the above reasons of less permanent interest) is introduced by a very witty letter addressed to the Parliament of Toulouse, which had burnt his first work, thanking "Nosseigneurs" for the excellent advertisement, but begging them to burn his "Lanterne" too, so as not to create any jealousy among the members of his literary family; and it has for its motto the words, "Qui male agit, odit lucem," out of St. Matthew, with a very characteristic translation—"Scoundrels have no love for the Lamp-iron." So far as elements of more serious and lasting value are concerned, the "Discourse" expands into a more detailed form the first rude draft of revolutionary doctrine contained in the pamphlet preceding it, and also develops further the author's favourite conception of democratic elasticity, besides discussing with some minuteness theism as a national religion; but, for the most part, this treatise gossips in an unmethodical sketchy way about current events and persons of the day, upholding this man, declaiming against that, and sniffing out suspicious qualities in a third. It is studded throughout with witticisms, stories, and gibes. From time to time it is embellished by sustained bursts of eloquence, expressive of confidence in the future, as if the author wished to remind himself of the unmeasured terms in which he had hailed the advent of that future in "La France Libre." For, certainly, the complacent, not to say exultant, fashion in which the "Lanterne" reviews its past victims, and half points to others in prospect, would not of itself alone suggest that Elysian reign of amity and

toleration, which at the time of his earlier production was on the point of being realized. "Gay, lovable, clever railler," one says after reading this Discourse; and, unfortunately, it is all that can be said. In describing the French people, Camille had admirably described himself.

Passing over "La Réclamation en faveur de Marquis St. Huruge," which has a merely incidental interest and no literary value, we come to Camille's journal, *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, which lasted for the long period (considering the times) of two years and a half (November, 1789, to July, 1792), and comprised eighty-six numbers. After the first six months of its life, he edited it (as also the *Tribune des Patriotes*, which did not succeed, and only ran to four numbers) with Stanislas Fréron, a former admirer of his wife and his friend always, for collaborateur. From a purely historical point of view, this journal is the most interesting of all his writings, or, indeed, of all the ephemeral products of the period—holding the mirror as it does up to the hopes and fears, the generosity and the littleness, the rage and the remorse, the loves and hatreds, and all the rapidly shifting desires, and inconsistent phases of emotion, which, successively or simultaneously, swayed the Parisian populace during the eventful months in which the Revolution proceeded from birth to maturity. "Quid novi?" was its motto, and marked its character. M. Jules Claretie calls it the Menippean satire of the French Revolution. But, for this very reason, it is not perhaps so illustrative of Camille's individual genius and temperament. The writer is more identified with the masses, more the half-unconscious exponent of rumour, and therefore stands out less, as a person, than in "La France Libre," his first work, or the "Vieux Cordelier," his last. To say that it abounded in stories, witticisms, playful irony, light gossip, and copious illustration from various sources, both contemporary and ancient, is only to say that it was written by Camille Desmoulins, the author. To say that it hit out freely, and that its epigrammatic sarcasms were so biting as to make several enemies, is only to say that it was written by Camille Desmoulins, the man. It confirmed, for instance, if it did not originate, the feud between him and the poet André Chénier. The latter had, in the 13th number of his *Avis aux Français*, protested against the searches of the committee of inquisition into "houses, papers, thoughts," and the general system of espionage then being introduced. He did, in fact (only, it must be admitted, at an earlier and more dangerous time, and in a more dignified fashion), exactly what Camille himself was hereafter to do in "Le Vieux Cordelier." Yet to what lengths did not Camille go in his patriotic rage on this occasion? In

his "No. 41" of *Les Révolutions* he denounces André Chénier as a bad citizen, and (very weakly) assails his argument as one which would protect criminals and traitors; he implied that his adversary advocated royalism, and taunted him with wishing for that anomaly—a France "patriotic and aristocratic." André Chénier defends himself vigorously against these attacks in a fragment, "Sur Camille Desmoulins,"* evidently not intended by him for publication. In it he speaks of his opponent with less wit, but with infinitely more dignity than that opponent had manifested towards himself. "My writings, too numerous perhaps," was the half-apologetic expression which escaped Camille in one of his last letters from prison to his wife; and there are many passages, such as these on André Chénier, in *Les Révolutions* and elsewhere, which go far to justify it. The quiet force and perseverance necessary to stem the tide of public opinion, when setting in the wrong direction, were qualities which unhappily did not distinguish him. To him the attitude of a Coriolanus or a Dante towards the "arbitrium popularis auræ" would hardly under any conceivable circumstances have been possible. He continually pined for the sympathy of large masses of men, and relied but little on himself; his wife, too, was no Madame Roland to supply what was wanting in his too receptive character.

At the time of the rapidly widening breach between the Mountain and the Girondists, Camille, intoxicated with success (he was then at the zenith of his popularity, he was a deputy to the National Convention, and his *Les Révolutions* had sold very largely), set himself to attack the latter with bitterness and virulence in his "Histoire des Brissotins,"† which was published in May, 1793. He had, previously to this, brought out his "Jean Pierre Brissot démasqué," full of invective and innuendoes, and the outcome, apparently, of a personal quarrel with Brissot; and having thus first made an enemy of the man, he proceeded next to alienate himself from the party and the views which the man represented. No productions issuing from his pen were more ill-considered than these two. Indeed, if it were not for the fact that the "Histoire" followed so closely on the "Jean Pierre Brissot démasqué," besides having been written at the instigation of Robespierre, one would be at a loss to conceive how its author could have brought himself to make this wantonly savage onslaught on political dissentients, and why he put off to the time of the "Vieux Cordelier" what might have been done with so much greater credit to himself, and advantage to the

* Chénier, "Œuvres en Prose," par L. Boeq de Fouquières, p. 296.

† Afterwards called "Fragment de l'histoire secrète de la Révolution."

country, while the Girondists were yet alive and unharmed. For whatever we regard as the substantial issue between the Montagnards and the Girondists, it is difficult to explain Camille's attitude towards the latter except on the hypothesis of Robespierre's influence, and, though it is painful to admit it, Camille's own craving for notoriety and his personal pique against Brissot. Assuming, with Carlyle, that the former party responded to the immediate needs of Paris at the time, such as they were, while Vergniaud and the others were merely a set of unpractical apostles of a republic founded on virtues and respectabilities, it is difficult to understand how Camille could have continued to support such an incarnate formula, such an incorrigible pedant, as was Robespierre himself. If, on the other hand, we regard the struggle as one between the decision and definiteness of the single *vox populi*, and the confused and contradictory babble of individual voices and vacillating minorities, then, on this supposition alone, he who had taken credit to himself for having raised a cry on behalf of liberty, "when there were scarce ten republicans in Paris," should have been slow to join the oppressors of an unpopular creed. If, with M. Marc Dufraisse and others, we take the Jacobins as representing unity and centralization, and the Girondists as advocating, or at any rate tending towards federalism and dismemberment, even in the face of national danger; if we regard the contest as one between the absolute and despotic type of democracy on the one hand, and the liberal type on the other—of the centripetal principle, to which the whole previous history of France and her acquired habits of statecraft had taught her to incline, against the centrifugal, which apparently only existed as the ideal of dreaming theorists and doctrinaires—then, indeed, we may approach nearer to an explanation (as regards real conviction) of Camille's opposition to the latter. But, unfortunately, the pages of "Jean Pierre Brissot démasqué" remind us in too vivid a manner of the paltry, but real, motive which determined the attack, to leave much doubt that the conflict, in Camille's case, was one of persons mainly, and not of parties or principles. And that which was here initiated, the "Histoire des Brissotins" only developed. Robespierre, who was anxious to crush the Gironde, but, following his usual tactics, would not as yet commit himself to anything beyond enigmatical innuendoes and vague hints, was delighted to find the ground prepared for him in the lucky quarrel which both gave birth to the pamphlet against Brissot personally, and also supplied the materials which Camille worked up, under his guidance, into the "History of the Brissotins."

The first of these two pamphlets is, as we have said, almost entirely personal. It is full of angry recriminations and undig-

nified replies to certain equally undignified sneers with which Brissot had regaled himself and his friends at Camille's expense ; such, for instance, as that remark of his—"This man only calls himself a patriot in order to calumniate patriotism," which seems to have especially annoyed Camille. Nearly a third of it is taken up by the author's somewhat unnecessary explanation of his having as an advocate conducted the defence of a gamester, and with rather weak arguments in support of dice-playing, which, however essential to his case in the court of law, was not at all essential to his case against Brissot. Having completed his justification, he carries the war into the enemy's camp ; "we will see," he says, addressing his adversary, "how you will sustain the offensive warfare which you are so fond of using yourself." The rest is mere mud-throwing, personal and political. His object was to hold Brissot up to such scorching ridicule and contempt, that it would be next to impossible for him to rise from the blow. "Factus sum in proverbium" (from the Psalms—Camille was fond of Scriptural quotations, more or less accurate, according to the circumstances of the case) was the motto of the brochure ; and if Brissot did not become a byword, and "brissoter," "to filch," was not added to the French vocabulary, it was not owing to any want of energy or acrimony on the part of the writer. He ironically calls his victim "a self-styled Aristides," or "a Socrates," or, again, "a Phocion" of the Revolution ; scoffs more particularly at a speech of his at the Jacobin Club in which he claimed to be considered "integer vitæ scelerisque purus" (forgetting that every revolutionary leader of the time did the same, only in his native tongue) ; and dubs him "a veritable Tartufe in patriotism," or, more classically, "a Sinon who has wormed himself into the confidence of patriots for the sole purpose of inciting them to false measures ;" while "espion," "fripon," "coquin," "vil hypocrite," "vil imposteur," are some of the mildest of the epithets to be culled from the anthology of invective employed by him. He accuses Brissot of complicity with Lafayette, Dumouriez, &c., and of attempts "to municipalize Europe ;" calls him (rather incongruously) a "Roundhead" and a Puritan ; and then compares him to Antony, and himself to Cicero ; and, lastly, charges him with espousing rigorous and inflexible principles of conduct, and with assuming the mantle and long beard of a Zeno, only the better to serve the tyrant ; and (again incongruously) mocks at his "sensibility" and philanthropy, which (he said) only resembled that of the elder Mirabeau, who called himself the "Friend of Men," in order to dispense with being the friend of his wife and children. Was ever such a congeries of inconsistent accusations, of polyglot parables and comparisons, thrown at the head of a man before ?

He recalls every imaginable instance of a want of "fair political dealing" on Brissot's part; and ends with the monstrous insinuation that Brissot's boldness in assuming the name of republican, when republicanism was scarcely born, was premature and calculated to bring the cause of the Revolution into contempt. He lays at his adversary's door that for which he was constantly claiming credit himself.

In "La Histoire des Brissotins," he extends the number both of the accused and the accusations. He attacks the whole Gironde with a variety of charges built on such bases as plausibly interwoven extracts from documents and speeches, and unfair inferences from private meetings and conversations. Such "plots and inductions dangerous" could not have been more artfully contrived by Fouquier-Tinville himself, at whose hands Camille was soon to experience "quam temerè in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam." It requires all, and perhaps more than all, the nobility of the "Vieux Cordelier" to wipe out the stain fixed on his reputation by these two really scandalous pamphlets. Some of the accusations in them are so wildly extravagant and iniquitous that, considering Camille's normal disposition, the hypothesis of the paramount influence over him of Robespierre is absolutely required to explain them. Some consciousness, indeed, of his having gone too far appears in the last words of his "Brissot démasqué," where he says, "J'ai ri, me voilà désarmé," and even implies the bare possibility of Brissot's *intentions* having been good in the epithet which he finally applied to him therein of "le plus grand tueur de tous nos médecins politiques." But no expression of regret escapes him in the "History." There he will not even allow his opponent the extenuating circumstance of having been duped, but charges him with "concealing the countenance of a scoundrel under the mask of a dupe," and in that connection speaks with much approval of a certain law of Solon's which placed the madness or idiocy of an Archon on a level with crimes.

Whatever we may think of the political morality or prudence of the "History," its wit and wealth of apt illustration, especially from ancient sources,* without however rendering it in any way pedantic, cannot be denied. Take, for instance, his comparison of Guadet and Roland ("the vizier," as he calls him), with their assumption of simplicity and poverty, to "Octavius, who, to avert the envy of Jupiter, affected indigence,

* M. Claretie gives us in an appendix of his work on "Camille Desmoulins and his Wife" (pp. 381-405) an unpublished commonplace book of Camille's, from MSS. in his possession. It is full of excerpts from antiquity, culled in a Baconian style, with the view of being afterwards utilized, as occasion should arise. It will be found extremely interesting.

and thenceforth appeared all his days in the clothes of a beggar;" or the reference (in connection with Brissot's alleged part in revolutionary politics) to the saying of Cyrus three thousand years ago—"so ancient and so truly the alphabet of politics is this maxim,"—that "nobody can better oblige his enemies than he who passes for their enemy, and nobody can easier injure his party than he who passes for their friend without being so in fact;" as also the notice of Danton's bursts of rhetoric and excesses of rage, "than which, like the overflowings of the Nile, nothing can be more fruitful or beneficial." The passage about the successive parties in the cause of the Revolution may, perhaps, be quoted at greater length, as a good sample of his neat illustrative power and lightness of touch:*

"It is thus that, vanquished one after another (Maury the royalist by Mounier the Two-Chambers, Mounier the Two-Chambers by Mirabeau the Veto-Absolute, Mirabeau the Veto-Absolute by Barnave the Veto-Suspensive, Barnave the Veto-Suspensive by Brissot, who would have no veto at all except that of himself and his friends), all these rogues, hunted successively out of the Jacobin Club, have finally given place to Danton, Robespierre, Lindet, to these . . . Montagnards of the Convention, this rock of the republic, the men whose only thought has ever been . . . &c. &c. . . . It is thus that Necker, Orléans, Lafayette, Chapelier, Mirabeau, Bailly, Desmeuniers, Duport, Lameth, Pastoret, Cerutti, Brissot, Ramond, Pétion, Guadet, Gensonné have been merely the unclean vessels of Amasis with which, in the matrix of the Jacobins, the golden statue of the republic has been cast. And, contrary to the common belief of men up till now, that it is impossible to found a republic on anything except virtues, the undying glory of this Society is to have created a republic with vices for materials."

If Camille could only have reflected that more vessels were yet necessary to complete the statue!

The account of his subsequent remorse at the trial of the Girondins, of his cry on hearing their condemnation—"It is my pleasantry, it is my 'History of the Brissotins,' which has killed them," and of his attempt to rush from the hall, which he was prevented from doing by the crowd, is all graphically given by Vilate,† who was present, and sat next to him on the occasion. Camille saw then what he never could see before, that it was all very well, when poisoned weapons have been used, to say after the duel, "See, I am now disarmed;" but the mischief has already been done, and the victim dispatched.

The influence of Robespierre continued over the first two numbers of the last, and (both in a historical and in a literary

* "Œuvres de Desmoulins," J. Claretie, vol. i. pp. 310, 311.

† "Les Mystères de la Mère de Dieu dévoilés," chap. xiii.

point of view) the most famous, of Camille's writings—the "Vieux Cordelier," the pamphlet which most of all appears to have been, as regards the last numbers at any rate, the outcome of genuine unbiassed conviction, and which more than any other "demorsos sapit unguis" in point of style. It first appeared in December, 1793, and ceased abruptly with its author's life four months afterwards. Well known as this elegant masterpiece of Camille's pen is to all students of French history, a very few words on it here will be sufficient. Each of its seven completed numbers, and the fragment of an eighth, which did not appear till after his death, had an act in a life-and-death drama, so to speak, bound up with it. From the first two numbers, it is clear that Robespierre, up to a certain point, was with Danton and Camille, and inclined to advocate clemency. He defended the former when, at a meeting of the Jacobins, he demanded that those who proposed ultra-revolutionary measures should be set at defiance, notwithstanding the evident unpopularity of the protest; and he metaphorically, and sometimes literally, looked over Camille's shoulder as he composed his first two numbers, and even suggested alterations and revised the proofs. His natural inclination, if undisturbed by circumstances, would, perhaps, have disposed him to persevere in this line of action; but then, as always, he was cautiously feeling the pulse of public opinion; and it was evident to him, from the way in which some of his speeches were received at the time, that it would never do to throw over St. Just and the others for the party of reaction. His hesitating speeches in support, first of Danton, and then of Camille, exhibited the language of patronage and condemnation too lavishly to admit of much doubt that, though the Ultras and Hébertists might be purged out afterwards, the Citras and Dantonists would be purged out first. Camille himself, even after the first number (dated 15 Frimaire, year II.), betrays his consciousness of what it would all lead to, in his announcement at its close, that each succeeding number "would contain more or less pages, according to the abundance of materials, and the indulgence exhibited by my brethren of the Convention and the Jacobins towards the boldness of my garrulous pen [*les hardiesses de ma plume babillarde*'] and its republican independence."*

His apprehensions were well-founded. St. Just and Billaud-Varenes spoke ominously even of No. 1, and Robespierre's

* See, too, the letter to his father of Aug. 10, 1793, breathing a spirit of the deepest despondency. "Why cannot I be as obscure, as I am well-known?" he exclaims; and again, "Il me semble toujours que mon tour va arriver d'être submergé."

“advice” and correction produced No. 2, a bitter attack on Anaxagoras Chaumette and Anacharsis Clootz, after the old style of “*La Lanterne*.” In No. 3, however, Camille broke himself loose from all trammels, and entered on that course in which he persevered till the end. He knew that the fee of his advocacy would probably be the fate of his clients; but he accepted his brief, or rather offered his services, notwithstanding; and never was a lost cause conducted more eloquently. It was No. 3 which contained the famous comparison of the weapons of tyranny in Rome under Tiberius with those used in Paris by the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety, and showed up old enemies under new masks. The new “espions” were but old “delatores” writ large; the “loi des suspects” were but the old “*crimen majestatis*” invented, or rather invested with fresh attributes, by the Empire; and in the devising of “crimes of counter-revolution,” and means by which to trick a suspected man into admissions, human ingenuity and cruelty were much what they had always been. Those who may be inclined to think this parallel strained, need only refer to any of the official lists of “suspects” [see “*Papiers de Robespierre*,” vol. i. p. 235, for instance], and of the crimes severally imputed to them, to see that it was not so. Among the most common of these latter were—“having done nothing for the Revolution,” “being coldly affected towards the Revolution,” “having been too moderate in favour of the Revolution,” or (in the case of a priest) “not having preached in favour of the Revolution.” St. Just made no secret of it; in one of his speeches he said: “You have to punish the indifferent as well as traitors: you have to punish all who are passive in the republic, and do nothing for her.” It was in No. 4 that the splendid description of liberty occurred—a description of which a bitter experience had taught him the reasonableness—followed by the “material words” (as lawyers say) in this alleged criminal document, as read afterwards to the Jacobin Club (on Jan. 7th, 1794, and two days after No. 5 was published), when it was proposed to burn the number and expel its author from the Society. These were—“*Voulez-vous que je la reconnaisse [sc. Liberty], que je tombe à ses pieds, que je verse tout mon sang pour elle? ouvrez les prisons à ces deux cent mille citoyens que vous appelez suspects.*”

The die, then, was cast at last. At the meeting of Jan. 7th, Camille was defended in a lukewarm way by Robespierre as a spoilt child, with a good disposition, but led astray into a little intellectual debauch with the aristocrats, from which his better feelings had rescued him. “The author must be kept among us,” he said, “but I demand, for example’s sake, that the

numbers be burnt." Here Camille, instead of falling in with the compromise, and allowing Robespierre to reassume his ancient ascendancy over him, practically sealed his fate by exclaiming angrily, "Well said, Robespierre; but burning is not answering!" Dispute and mutual recrimination followed; and Robespierre departed in wrath. Soon afterwards Nos. 6 and 7 appeared (the latter ending with the famous application to the Ultras of the remark of the Spanish priest to Montezuma—"The gods are athirst"); and, before the 8th could arrive at a completed state, though it had been commenced, its unhappy author was arrested.

His last writings before his execution had little enough to do with politics. They were those wonderfully pathetic letters, mentioned in nearly every history of the Revolution, to his wife Lucile; letters in which, even amidst the madness of his despair, reminiscences of the old humour and gaiety are traceable.

Throughout Camille Desmoulins' life—in his actions, words, pamphlets, journals, and correspondence—we always see him the same "fin moqueur," the same "enfant gâté" that Robespierre had not unhappily described him as being. It was his fatal versatility of thought, followed up by a still more fatal quickness in putting his red-hot fancies on paper, so necessary yet so hazardous a quality to a journalist, which eventually worked his ruin. The journalist is obliged to *talk* on paper, without having the privilege of that speedy oblivion which usually attaches to spoken conversation. "Litera scripta manet" applies to him as much as to the author of more considered works; and Camille was not only a journalist, he was a journalist of a more than ordinarily vivacious and volatile type, and one, too, unfortunately for him, who never could believe that people would take him in earnest. He forgot that a jocose recommendation of the "lamp-iron" for malignants would never be treated as jocose by a Paris mob; that if he called Brissot a traitor, a revolutionary tribunal sitting to determine Brissot's fate would suppose that he had meant what he said; that, if he wrote of St. Just that "this young man carries his head as if it were the corner-stone of the Republic, or the Sacred Host," St. Just could not be expected to enter into his amusement;* that even Sanson did not like being scoffed at. In short, he never fully appreciated the alacrity with which men of revolutionary times translate theory into fact, and creeds into deeds. A thing, in such days, as Callimachus says of the dooms of Zeus, "is conceived in the morning, and executed in the evening."

* "Do you think," he writes to a friend, "that, for such an excellent jest he could wish to take my life?"—Fleury, vol. ii. p. 157.

Even Camille himself once complained of the astounding rapidity with which the Convention converted thirty ideas a day, on an average, into as many decrees. "C'est ma plaisanterie qui les a tués," he said with anguish of the Brissotins; and it was this same "plaisanterie" which now recoiled on his own head, and determined his own fate. But he never could understand that words uttered lightly could fall otherwise than lightly, till the prison-walls of the Luxembourg enclosed him; and an expression in his last letter to Lucile shows that only the imminence of death rendered him clear-sighted at the last.

"I had dreamed," he says, "of a republic which the world would have adored. I never believed that men could be so savage and unjust. How could I have supposed that certain witticisms in my writings at the expense of colleagues who had provoked me would wipe out the remembrance of my services? I do not conceal from myself that I die the victim of these sarcasms, and of my friendship for Danton."

The "alphabet of politics," which he had charged Brissot with having learnt and put into practice so thoroughly, was with equally remorseless and perverse ingenuity applied by his enemies to interpret the last months of his own life. He was judged by them to have been that falsely professed friend, and therefore doubly dangerous enemy, to the Revolution, which he had declared many a Girondist to have been. And so the Erinnyes of "Jean Pierre Brissot démasqué" pursued him to the guillotine; and the eloquent voice of Vergniaud had power beyond the grave to sound vindictively in the ears of his old assailant. St. Just lived to execute his blood-thirsty threat of causing his rival to elevate his head "after a quite other fashion" than the uplifting of the Sacred Host; and even "the chief of the executive power" was retained in office long enough to see in the sawdust the head which had devised his whimsical title. Not all his "eight republican books" could acquit him. The famous Indulgent learnt the lessons of clemency too late to save himself, and all but too late to save his reputation.

GEORGE SPENCER BOWER.

ART. III.—THE DECAY OF FAITH.

IT is difficult to note and discriminate accurately the various factors contributing to the process of our individual education. To mark the several stages in its development, to estimate its rate, and to forecast its future direction, requires an analytical faculty, an unprejudiced candour about ourselves, and a freedom from the intellectual and moral influences surrounding us, the potential privilege of a very small number indeed. It is very questionable if the conscious education an individual steadily seeks to secure—the literature he reads, the observations he makes on men and manners, the judgments he forms upon the events and social conditions of his time—has as much influence upon the formation of his character, of his measure of rightfulness and truth, and of the direction of his intellectual and moral sympathies, as that unconscious educational experience formed by the spirit of the age, the opinions and prejudices of those around him, as well as by that large element of fact and opinion every man must take at second-hand on the authority of others. If, however, we wish to view the startling character of the various stages in individual education, we have only to compare our opinion and sympathies, our duties and ambitions now, with what they were when just entering upon the real business of life. We then realize that not only have our pleasures, aims, and sympathies entirely changed, but that even our standards of intellectual and moral truth, after many fluctuations, have finally settled down in forms the very reverse of our early experience.

But if it is difficult to note the stages, rate, and direction of our personal education, how much more difficult is it to observe, estimate, and forecast the educational progress of the age in which we live! As our personal experience enlarges, our estimate of what constitutes the determining influences in manners and morals becomes modified and changed. Our opinion of the relative preponderance of certain truths and speculative doctrines becomes very much a question of what our own opinions on these points are. We naturally view with a favourable eye facts which seem to point to a gradual growth in influence and power of those truths which are honoured with our own adhesion, and are very hard to convince that our pet doctrines and theories must now be classed among decaying or obsolete intellectual forms. Besides, to add to these difficulties, we must remember that the opinions, sympathies, and wants of large classes of society have only received articulate expression in comparatively recent years, through the improvement of their material and social conditions,

and the rise of cheap and representative literature. But above all, those radical changes in the moral and intellectual world, those deep undercurrents of feeling and thought, which make and mark epochs in the history of human developments, are silent; they are themselves unseen and unfelt by the ages reposing on their surface. If, however, instead of estimating the progress, aspirations, wants, acquirements, and drift of the brief age in which we live and move, we compare long periods of time together; if, instead of years, our range of facts embraces centuries, these difficulties largely disappear. We then perceive that intellect, morals, and emotions, that human knowledge, duties, and sympathies, are advancing on certain clear and well-defined lines, the progress along each being co-related to all other departments of human thought and activity, all being governed by the same general laws, and manifesting the same general features.

It is these difficulties, and others like them, which make contemporary estimates of the position and prospects of religious thought and emotion of so little value, and of so contradictory a character. We are not dispassionate or uninterested spectators of moral and religious struggles. Our personal hopes, opinions, and interests, are embarked upon that sea of moral turmoil and intellectual confusion. The most of us, indeed all of us, long for, strive for, the victory of one set of opinions; and to anticipate that this preference will not warp our judgment and affect our will where these are concerned, is to ascribe to us a character, not more, but less than human. Besides, to what standard can we refer religious opinions? how can we measure their relative influence and importance in society? how distinguish the rising from the declining speculations, the living thoughts from the dead thoughts, the realized and effective truths from those that live only in words and phrases from which the creative spirit has long since passed away? If we have regard only to the forms in which religious and moral truths are expressed, there never was an age distinguished by less of the new and startling than the present. Our professed dogmas we have inherited; our heresies are old opinions with new names, which long ago disturbed the peace of the Church; our schools of historical criticism have originated no new modes of defence of the current forms of faith; our pulpit discourses and theological writings only convey in modern language doctrines and hopes long since given to the world in the writings of the Fathers and eminent Saints. The very complaints that are now loudly made of the infidelity of the age, of the decay of faith, of the growing laxity of morals, of the deterioration of Christian spirit, and of the growth of worldliness, are all lamentations familiar to the ear of the preceding centuries of the Church. But, on the other hand, if we

look below the surface, if we regard the spirit rather than the outward form it vitalizes; above all, if we compare long periods of time together, we perceive that this uniformity is apparent only, that religious truth in modern times has been not only profoundly modified, but, in the great majority of its features, fairly transformed. The process has been a double one—the gradual and silent abandonment of forms of emotion or belief incompatible with the social tendencies or intellectual acquirements of recent years, and the attaching of new meanings to old doctrines and creeds, when that course could be adopted without too gross a violation of the rules of propriety and grammar. If, then, we would form an accurate conception of the present religious situation, and forecast the probable direction of religious thought and emotion in the future, we must abandon any method of inquiry exclusively based upon individual estimates and speculations concerning the growth, decline, or relative influence of particular doctrinal beliefs. Such a course is almost certain to lead us into uncertainty and error. Instead, we shall examine the opinions of a bygone age, when religious ideas and interests had attained their maximum development and were realized and effective tenets. Then we shall endeavour to trace the changes these opinions have undergone to the present day, and the social and intellectual influences under which these variations have been brought about. If, upon further consideration, these determining conditions still continue apparently operative, we may assume the continuous and uniform modification of religious belief in the future as in the past, and forecast the probable ultimate fate and form of religion as a legitimate inference from these historical facts.

It is to be remembered, however, that religion, viewed as a department of human thought, is not *sui generis*. It is only a division, though a large and important one, of that wide class of belief characterized by an element of supernaturalism. In all acts or states of religion there are two mental factors. First, there is an emotion of reverence, dependence or awe, present in the mind of the devotee; and second, that emotion must be intellectually related to a supernatural being or power. It cannot be the emotional factor in itself which determines an act or feeling to be religious, because we are conscious of the activity or influence of those feelings in cases admittedly outside the pale of religion. An individual may revere the character and person of a great leader or statesman. A weak and irresolute character comes consciously to depend with unswerving faith upon a nature stronger than his own. A child views with unmingled awe a stern and unforgiving parent. But these feelings when so related are never described as religious emotions. On the other hand, associate them with a supernatural objective, and we at once

recognize them as belonging to religion. Even taking religious emotion in its widest and loosest sense, and embracing under that title such feelings as love, duty, fear, &c., we must admit that when these are related to purely natural objects, we describe them as moral; and that it is only when we shift the intellectual relation from a positive to a transcendental basis, from a natural to a supernatural objective, that they can be claimed, even in the loosest sense, on behalf of religion. But if the belief in the supra-natural is the distinguishing character in religion, then its intellectual factor is no more unique than its emotional one is. For a belief in the abnormal, in intelligence and will unassociated with ordinary material conditions, in personal existences independent of and superior to natural phenomena, is one of the most widely distributed forms of thought alike as regards time and area. It is exhibited, in its most extreme form, in the belief in the existence of deities, æons, devils, demons, angels, spirits, and ghosts. These cases, though differing widely in many particulars, have still one feature in common, which brings them under the classification of supernaturalism. They assume the existence of beings who are independent of ordinary material conditions, and who elude the cognition of one or more of the senses. Under the same class-term we include all those opinions which ascribe an abnormal virtue or power to particular persons; as, for example, those relating to divine personages or messengers, to prophets, soothsayers, magicians, sorcerers, witches, &c. In the same category we place all those cases in which a special virtue, character, or unnatural order is ascribed to certain things, practices, or events; as, for instance, miracles, sacred books, sacraments, prayers, signs, formulas, shrines, holy-wells, amulets, and charms. Through all these cited cases there runs a supernatural vein, which involves the ascription of qualities outside the pale of general experience, and which, whether true or not, at all events places their class characters beyond verification by the usual and recognized processes of logical proof. We know well this classification will be indignantly repudiated on behalf of religion. Religionists confidently claim for their special form of thought and feeling, a unique place in history and morals. And, perhaps, if we confined our observation to our own country and our own day, some claim to that exclusive privilege might be successfully advanced for it. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that among other and contemporaneous people, not so advanced in civilization and intelligence; opinions are current, which, though widely differing from our conceptions of religious truth, yet present features, and represent conditions of mind, entitling them to admission into any classification embracing the varied phenomena of religion. If we trace the history of

religious opinion in our own and neighbouring countries, we find, as we go back in time, a closer and closer approach to those gross supernatural conceptions, the normal intellectual heritage of less civilized peoples at the present day. Carrying the historical retrospect no further than three or four centuries back, we reach in Europe a condition of emotion and a state of opinion wherein religion, superstition, spiritualism, and fetichism, all meet and mingle on common, harmonious, and realistic terms. It is true the advance of knowledge, the growth of intelligence, and the increase of secular interests, have been fatal to the continued existence of all the divisions in the class except that of religion. There has been in modern time a gradual process of modification or extermination of all opinions related to the supernatural, with the result of severing the present apparent connection of religion with kindred forms of thought. But the fact of our forgetting the existence of this historical connection, or overlooking the various steps in the process of its evolution, no more entitles religion to rank as *sui generis*, than the fact of the extinction or non-discovery of connecting forms in the chain of organic development would entitle a naturalist to claim for one special organic type an independent and unconnected place in the scheme of life.

We take as our historical starting-point the fifteenth century. That period exhibits the maximum development of supernaturalism in modern times. Since then the history of supernaturalism, in all its phases, has been not so much that of modification as simply of silent decay. During that century the social and intellectual forces which have brought about those results have reached the light, and are clearly traceable. While as the age which witnessed the rise of the great Protestant Reformation, its history is more familiar to the bulk of our countrymen than any other period, until we come down to the time of the French Revolution.

In reading of the events, the literature, and the lives of the fifteenth century, we are struck with their wholly unreal and unearthly tone. The aims of its chief actors, their motives, the motives to which they appealed in others, their conceptions of the lasting and true, seem to us utterly hollow and fantastic. This material universe—the earth and its satellite, the solar and stellar systems—to us so seemingly permanent and real, appeared to the fifteenth century but a flimsy and evanescent institution, whose temporary reason of existence being nearly fulfilled, would speedily give place to the substantial and eternal glories of the kingdom of heaven. This life, which so interests the sympathies and absorbs the activities of the nineteenth century, failed to satisfy the hopes and energies of our forefathers, who looked with

the most intense longing and expectation towards the immortality awaiting humanity beyond the grave. This frail tenement of clay, carefully tended by us, and in which our whole hopes are bound up, was viewed three centuries back as a clog upon spiritual progress, a source of contamination, deserving of the harshest treatment and emasculation. There was no conception at that period of regular sequence, order, and law, among natural phenomena and human history. Every effect or event was assumed to be the product of spiritualistic causation, at the instance of the Deity, the devil, good or bad angels, sorcerers, witches, &c. &c. But while the course of conduct of these spiritual powers could not be predicated with certainty, they might be propitiated by worship, services, or gifts; or their efforts might be thwarted by the interposition of rival spiritual beings. What we regard as the abnormal, the fifteenth century viewed as the ordinary and natural condition of affairs. Miracles, portents, and apparitions, were of common and every-day occurrence. The most extraordinary cures were effected, and the most astonishing spiritual advantages obtained by virtue of wearing certain charms and relics, making the sign of the Cross, repeating the name of Christ or the Virgin, or by visiting certain shrines, holy wells, and places. There was thus in the intellectual condition of the period we refer to, that element of constant uncertainty which precluded healthy progress in science and art, as well as that condition of moral dependence upon supernatural assistance which retained the people in helpless theological bondage. Religion was, therefore, the main factor in the moral, intellectual, and social life of the people. It was at once the business, solace, and recreation of the great mass of the population. The aims of individuals, the objects of societies, and the policies of States were all avowedly controlled in the supposed interests of religion. Morality received its only recognized sanction from the pages of revelation. Law and government claimed no title to existence apart from divine authority. All knowledge was accepted or rejected according as it harmonized with the current interpretations of Scripture. It was the universal belief no salvation could be obtained outside the pale of the true Church. Unless an individual accepted, with the fullest and most unswerving faith, every doctrine advanced on the authority of the Church, he could enjoy no real happiness here, and was doomed to everlasting suffering hereafter. Unbaptized infants, the heathen who had never heard of the Gospel, the ancients who lived before the time of Christ, the great majority of persons in all ages, were consigned by the opinion of the times to an eternity of torment. More importance was attached to belief than to conduct. Neither were the claims of morality esteemed in any respect as of more importance than the due

reception and observance of the numerous dogmas, sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, so arbitrarily enjoined by the religion of the time. Intellectual error was regarded as an unpardonable sin, and, however honest it might be, entailed untold evil upon its unfortunate subjects. Credulity and ignorant faith were extolled as the greatest and most beneficent of virtues, while an inquiring disposition of mind was viewed as a Satanic emanation.

Such were the most prominent features in the supernaturalism of the fifteenth century. It is certainly a terrible indictment to present against the intellectualism of any state of society. But we are convinced the charge is not overdrawn. It is almost impossible for readers at the present day adequately to realize the intense influence these conceptions exercised over contemporary thought and conduct. These opinions have now largely passed away, and even where the feeble remnants of them still linger in out-of-the-way places in the intellectual world, they have ceased materially to influence conduct, and are mere relics of old-world thought, surviving through the influence of tradition and association. All the grosser features of supernaturalism we have happily discarded. We do not now find, in this country at least, any belief in deities other than the one central figure of God, the Creator and Sustainer of all things. The Satanic conception of the fifteenth century has become dim and obscure. Demons, angels, spirits, and ghosts are now quietly relegated to the past. We do not look for the advent of a divine personage, and regard all accounts of prophets and soothsayers with as much suspicion as those of magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and witches. We repudiate as false all miracles and miraculous effects associated with holy places, wells, shrines, &c. We deny the inherent efficacy of sacraments, relics, signs, formulas, and charms. We do not pray, if we pray at all, in the same sense as our forefathers did. We regard that act as a mere acknowledgment of dependence, and only anticipate a subjective effect; while the former confident hope of an objective answer to the most earnest appeals to the Deity has quite passed away. It is this life which interests the nineteenth century; it is this material universe it regards as real and permanent. Secular affairs have supplanted theological concerns in the thoughts of men, while morality has superseded religion in influence over opinion and conduct. The position of the clergy has become compromised, and the views of a popular statesman, scientist, or littérateur, command more interest than the united fulminations of the class. We have looked the spiritual world boldly in the face, and discovered that the terrors of our ancestors had their origin in their own morbid imaginations. Above all, we have reduced our observations of natural phenomena to order, and infused a spirit of uniformity into our

conceptions of the operations of Nature. Under the influence of these opinions the supernatural has gradually given way before the natural. The idea of the universal reign of law has now excluded all conceptions of personal interference with the order of natural events. The spiritual world has wholly disappeared, and materialism, pure and simple, usurps its place.

The strength and importance of supernatural conceptions in any age depend upon its emotional and imaginative power. The feeling of reverence generates a predisposition to religion; the sense of fear fosters a superstitious spirit. If in these circumstances the imagination is morbid and active, while the intellect lies dormant and apathetic, this world and the next are crowded with spiritual beings, supernatural concerns occupy the foremost place in the thoughts of men, and the classes interested in the creation and maintenance of religious ideas are the most influential exponents of public opinion. Such was unfortunately the condition of Europe for some centuries before the period of which we now treat. The old Roman populations had fallen from the conditions of the civilization they inherited. The barbarous tribes of Northern Europe, who burst into and settled within the bounds of the Roman Empire, had assumed an outward form of civilization unsuited to them for the time. It was not the creation of their own intellectual efforts, nor an exact reflex of their social character. They required the experience of two or three centuries of settled life to exactly adapt themselves to their altered social surroundings. Meantime the darkness of ignorance and superstition settled down as a thick cloud over Europe. It could not remain long so, however. The natural elasticity or spring in human nature slowly re-asserted itself. The old populations began to recover their tone. Amalgamation with the fresh blood of the Northern tribes gradually restored strength to the exhausted intellect and will of Europe. Familiarity with the conditions of civilized life prepared the descendants of these barbarians to thoroughly feel and master the requirements of their new social experience. The process of emancipation and elevation soon began. The European mind, refreshed by its long slumber, simply needed some extraneous stimulus to start on a new career of intellectual conquest. This stimulus was supplied by the re-discovery of the classical literatures, and the establishment of the Moorish civilization in Spain.

It is difficult now fully to realize the extraordinary influence the resuscitation of many of the best literary productions of ancient Greece and Rome exercised over the European intellect. It was the revelation of a new and higher life to the race. In contrast to the intellectual apathy, the formalism, the credulity, and dogmatism—the normal condition of Europe at the time—

there was exhibited in the literature of Greece the history of a people to whom truth was the life-passion; inquiry, scepticism, liberty of thought, as the very breath of their nostrils; and to whom the freezing up of opinion in dogmatic forms was quite unknown. In contrast to the absorbing interest religion and religious concerns occupied in their thoughts, Europe read in Roman history of a race to whom patriotism was a stronger passion than religion, empire in this world preferred to salvation in the next. The wise toleration of rival creeds, nay, the very religious indifference of the ruling classes, so markedly shown in the later history of the Roman people, were valuable lessons to the Middle Ages. For the first time the distorted taste and diseased imagination of the period recognized its hideousness, when brought into contact with the Grecian conception of the noble and beautiful in Nature and art. For the first time the nobility and conscious dignity of the Roman character made men pause and blush, as they rehearsed their usual tale of human sinfulness, depravity, and deserved wretchedness. The classical literatures, if they did not create new moral and intellectual wants, at all events revealed their existence, and the utter inadequacy of the current religion and knowledge to satisfy them. This sense of dissatisfaction was deepened in some minds by the high degree of civilization developed by the Moors in Spain. The knowledge possessed by these Orientals of some forms of art greatly surpassed that of Europe generally, and very much impressed the few Christian minds who had the courage and opportunity to become acquainted with it. Medicine, architecture, and engineering as arts, and mathematics as a science, were very popular with the Moors, and had made considerable progress. But the greatest and most important service that people rendered to the cause of European emancipation was the mass of Arabic and Hebrew literature, bearing upon archæology, law, theology, and philosophy, which the several eminent schools in the Peninsula had gradually accumulated at their respective seats. At a time when the mind of Europe was engrossed by these very subjects, the formation of a different and rival school of thought exercised a very salutary influence. The mere existence of a rival system of religious belief, which claimed a later and fuller authority, which secured the passionate adhesion of many millions of men, which was accompanied by a high development of material prosperity, and was adorned by a keen appreciation of the beautiful in art, must have suggested to the few thinking minds of Christian Europe many useful, though painful, comparisons.

The position of affairs then was this. The moral and intellectual potentialities of Europe were much above what the

inherited civilization and the current knowledge could adequately satisfy. The recovery of the classic literatures, and the civilization established by the Moors in Spain, had awakened the consciousness of a higher life, and deepened the sense of dissatisfaction with surrounding opinions and systems. Dissatisfaction speedily became doubt. Men began to question the title to existence of many doctrines, institutions, and systems. The further and the freer they pushed their inquiries, the less they found to admire and the more to condemn. This sceptical condition of the public mind soon suggested a better method of logical inquiry. We do not think the inductive process created the scepticism of the time, but rather the existing dissatisfaction with current opinions resulted in a course of inquiry, which speedily formulated the lines of logical procedure upon which that system is based. When, however, induction was placed upon an effective footing, the spirit of inquiry was at once stimulated and strengthened. Under that cautious process, as practised by Descartes and systematized by Bacon, the first steps towards the attainment of all true knowledge were to unlearn all that had been learned before, to reject all doctrines and dogmas in religion and philosophy, as well as in science, which were only affirmed upon authority or tradition, to accept no opinions as truths until they had been carefully analyzed and logically tested. We may imagine the havoc this system made among the received opinions of the time, when honestly and patiently applied. No wonder theologians denounced it as the direct inspiration of the devil. The disposition of mind fostered by the inductive system, and which naturally predisposed to the reception of its teaching, was just the modern positive scientific spirit in embryo. The progress of the new philosophy was rapid; and before its advance the belief in ghosts, witches, devils, sorcerers, charms, relics, miracles, and the other grosser forms of superstition, quickly died away. Credulity and ignorance ceased to be esteemed as virtues, but became rather viewed as vices. The duty of inquiry, the lawfulness of honest doubt, and the reasonableness of a suspension of judgment in difficult cases, became first permitted and then advocated. One standard of truth was applied to all questions. The proud exemption from vulgar examination claimed for the dogmas of religion was repudiated. Theological and ecclesiastical systems, not less than those of a purely secular origin and purpose, had to submit to the common crucial tests. A body of opinion was formed outside the region of religion, which claimed a voice in the settlement of the many new questions that arose, as well as of the many old ones that were again disturbed by the spirit of inquiry now moving abroad, while a select and yet always increasing number of eminent men, free from the influence and bias

of supernatural beliefs, were ever prepared to raise their voice in favour of truth and freedom of thought, however these might apparently antagonize the doctrines of religion, or the interests of the clerical classes.

But the age could not be satisfied with merely negative results. It was not enough to doubt and abandon old opinions; new ones must be created to fill their place. The departments of thought which first rose into prominence, and exercised the most powerful influence over supernatural opinions, were the natural sciences. Perhaps we might have expected a different order of events. The interest and attention of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were so closely bound up with metaphysical, moral, and theological questions, that we might have assumed before the events that in these branches of speculation the greatest progress would have been made. But the very warmth and intensity of the interest with which these were regarded, precluded all hope of healthy or substantial advance. Too much prejudice was involved in their consideration, too many interests were bound up in the maintenance of the current opinions upon these subjects. Besides the necessary conditions for the successful cultivation of the speculative sciences were too far removed from the current method of inquiry to permit of true progress. But with the natural sciences the case was different. The Church did not view with general suspicion their early progress. They were supposed to be outside the sphere of religion. The basis of proof upon which they rested was so palpably true that even theologians, who have great courage in assertion, shrank from affirming their positive falsity. And though it is the fact, that particular opinions of the early scientists were condemned by the Church, yet theologians gradually came to adopt the safer course of endeavouring to show that though many scientific truths apparently contradicted received Scriptural doctrines, in reality, when properly considered, they were new and powerful evidences in favour of the common religious beliefs. It was also to the natural sciences the Church was indebted for the progress and perfection of the arts used in her own adornment. Architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, so intimately associated with the service of the Church, and so carefully fostered by her, have all a scientific side. Even farming, botany, and natural history received considerable attention at the hands of the members of her great religious houses. It was, therefore, under the protecting wing of the Church that the infant days of the natural sciences were passed, which in their mature strength were destined to create a form of opinion, a disposition of mind, fatal to the influence, and even the exist-

ence of their foster-mother. The influence of natural science upon supernaturalism was of two kinds—a general and a particular influence. By its general influence we mean that it rescued a large and growing domain of knowledge from theology; that it raised a class of educated and skilful persons, if not antagonistic, at all events independent of theological interests, that it formed a literature and a body of opinion which judged questions from a scientific and secular point of view. Still further, that it accustomed the age to the idea of unvarying order among natural phenomena, gradually eliminating all conceptions of arbitrary, accidental, or spiritual interferences in nature and history; that it threw further and further back the region of the unknown, the point of contact between the visible and the invisible, the material and the spiritual. In a word, that it materialized and secularized human thought. In the fifteenth century when inquirers were confronted with an effect of which the cause was unknown, when apparently isolated and independent phenomena were contrasted, the chain of connecting sequences being still undiscovered, such events and phenomena were attributed to spiritualistic agencies. And the explanation was received as natural, final, and fully satisfactory. It quite accorded with the sense of reasonableness and appropriateness current at the time. But such an explanation would be laughed to scorn now. Our knowledge of science, our every-day reading, and even our very industrial occupations, have formed in our minds, in most cases unconsciously, the idea of the universal reign of law. Our natural predisposition is to exclude the spiritual and personal from effective contact with natural phenomena. In the fifteenth century a conception of spiritual causation, creating, controlling, and upholding all things, seen and unseen, was universal; in our own day a materialistic conception has taken its place.

But besides this general antagonism to supernaturalism in all its forms, science exercised a particular influence over religious thought, through the modification, and, in some cases, the actual destruction of certain received theological beliefs. The revelations of astronomy modified in a marked manner the current opinions as to the relative importance of this planet in the solar and stellar systems, and consequently of the position which the human race was supposed to occupy to the universe at large. When it was known how small this earth was in comparison with the solar system of which it forms a part, how utterly insignificant the solar system is when contrasted with the vast canopy of independent suns among which it fills a subordinate place, the consciousness of the nothingness of man in relation to the wide universe became deeply felt. This thought,

interpreted into song by the Hebrew prophet many ages before, acquired a new significance, and a deeper meaning. The conception of a personal Creator and Ruler of all things, if it increased in sublimity, became also more difficult effectively to realize. The distance separating the creature from the Creator immeasurably enlarged. The sense of the near presence of a Father in heaven became dim and obscure. The universe ceased to be thought of as a creative act for the special pleasure and purposes of man. Man was no longer regarded as the crown and ultimate object of creative energy. Yet these displaced opinions were taught by the current religion; and, indeed, were necessary to, and lay at the root of, the whole conceptions of theology.

Hardly less destructive to particular religious beliefs were the discoveries heralded by geology. That science showed that the cosmic conception contained in the Book of Genesis was fundamentally erroneous. It placed the creative period vastly further back in time. It contradicted the alleged creative order. It showed that the present configuration of the earth's surface was not the result of a number of short and isolated creative acts, but of the operation of a few general natural laws in continuous activity over an immense period of time. From the fossil remains it exhumed, compared, and classified, geology demonstrated the previous existence of large orders of extinct animals and plants, of a diversity in special and generic characters, and an exuberance of numbers as rich as any now living. It reduced this apparent chaos of life forms to order, and showed their gradual ascent from the simplest to the most complex organization, until prehistoric life merged in existing forms. Even man was not exempt from association with the great scheme of organic development. For geological research has revealed his existence in conditions of life and in a state of organic development, which place him in these respects nearer to allied animal forms than to the complex product of civilized life among the highest examples of the race in our own day. Geology also shattered for ever the penal character attached to death in the Bible, by showing that for ages before the appearance of man death was the necessary fate of living things, and by thus discrediting the Biblical narrative, destroyed the shadowy basis upon which this doctrine alone could rest. That these scientific opinions were damaging to the current forms of religious belief is amply proved by the vehemence and rancour with which the religious classes denounced them, the science that taught them, and the persons associated with the science. Theologians have a very keen and true perception of where their interests lie. They asserted, and with truth, that these opinions

were antagonistic to the orthodox faith. And though it is true that the theological classes have now been compelled to accept the inevitable, and have endeavoured to forget or explain away the facts which in our day it is impossible to deny, yet it still remains no less true, that another section of opinion has been rescued from theology, that the accepted channels of divine revelation have again been caught tripping, and that these scientific conclusions have necessitated the recasting of many religious dogmas. That there is danger in such a condition of things, that doubt once aroused is not easily allayed, is evidenced alike by the growing restlessness of the younger ecclesiastics under their present dogmatic trammels, and by the growing numbers among the upper and lower classes to whom theology sounds as a dead language upon the ear.

But the sciences of astronomy and geology have had even less influence over the decline of supernatural beliefs than inquiries more intimately associated with human history. The various evolutionary hypotheses which have been given to the world in recent years, have all had as their main design to connect man with other living and extinct organic forms in one connected and continuous scheme of life. In our opinion the late Mr. Darwin has successfully established his theory. At all events, it will be admitted that his theory supplies an adequate explanation of the majority of the facts, that it is felt to be in the direction which such an explanation must take, and that every year subordinate workers are satisfactorily filling up apparent gaps in his hypothesis. Assuming his success, several very awkward questions for supernaturalists crop up. At what time did man come to have an immortal soul? Why should man have that inestimable privilege any more than other animal forms? Where is the line to be drawn at which the mere animal merges in the man? If once you place man in any scheme of organic development, then you intimately associate his qualities and origin with those materialistic conceptions upon which biological inquiry as to the origin and earliest manifestations of life is so actively employed. Indeed, all recent biological and physiological research is placing in clearer and clearer light the adequacy of conditions of matter to account satisfactorily for all the varied phenomena of life, and to render superfluous the hypothesis of an ethereal soul or spirit as a necessary adjunct of corporeal existence to explain the facts of consciousness.

The rise and progress of the comparative sciences have also exercised a very powerful and unfavourable influence over all forms of supernatural belief. For inquiries into the opinions, customs, and laws of primitive and uncivilized peoples have established a wonderful uniformity between their respective beliefs

and the conditions of civilization they have attained. The probable origin of these opinions has been exhibited, and the various circumstances in primitive life calculated to give rise to supernatural conceptions have been collated. The result is the formulation of a scheme of thought which presents an apparently accurate representation of the process of evolution. It shows that at a certain stage of barbarism a spiritual or supernatural conception of events and phenomena is universal, natural, and, in its main features, uniform and identical. As the various races rise in civilization, and secure new social conditions, these conceptions become modified and adapted to the change. The questions of the origin of the universe, of life, of right and wrong, of the inherited religion, and of the existing political institutions, are inquiries which all races at certain stages have put to themselves, and in the main given the same reply to. Racial characteristics have found expression in the superficial differences; but the feelings and wants of our common humanity are exhibited in the radical underlying harmonies of belief. Supernaturalism is the explanation of the unknown; but as the boundaries of human knowledge enlarge, the natural takes the place of the supernatural, the material excludes the spiritual. So, after a certain stage of civilization is reached, the history of supernaturalism is one of silent, yet certain, decay. One by one the grosser conceptions of a primitive age are abandoned, while the spiritualistic opinions still held are etherealized; they are removed from the domain of conduct, and remitted to the sphere of speculation. The researches in comparative law, custom, and theology, undertaken by such men as Maine, Tylor, Lubbock, Amberley, Spencer, and others, have done more to loosen the hold of supernaturalism over the minds of our countrymen than all the arguments against specific beliefs combined.

A spirit of inquiry, an accurate method of investigation, a conception of the universal reign of law, the accumulation of scientific knowledge, and the application to human history of the same principles of inquiry successful in other fields of speculation, are the principal factors in generating that positive scientific spirit so fatal to the continued influence of supernatural opinions. But it is not only the creation of this modern philosophic mood which is the crowning triumph of recent centuries. The extent of the diffusion of this spirit among the people is no less remarkable. Among all races there have appeared individuals, and even small circles of eminent men, manifesting strongly this disposition of mind, and venting thoughts which sounded unreal to the ages they lived in, but which now feel very real and true to us long centuries after their utterance. These great minds were morning stars, anticipating and heralding the intellectual

dawn. But a culture which only an effort of genius can attain, or a limited circle of privileged individuals successfully realize, must be very transient indeed. A condition of civilization to secure permanence and effective influence over society must be within the realistic power of a large and sympathetic population. If restricted in numbers, if a coterie and not a class, the very brilliance of its success is the guarantee of its rapid exhaustion, and relapse into the general intellectual conditions from which it transiently emerged. Besides, to leave the bulk of the population ignorant and unaffected by the discoveries of truth, is to leave a suitable soil for the continued growth of all forms of superstition, waiting for a favourable opportunity to again encroach upon that intellectual field so painfully cleared of their poisonous luxuriance. However, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a series of discoveries in the arts, as well as certain social movements, inaugurated the emancipation of the middle and lower classes, and the very general diffusion among them of all forms of knowledge. The art of printing was discovered and gradually brought to great perfection; and by it the results of scientific activity were permanently embodied in a vehicle convenient for ready transmission and use. The comparative cheapness of the new method enabled all forms of useful information to be placed within the monetary means of classes hitherto debarred by their poverty from all access to true knowledge. The practice of embodying thought exclusively in the dead languages gradually fell into disuse; and by writing in the vernacular tongues the learned world reached the intelligence and sympathies of the large mass of the population. The great industrial movement set in, and effected a revolution in the social condition of Europe. By it wealth was increased and more generally diffused. The number of persons who, by the accumulated means at their disposal, had the opportunity of devoting themselves to scientific and literary pursuits, rapidly multiplied. With an enlarged circle of readers it became possible for persons to adopt literature as a profession, thus forming an educated class jealous of the influence and antagonistic to the special culture of the clergy. With increased ease, and a greater sense of dignity and power, the wealthy classes emancipated themselves from the offensive tutelage of ecclesiastics. With the declining influence of the latter, political combinations leant less upon them for support, and in the direction of the policy of their respective countries excluded the presumed interests of religion from the hereditary influence enjoyed by them. As wealth increased, the social elevation of the working classes began. The same influences which had destroyed the belief in the grosser forms of supernaturalism

among the upper and middle classes reached them, with much the same effect. Increased knowledge, greater material comfort, industrial occupations, and the habits of civil life, generated a spirit antagonistic to supernaturalism. Every scientific discovery, every mechanical device or engineering triumph, every industrial success that afforded increased employment or placed additional comforts within the reach of the masses, brightened life here and dimmed the conception of a life hereafter. Whatever added to the dignity and sense of power of humanity, every victory over Nature, weakened men's sense of dependence upon the "unseen and spiritual." Throughout Europe secular concerns now surpass theological in interest and relative importance. Life begins to be worth living. With increased happiness here, men sigh faintly after the doubtful happiness hereafter. Religious questions of the most momentous character have come to attract less attention than very trivial mundane affairs. A new moral ideal is set before the age with purely secular aims and sanctions. To influence conduct rather than guide belief, to secure happiness here rather than affect individual conditions hereafter, to stimulate progress in the future rather than advocate repose upon an obsolete past, are the tasks which the modern humanitarian spirit has braced itself to effect.

These are in the main the intellectual and social forces which have sapped the foundations of supernaturalism. That they have been thoroughly effective needs no words of ours to prove. We are conscious of living now in a very different moral and intellectual atmosphere to that breathed by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The intellect has asserted a gradual and growing supremacy over the emotions and imagination. Science has displaced spiritualism in the interest and thoughts of men. The natural has extinguished, or nearly extinguished, the supernatural. It is this life not the next, secular concerns not religious, which arouse our attention and sympathies. The numerous deities, devils, angels, spirits, and ghosts; the prophets, sorcerers, magicians, and witches; the miracles, apparitions, charms, and holy places, which disturbed the mental peace and stimulated the wonder of bygone ages, have all disappeared. There is only one partial exception to this rule—that of religion. We say partial, because although not extinguished, yet it must be admitted that religion, under the influences we have described, has been not only profoundly modified, but attenuated. Its influence has declined, its area has been circumscribed. It no longer commands the absorbing interests of all classes, as it did but a century or two ago. Religion has now come to be regarded as a holiday suit, to be donned on special occasions and on Sundays. Practically, all that is left to religion is a shadowy belief in a

Deity, and in a future life. Still, the fact of its continued survival of the other forms of supernaturalism demands investigation, and, if possible, explanation.

The first influence contributing to retard the decay of religion, as a form of supernaturalism, is the apparent reasonableness in a certain state of culture of the theological conception upon which it is based. Man early asked himself these questions: Whence am I? Who made me? And, looking abroad on the face of Nature, he propounded the same question to himself concerning the material universe, of which he was conscious he formed but an unimportant part. The answer has always been very much the same. Man took his own experience as his guide. He pictured a personal being as his Maker, with the same feelings, intelligence, and purposes as himself, only with an exaggerated intensity, corresponding to the vastly greater efforts required of him, as the Author of the universe, the Source of life, and the Controller of events. The answer had the advantages of indefiniteness and adaptability. If the social conditions of the time were hard, or if the national character was severe, then the merciless character of the Deity was proved by references to the destruction wrought by famine, plagues, and natural disturbances, or by the social misfortunes of war and bad government, all of which sprang directly or indirectly from His will. On the other hand, if the social conditions were mild and favourable, or if the national character was formed upon benevolent lines, then the beneficence and love of the Deity was effectually demonstrated from the beauty and bounty of Nature, as well as from those benign feelings implanted in man to impel him to sympathetic effort on behalf of his fellows. It was a natural and reasonable interpretation of the facts of existence at the time. The early progress of knowledge, so far from being unfavourable to this personal idea, lent it strength and purified it. As the knowledge of the universe increased, as man's conception of the magnitude and magnificence of the cosmos enlarged, so did the idea of a creating, preserving, and presiding Deity gain in strength and sublimity. It was only when researches in physics had revealed the laws under which the solar and stellar systems had apparently assumed their present conditions, binding all creation into a homogeneous whole; when geology had explained the apparent superficial confusion of the earth's crust; and when biological hypotheses had successfully linked organic life together in one chain of co-related development, that the theological explanation of the origin of the cosmos became weakened and discredited. Science has rescued so much of the known from the unknown, that the vast shadowy deep, wherein imagination may revel undisturbed by the irony

of facts, is no longer large enough and dim enough to harbour in security the conceptions of theology. It is true theologians are now endeavouring to find a refuge for their ideas and influence in a vague Pantheism. They may be successful; but we are not now concerned with the question of their success. We are only concerned with these speculations in so far as they are forms of supernaturalism, and in so far as they affect the decay of supernaturalism. Now, to abandon the conception of a conscious, personal, creating, overruling, independent Being, for intelligence and will in the cosmos, whether true or not, is to abandon the supernatural for the natural, theology for science. What is more, such a conception will obtain a very different influence, and rouse very different emotions from those hitherto exercised by historical theology. The great source of the influence of theology in the past, is the idea of personality inseparably bound up with it. Remove that element, and you make a new departure in thought and feeling. You may continue to term it religion, but it is applying that term in a new sense: a sense which does not cover the phenomena of religion in the past, nor yet as it is popularly understood at the present day.

It is seldom, however, that a merely speculative opinion, unassociated with some supposed material advantages, takes a very firm hold upon the convictions of the masses. It may interest the curious few; but it will never affect the conduct of the many, intent upon merely personal objects or individual success. But it is to this very selfish element in human nature theology has always strongly appealed. In return for the reception of the theological idea, and for the performance of certain very simple services, the greatest temporal advantages were to be obtained. By earnest prayer to the Deity, it was believed personal danger could be warded off, divine succour obtained, the destructive energy of natural forces abated, or the unfavourable effects of unforeseen events diverted into other channels. All things were believed to be possible to God, and whatever objects man could not secure by his own personal efforts he might obtain by earnest appeals to the object of his worship. The advantages thus supposed to be realized were out of all proportion to the efforts expended in securing them. Need we wonder, then, at the strong hold theology has maintained over society, so long as the idea of the efficacy of prayer remained unshaken. Nor is there any difficulty in understanding how many very inferior moral natures are intensely religious, in the sense of being strong supporters of the current theological beliefs. The appeal made by theology to human selfishness is powerful and direct, while the conditions governing participation in these benefits are simple and easily satisfied. The idea of the universal reign of law, and

the gradual abandonment of the notion of divine interference with natural operations or the course of events, has resulted, however, in a material decay in the belief in the efficacy of prayer, a decline in its habitual use, and a corresponding loss of influence to religion. No doubt theologians advocate the continued practice of prayer from the subjective conditions it assists in creating. It has thus come to be regarded as an intellectual and moral effort for a natural end. Whether when thus practised it achieves any useful purpose, we do not stop to inquire. It is enough, that in that aspect it is another point rescued from the supernatural, and further evidence of the decline of that form of belief.

But theology has made another and even more powerful appeal to our lower instincts. It affirmed a future and eternal state of existence for the human soul. At first it did not hesitate to affirm that a future life awaited both body and soul. The discoveries of science, however, necessitated the abandonment, after many ineffectual modifications, of the grosser conception. The material body obeyed only too plainly the laws of matter to successfully claim immunity from permanent decomposition. A distinction was, therefore, drawn between the ego, conscious, willing, and intelligent, and the mere corporeal instrument of its relations to the outer world. This doctrine of the immortality of the human soul is of a comparatively modern and restricted origin. It had no definite place in the ancient philosophies and religions until the time of Plato. Indeed, it may be said it was never an effective belief until the advent of the Christian religion. Neither has it ever secured the countenance of the old philosophico-religions of India and China. But once authoritatively promulgated, it made extraordinary progress, and secured a lasting hold over the popular mind. It is the mainstay of theology. It is to the incorporation of this belief with Christianity that religion owes its enormous success. It promises an effectual antidote to the great terror of all living things—death. From the idea of extinction, by our very constitution, we naturally shrink. A drowning man will instinctively clutch at a floating straw. And humanity, despite the utter absence of one tittle of evidence in support of this conception, convulsively clings to it as a rescue from the terrors of death. We should like to know at what precise point in evolutionary history man acquired an immortal soul. Where is the exact line to be drawn up to which man has only the privileges of an animal, but past which he assumes the prerogatives of immortality? Is this valuable possession a development from pre-existing conditions, or is it an endowment from some extraneous source? If it is the latter, we ask for evidence of it, and information as to the date, attending circumstances,

and source. But if it is supposed to be the former, then we would ask, is it the result of a certain organic development, the possession of certain mental or moral qualities, or the attainment of a certain standard of civilization? Every one of these supposititious questions is surrounded with difficulties fatal to any logical exhibition of the opinion in question. Any answer either proves too much or too little, either assigns reasons equally applicable to the whole animal world, or attaches conditions excluding large sections of what goes by the name of humanity. We have no experience of the phenomena of mind apart from organic structure. The mind grows in power with the development and maturity of the body. It decays as its corporeal instrument decays. It is affected by the state of health and vigour of the body. Mental disease is frequently ameliorated by judicious medical treatment. Biological research into the nervous system is bringing psychological phenomena nearer and nearer the goal of conditions of matter. No doubt, much still requires explanation, but every important contribution to anatomical and physiological science on these points is always in the one direction of materialization. The conditions of matter required to account for mental phenomena are not more subtle, wonderful, or difficult of adequate realization, than those manifested in other departments of natural science, such as the law of gravitation, electricity, or animal magnetism. Besides, to interpose the existence of soul is to destroy the homogeneity of creation. An immortal human soul is an anachronism in the cosmos, and is analogically an impossibility. Can the finite in time beget infinity? Are there no mental or moral conditions imposed as to the status of those calling these immortals into being, or can the most brutal savage contribute a larger number to the population of the next world than the most intellectual and beneficent of our race? But surely, if this doctrine is true, we must have some sensual evidence of its truth. If man's soul is immortal, his immortality is one of the largest facts in existence. But no discoveries or researches with the most powerful instruments, applied by the most skilful hands and brains, has ever revealed the slightest traces of this existence, or even of phenomena rendering it possible or plausible. It is unnecessary, however, to further endeavour to refute this opinion. There never was any independent evidence whatever adduced in its support. It was accepted upon the authority of revelation, because it was an agreeable hallucination. It was not revelation that proved immortality, but the promise of immortality that led to the general acceptance of revelation. It has no logical or natural basis, and as revelation is now discredited, we may expect that in course of time the general causes contributing to the decline of super-

natural beliefs will resume their legitimate influence, and gradually wean the human mind from this pleasant dream. It will, however, be a work of time. To large numbers this conception possesses an irresistible attraction, and it will only be through the growth of intellectualism, and the amelioration of the social condition of the masses, that this belief will be finally eradicated.

A fourth influence contributing to retard the decay of religion is the association of that form of opinion with moral conduct. Those gross and ephemeral forms of supernaturalism, to which we have already alluded, died through want of either intellectual or moral support. Their existence shocked our sense of reasonableness and offended our moral instincts. But religion secured a strong support by entwining itself around those moral truths, which the conscience of man in all ages has recognized as of the highest and most lasting importance. The most effective forms of religion have arbitrarily enjoined the observance of certain useful customs, and the practice of certain moral duties. The utility of these were unconsciously recognized. They were sources of happiness and strength. But why they were so, the distant ages were unable to tell. They obeyed these precepts, because they believed them to be divinely enjoined. Apart from religion, they had no binding authority whatever. We, however, are differently placed. With us morals have been constituted into a science. We know their origin, and the causes securing their development. Morals are now placed upon a natural basis, with a natural aim, and natural sanctions. Their alleged supernatural derivation and sanction we discard as superfluous and mischievous. We now recognize as moral many duties, states of emotion, and intellectual conditions, which never received the official stamp of authoritative religion. Upon a natural basis morals are ever advancing, proving the utility of new traits of character, and adding further touches to the moral ideal of the age; while with morality, based upon revelation, no progress is possible, until the advent of another divine personage or message, contingencies very unlikely to occur under present conditions. But historical religion has the further disadvantage of being encumbered with a code of morals only adapted to local or particular circumstances, or tainted with the coarseness and incompleteness of barbarous social conditions. It is this feature in religion which is now alienating the best moral natures from it. It is indissolubly associated with a low moral type. In the case of Christianity, though once in advance of the moral standard of the age, it now lingers far behind it. The necessity for a religious sanction for morals is now no longer felt, and indeed is regarded as a serious disadvantage, by tending to bring about a stagnation

in the moral atmosphere, instead of that adaptive elasticity required to overtake the ever-changing conditions of modern civilization.

Still another feature of the current form of faith retarding its inevitable decay is the historical foundation upon which it professedly rests. The popular mind is generally slow to grasp opinions which have only a philosophical or scientific basis. Men engaged in the active business of life are so accustomed to view things in the concrete, that they require the association of dates, documents, events, and persons, with their beliefs, before they can realize them as truths. Thus, in all the forms of religion, which have secured a lasting hold over the minds of large areas of population, sacred books, specific revelations of religious truth, and sacred personages or messengers, are invariable concomitants. The Christian religion is no exception to this rule. That faith is professedly promulgated on the authority of a series of inspired men, the reality of whose mission is attested by certain events narrated in the canonical books. And so long as the belief in the genuineness and historical accuracy of these documents was unquestioned, the extraordinary character of their contents was no barrier to their reception. Intelligent inquiry, however, as to their historical value, has completely shattered their claims to credence and respect. The very fact of their affirmation of a long chain of miraculous events, is enough to satisfy every person with any scientific culture, or with a rationalistic disposition of mind, that they are radically false. The opinion of Hume, that it is more likely that human testimony should be false than a miracle be true, exactly reflects the modern rationalistic spirit. But setting aside this general consideration, which, in our opinion, is the root fact in the growing antagonism to revelation, a very cursory examination of these records shows them to be contradictory to each other, and indeed to themselves. They contain also accounts of the creation, and of other natural events, which modern science has conclusively shown to be entirely false. These writings have never been historically traced to their reputed authors with that exactness their importance imperatively demands. The most fatal objection, however, to the truth of the Christian religion, is that the ignorance and habit of mind of the age in which it was promulgated, rendered the testimony of that age to the reality of the events upon which it rests confessedly valueless. To us, a miracle is something abnormal and extraordinary. To the age which witnessed the advent of Christianity, contradictory though it may sound, a miracle was something natural and ordinary. So generally diffused, indeed, was this miraculous element, that magicians, sorcerers, religious impostors, the pagan priests, and

the Christian saints and martyrs, for hundreds of years after the commencement of the Christian era, all confidently boasted their possession and practice of this wonderful power. The utter disproportion between the scanty evidence for the truth of Christianity, and the vast superstructure which it professes to support, is becoming to the laity painfully apparent. It is also indicated, by the wise discretion shown by the clergy, in avoiding all regular attempts to prove the historical truth of the system they preach. Speaking from personal observation, we should say that more sceptics are made by systematic lectures upon Christian evidence than converts. It is only when that evidence is connectedly grouped that its paucity dawns upon the mind. We accordingly find that the expressed opinion of the late Dean Stanley, that we do not believe the teaching of Christianity because of its miracles, but accept the miracles as true because of its teaching, very fairly represents the change of front of the authorized exponents of the popular faith. But that indicates a very important change. It implies the substitution of simple morality for revealed religion. It shows the gradual victory of the natural over the supernatural. It is a certain sign that the special influences which have retarded the decay of religion in the past are being gradually overcome, that the same fate of extinction which has marked the history of all other forms of supernaturalism awaits it also.

The last influence conserving religion we shall mention, is the existence of a class interested in its maintenance and propagation. In the case of some forms of Christianity the clergy are divorced from family and social ties, and irrevocably married to the Church. In other instances they are alienated from the interests and sympathies of society by a system of sectional and distorted education, as well as by the influence of class feeling and personal interest. The thorough efficacy of this system for the attainment of the objects in view needs no words to prove. We find it evidenced in the hold which admittedly false religions at the present day, and all through historic time, have maintained over the mind of society. It has been said that if a class were interested in proving that two and two count five, it would secure a large number of zealous and satisfied converts. We quite believe it. That arithmetical feat is nothing compared with the mental gymnastics involved in the belief that a little flour paste, after being mumbled over by a priest, becomes converted into the whole body—bones, flesh, and blood—of a person who died some 1,800 years ago, and that this marvellous transformation takes place at many thousand different places every day of the week. We confess to the opinion that, in a question of comparative sanity, the above hypothetical arithmetical feat bears away the

palm. In estimating, therefore, the prospects of religion, we must make a liberal allowance for the influence which such a large interested class as the Christian clergy are able to exert. A very imperfect acquaintance with history, however, shows that influence has very seriously declined. Science, politics, and industry, once dominated by clerical ideas and interests, have all gradually emancipated themselves from that hateful control. Even within living memory there has been a marked decadence in the spirit of ecclesiastical dependence. It is not difficult to perceive how this emancipation has been brought about. We now feel inclined to do our own thinking. We have abundance of material from which to form an opinion. If we wish to take our opinions at second-hand, then we have the large and ever-growing literary class, animated by secular aims and interests, competing with the clergy for our approval and support. The clergy are no longer monopolists of the knowledge and culture of the age, but are rather the exponents of a contracted and one-sided specialism. This special training, this isolated intellectual standpoint, nay, these class interests, have, as a general rule, placed the clergy in antagonism to every measure or movement calculated to elevate the people or enlighten society. Whatever social and intellectual independence we now enjoy, whatever progress in morals and thought has been secured by us, were slowly realized under the bitter hostility and gloomy foreboding of the ecclesiastical class. But that does not exhaust the indictment against the clergy. All the Churches, without exception, have fossilized their religious thought in dogmatic forms. These they will not allow to be modified, as intelligent criticism within their bounds, and the current of secular thought without them, imperatively demand. Indeed, they cannot well do so. There is no definite point a consensus of criticism accepts as a satisfactory and final resting-place in the process of emendation. The result is that intelligent men cannot accept as true the current forms of theology, nor yet can honest men day after day act the falsehood of apparently countenancing opinions which in their heart they know to be false. Those who are thus left as the exponents of the popular faith are those so intellectually dull that they cannot master the logical effect of recent criticism, and are unable to realize the spirit of the age in which they live; or they are those whose moral susceptibilities are so blunt that they perceive no moral incongruity in the advocacy of opinions they do not hold in their ordinary and conventional sense. But a class which is intellectually dull or morally blunt cannot long retain ascendancy over the public mind; and that process of deterioration in the character and influence of the clergy, which

during the last three centuries has materially compromised their position, seems likely to result in the total extinction of all respect for the office and services of the class.

We have seen, then, that all supernatural opinions, under the influence of a few general causes springing from the conditions of our modern civilization, have gradually waned and died. Religion, not less than other forms of supernaturalism, has been affected by these influences. But from certain special features hitherto associated with religion, while there has been a palpable decay of that form of thought, that decay has not yet culminated in extinction. If these special circumstances possessed the elements of truth and permanency, then we should have to concede to the current form of supernaturalism a distinctive place in its class. No such exceptional privilege, however, can be conceded to it. The historical basis of Christianity has vanished. The logical evidence used in support of the central thought of theology receives no countenance from modern science. The class isolated and interested to defend religion is distrusted and discredited. Morality needs no support from religion; and, indeed, is stifled by the parasitical growth entwining it in its poisonous folds. The material advantages promised to the earnest prayers of the true believers have disappeared before science, like a morning mist under a summer sun. Only the dream of immortality—as baseless a phantasy as ever beguiled the human judgment—remains as an effective opinion, propping up the cumbering fabric of religion and superstition. But surely it also will disappear. The Positive spirit will every generation reach a lower and lower stratum of society. Society will yet learn not to mould its opinions and conduct by its desires, but will come to limit its aspirations within the lines marked by intelligence. Men's egoistic instincts will merge in the altruistic, and the only immortality sought for will be the contribution of true thoughts, good deeds, and pure emotions to our common and aggregate humanity.

ART. IV.—DARWIN.

1. *A Naturalist's Journal of Researches.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. London: John Murray. 1845.
2. *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs.* By the same. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.
3. *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection.* By the same. London: John Murray. 1872.
4. *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.* By the same. London: John Murray. 1868.
5. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex.* By the same. London: John Murray. 1871.
6. *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms.* By the same. London: John Murray. 1881.

ON April the 19th departed this life Charles Robert Darwin, born at Shrewsbury on February the 12th, 1809, of whom it may be said truthfully—

“ He was a man take him for all in all
We shall not look upon his like again.”

A man who has been compared to Socrates, by reason of his wisdom; to Newton, because of the great revolution he wrought in science, but whose greatest praise is, that he was before and above all things *an honest man*, conscientiously scrupulous in weighing the pros and cons of every fact in connection with his theories, never blinking or concealing any adverse feature, anxious to give to every fellow-worker his full due, courting neither favour nor reward, but working for science alone, undeterred and undisturbed by the noisy denunciations of antagonists. Such a man may well be held up as an example of true greatness—a greatness far exceeding any which could possibly be won by persistent bids for public favour and popularity at the expense of truth. It is perhaps to this prominent characteristic—this honesty of purpose—that may be ascribed, at least partially, the good fortune he enjoyed in outliving the storm of invective levelled at him and at the theory he promulgated, and in being consigned in death, by the unanimous desire of the nation, to an honoured grave in that great fane reserved by Britannia for the wisest and noblest of her sons, a grave carefully and wisely selected near to those of Sir Isaac Newton and Sir John Herschel, a spot which will probably henceforth be known as the Philosophers' Corner. But who could have imagined in 1859, in the

midst of the hubbub caused by the publication of his great work, "The Origin of Species," that the much maligned author would thus receive the honour of a public funeral, and be followed to his grave with lamentations, not only by his friends, but by his opponents. That the Duke of Argyll and Canon Farrar should be found among his pall-bearers, side by side with Huxley and Sir John Lubbock, is a phenomenon creditable indeed to them, but remarkable, as showing the change wrought in a few years by the power of genius, guided by unswerving rectitude.

It behoves the reviewer to look back upon the career of this great man, and to trace through his work, the master mind which has impressed itself indelibly upon the nineteenth century, has forced a once hated theory upon a reluctant world, and compelled the respect and admiration even of adversaries.

Charles Robert Darwin inherited a name well-known in scientific and literary circles, for his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, M.D., F.R.S.,* was a remarkable man in his day, and a naturalist of advanced views; it has indeed been said, not without apparent reason, that in the writings of his grandfather Charles Darwin found the germs of those theories he afterwards elaborated so skilfully. Of the works of Erasmus Darwin we intend to speak later, but in this place we may call attention to a fact frequently noticed, but never satisfactorily accounted for, that in the undoubted heredity of genius, the mantle of the great ancestor seldom falls in all its fulness upon the shoulders of the *eldest* son. Innumerable instances of this might be adduced, and in the Darwin family we find that the father of Charles Darwin, who likewise attained to the dignity M.D. and F.R.S., although he never became so well-known as his father, was the *third* son of Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and Charles Darwin himself was not the eldest son.† In his case, however, the heredity of genius was not confined to the paternal side, for his maternal grandfather was Josiah Wedgwood, the great potter and art designer. Such an ancestry could not fail to give a bent to those aspirations and ambitions which are never wholly absent from the mind of youth,

* It would indeed appear that the hereditary genius of the Darwin family can be traced farther back still, for we are told in the "Memoir of Erasmus Darwin," written by his grandson, that Robert Darwin, father of Erasmus, had a taste for science, and was member of the Spalding Club, his wife being a very learned lady. Their eldest son was a poet and botanist, and, when an oldish man, published his "Principia Botanica," which passed into a third edition, and contained many curious notes on biology.

† Mr. Galton's figures would seem to prove that this is by no means so commonly the case as we have supposed. Of 99 men of science, he says 22 were only sons, 26 eldest sons, 15 youngest sons. Of those neither eldest nor youngest, 13 come in the elder half of the family, 12 in the younger half, and 11 are exactly in the middle.—Francis Galton, *Men of Science*.

and which generally lead the son to adopt the profession in which his father has been successful, and Charles Darwin seems early to have decided to adopt medicine as his profession. For this purpose, on leaving the Shrewsbury Grammar School, in which his education commenced, he proceeded, in 1825, to the Edinburgh University, where he studied for two years, but at the end of that time abandoned the idea of a medical career, and proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1831, and his M.A. in 1837, after his return from the memorable voyage in the *Beagle*. We do not read that the youthful student was distinguished by any notable display of genius, either at school or at college. No great flourish of trumpets heralded his entrance to the university; he does not appear to have obtained a scholarship or a fellowship, nor is he classed among the wranglers; nevertheless, even during his short connection with the University of Edinburgh, his taste for natural history and his talent for minute investigations became apparent, for we read that he was a member of the Plinian Society, which seems to have been in those days a students' debating club; and before this Society he read his first essay, on "The Ova of *Flustra*." That he had attained to a certain degree of fame as a naturalist before leaving Cambridge is evident, since Professor Henslow, the well-known botanist, recommended him to Captain, afterwards Admiral, Fitzroy, as fitted to hold the post of scientific naturalist on board the *Beagle*, then under orders to sail on an expedition to survey the coasts of South America and Australia. This post, ardently desired by the young naturalist, and filled in a manner beyond all praise, was entirely honorary, so much so that he was not only allowed and expected to defray his own expenses, but also to give up the whole of the invaluable collections made during the four years' voyage, to the nation, or rather to the Admiralty. Hence it will be seen, that, from the very first, Darwin's great object was the acquirement and advancement of knowledge, and not emolument or advancement for himself;* and happily for himself and for the world he was able to gratify his wishes without injury to his future prospects, for he possessed an ample fortune, which rendered a professional career unnecessary. Had this not been the case, had he been compelled to work as most young men must, in order to live, it is evident that this voyage could not have been undertaken, and the world would perhaps have lost his invaluable researches, for these,

* The great work achieved by Darwin has never met with recognition from the State; he has received many foreign honours, but from his own Government *nothing*; and only tardily, and somewhat grudgingly, did his own university bestow upon him the degree of LL.D., the undergraduates meanwhile making merry by dancing a monkey before him.

unaided by public money, could only have been carried on by one possessed of means and leisure ; but how few young men, under similar circumstances, would have been ready to give up home comforts and luxuries for a life of unremunerative scientific labour and real hardship. Even in our own day, when science has made such great strides, and has become *popular*, such self-denying work is not often undertaken by men of fortune. Fifty years ago, such a scientific worker was indeed a phenomenon, and the gratification of his wish cost the enthusiast dear, for from the date of the commencement of the voyage in December, 1831, to its end in 1836, he suffered constantly and alarmingly from sea-sickness, the effects of which rendered him an invalid for the remainder of his life, making retirement and a comparative absence of excitement imperatively necessary, and again, fortunately for himself and for the world, these essentials to life and happiness were at his command.* After the memorable voyage in the *Beagle*, which extended round the world, and occupied nearly five years, he returned to England in October, 1836. In the succeeding year he took his M.A. degree at Cambridge, and it is not a little remarkable that his first recorded paper after his return, read before the Geological Society in November, 1837, should have been "On the Formation of Vegetable Mould," whilst his latest publication is "The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms, with Observations on their Habits," issued in 1881, thus showing that his patient attention through more than forty-four years had been directed to those lowly organisms, so often avoided with a sort of undefined contemptuous loathing, but of which he has proved the inconceivable utility in spreading beauty and fertility over the world.

In 1839 Mr. Darwin married his cousin, Miss Emma Wedgwood. "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin" wrote the great poet, and it is not without a certain satisfaction that we see the great philosopher casting aside the popular doctrine concerning cousin-marriages at the promptings of the affections. He saw in his cousin the congenial helpmeet he required, and did not allow that doctrine to stand in the way of happiness ; and certainly, as far as the outside world can judge, his married life has been of that peaceful perfect kind, too rare among mankind in general, and rarer still among those whose lives are brought prominently before the public. We may add that his children,

* There is something pathetic in his advice to travellers on this point. He says : "If a person suffer much from sea-sickness, let him weigh it heavily in the balance. I speak from experience ; it is no trifling evil cured in a week."—*Journal of Researches*, p. 502.

as is well-known, show no signs of deterioration. He leaves behind him five sons and two daughters, and of the sons, two at least have already distinguished themselves, following closely in their father's footsteps, one having been for years his secretary and coadjutor in all those wonderful and minute experiments which enrich his works.* He died surrounded by those he loved, after so short an illness that the public knew nothing of it. There were no special telegrams, no messages from crowned heads, no anxious crowds to read the daily bulletins, but suddenly the world was startled by the announcement that Darwin had been dead for some hours. His death, however, does not seem to have been so sudden as it appeared to the public, for we are told that he had been ill for some days, although probably illness in a man who was always an invalid did not seem so alarming as it would have done, had he been in robust health previously. From the time of his return home after the voyage in the *Beagle*, he suffered constantly from attacks of nausea, which nothing seemed to cure, although they were alleviated from time to time by medicines and various appliances; he also derived benefit from a course of hydropathy at Malvern, continued afterwards at home, but the stomach never regained its healthy tone, and he may be truly regarded as a martyr to the pursuit of science. The letter from Admiral Stokes, published in the *Standard*, shows how much he suffered at sea, and the preface to his book on "Coral Reefs," published in 1874, records that its publication was delayed for two years in consequence of ill-health. Yet that he never regretted this sacrifice of health in the cause of science, his words in this same preface prove. "Having," he writes, "in former publications had the pleasure of acknowledging how much I owe to Captain Fitzroy, for having permitted me to volunteer my services on board H.M.S. *Beagle*, and for his uniform kindness in giving me assistance in my researches, I can only here repeat my obligations to him."

In truth the whole course of Darwin's career turned upon this voyage. In it he collected all that varied information which he afterwards digested, amplified and brought to bear upon the theories suggested by what he had observed, and even his ill-health served to secure for him that leisure which was essential for his work. Too weak for public life, he retired soon after his marriage to his residence at Down, near Beckenham, and there, in the privacy of home life, elaborated those wonderful theories which have electrified the world; there he conducted those minute experiments upon worms and plants, which have so

* This son, Mr. Francis Darwin, has since been elected F.R.S., being the fourth generation in the family attaining to that honour.

wonderfully elucidated his doctrines, and rendered his works so valuable ; and there, after fifty years of scientific work, continued even to the last, he died surrounded by his family, and retaining all his faculties to the end.

He seldom quitted the retirement he had chosen, but his extreme kindness and courtesy to all who sought his help is well known, and of the charm of his manner towards strangers the *Standard* speaks thus :—“ Enthusiastic pilgrims came from all parts of the world on the chance of speaking to him, and so affably were they received that, if they arrived doubters, the chances were, that they left him Darwinians.” Whilst Mr. Galton, writing from intimate friendship, denominates him the Aristotle of our days, whom all scientific men reverence and love ; and his biographer, in *Nature*, says : “ Even greater than the wonderful intellect was the character of the man,” but, whilst pointing out the necessity of a biography of such a man, in order to give the world an idea of what he was, he adds : “ This, unfortunately, is just the point where all his biographers must necessarily fail. For whilst to those favoured few who were on terms of intimate friendship with him, any language by which it is sought to portray his character must seem inadequate, to everyone else the same language must appear the result of enthusiastic admiration, finding vent in extravagant panegyric.”*

The life of Darwin is an epic. The object of his highest aspirations—of his earnest and diligent pursuit—was truth. He followed ever where she led, or seemed to lead, and even when the path diverged from the beaten track and became entangled with briars and thorns, he still pushed on, undeterred by perils, seeing the beacon light afar. Luxury and ease invited him, but he rejected their allurements, and still pressed on. Enemies opposed his progress and assailed him with every weapon in their power, but, like a skilful general, he allowed them to spend their strength in vain upon a fortress which he knew to be impregnable, and he triumphed. Yet, even in the hour of triumph, he never lost that modesty which is the finest attribute of a seeker after truth ; and even his bitterest enemy could never accuse him of arrogance or discourtesy.

Into the inner thoughts and feelings of so blameless a character we have no right and no desire to intrude ; his religious and his political opinions do not concern us ; they must be left for those nearest and dearest to him to reveal or to conceal, as they may see fit. For us, the man lives in his works, and through those we must endeavour to trace him, a task by no means easy, for although his writings are not

* *Nature*, May 18, 1862.

voluminous, and although the style is easy and the meaning clear, still they cover such an immense scientific area, and are so pregnant with facts and deductions, that it is with a feeling akin to despair that we endeavour to present, within the limits of a review article, a readable synopsis of his views. We must perforce follow him into the domain of so many of the *ologies* that if we sometimes stumble we may confidently sue for pardon, since we cannot hope to approach to so great a man in universal knowledge. In truth, it seems somewhat difficult to give him his precise standing in the scientific world. He was pre-eminent as a zoologist, but he was almost equally great as a botanist and as a geologist. His earlier works were zoological, geological and palæontological, his later, zoological and botanical. That which may be termed the *Beagle* literature commenced with the fine work entitled, "Zoology of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Beagle*," published in 1838-40, towards the publication of which the Lords of the Treasury voted a thousand pounds. Had it stood alone, it would have been a lasting monument of the industry and ability of the youthful naturalist. It is divided into five parts:— I. Fossil Mammalia of South America; II. Living Mammalia; III. Birds; IV. Fishes; V. Reptiles; all collected by Darwin during this voyage, their habits, geographical range and other peculiarities being described by him, whilst Professor Owen gives the scientific description of the fossils, Mr. Waterhouse that of the living mammals, Gould that of the birds, Rev. L. Jenyns that of the fishes, and Mr. Bell that of the reptiles.

Regarding the fossils, Professor Owen says, after pointing out that previously only three species of mastodon and the megatherium were known as having been brought from South America:—

"The abundance and variety of the osseous remains of extinct mammalia in South America are amply attested by the materials for the following description, collected by one individual, whose sphere of observation was limited to a comparatively small part of South America; and the future traveller may fairly hope for similar success, if he bring to the search the same zeal and tact which distinguish the gentleman to whom oryctological science is indebted for such novel and valuable accessions.

"It is remarkable that all the fossils collected by Mr. Darwin belong to herbivorous species of mammalia, generally of large size. The greater part are referable to the order which Cuvier has called *Edentata*, and belong to that subdivision of the order *Dasypodidæ* which is characterized by having perfect and sometimes complex molar teeth, and an external osseous and tessellated coat of mail. The megatherium is the giant of this tribe, which at the present day is exclusively represented by South American species, the largest

(*Dasyus Gigas*, Cuvier) not exceeding the size of a hog. The hiatus between this living species and the megatherium is filled up by a series of armadillo-like animals, indicated more or less satisfactorily by Mr. Darwin's fossils, some of which species were as large as an ox, others about the size of the American tapir. The rest of the collection belongs, with the exception of some small rodents, to the extensive and heterogeneous order Pachydermata; it includes the remains of a mastodon, of a horse, and of two large and singular aberrant forms, one of which connects the pachydermatous with the ruminant order; the other manifests a close affinity to the rodent order.*

All these Darwin shows must have lived during a very modern period in the geological history of the world. He points out that the conditions under which they were found do away with that idea of rude cataclysmal change, which was a favourite theory with geologists at the time this book was published; that, on the contrary, everything denotes tranquillity. He writes: "The only physical change since the existence of these extinct mammalia has been a small and gradual rising of the continent, but it is difficult to believe that this alone could have so greatly modified the climate as to have been the cause of the utter extermination of so many animals." Here we see the acute mind setting itself to discover the law of progression and extinction, as revealed by the series of fossil forms he had discovered, and the natural causes leading to such results; and doubtless in this pondering we find the germ of that noteworthy doctrine of evolution, which he propounded later. He saw a succession of extinct forms, evidently linking together in one continuous chain of being, extinct and living forms in the same land, and his reason refused to believe in extinction by some vast and terrible event, leading only to the new creation of similar forms on the same spot; and in working out the problem he came to the legitimate conclusion, that living forms were but the gradually modified descendants of those which had become extinct. Here then was one of the results of his voyage, the matured lessons derived therefrom appearing in that wonderful book, "*The Origin of Species*," where we find "A group, when it has once disappeared, never reappears—that is, its existence, as long as it lasts, is continuous. . . . For all the species of the same group, however long it may have lasted, are the modified descendants one from the other, and all from a common progenitor."† In the same work, he relates his astonishment at finding in La Plata the tooth of a horse, with the remains of

* "*Zoology of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*."

† "*Origin of Species*," sixth edition, p. 292.

Mastodon, Megatherium, Toxodon, and other extinct monsters, and how his astonishment ceased when it was pointed out by Professor Owen, that the horse, although so like the existing horse, belonged to an extinct species. And here we may pause a moment to note the curious fact that it is in America, rather than in Europe, that we find those missing links so necessary to fill up the numerous gaps in that chain of being, required to illustrate the evolution theory. In addition to the series of fossils brought over by Darwin, which we have commented on above, the ancestral forms of the horse have there been brought out in an almost perfect sequence; and now Professor Marsh shows us forms linking together birds and reptiles so completely, as to form a powerful argument in favour of Darwin's views.

In the second edition of the "Journal of Researches,"* published in 1845, Darwin, whose views on evolution had scarcely then become defined, when treating of the fossils of South America, says:—

"I was at first much surprised how a large quadruped, the *Macrauchenia*, could so lately have subsisted in lat. 49° 15' on these wretched gravel plains, with their stunted vegetation; but the relationship of the *Macrauchenia* to the *Guanaco*, now an inhabitant of the most sterile parts, partly explains this difficulty. The relationship, though distant, between the *Macrauchenia* and the *Guanaco*, between the *Toxodon* and the *Copybara*; the closer relationship between the many extinct Edentata and the living sloths, ant-eaters, and armadillos, now so eminently characteristic of South American zoology; and the still closer relationship between the fossil and living species of *Etenomys* and *Hydrochærus*, are most interesting facts. This relationship is shown wonderfully—as wonderfully as between the fossil and extinct Marsupial animals of Australia—by the great collection lately brought to Europe from the caves of Brazil by MM. Lund and Clausen. In this collection there are extinct species of all the thirty-two genera, excepting four, of the terrestrial quadrupeds now inhabiting the provinces in which the caves occur; and the extinct species are much more numerous than those now living. There are fossil ant-eaters, armadillos, tapirs, peccaries, guanacos, opossums, and numerous South American gnawers and monkeys, and other animals. This wonderful relationship in the same continent between the dead and the living will, I do not doubt, hereafter throw more light on the appearance of organic beings on our earth, and their disappearance from it, than any other class of facts."

This close connection between recently extinct and living forms has, since these words were written, become a recognized law of being, a law which it need hardly be said is essential to

* "Journal of Researches," second edition, p. 173.

the theory of evolution, and which all recent discoveries confirm and strengthen.

There are many indications in this book (the "Journal of Researches") of the growing tendency in Darwin's mind towards the doctrine of slow development, or evolution, but it had hardly yet advanced beyond the doctrine of Lamarck. When writing of Maldonado, he describes the tucutuco, which is an animal belonging to the gnawers, with the habits of a mole, the name denoting the peculiar noise it emits. These little animals are frequently found blind, of which Darwin remarks:—

"Considering the strictly subterranean habits of the tucutuco, the blindness, though so common, cannot be a very serious evil; yet it appears strange that any animal should possess an organ frequently subject to be injured. Lamarck would have been delighted with this fact, had he known it, when speculating (probably with more truth than usual with him) on the gradually *acquired* blindness of the Aspalax, a Gnawer living underground; and of the Proteus, a reptile living in dark caverns filled with water, in both of which animals the eye is in an almost rudimentary state, and is covered by a tendinous membrane and skin. In the common mole the eye is extraordinarily small, but perfect, though many anatomists doubt whether it is connected with the true optic nerve. Its vision must certainly be imperfect, though probably useful to the animal when it leaves its burrow. In the tucutuco, which I believe never comes to the surface of the ground, the eye is rather larger, but often rendered blind and useless, though without apparently causing any inconvenience to the animal. No doubt Lamarck would have said that the tucutuco is now passing into the state of the Aspalax and Proteus."*

Thus we see in this early publication the germs of those theories which were afterwards elaborated and illustrated by a multitude of skilfully conducted experiments, by immense research and abstruse reasoning; but the "Journal" as it stands is a charming book, so full of observation, and written in a style so free from affectation, that it may be read not only with profit but with pleasure by everyone.† In this voyage nothing on land or sea, in the air above or in the depths beneath, in the present aspect, or past geological history of the lands he visited, escaped the acute eye and the logical reasoning of this accomplished naturalist. No phenomenon was too obscure for investigation, no difference in structure of rock or animated

* "Journal of Researches," p. 52.

† At the meeting of the Anthropological Institute, shortly after Darwin's death, Professor Flower, whilst alluding in feeling terms to the loss sustained by the scientific world, mentioned that at a late interview he had told Mr. Darwin that he had just been reading again his "Journal of Researches" with increased interest and pleasure, upon which Darwin replied: "I am glad of that, for I always thought it the best of my books."

being, too minute to be observed and chronicled. As we read, we marvel that so many accurate observations could possibly have been made by one man in a single voyage, during much of which he was prostrated by sea-sickness. Now it is the habits of a sea-slug, then the curious vitrified tubes formed by lighting in sand banks; now the evidences of upheaval or subsidence of continents, then the effects of cattle on vegetation—which occupy the attention of the observer. Nothing is too great or too insignificant to be noted; already he had begun to appreciate the great part which even the smallest living organisms play in the work of Nature. He collects the dust blown across the Atlantic, and examines it microscopically to find in it infusoria and “particles of stone above the thousandth of an inch square,” and to speculate that such a wind might be an agent in diffusing cryptogamic plants; and the subject as given by him is so curious and interesting that we may be pardoned for quoting portions:—

“The morning before we anchored at Porto Praya (Cape de Verd Islands) I collected a little packet of this brown-coloured fine dust, which appeared to have been filtered from the wind by the gauze of the vane at the mast-head. . . . Professor Ehrenberg finds that this dust consists in great part of infusoria with siliceous shields, and of the siliceous tissue of plants. In five little packets which I sent him he has ascertained no less than sixty-seven different organic forms. The infusoria, with the exception of two marine species, are all inhabitants of fresh water. I have found no less than fifteen different accounts of dust having fallen on vessels when far out in the Atlantic. From the direction of the wind whenever it has fallen, and from its having always fallen when the harmattan is known to raise clouds of dust high into the atmosphere, we may feel sure that it all comes from Africa. It is, however, a very singular fact that, although Professor Ehrenberg knows many species of infusoria peculiar to Africa, he finds none of these in the dust which I sent him; on the other hand, he finds in it two species which hitherto he knows as living only in South America. The dust falls in such quantities as to dirty everything on board, and to hurt people’s eyes; vessels even have run on shore owing to the obscurity of the atmosphere. It has often fallen on ships when several hundred, and even more than 1,000 miles from the coast of Africa, and at points 1,600 miles distant in a north and south direction. In some dust which was collected on a vessel 300 miles from the land, I was much surprised to find particles of stone, above the thousandth part of an inch square, mixed with finer matter. After this fact one need not be surprised at the diffusion of the far lighter and smaller sporules of cryptogamic plants.”*

* “Journal of Researches,” p. 5.

It is this careful record of facts so apparently insignificant, this weighing of probabilities, and placing them in all their minutiae before the reader, which constitutes the great value of Darwin's writings. We are struck with the ingenuousness with which he relates his surprise at finding things different from what he had expected according to his previous reading or preconceived opinion; and he does not slur over facts to suit his convictions, but modifies his convictions in accordance with facts. Thus, geologists at the time of the voyage of the *Beagle* were almost unanimous in ascribing all great changes in the surface of the land to cataclysms such as earthquakes, but Darwin's observations led him to the conclusion that, at least in South America, almost all geological changes had been gradual and continuous. He is constantly repeating his convictions in this matter in terms similar to the following:—

“It is impossible here to give the reasons, but I am convinced that the shingle terraces were accumulated, during the gradual elevation of the Cordillera, by the torrents delivering at successive levels their detritus on the beach-heads of long narrow arms of the sea, first high up the valleys, then lower and lower down as the land slowly rose. If this be so, and I cannot doubt it, the grand and broken chain of the Cordillera, instead of having been suddenly thrown up, as was till lately the universal, and still is the common, opinion of geologists, has been slowly upheaved in mass, in the same gradual manner as the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific have risen within the recent period.”*

In other places he points out signs of subsidence alternating with elevation several times repeated, and with long intervals between, but he always finds proof that these changes were gradual, although he does not unduly depreciate the powerful effect of earthquakes, in a land more than almost all others subject to these disturbances; and he gives the effects of earthquakes in causing elevations of several feet in different places, and describes the volcanic disturbances which accompanied these elevations, particularly those which he himself witnessed at Concepcion after the great earthquake of February 20, 1835, and afterwards described fully in vol. v. of the *Geological Transactions*, and which he sums up in the “Journal,” thus:—

“From the intimate and complicated manner in which the elevatory and eruptive forces were shown to be connected during this train of phenomena, we may confidently come to the conclusion that the forces which slowly and by little starts uplift continents, and those which at successive periods pour forth volcanic matter from open orifices, are identical. From many reasons I believe that the frequent quakings of

* “Journal of Researches,” p. 316.

the earth on this line of coast are caused by the rending of the strata necessarily consequent on the tension of the land when upraised, and their injection by fluidified rock. This rending and injection would, if repeated often enough—and we know that earthquakes repeatedly affect the same areas in the same manner—form a chain of hills; and the linear island of St. Mary, which was upraised thrice the height of the neighbouring country, seems to be undergoing this process. I believe that the solid axis of a mountain differs in its manner of formation from a volcanic hill only in the molten stone having been repeatedly injected instead of having been repeatedly ejected. Moreover, I believe that it is impossible to explain the structure of great mountain chains such as that of the Cordillera, where the strata, capping the injected axis of plutonic rock, have been thrown on their edges along several parallel and neighbouring lines of elevation, except on this view of the rock of the axis having been repeatedly injected, after intervals sufficiently long to allow the upper parts or wedges to cool and become solid; for if the strata had been thrown into their present highly inclined, vertical, and even inverted positions, by a single blow, the very bowels of the earth would have gushed out; and instead of beholding abrupt mountain axes of rock solidified under great pressure, deluges of lava would have flowed out at innumerable points on every line of elevation.*

Fully impressed with the general slowness and constancy of geological changes, Darwin next turned his attention to coral reefs, and set himself to discover a cause for the formation of the curious lagoon islands or atolls of the Pacific. Everybody knows that most of the innumerable islands of the Pacific are formed wholly of coral, and that many of them consist simply of a ring of coral only a few hundred yards in width, enclosing a basin of still water; these are called atolls. In some this inner watery basin contains a rocky islet, like a castle surrounded by a moat, enclosed by an encircling wall, with here and there an opening resembling gates, through which vessels may pass into the still waters of the moat-like lagoon; these are known as barrier reefs, and they sometimes enclose several rocky islets. The third class of these coral formations consist of fringing reefs, in which the corals form as it were a narrow band or fringe round the island, with a shallow lagoon between it and the shore.

Professor Huxley has described the island of Mauritius, which is surrounded by these fringing reefs, thus:—

“It is a very considerable and beautiful island, and is surrounded on all sides by a mass of coral. . . . If you could get upon the top of one of the peaks of the island and look down upon the Indian Ocean, you would see that the beach round the island was continued outward by a kind of shallow terrace, which is covered by the sea, and where

* “Journal of Researches,” p. 312.

the sea is quite shallow ; and at a distance, varying from three-quarters of a mile to a mile-and-a-half from the proper beach, you would see a line of foam, or surf, which looks most beautiful in contrast with the bright green water in the inside and the deep blue of the sea beyond. That line of surf indicates the point at which the waters of the ocean are breaking upon the coral reef which surrounds the island. You see it sweep round the island upon all sides, except where a river may chance to come down, and that always makes a gap in the shore.*

The formation of these three different classes of coral islands had always attracted the notice of travellers, but no one had attempted to give a scientific explanation of the method of their structure, nor of their variety of form, until Mr. Darwin set himself to investigate the matter.

"The earlier voyagers," he says, "fancied that the coral-building animals instinctively built up their great circles to afford themselves protection in the inner parts ; but so far is this from the truth, that those massive kinds, to whose growth on the exposed outer shores the very existence of the reef depends, cannot live within the lagoon, where other delicately branching kinds flourish. Moreover, on this view, many species of distinct genera and families are supposed to combine for one end ; and of such a combination not a single instance can be found in the whole course of Nature. The theory that has been most generally received is, that atolls are based on submarine craters ; but when we consider the form and size of some, the number, proximity, and relative positions of others, this idea loses its plausible character ; thus, Suadiva atoll is 44 geographical miles in diameter in one line, by 34 miles in another line ; Rimsky is 54 by 20 miles across, and it has a strangely sinuous margin ; Bow atoll is 30 miles long, and on an average only 6 in width ; Menchicoff atoll consists of three atolls united or tied together. This theory, moreover, is totally inapplicable to the northern Maldiva atolls in the Indian Ocean (one of which is 88 miles in length and between 10 and 20 in breadth), for they are not bounded, like ordinary atolls, by narrow reefs, but by a vast number of separate little atolls ; other little atolls rising out of the great central lagoon-like spaces. A third and better theory was advanced by Chamisso, who thought that from the corals growing more vigorously where exposed to the open sea, as undoubtedly is the case, the outer edges would grow up from the general foundation before any other part, and that this would account for the ring or cup-shaped structure. But we shall immediately see that in this, as well as in the crater theory, a most important consideration has been overlooked—namely, on what have the reef-building corals, which cannot live at a great depth, based their massive structure ?"†

* "Coral and Coral Reefs : " a Lecture by Professor Huxley, LL.D., F.R.S.

† "Journal of Researches," p. 467.

Having thus given the views of his predecessors, Mr. Darwin proceeds to unfold his own theory, based upon the habits of the coral polyp. He shows that these creatures cannot live at a great depth—not more than twenty to thirty fathoms; therefore, that they must have found a foundation at about that depth upon which to commence their structure; that they would then build up to the surface and continue to build as high as the waters of the ocean could reach them; and he based upon this the theory that atolls represent islands which have wholly disappeared by subsidence; barrier reefs, islands a portion of which still remain above the water, but which is yet gradually sinking; and fringing reefs, islands which are in a quiescent state, or possibly rising. This theory he proves by many arguments in that elaborate treatise on “Coral and Coral Reefs,” which was the result of the observations he had made during his voyage, and to it he appended a list of the corals forming these reefs, the depths at which they are found, and a calculation of the rate of their growth. The map which accompanies the work shows the different character of the reefs in all the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and proves that atolls do not surround active volcanos, such volcanos representing land in a state of upheaval, and this is at least a negative proof that atolls indicate an area of subsidence. It is obvious that, if the rate of the growth of these corals can be in any degree depended upon, we have in these atolls and encircling reefs a measure of time, for the height of these reefs from the foundation would show how long the subsided land had taken to sink to the depth indicated thereby. Huxley, treating of this matter, calculates that if the corals grow at the rate of an inch a year some of these reefs would represent 12,000 years during which time the enclosed land had been gradually sinking, but adds:—

“I believe I very much understate both the height of some of these masses, and overstate the amount which these animals can form in the course of a year, so that you might very safely double this period as the time during which the Pacific Ocean, the general state of the climate, and the sea, and the temperature, has been substantially what it is now, and yet the state of things which now obtains in the Pacific Ocean is the yesterday of the history of the life of the globe.”

Darwin, in his book on the “Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs,” before alluded to (published in 1842; second edition, 1874), gives the following recapitulation of his views:—

“When the two great types of structure—namely, barrier reefs and atolls on the one hand, and fringing reefs on the other—are laid down on a map, they offer a grand and harmonious picture of the movements which the crust of the earth has undergone within a late period. We

there see vast areas rising, with volcanic matter every now and then bursting forth. We see other wide spaces sinking, without any volcanic outburst, and we may feel sure that the movement has been so slow as to have allowed the corals to grow up to the surface, and so widely extended as to have buried over the broad face of the ocean every one of those mountains above which the atolls now stand like monuments, marking the place of their burial.”*

This grand and simple theory, confirmed as it is by the striking fact that in no instance is an atoll found in connection with an active volcano, and by the minor corroborative facts that trees and other objects formerly above high-water mark are now below it, was long accepted as the true solution of the curious problem offered by these singular formations; but Professor Dana, the American geologist, and later, Professor Semper, have advanced a modified theory, to which Darwin refers in the second edition of his work on “Coral Reefs,” in the following terms:—

“Although I demur to some of the criticisms made by this eminent naturalist, who has examined more coral formations than almost any other man, yet I do not the less admire his work. It has also afforded me the highest satisfaction to find that he accepts the fundamental proposition that lagoon islands or atolls, and barrier reefs have been formed during periods of subsidence. . . . On the other hand, a distinguished naturalist, Professor Semper, differs much from me, although he seems willing to admit that some atolls and barrier reefs have been formed in the manner in which I suppose.”

Thus it will be seen that even opponents of Darwin's theory are constrained to admit its truth to a greater or less extent, and in fact the views they advance are simply modifications, wherein *some* atolls and barrier reefs are supposed to show signs of upheaval rather than of subsidence. Even should this prove to be correct, Darwin must still be credited as the first to have advanced views on this subject based on scientific facts, which certainly have not been disproved by more recent investigations, although their universal applicability has been objected to, and it has been asserted that he under-estimated the depth at which corals can live. Nevertheless, it will always be acknowledged, that this work upon “Coral Reefs” is the most important and interesting of the geological works resulting from the voyage of the *Beagle*.

Many years ago, in reading the lucid descriptions of these coral reefs as given by Mr. Darwin, we were struck by the similarity between these atolls and the so-called ring mountains in the moon, as seen through a good telescope. It would appear that others have also noticed the resemblance. A question on the

* “Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs,” p. 193, second edition.

subject having recently been asked in *Knowledge*, the editor of that periodical appears to think the resemblance illusory; but we cannot help fancying that the analogy is great, and that if there was ever an ocean in the moon, that there, as in the Pacific at the present day, coral polypifers built reefs around subsiding mountains, and that their skeletons remain, not only to attest the existence of an ocean now vanished, but also, that the same forces and the same forms of life formerly existed in the earth's satellite as now exist here.

"Geological Observations on Volcanic Islands, and Geological Observations on South America," published in 1844 and 1846, may be said to complete the literature of the *Beagle* expedition; but although both of these are important, we must pass them by in order to devote more space to that great work by which Darwin's name will always be known to posterity.

The "Origin of Species" first appeared in 1859, and its history, although probably well-known to most people, must be briefly recapitulated here as given in the sixth edition of the work, published in 1872. Referring as usual to that voyage in the *Beagle* so remarkable for its results, he says:—

"I was much struck with certain facts in the distribution of the organic beings inhabiting South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent. These facts . . . seemed to throw some light on the origin of species—that mystery of mysteries, as it has been called by one of our greatest philosophers."

He then goes on to relate that on his return home in 1837, he set himself patiently to accumulate and reflect on all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing on it, adding—

"After five years' work I allowed myself to speculate on the subject, and drew up some short notes; these I enlarged in 1844 into a sketch of the conclusions which then seemed to me probable; from that period to the present day I have steadily pursued the same object. I hope that I may be excused for entering on these personal details, as I give them to show that I have not been hasty in coming to a decision. My work is now (1859) nearly finished; but as it will take me many more years to complete it, and as my health is far from strong, I have been urged to publish this abstract. I have more especially been induced to do this, as Mr. Wallace, who is now studying the natural history of the Malay Archipelago, has arrived at almost exactly the same general conclusions that I have on the origin of species. In 1858 he sent me a memoir on this subject, with a request that I would forward it to Sir Charles Lyell, who sent it to the Linnean Society, and it is published in the third volume of the *Journal* of that Society. Sir C. Lyell and Dr. Hooker, who both knew of my work—the latter having read my sketch of 1844—honoured me by thinking it advisable

to publish, with Mr. Wallace's excellent memoir, some brief extracts from my manuscripts."*

In this brief history of a most remarkable work, we are struck first by the patient industry of the great naturalist in devoting so many years to the accumulation of facts before attempting to give the results to the world. Twenty-two years, a year longer than the time allowed to develop the new-born babe into the full-grown man, was not considered sufficient to bring the embryonic conception of an idea to maturity. And even when by the advice of friends he was urged to publish the work elaborated with so much patience, it was only set forth in the form of an abstract, and as such necessarily imperfect.

"No one," he says, "can feel more sensible than I do of the necessity of hereafter publishing in detail all the facts, with references, on which my conclusions have been grounded, and I hope in a future work to do this. For I am well aware that scarcely a single point is discussed in this volume on which facts cannot be adduced, often apparently leading to conclusions directly opposite to those at which I have arrived. A fair result can be obtained only by fully stating and balancing the facts and arguments on both sides of each question, and this is here impossible."†

The great modesty which is so strong a characteristic of the man, appears in every line of the history he gives; we cannot fail to see that, had it not been for the interference of Sir Charles Lyell and Dr. Hooker, he would have allowed Mr. Wallace to obtain the credit of that which had cost him twenty-two years of labour, and we believe he would have been capable of rejoicing at the success of his fellow-worker, so utterly devoid does he seem to have been of that spirit of jealous rivalry, which so often mars the works of great men. Darwin, on the contrary, is never grudging of praise to those who have even in the smallest degree forwarded the cause of science, and in the "Historical Sketch of the Progress of Opinion on the Origin of Species" appended to the sixth edition of his work, he gives a full list of all those who have in any degree helped to elucidate the mystery, foremost among whom stands Lamarck; although Darwin shows that, even among the classical writers, some notion of the principle of natural selection existed, and he gives a passage from Aristotle, the concluding part of which reads thus: "Wheresoever therefore, all things together (that is, all the parts of one whole), happened like as if they were made for the sake of something, these were preserved, having been appropriately constituted by an internal spontaneity; and whatever things were not thus constituted

perished and still perish." But this, like other passages of somewhat similar import scattered through the writings of the ancient philosophers was probably, as was pointed out in the article on "Epicurus and Lucretius" in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April last, "only a single lucky guess out of many false guesses." The case was different with Lamarck, for his conclusions were based upon observation, and although they were in many respects erroneous, Darwin credits him with having been the first who "did the eminent service of arousing attention to the probability of all change in the organic, as well as in the inorganic world, being the result of law, and not of miraculous interposition." Nevertheless, Lamarck had been anticipated by Darwin's grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, as has been pointed out, not only by his grandson, but by Krause, in the memoir of the elder Darwin, to which Charles Darwin appended a most interesting preliminary notice. Dr. Darwin's "Zoonomia" was published in 1794, and Lamarck's "Philosophie Zoologique" in 1809, upon which Darwin remarks, in a foot-note appended to his "Historical Sketch:" "It is curious how largely my grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, anticipated the views and erroneous grounds of opinion of Lamarck in his "Zoonomia;" and he adds that which has often been remarked, but of which no reasonable explanation has yet been given: "It is rather a singular instance of the manner in which similar views arise at about the same time, that Goethe in Germany, Dr. Darwin in England, and Geoffroy St. Hilaire in France, came to the same conclusion on the origin of species, in the years 1794-5." We cannot here enter minutely into the differences between the theories of these precursors of Darwin and that propounded by Darwin himself, but the elder Darwin seems to have come so near to the theory afterwards elaborated by his grandson, that we may devote a short space to his views. Krause says of him:—

"He was the first who proposed, and consistently carried out, a well-rounded theory with regard to the development of the living world, a merit which shines forth most brilliantly, when we compare with it the vacillating and confused attempts of Buffon, Linnæus and Goethe. It is the idea of a power working from within the organisms, to improve their natural position, and thus out of the impulses of individual needs to work towards the perfection of Nature as a whole."*

In his "Zoonomia," after pointing out the changes which occur in animals through *cultivation*, as in the case of horses, dogs, pigeons, &c., he goes on to say that similarity of structure shows that they have alike been produced from a similar living filament, adding:—

* "Life of Erasmus Darwin," by Ernest Krause, p. 211.

“From thus meditating on the great similarity of structure of the warm-blooded animals, and, at the same time, of the great changes they undergo both before and after their nativity, and by considering in how minute a portion of time many of the changes of animals have been produced, would it be too bold to imagine, that in the great length of time since the earth began to exist—perhaps millions of ages before the commencement of the history of mankind—would it be too bold to imagine that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament, which the Great First Cause endued with animality, with the power of acquiring new parts, attended with new propensities, directed by irritations, sensations, volitions and associations, and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down those improvements by generation to its posterity, world without end.”*

“Cold-blooded animals,” he says, “as the fish tribes, bear a great similarity to each other, but differ so much from warm-blooded animals that it may not seem probable, at the first view, that the same living filament could have given origin to this kingdom of animals; yet there are some creatures which unite or partake of both these orders of animation, as the whale and seals; and more particularly the frog, who changes from an aquatic animal furnished with gills to an aerial one furnished with lungs.”†

He then goes on to discuss the changes which insects undergo in their progress to maturity, and lastly, includes vegetables among the inferior orders of animals, and concludes thus:—

“Shall we then say that the vegetable living filament was originally different from that of each tribe of animals above described? and that the productive living filament of each of those tribes was different originally from the other? or, as the earth and ocean were probably peopled with vegetable productions long before the existence of animals, and many families of these animals, long before other families of them, shall we conjecture that one and the same kind of living filaments is and has been the cause of all organic life?”

Here we certainly get the theory of evolution; and if we study the works of this eminent man more fully we shall be struck still more by the wonderful insight he had into the origin of things. Krause says truly:—

“In him we find the same indefatigable spirit of research and almost the same biological tendency as in his grandson, and we might, not without justice, assert that the latter has succeeded to an intellectual inheritance, and carried out a programme sketched forth and left behind by his grandfather. Almost every single work of the younger Darwin may be paralleled by at least a chapter in the works of his ancestor; the mysteries of heredity, adaptation, the protective arrangements of animals and plants, sexual selection, insectivorous plants, and

* “*Zoonomia*,” p. 514, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*

the analysis of the emotions and sociological impulses, nay, even the studies on infants, are to be found already discussed in the writings of the elder Darwin.*

What then, it will be said, has caused the grandson to be placed on a pedestal so much higher than that attained by his grandsire? Here again we may quote Krause for an answer:—“It is one thing to establish hypotheses and theories out of the fulness of one’s fancy, even when supported by a very considerable knowledge of Nature, and another to demonstrate them by an enormous number of facts, and carry them to such a degree of probability as to satisfy those most capable of judging.”† Dr. Erasmus Darwin was well aware of the value and necessity of experiments, for he says, in an apology prefixed to “The Botanic Garden:”—

“It may be proper here to apologize for many of the subsequent conjectures on some articles of natural philosophy, as not being supported by research, investigation, or conclusive experiments. Extravagant theories, however, in those parts of philosophy where our knowledge is yet imperfect, are not without their use; as they encourage the execution of laborious experiments, or the investigation of ingenious deductions, to confirm or refute them. And since natural objects are allied to each other by many affinities, every kind of theoretic distribution of them adds to our knowledge, by developing some of their analogies.”‡

In fact, Erasmus Darwin was a theorist, and scarcely more; his theories came wonderfully near to the truth as revealed by his grandson, but they were only guesses, unsupported by those scientific facts which he himself saw to be necessary to their acceptance. Hence, as Krause says: “Dr. Erasmus Darwin could not satisfy his contemporaries with his physio-philosophical ideas; he was a century ahead of them, and was in consequence obliged to put up with seeing people shrug their shoulders when they spoke of his wild and eccentric fancies, and the expression “Darwinising” was accepted in England nearly as the antithesis of sober biological investigations.”

Charles Darwin, on the contrary, was eminently practical; he accepted nothing until he had weighed it in the balance of reason and looked at it from every point of view. Every fact, for or against, is brought to bear upon his theories; he takes his readers into his confidence in everything, and tells them *why* he has come to a certain conclusion on a given point. As an example, we may quote a passage from the Introduction to his “Variation

* “Life of Erasmus Darwin,” by Ernest Krause, p. 132. Translated by W. S. Dallas,

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 135.

of Animals and Plants under Domestication." Speaking of his visit to the Galapagos, and of the general American type of the fauna and flora, varying in each island, whilst these islands yet appeared to be of geologically recent origin, he says:—

"I fancied myself brought near to the very act of creation. I often asked myself how these many peculiar animals and plants had been produced? The simplest answer seemed to be that the inhabitants of the several islands had descended from each other, undergoing modifications in the course of their descent, and that all the inhabitants of the archipelago had descended from those of the nearest land, namely America, whence colonists would naturally have been derived. But it long remained to me an inexplicable problem how the necessary degree of modification could have been effected; and it would have thus remained for ever, had I not studied domestic productions, and thus acquired a just idea of the power of selection. As soon as I had fully realized this idea I saw, on reading Malthus on Population, that natural selection was the inevitable result of the rapid increase of all organic beings; for I was prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence by having long studied the habits of animals."

It is the formulation of this law which Darwin has termed "Natural Selection," but which has perhaps been more felicitously named by Mr. Herbert Spencer "The Survival of the Fittest," a term accepted by Darwin as synonymous, which has given the name of Darwin such wide-spread renown, for this is the pivot upon which all his theories turn. Evolution, as we have seen, was theoretically known to the elder Darwin, to Lamarck, and more obscurely to Buffon, Linnæus and Goethe, but Darwin alone has found the law upon which evolution depends. It is this law only which satisfactorily explains, not alone the advances in the chain of beings, but also that which would otherwise be an inexplicable anomaly, the degradation observable in many forms. On this subject Darwin writes thus:—

"As natural selection acts exclusively through the preservation of profitable modifications of structure, and as the conditions of life in each area generally become more and more complex from the increasing number of different forms which inhabit it, and from most of these forms acquiring a more and more perfect structure, we may confidently believe that, on the whole, organization advances. Nevertheless, a very simple form, fitted for very simple conditions of life, might remain for indefinite ages unaltered or unimproved; for what would it profit an infusorial animalcule, for instance, or an intestinal worm to become highly organized? Members of a high group might even become—and this apparently has occurred—fitted for simpler conditions of life; and in this case natural selection would tend to

simplify or degrade the organization, for complicated mechanism for simple actions would be useless, or even disadvantageous.”*

It is difficult to put in a concise form the exact definition of that which commonly goes by the name of Darwinism. It is Evolution based upon Natural Selection, or the Survival of the Fittest; but natural selection is very frequently supplemented by change of environment, by the use and disuse of parts, and by sexual selection, producing variations affecting one sex only which latter is supposed to have been the chief factor in causing the superior strength, and in increasing the effectiveness of offensive weapons among the males of various animals, and the greater amount of ornamentation, especially among birds. Darwin himself defines his theory as—

“the doctrine of Malthus applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive, and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex, and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of inheritance any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form.”†

In another place he says—

“Let it be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other, and to their physical conditions of life, and consequently what infinitely varied diversities of structure might be of use to each being under changing conditions of life. Can it then be thought improbable, seeing that variations useful to man have undoubtedly occurred, that other variations, useful in some way to each being in the great and complex battle of life, should occur in the course of many successive generations? If such do occur, can we doubt—remembering that many more individuals are born than can possibly survive—that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others, would have the best chance of surviving and of procreating their kind? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any variation in the least degree injurious would be rigidly destroyed. This preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the destruction of those which are injurious, I have called Natural Selection, or the Survival of the Fittest. Variations neither useful nor injurious would not be affected by natural selection, and would be left either a fluctuating element, as perhaps we see in certain polymorphic species,

* “Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication,” p. 8. Introduction.

† “Origin of Species,” sixth edition. Introduction, p. 3.

or would ultimately become fixed, owing to the nature of the organism and the nature of the conditions.”*

Having thus found a law apparently applicable to all life, whether animal or vegetable, Darwin proceeds to test its truth by an extraordinary number of experiments, and by the observations of competent observers everywhere. Domestic animals of course come first under notice, and the extraordinary variations produced in these by human agency are carefully noted and described; the numerous breeds of pigeons, dogs, sheep, pigs, horses and cattle, are commented upon as showing how far variability may be carried, and the same result is traced in cultivated plants. These things are brought forward to prove that there is, both in animals and plants, a natural tendency to vary according to their surrounding, and that, therefore, there is no improbability in their having done so naturally during the many thousands of generations through which all must have passed, and that the accumulated variations in every possible direction, necessary to enable animals and plants to compete successfully with each other in the struggle for existence, have resulted in the innumerable species which now fill the world. These he traces downwards through the long geological ages, till he finds, as he believes, that animals are descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number, adding:—

“Analogy would lead me one step farther—namely, to the belief that all animals and plants are descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a doubtful guide. Nevertheless, all living things have much in common, in their chemical composition, their cellular structure, their laws of growth, and their liability to injurious influences. . . . With all organic beings, excepting, perhaps, some of the very lowest, sexual reproduction seems to be essentially similar. With all, as far as is at present known, the germinal vesicle is the same; so that all organisms start from a common origin. If we look even to the two main divisions—namely, to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, certain low forms are so far intermediate in character that naturalists have disputed to which kingdom they should be referred. . . . Therefore, on the principle of natural selection with divergence of character, it does not seem incredible that, from some such low and intermediate form both animals and plants may have been developed; and if we admit this, we must likewise admit that all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth may be descended from some one primordial form. . . . No doubt it is possible, as Mr. G. H. Lewes has urged, that at the first commencement of life many different forms were evolved; but, if so, we may conclude that only a very few

* “Origin of Species,” sixth edition, chap. iv. p. 63.

have left modified descendants. For, as I have recently remarked in regard to the members of each great kingdom, such as the vertebrata, articulata, &c., we have distinct evidence in their embryological, homologous and rudimentary structures, that within each kingdom all the members are descended from a single progenitor."*

We thus see that Darwin's theories do not include spontaneous generation, which had been accepted theoretically by his grandfather, who wrote in his "Botanic Garden":—

"Hence without parent, by spontaneous birth
Rise the first specks of animated earth."

It is evident that spontaneous generation once admitted, would, to a certain extent, interfere with and invalidate Darwin's theory, since by it new forms of life might perpetually arise; and although these might, and would of necessity, belong to the lowest and most simple of organisms, yet their tendency would be to break that continuous chain of being which Darwin would trace from the eozoon to man, unbroken through the long geologic periods to our own days. Hence he says: "As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Cambrian epoch, we may feel certain, that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world."†

Darwin, indeed, does not attempt to define or explain the mystery of the *Origin of Life*. He starts with a few simple forms endowed with the vital principle, and with the possibilities of variation, in accordance with their several necessities, and from these he sees arise in a continuous succession, by constant, slight and cumulative modifications, all the forms of life, both animal and vegetable, at present existing or long since extinct upon the globe; and from the past he prophesies the future.

"Judging from the past," he says, "we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distant futurity. And of the species now living very few will transmit progeny of any kind to a far distant futurity; for the manner in which all organic beings are grouped, shows that the greater number of species in each genus, and all the species in many genera, have left no descendants, but have become utterly extinct. We can so far take a prophetic glance into futurity as to foretell that it will be the common and widely-spread species, belonging to the larger and dominant groups within each class, which will ultimately prevail, and procreate new and dominant species."‡

We have thus given, as far as possible, Darwin's grand theory

* "Origin of Species," sixth edition, chap. xv. p. 425.

† *Ibid.* p. 428.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 428.

of the Origin of Species, a theory accepted in all its fulness by the vast majority of biologists of the present day, but which was at first received with that distrust, ridicule and blind prejudice which are sure to assail new ideas, especially when those new ideas in any way trench upon opinions long accepted as orthodox. It is not necessary to recall the incredulity with which the discoveries of Galileo, Newton, and other philosophers and discoverers have been received, and it is easy to see that a theory which even more directly attacked the supposed teaching of the Bible would be even more violently opposed; we need not, therefore, be surprised to find page after page of the Catalogue of the British Museum filled with works controverting the theory of Darwin, chiefly from the religious standpoint. To all these attacks the philosopher turned a deaf ear, his adversaries were allowed to air their opinions, and in many instances to show their total ignorance of the doctrine they were in so much haste to refute. Even great naturalists do not appear to have always clearly apprehended the Darwinian theory, as is apparent from a letter which appeared in *Nature* in November, 1880, after the publication of the first part of the *Challenger* reports, wherein Darwin departs from his usual rule of answering not again, and writes:—

“I am sorry to find that Sir Wyville Thomson does not understand the principle of natural selection as explained by Mr. Wallace and myself. If he had done so he could not have written the following sentence: ‘The character of the abyssal fauna refuses to give the least support to the theory which refers the evolution of species to extreme variation, guided only by natural selection.’ This is a standard of criticism not uncommonly reached by theologians and metaphysicians when they write on scientific subjects, but is something new as coming from a naturalist. Professor Huxley demurs to it in the last number of *Nature*; but he does not touch on the expression of *extreme variation*, nor on that of evolution being guided *only* by natural selection. Can Sir Wyville Thomson name any one who has said that the evolution of species depends only on natural selection? As far as concerns myself, I believe that no one has brought forward so many observations on the effects of the use and disuse of parts as I have done in my ‘Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication;’ and these observations were made for this especial object. I have likewise there adduced a considerable body of facts, showing the direct action of external conditions on organisms; though, no doubt, since my book was published much has been learnt on that head. If Sir Wyville Thomson were to visit the yard of a breeder, and saw all his cattle or sheep almost absolutely true—that is, closely similar, he would exclaim: ‘Sir, I see here no extreme variation, nor can I find any support to the belief that you have followed the principle of selection in the breeding of your animals.’ From what I formerly

saw of breeders, I have no doubt that the man thus rebuked would have smiled, and said not a word. If he had afterwards told the story to other breeders, I greatly fear that they would have used emphatic but irreverent language about naturalists."

But with all Darwin's confidence in the truth of his theory, and its power in producing the observed effects, he does not for a moment ignore the difficulties by which it is surrounded, of some of which he says: they "are so serious that to this day I can hardly reflect on them without being in some degree staggered; but to the best of my judgment, the greater number are only apparent, and those that are real, are not I think fatal to the theory."* These difficulties he classes under four heads:—

First, the absence of so many intermediate forms, which are necessary to the support of the theory.

Secondly, the possibility of one animal having been modified from another of totally different habits and form.

Thirdly, the acquisition of instincts, particularly in insect communities, in which the greater number are sterile, as ants and bees.

Fourthly, the phenomena of hybridism.

We cannot here enter into a discussion of each of these difficulties. The first, which depends upon the imperfection of the geological record, is daily being cleared away by the discovery of the requisite intermediate forms of which we have spoken earlier, and of which Professor Huxley has treated in his lecture on "The Coming of Age of the Origin of Species." The next, which bears upon the transitions of organic beings, is largely treated in the work before us, as well as the gradual acquisition of organs, such as the eye, which is found in all stages of development in different animals; and Darwin adds: "It is a significant fact that even in man, according to the high authority of Virchow, the beautiful crystalline lens is formed in the embryo by an accumulation of epidermic cells, lying in a sack-like fold of the skin; and the vitreous body is formed from embryonic subcutaneous tissue."† Of the third difficulty we treated somewhat largely in an article upon "Ants" in the last issue of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and need not now repeat what we there gave as Darwin's views of a most intricate subject.

Hybridism and sterility are dealt with in chapter ix. of the "Origin of Species," but the subject is one upon which there is confessedly much ignorance, and Darwin concludes his summary thus: "Although we are as ignorant of the precise cause of the sterility of first crosses and of hybrids, as we are why animals

* "Origin of Species," sixth edition, chap. vi. p. 133. † *Ibid.* p. 145.

and plants removed from their natural conditions become sterile, yet the facts given in this chapter do not seem to me opposed to the belief that species aboriginally existed as varieties.”*

The world in general would probably have forgiven Darwin in time for the unorthodox views expressed in the “Origin of Species,” or would have been content to consign him to the tender mercies of theologians as a hopeless heretic, had he not thought it necessary to enlarge upon a subject only lightly touched upon in that work—that is, the “Origin of Man.” But at present, nine-tenths of the people who hear the name of Darwin mentioned, exclaim, “Ah, that is the man who says, we are all descended from monkeys, but I don’t believe it.” In fact, although the “Origin of Species” naturally included in its limits the human race, yet, until the publication of “The Descent of Man” there was a lingering hope that the philosopher would allow man to remain apart—a separate creation, alone endowed with a living soul. That hope was rudely dispelled by the book above named, “The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex,” in which Darwin traces man back to “a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits, and an inhabitant of the Old World.” This creature classed among the quadrumana he derives, as well as all the higher mammals, from an—

“ancient marsupial animal; and this, through a long line of diversified forms, either from some reptile-like or some amphibian-like creature; and this, again, from some fish-like animal. In the dim obscurity of the past we can see that the early progenitor of all the vertebrata must have been an aquatic animal, provided with branchiæ, with the two sexes united in the same individual, and with the most important organs of the body—such as the brain and heart—imperfectly developed. This animal seems to have been more like the larvæ of our existing ascidians than any other known form.”†

Alas! for human pride. Thus to be traced back to a creature so very low in the scale of being, is humiliating indeed, and we cannot be surprised that henceforth Darwin was looked upon as an arch heretic, an atheist of the deepest dye. That this was anticipated by the author, is shown by the following passage:—

“I am aware that the conclusions arrived at in this work will be denounced by some as highly irreligious; but he who thus denounces them, is bound to show why it is more irreligious to explain the origin of man as a distinct species by descent from some lower form through the laws of variation and natural selection, than to explain

* “Origin of Species,” sixth edition, chap. ix. p. 263.

† “Descent of Man,” vol. ii. p. 399.

the birth of the individual through the laws of ordinary reproduction. The birth both of the species and of the individual are equally parts of that grand sequence of events, which our minds refuse to accept as the result of blind chance. The understanding revolts at such a conclusion, whether or not we are able to believe that every slight variation of structure, the union of each pair in marriage, the dissemination of each seed, and other such events have all been ordained for some special purpose.*

But, it will be asked, how can Darwin prove such an origin for man as is suggested in the not very flattering and apparently wholly fancy portrait given above? The outward likeness between man and the ape is apparent to everyone, and is still more striking when both are viewed as skeletons; bone for bone they are alike, although there are slight proportional differences, which become more striking when we compare the skulls. How are these differences explained? In the first place, we must remember that Darwin does not trace man's descent from any existing ape, but only believes that both are descended from a common extinct ancestor, the ape retaining more of the parent form than man; but he shows that the rejected appendages, such as tail and pointed ears, exist in a rudimentary, or, perhaps, more correctly, in an aborted state in man, and are more prominent in the embryo than in the adult. In fact, it is to the science of embryology that he turns in support of his theory, proving that the differences between the human embryo in an early stage and that of other mammals are so slight as to be almost imperceptible. The differences observable in the mature form he traces to natural, aided by sexual, selection. To the latter he attributes both the want of hair and its peculiarities of growth in the human race, as well as the varieties of colour and feature in the various races of man; as also the superior strength, both mentally and bodily, of the male.† His argument is, that characters admired by the female, whether bright colours or other ornaments, are acquired by the male, often becoming exaggerated to the detriment of their possessors, because it is the males thus adorned who procreate their kind, and the acquired distinction thus becomes more highly developed with each generation. Hence, it will be seen that sexual selection to a certain extent counteracts natural selection; for whereas the latter acts solely for the good of the species and its preservation, the former sometimes originates characters which

* "Descent of Man," chap. xxi. p. 396.

† It must be observed that, although Darwin's investigations lead him to a belief in the unity of the human race, he does not trace mankind to a single pair, but supposes a tribe of quadrumani to have acquired by slow degrees human characteristics.

tend to endanger their owners, as the bright colours of some animals, the heavy plumes of many male birds, the branching horns of stags, &c. &c.

Of all the human characteristics supposed to have been acquired through sexual selection, the one which appears to us the most difficult to reconcile with Darwin's theory is that of nakedness, because it would seem that some sort of covering would be as necessary to the human or semi-human mammal as to the quadrumana, which are nowhere found divested of hair excepting on the face, and, in some cases, at the posterior portion of the body. With regard to these naked patches, and similar cases in birds, the hair or feathers are supposed to have disappeared through sexual selection, in order that the bright colour of the skin might be displayed; but with man that could hardly have been a sufficient cause, the colour of the skin being always uniform. If, however, we compare the nakedness of man with that of the elephant and rhinoceros, the geological representatives of which in Europe were covered with long hair and wool, we may perhaps surmise that change of habitat may have had something to do with the denudation. We do not at present know where man first made his appearance, but we do know that he hunted the mammoth in Europe, and no earlier traces of him have been found in other continents. If, therefore, he followed the great pachyderms to Africa, the great change of climate may have had some effect in divesting him of his hairy covering, which denudation Darwin says must have taken place at a very early period, and before the several races had diverged from the common stock.* This divergence, as well as all the varieties of form and colour now to be found in the human race, Darwin also ascribes to sexual selection—that is, to the preference of the females for certain slight peculiarities, which in course of time would thus be handed down to their posterity in an exaggerated form.

Another question of far more importance is, how far the superior *mental* powers of man can be traced to evolution acting

* Darwin thinks that man probably originated in Africa. He says:—"In each great region of the world the living mammals are closely related to the extinct species of the same region. It is therefore probable that Africa was formerly inhabited by extinct apes closely allied to the gorilla and chimpanzee; and as these two species are now man's nearest allies, it is somewhat more probable that our early progenitors lived on the African continent than elsewhere. But it is useless to speculate on this subject, for two or three anthropomorphous apes, one the *dryopithecus* of Lartet, nearly as large as a man, and closely allied to *hylobates*, existed in Europe during the miocene age; and since so remote a period the earth has certainly undergone many great revolutions, and there has been ample time for migrations on the largest scale.—*Descent of Man*, p. 155.

through natural or sexual selection? Darwin has not been unmindful of the difficulties surrounding this momentous question, respecting which he writes:—

“The greatest difficulty which presents itself, when we are driven to the above conclusion on the origin of man, is the high standard of intellectual power and of moral disposition which he has attained. But every one who admits the general principle of evolution, must see that the mental powers of the higher animals, which are the same in kind with those of mankind, though so different in degree, are capable of advancement. Thus, the interval between the mental powers of one of the higher apes and a fish, or between those of an ant and scale-insect, is immense. The development of these powers in animals does not offer any special difficulty; for with our domesticated animals, the mental faculties are certainly variable, and the variations are inherited. No one doubts that these faculties are of the utmost importance to animals in a state of Nature. Therefore, the conditions are favourable for their development through natural selection. The same conclusion may be extended to man; the intellect must have been all-important to him, even at a very remote period, enabling him to use language, to invent and make weapons, tools, traps, &c.; by which means, in combination with his social habits, he long ago became the most dominant of all living creatures.”*

He then proceeds to trace the large size of man's brain as compared with that of the lower animals to the early use of language, and his superior moral qualities to his social instincts, believing these also to have been acquired through natural selection. Upon this subject he remarks:—

“The moral nature of man has reached the highest standard as yet attained, partly through the advancement of the reasoning powers, and consequently of a just public opinion, but especially through the sympathies being rendered more tender and widely diffused through the effects of habit, example, instruction and reflection. It is not improbable that virtuous tendencies may, through long practice, be inherited. With the more civilized races, the conviction of the existence of an all-seeing Deity has had a potent influence on the advancement of morality. Ultimately, man no longer accepts the praise or blame of his fellows as his chief guide, though few escape this influence, but his habitual convictions, controlled by reason, afford him the safest rule. His conscience then becomes his supreme judge and monitor. Nevertheless, the first foundation or origin of the moral sense lies in the social instincts, including sympathy; and these instincts, no doubt, were primarily gained, as in the case of the lower animals, through natural selection.”†

It will thus be seen that Darwin looks upon natural selection as capable of producing the most marvellous and diverse effects,

* “Descent of Man,” chap. xxi. p. 390.

† *Ibid.*, p. 394.
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not only on the bodily form of organized beings, but also upon their mental and moral faculties. Upon this point there will be many to join issue with him, for even those who might be willing to accept the doctrine of evolution as regards the material form, will demur to it where intellect and morality are concerned. For ourselves, we have always held that the mental faculties of animals differ from those of man in degree only, as we have before pointed out in an article in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, on "Animal Intelligence." We believe, also, that every unprejudiced observer will find the rudiments of the moral qualities developed in many of the higher animals. Conscience, sympathy, affection, constancy, are certainly not wanting in the dog, and may be found in other animals, as exhibited towards their own kind; and many facts bearing upon this subject have been brought forward by Darwin in his book upon the "Expression of the Emotions." But this interesting and important work we must perforce pass over for the present, with only a bare allusion, in order to glance lightly at his latest publication, "The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms." It has been noticed in the biographical portion of this article that the earliest and latest of Darwin's observations seem to have been largely devoted to these lowly organisms and their work in Nature; and this patient research into objects apparently so insignificant and uninteresting is eminently characteristic of the man. To him nothing was "common and unclean." He saw in all things a fitness for the work assigned to them by Nature, and estimated more correctly than any before him the great work accomplished by minor agents; thus, he calculates that, "In many parts of England a weight of more than ten tons of dry earth annually passes through the bodies of worms and is brought to the surface on each acre of land; so that the whole superficial bed of vegetable mould passes through their bodies in the course of every few years."*

Who but Darwin would have had the patience to make such calculations, to spend years in weighing the castings of worms, studying their habits and discovering their uses, until he is able to prove, that not only is the earth made fertile by the action of these much despised creatures, in constantly bringing fresh earth to the surface, and making it friable, but that they also bear a considerable part in the denudation so constantly going on everywhere; their castings being blown by the wind to lower levels, thus helping to fill up the valleys, and to lower the drainage area to an appreciable extent. He also shows how much they have helped to bury ancient monuments, and to undermine those walls and monuments, the foundations of which

* "Vegetable Mould," chap. vii. p. 385.

are not below their range. As regards the worms themselves, Darwin claims for them a certain amount of reason, for he finds by many minute observations that their actions are not invariable, as would be the case if guided only by instinct, but are changed to suit new surroundings. Thus, leaves which they have not before been familiar with, are treated according to their form, and almost always drawn into their burrows by the narrow end, unless they are required to serve as food, when sometimes they are pulled in by the base; for it must be observed that the plugs of leaves, which we have all seen in worm burrows, serve a twofold purpose—they are used to line the upper part of the burrow to exclude cold and enemies, and they are also stored as food; and it is the admixture of these digested leaves and the earth swallowed by the worms which forms that rich black mould so much esteemed in agriculture. Their intelligence would indeed seem to be considerable, especially when we remember that they can neither see nor hear, although they appear to possess a certain amount of taste, preferring some leaves to others, and can distinguish light from darkness; they are also affected by vibrations, whether produced by striking the ground or by a musical note; they can smell only faintly, but the sense of touch is well developed. It is curious to note here, that Dr. Erasmus Darwin, like his grandson, took considerable interest in worms, and the following extract from the "Zoonomia" will not be without interest:—

"Many of the subterranean insects, as the common worms, seem to retreat so deep into the earth as not to be enlivened or awakened by the difference of our winter days, and stop up their holes with leaves or straws to prevent the frosts from injuring them or the centipes from devouring them. The habits of peace or the stratagems of war of these subterranean nations are covered from our view; but a friend of mine prevailed on a distressed worm to enter the hole of another worm on a bowling-green, and he presently returned much wounded about the head. And I once saw a worm rise hastily out of the earth into the sunshine, and observed a centipes hanging at his tail; the centipes nimbly quitted the tail, and seizing the worm about the middle, cut it in half with its forceps, and preyed upon one part while the other escaped; which evinces they have design in stopping the mouths of their habitation. Go, proud reasoner, and call the worm thy sister!"*

Here, again, as in so many other instances, Darwin appears to have taken up his grandfather's ideas and to have worked them out by patient and elaborate observations into valuable scientific facts; the same may be said with regard to his work on "The Expressions of the Emotions," and those valuable botanical

* "Zoonomia," Erasmus Darwin, section xvi. p. 186.

works, of which we have not room to treat fully. In fact, all Darwin's works read like commentaries upon texts supplied by his grandfather. Erasmus Darwin suggests that plants possess some degree of volition, and Charles Darwin works out the idea into scientific form in his "Habits of Climbing Plants." Erasmus Darwin had noticed the irritability of the *mimosa*, *dionæ*, &c., and that some plants imprisoned insects which alighted on their leaves. Charles Darwin works out the idea in his book upon "Insectivorous Plants," showing that these actions are analogous to the taking of prey by animals, and serve in like manner to supply them also with food. It is not surprising, when we see the close connection between the crude ideas of the grandsire and the finished work of the grandson, that there should be found some to accuse the latter of having borrowed, without acknowledgment, the ideas of the former. To this accusation, as to all others, Darwin gives the most practical and efficient answer without condescending to notice the charge. In the Biography of Erasmus Darwin, appended as a preface to Krause's work, to which we have before referred, not only does he give to his grandfather the full credit of all the discoveries assigned to him by Krause, but the only grain of bitterness to be found throughout his writings, is expended upon Miss Seward, whom he regards as having, in her "Biography of Erasmus Darwin," wilfully detracted from the fair fame of the man whom she professed to regard as a friend. For his own opponents and detractors he has nothing but courtesy and a silence which is "golden," but the memory of the dead ancestor must be respected and cleared from undeserved reproach.

Before closing this article, which, although long, is altogether too brief for the subject, we must mention two or three more works of the great naturalist which would have sufficed to make him famous had they not been eclipsed by others better known. These are the "Monograph on Cirripedia," published in two volumes by the Ray Society, and full, as usual, of interesting and accurate observations upon creatures little known and less regarded by the world in general; the "Fertilization of Orchids," published in 1862; "Cross and Self-Fertilization," 1875; "Different Forms of Flowers in Plants of the same Species," 1877; and the "Movements of Plants," 1880. The four latter works, all bearing upon botanical subjects, are of great and varied interest, but their consideration must be reserved for future comment.

In his "Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication," which Darwin looked upon as only the first instalment of that great work of which the "Origin of Species" was but the abstract, he promised in a second work to treat of the "Variation of Organisms in a state of Nature, of the struggle for existence

and the principle of natural selection, discussing the difficulties which are opposed to the theory ;” and in a third to “try the principle of natural selection by seeing how far it will give a fair explanation of the several classes of facts alluded to.”* We may therefore hope that, in addition to the “Autobiography” which we are led to expect, there may be in store for the world other posthumous works of immense scientific value. Meanwhile, it only remains for the reviewer to sum up the results of those works which have already appeared, and these, perhaps, are best expressed in the words of the address presented to their author by the Yorkshire Naturalists’ Union, in November, 1880 :—

“One of the most important results of your long-continued labours, and one for which you will be remembered with honour and reverence as long as the human intellect exerts itself in the pursuit of natural knowledge, is the scientific basis you have given to the grand doctrine of evolution. Other naturalists, as you yourself have shown, had endeavoured to unravel the questions that had arisen respecting the origin, classification and distribution of organic beings, and had even obtained faint glimpses of the transformation of specific forms. But it was left to you to show almost to demonstration, the variations which species of plants and animals exhibit, and in natural selection through the struggle for existence, we have causes at once natural, universal and effective, which of themselves are competent not only to explain the existence of the present races of living beings, but also to connect with them and with one another, the long array of extinct forms with which the palæontologist has made us familiar. Further, the Yorkshire naturalists are anxious to place on record their firm conviction that in the care, the patience and the scrupulous conscientiousness with which all your researches have been conducted ; in the ingenuity of the experiments you have devised, and in the repeated verifications to which your results have been submitted by your own hands, you have furnished an example of the true method of biological inquiry that succeeding generations will deem it an honour to follow ; and that cannot but lead to still further conquests in the domain of organic nature.”†

This is, doubtless, the light in which Darwin and his works are regarded by all men of science, in every civilized country throughout the world ; and the marvellous change of opinion concerning both, which was manifest at the philosopher’s funeral, had been sufficiently marked in 1880, for Professor Huxley, in his lecture on “The Coming of Age of the Origin of Species,” to warn his hearers from accepting Darwin’s theories, without criticism ; for he says :—

“In another twenty years, the new generation educated under the influence of the present day, will be in danger of accepting the main doctrine of the ‘Origin of Species’ with as little reflection, and it may be with as little justification, as so many of our contemporaries twenty

* “Variation of Animals and Plants,” p. 9.

† *Nature*, Nov. 1880.

years ago rejected them. Against any such consummation let us all devoutly pray, for the scientific spirit is of more value than its products, and irrationally held truths may be more harmful than reasoned errors.”*

That Darwin's views have revolutionized scientific inquiry in every branch of natural history is evident, but even in those sciences upon which he has not himself laboured his influence has been felt, and as his biographer in *Nature* says: “The spirit of Mr. Darwin's teaching may be traced all through the literature of science.” Vague theories and speculations have no longer any chance of acceptance, for science requires, thanks to Darwin's teaching, *facts* to support any new idea.

We have thought it advisable in this article to allow the great philosopher to speak for himself as much as possible, convinced that it is only by copious extracts that the true scope and meaning of his immortal works can be understood and appreciated.

How far the theories of Darwin will stand the test of time, it is impossible now to say; they doubtless have in them a considerable amount of truth, and truth which is only confirmed, and strengthened by every fresh discovery in geology, palæontology, botany, zoology and embryology, and therefore we may fearlessly predict that they will never be wholly superseded, but in detail there may be much to learn and unlearn. It may be found that Darwin has laid too much stress upon natural and sexual selection, and especially the latter, and that other forces, at present unknown, have aided and accelerated the process of evolution; but this is what he himself anticipated, for he neither desired nor expected that all his views would be accepted as final. He is constantly using such expressions as “according to my judgment,” “as far as we know at present,” &c. &c. But of his main theory he entertains, no doubt. He says:—

“Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate study and dispassionate judgment of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists until recently entertained, and which I formerly entertained, namely, that each species has been independently created, is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are not immutable, but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that natural selection has been the most important, but not the exclusive means of modification.”†

Thus far we believe all naturalists, or nearly all, at the present day, are prepared to follow him. And here we might be content to leave the great philosopher until his posthumous works shall

* *Nature*, Nov. 1880. † “Origin of Species,” sixth edition, p. 4.

again bring him prominently before the public ; but the concluding paragraph of his great work sums up so beautifully, and in so terse a manner, the views of the writer, and gives such an excellent idea of his mental qualifications, that we feel constrained to quote it :—

“ It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being growth with reproduction ; inheritance which is almost implied by reproduction ; variability from the indirect and direct action of the conditions of life, and from use and disuse ; a ratio of increase so high as to lead to a struggle for life, and, as a consequence, to natural selection entailing divergence of character, and the extinction of less improved forms. Thus, from the war of Nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms, or into one, and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been, and are being, evolved.”*

ART. V.—KANT'S MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

Immanuel Kant's Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten und Kritik der praktischen Vernunft. Herausgegeben von KARL ROSENKRANZ. Leipzig : Leopold Voss. 1838.

IN a previous number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW † we endeavoured to show that, whatever originality in conception or ingenuity in resource Kant may have exhibited in his “ Kritik of the Practical Reason,” he had failed to create a self-consistent and demonstrably valid Moral Science. To reconstruct Theology on the insecure basis of his Ethical Argument was the supplementary procedure of the Philosopher of Pure Reason. In the present article, which should be regarded as the natural sequel of the preceding papers, we shall attempt to indicate the cardinal phases and estimate the value of this theological superstructure.

* “Origin of Species,” sixth edition, p. 429.

† See Art. I. No. cxviii., April, 1881 ; in which for *avowed by*, p. 358, line 23, read *avowedly* ; and for *authentic*, p. 353, line 9 from the bottom, read *antithetic*.

This extension of moral philosophy from the purely ethical to the religious domain has an apparent origin in Kant's initial assumption of a supersensuous universe. The intellect, he argued, has but a limited range ; it is cognizant only of sensible objects. The Will, on the contrary, an emanation of our intelligible or supermundane being, has the privilege of communicating with the world beyond sense, the world of Transcendent realities. It enables us, not indeed to *know* that world, but to *apprehend* it, to will and act in perfect independence of all sensuous impulse.

Thus characterized, Kant's conception of Free Will is a derivative from his *parent* conception of the Noumenon, or Thing-in-Itself. Kant explains that we know only phenomena, but that through the self-activity of the Reason we obscurely divine our relation to the Intelligible world. As a denizen of the sensible world, man is a phenomenon, and, like all phenomena, subject to the laws of Nature,—a link in the chain of causes and effects. But as an Intelligence endowed with a Will and, consequently, Causality, man is free from the coercion of natural law. Like that higher world to which, in virtue of his rational essence, he belongs, man is emancipated from the restrictions of Time and Space, unaffected by the law of causation. His volition is uncaused. Of the Noumenal Man and the Noumenal World we know nothing, and can know nothing. The Noumenal Man has the power to act, and the Phenomenal Man lies under the obligation to act in conformity to the requisitions of the Moral Law ; and thus Man the Noumenon *imposes* the imperative of duty on Man the Phenomenon.

The word is an echo to the thought. Is not this indeed a metaphysical *imposition* ? Men, who live in the stream of phenomena, amid the accidents of time and space, driven by impulses, passions, ideas, having relation to this world, wherein, as Wordsworth says, "We find our happiness or not at all," are referred to a world which has no affinity with it, to a region where there is no such causality as that which we know, to an ontological Somewhat, to a mysterious Principle of Liberty, a Will which cannot consistently be held responsible, and whose supernatural history defies the deciphering powers of the most sagacious of hieroglyphical interpreters. Kant himself confesses that the idea of Liberty, in this sense, cannot be shown to be in accordance with any analogy from experience. The Liberty of Kant denotes entire independence of all determinate causes, and where determination according to law ceases, all explanation is impossible. Freedom, we are told, cannot be demonstrated. We may expatiate on the INTELLIGIBLE WORLD, but we cannot grasp its realities. We may have an idea of it, but we cannot have any knowledge of it. The determination of the Will by Reason, as the efficient cause, in a sphere where natural law is unknown, is

an insoluble problem. The WILL of the spiritual world is what Emerson might call an "unbarrellable commodity;" it is an artful dodger, a metaphysical slyboots, skulking in intangible premises, hiding behind the wall of hypothesis, and sheltering an unsubstantial form under the moulting wing of a visionary Reason. No wonder Kant is forced to acknowledge that we cannot comprehend the Categorical Imperative, that we can only comprehend its incomprehensibility!

Approaching the subject more in detail, we object *in limine* to the unnecessary distinction between the Reason and the Understanding. There is no separate faculty for the generation of ideas; there is no necessity for manufacturing such a faculty, to account for concepts perfectly explicable through the data afforded by experience. According to Kant's own acknowledgment the concept which he calls the Thing-in-Itself is a mere limiting concept. The Thing-in-Itself is, in itself, a problem. It is not accessible through the Categories, but through the pure Reason only. One of Kant's critics* says, very sensibly, as we think, "What is not in Space and not in Time; what has neither plurality, nor unity, nor reality, nor universality, nor negation, nor limitation, nor substance, nor inherence, nor causality, nor dependence, nor reciprocity, nor community; what is neither possible, nor actual, nor necessary, is—Nothing." If it *were* accessible through the Categories we should still object to the process, because we hold the Table to be defective. Zeller—the impartial Zeller—sees many a flaw in it, and questions whether, in reality, there is either necessity or possibility for any such exact correspondence between the arrangements of Nature and these logical pigeon-holes, as Kant assumes. Under the head of *Quantity*, von Reichlin-Meldegg complains of the general inappropriateness of this supposed formative element; under that of *Quality*, he rejects the category of Limitation, alleging that Reality and Negation are the sole predicaments required; while under that of *Relation* he pronounces Reciprocity superfluous, as belonging properly to the concept of Causality and Dependence. Kirchmann, again, observing that the Table in the Practical Reason is forcibly modelled on that in the "Critique of Pure Reason," objects that under *Quantity Pleasure* is made the starting-point, though Kant himself ostracised Pleasure from the domain of Free Will. A similar observation applies to the Maxims coerced into the category of *Quality*, while the *Permissible*, sheltering itself under that of *Modality*, is quite a new concept, and in the sense here put on it, has no connection whatever with Freedom.

Though not altogether on our side, Professor Zeller is scarcely

* Von Reichlin-Meldegg, "System der Logik."

inclined to let Kant off more easily than we are. To begin at the beginning. He is dissatisfied with Kant's peremptory assertion that things in their essence are absolutely incognizable, and he objects that if the Thing-in-Itself be absolutely unknowable—if we have no notion, however imperfect, of *what* it is, if it have no conceivable relation to us—we have no right to affirm that it exists at all; and he adds that if Kant believed it to be literally unknowable, he should have allowed the problem of its existence to remain an unsettled question. But the cardinal objection, and that which is fatal to the doctrine, is that after having ruled that Causality is a category applicable to *phenomena* only, Kant applies it with glaring inconsistency to the *noumenal* sphere, to the Thing-in-Itself, to What is out of space and out of time.

But we have not yet exhausted this topic. The World of *Noumena* is that of Freedom; the World of Phenomena that of Necessity. To obviate the difficulty arising from the circumstance that the same action would, according to this representation, have two causes, Kant sets aside the distinction between *external* and *internal* causes, alleging that as both occur in Time, both alike come under the law of Necessity and Causality, while in the same breath he denies Time to the Intelligible world, and so fancies that he gets rid of the inconsistency. He further tries to meet the contradiction of having two independent causes for the same effect, by contemplating the entire series of human actions from the cradle to the grave, as one single phenomenon, as the consequence of the Noumenon or Intelligible character, and accordingly as our own spontaneous act, or *realized freedom*. By making a distinction between the Intelligible and the Empirical Kant supposed that the freedom of individual action was saved. Schopenhauer saw that the result was impossible. He accordingly placed Freedom in the Intelligible character exclusively. But if with Kant and Schopenhauer we take away Time, there can be no movement, no change, no action, no freedom.*

The same distinction enables Kant to meet the objection that God as Creator co-operates in human wrong-doing; for God creates men only as *noumena*, and not as phenomena; and as Creator God has no concern with their sensible but only with their Intelligible existence. Their sensible existence, then, is not to be regarded as the cause of their actions in time, actions being *phenomena*. With all respect to Kant, we ask what is this but a metaphysical juggle? Assuredly the phenomena are recognized as the effect of the noumena, and if God is not the immediate He is at any rate the *mediate* cause of human action.

The Freedom of the Will is invoked by Kant to justify what he

* Kirchmann.

calls the *Synthetic* use of the Practical Reason. Judgments, he tells us, are either *a priori*, that is, not derived from experience, or *a posteriori*, derived from experience; either analytic, dependent on experience, or synthetic, independent of experience. Kant maintained that in synthetic judgments the predicate is not included in the subject, but is superadded, and enlarges our knowledge. We cannot admit this. The difference really depends on the universality or limitation of the concept of the subject. A determinate subject is the sum of its predicates; a determinate predicate lies in the subject, and must be taken out of it. The mark which makes the concept universal is found in the concept. The judgment appears to be synthetic, appears to impart additional information, because the sign or name applied to the universal concept is applied also to an individual. Kant's example of an analytic judgment is, "All bodies are extended;" of a synthetic judgment, "All bodies are heavy." But the *weight* of a body surely belongs to the concept of a body. Weight is as essentially an attribute of a body as extension. The definition of a body includes extension; it also includes weight. With the progress of knowledge the concept expands. In every case we put into the concept what we find in experience or infer from it. The concept grows as our knowledge grows.

In the Kantian philosophy, *a priori* cognitions are declared to be independent of all experience. Are there, in reality, any such cognitions? As an example of pure judgments, *a priori* Kant instances the mathematical ideas; ideas which with justice, holiness, free will, and the like, Coleridge regarded as eternal verities, revealed by the organ of the *Inner Sense*. Points, lines, squares, circles, are thus supposed to pre-exist in the mind, which has the power, it is assumed, of elaborating a science wholly unrelated to our objective experience.

The science of Geometry is founded on hypotheses. Hypothetical ideas are couched in hyperbolic language; but we must not allow ourselves to be misled by a permissible rhetorical exaggeration. Reasoning on extension we may drop out of our mental sight all that is unnecessary to the present purpose. If we desire to eliminate a dimension we can conceive it as becoming fine by degrees and beautifully less, till the tenuity attained is so extreme that it ceases to be practically observable. The ideas of a surface, a line and a point are all acquired by this repeated process of reduction. If we reason about a line we can discard the consideration of breadth, but we can form no mental image of a line that has literally no breadth.

Two propositions are cited as illustrations of the *a priori* origin of geometrical axioms. Two right lines cannot enclose a space, and two straight lines which cut each other cannot both be parallel. But are not these propositions corollaries from the

definition of straight lines? Does not all our experience from childhood to old age testify that when uniformity of direction ceases straightness ceases, that there is no direct progress from one given point to another if we refuse to conform to this principle of unity of advance. In a science of contingent relations, such as mechanics, the inductive derivation of its truths from experience is still more conspicuously and more undeniably evident.*

As an instance of an *a priori* non-empirical truth, in the sphere of our ordinary intellectual operations, Kant adduces the familiar aphorism, "All Change must have a cause." In the "Critique of Pure Reason," however, he admits that Change is a concept derivable from experience only; so that, even if it be *a priori*, it is, at any rate, not pure, and if it can only be got out of experience, it is evidently *a priori* only in some qualified sense.

According to Kant, Pure Mathematics and General Physics are impossible without the aid of *a priori* cognitions. Geometry is the science which determines the properties of Space. Arithmetic is based on the intuition of Time. Mathematical Science, no doubt, presupposes Space and Time, but Space and Time are given with their objects. They are not, as Kant maintains, purely subjective; they are objective also. They imply co-existence and succession; the co-existence and succession of *objects* becomes the co-existence and succession of *sensations*; the co-existence and succession of mental states having its parallelism in the co-existence and succession of phenomena. To feel what is out of us we do not require a pre-conception of THE EXTERNAL. The external is present in the object. To experience successive states we must not presuppose THE SUCCESSIVE. The idea of *succession* originates in the feeling of separate successive states.†

But propositions must not only be synthetic and *a priori*; they must also be universal and necessary. In a qualified sense, necessity and universality may be predicated of propositions not embodying the truths of mathematical science but truths suggested by the data of experience. The necessary truths of mathematics owe their character to strict legitimacy of inference. They are implicated in the hypothesis from which they are unfolded. The laws of Nature have also the character of universality and necessity, but of a universality and necessity which do not transcend experience. Truths which involve the elements of all knowledge, truths which are omnipresent in experience, truths which are ever confronted with reality, and never contradicted by it, are in a very emphatic, if qualified sense, necessary and

* Sir John Herschel, see note in J. S. Mill's "Logic."

† Von Reichlin-Meldegg's "Logik."

universal. Dr. Whewell, who admits that as an historical fact the Laws of Motion were collected from experience, nevertheless asserts that the First Law might have been known independently of experience. This avowal is very significant. The *a priori* derivation for which he contends—the demonstrable *necessity* which he recognizes—is a fanciful addition to the necessity and universality which we advocate. It is a mirage raised by the magical power of association on the glowing surface of mental emotion. The ultimate uniformities of Nature, the Law of Gravity, the Conservation of Forces, and that sovereign uniformity, the Law of Causation, all possess the attributes of *relative* universality and necessity. The continuity of physical causes is attested through our geological and cosmical experience of past time; gravitation extends to systems incalculably remote. The equilibrium of forces, it has been said, is the fundamental condition of all existence. Phenomena that can be detected in the planet Neptune, or the belt of Jupiter, or the nebula of Orion, are dependent on forces which are permanent, and if the forces be permanent the phenomena are *necessary*.* In this sense Time and Space are necessary and universal, and in no other. As with Kant the Sensory faculty has two *a priori* Forms—Space and Time—for the necessary conditions of immediate perception, so the Understanding has its pure primary Notions, Forms of Thought, twelve in number, whose function is to integrate the raw material—the intentions supplied by the Sensory—into real knowledge. Two of these Categories, as they are called, are named *Totality* and *Plurality*; conceptions, according to Kant, posterior to Sensation, while the immediate investiture with Space is, as he affirms, a pre-requisite to Sensation. Now though with Kant Space, as an *infinite Whole*, precedes the *parts* of Space, yet every separate object can only be recognized through a Synthesis of Spaces. A Body has three dimensions; it involves parts. It must, therefore, be contemplated as a Whole, through the Category of Totality, *previously* to the conception of Totality! If this reasoning be sound the contradiction is apparent. The critic from whom we borrow it (*Edinburgh Review*, No. 2, vol. i.) observes:—"This objection appears completely decisive against the whole theory of cognition; for if an exertion of intelligence be not necessary to connect in one body the separate dimensions, it is as little necessary in reducing to one great assemblage the boundless phenomena of Nature, and then what becomes of the theory of cognition?"

Thus we cannot construct propositions pure, or synthetic, or *a priori*, or universal, or necessary, in the *absolute* sense of the Transcendentalist. Such propositions, having these predicates,

* Tyndall, in the *Fortnightly Review*.

as are possible, are derivable from the data of experience. Kant's legislative universality, his absolute obligatoriness, his categorical OUGHT, represented in *a priori* synthetic propositions, cannot be satisfactorily established.

To complete our examination of Kant's Moral System we will now glance at the grand postulate which is to explain and justify his views of the Synthetic use of the Practical Reason—the idea of the Freedom of the Will. According to this conception, the Will is free from all motives which relate to the world we live in. This freedom, however, would seem to be a wholly transcendental freedom, for Kant admits that man as *phenomenon* is subject to the natural law of causality, while what man as *noumenon* may be, must be pronounced one of those things possibly known to Omniscience, but to the agent himself and his fellow-agents undoubtedly unknown and unknowable. Moreover, the Will, as we have seen, is not after all absolutely free, for it is determined by the sentiment of *Respect for Law*. As little, too, is it absolutely *pure*, for Respect is an emotion, and implies experience which is polluting. The Will, moreover, is endowed by Kant with causality—a gross inconsistency, since he declares that this principle is applicable to the world of *phenomena* alone, and then contradicts himself by referring it to the Will, which is a *Noumenon*.

To this paradoxical postulate a profounder objection must be taken. The Freedom of the Will, as Kant understands it, is a chimera. With Hobbes, we define Liberty as "the absence of all the impediments to action that are not contained in the nature and intrinsic quality of the Agent." Volition is a case of Causation. Our actions, emotions, thoughts; all the mental processes, in short, are as much under the dominion of law as the operations of external nature. Of two or more motives, one becomes the selected antecedent of action; conditioned, as Mr. G. H. Lewes has lucidly stated, by three determinants: the nature of the stimulus, the momentary state of the mind, and the individuality of the Person. It is the permanent capitalized Feeling; the aggregate of motive power; the funded property of ideal Ends, which in marked contrast with transient impulses and conflicting desires, assumes the character of a Distinct Personality, the metaphysical *Ego*, which, as some allege, possesses a spontaneous originating force, and accepts or declines the motives suggested by Desire or Impulse; substituting for them its own autocratic Veto or Volo. Of course, this ready-made Will, this educated out-growth of the experience of life, is really only a psychological phenomenon; it is, as it were, the *Chronic Man* in contrast with the *Transient Man*; the integral man of previous time *minus* the fractional man of present time. This "Incorporation of our past experience" is just as much subject to law as our occasional impulses and desires, and both are as much

subject to law as the winds or the waves, or the motion of the stars, or the growth of trees or flowers. A strong argument in favour of the Determinist, and in disproof of the Non-Determinist Doctrine, may be drawn from the consideration, that if men as *phenomena* are amenable to motives, we are justified in inflicting punishment on wrong-doers; but if men, as *noumena*, are not amenable to motives, the menace of punishment loses its efficacy, and punishment becomes a useless infliction of pain. The noumenal man is not accessible to motive; moreover, he is altogether out of reach. We can neither flog nor hang man the *noumenon*, any more than a schoolmaster can cane Abracadabra or birch the ten Predicaments of Aristotle. If the metaphysical notion of Free-Will be untenable, the synthetic use of the pure Practical Reason is untenable too.

The Freedom of the Will, with Kant, is like the magic lamp of Aladdin. The Genii of the mind come at its summons. Itself indemonstrable, it explains the Categorical Imperative; it indicates the ultimate End of Action; it discovers Sovereign Good, the *Summum Bonum*. The *Summum Bonum* includes both moral Perfection and Happiness. Virtue and Felicity are different but essential determinations. Their union is an inevitable demand of our Reason. To desire happiness, to deserve it and not attain it, implies a defect in the very constitution of nature incompatible with the character of a Creator whose perfections are infinite. Such a conclusion is inadmissible. The Practical Reason requires that Virtue and Happiness should be invariably associated. If they are not united in this world, there must be another world in which they will be united. The Ego, which Kant once disparaged as a phenomenon, as an accident, as the product of an empirical consciousness, is now, under the magic wand of the Practical Reason, transformed into a permanent substance, a separate, indestructible existence. The union of Virtue and Happiness cannot be realized without Immortality; but the Practical Reason insists on its realization, and hence Kant postulates Immortality. The Ego, the soul, becomes immortal.

There is grave reason to doubt the legitimacy of this passionate demand for the unity of two conditions which in experience are not found to be inseparable. Happiness is not necessarily the associate of Virtue. The world, as known to us, is not so constituted. It was, as Goethe sings, made long ago, and we seem to have neither the might nor the right to remake it. True, it does not always accord with our notion of Harmony, Moral Order, or Eternal Fitness. Peace and Joy sometimes wait on Well-doing, bringing with them an exquisite charm; but often Virtue is her own reward, and that reward is neither peace nor joy. Philo-

sophy does not promise to give us consolation but Truth; and Truth is often austere and sometimes cruel.

In demanding this conjunction of Virtue and Happiness, the Practical Reason may well be suspected of exceeding her legitimate rights. To demand what Experience does not justify us in regarding as practicable must tend to the discredit of the person demanding it. It is easier to believe that the craving for this visionary conjunction is the consequence of natural infirmity rather than of natural strength. Besides, if this conjunction be not realizable here, what warrant have we for thinking that it will be realized hereafter. It is impossible to demonstrate that there exists a world of ideal perfection. Kant's postulate rests on a false principle. He denies the competency of the Theoretic faculty, yet assigns an infallible supremacy to the Practical. The illicit character of this procedure is aggravated by the employment of those more than questionable auxiliaries—Respect for the Moral law and Sensuous pleasure. For *both* enter into Kant's conception of the *Summum Bonum*; both are feelings, and to invoke Feeling in aid of a Formal Philosophy, is to imperil the very existence of that philosophy, and is, besides, a direct violation of Kantian principle.

There is another difficulty which requires solution. How are we to reconcile the doctrine of the necessity of an endless progression to the attainment of moral perfection with the conception of a Noumenal man and a Noumenal world,—a man exempt from all Change and a World in which Time is unknown? Why is our present shadowy and unreal existence to be parodied in the sphere of Transcendent Reality, if our true existence, as pure Intelligences, does not require this artifice? How can we suppose an everlasting Duration, as the pre-requisite of progressive improvement, always approaching, but never reaching, its goal, in a world in which there is no time, and, therefore, no duration, no change, and therefore no action.

But to enable us to appropriate Immortality as a fulcrum for the lever of Moral perfection to rest on, an additional postulate is required. The necessary conjunction of virtue and happiness demands not only the individual immortality of man, but the intervention of a Deity to effect it; for it is in God only, as the Author at once of Nature and the Moral law, that the ground of this conjunction can be found. If we ask why this conjunction should be considered indispensable; why the Virtuous man must necessarily be happy in the end, we are informed that it is because the need of happiness, without its attainment, is in his case a reflection on the goodness, the power or the wisdom of the Creator. The existence of such an incongruity in the moral order of the world, cannot, it is urged, be reconciled with the

perfect will of an Omnipotent Intelligence. In reasoning thus Kant reasons in a circle. Happiness, he contends, must be a constituent in the *Summum Bonum*, because the character of God requires it; while, at the same time, he intimates that the character, nay, the very existence of God, is demonstrated by the supposed necessity for the conjunction of Virtue and Happiness. By Kant's own confession, too, the argument is wanting in logical force. No absolute or objective value is attached to it. The certainty attainable of the existence of the Immortality of the soul, through the logic of Kant, is avowedly a mere moral or subjective certainty, and as he regards the conception of Deity as tentative, the proposition has only a hypothetical value.*

A Unitarian minister, as pictured by a theological satirist, discoursing, in full congregation, on the character of One whom the centuries have called Divine, patronizingly observed of Jesus, that "his disposition was extremely amiable, and his example highly useful." In the same condescending spirit, and from considerations of general utility—to diminish, for instance, the expenses of the Police, or to check Lampe's unfortunate tendency to misappropriation—Kant recommends us to assume the Immortality of the Soul, as at once a consolatory and economical doctrine.

The moral certainty, the subjective conviction, which is all the philosopher promises us, is made up of supposition, sentiment and sophistry. The very essence of the transcendentalist morality, which is so pure, so absolute, so superior to all sublimary motives, that it discards as an actuating principle the love of child, wife, or mother, or even of mankind itself, is annihilated by the introduction of hypotheses which offer rewards for virtue after death, and profess to compensate the good man for his failure in this world by the prospect of a splendid reversion in the word To-Come.

Kant's religious instinct, it has been suggested, drove him to seek for proofs of the fundamental doctrines of Theology after he had destroyed the old demonstrations of their reality in his "Critique of the Pure Reason." A philosophical theologian of our own day† admits the inadequacy and inconclusiveness of the time-honoured arguments, cosmological, physico-theological, and ontological, stigmatizing one as illegitimate and negative, another as derogatory, incomplete, anthropomorphic, inapplicable and

* "Wenn wir uns auch nur ein solches zum Versuchen denken."—*Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft*. Leipzig, 1838, p. 247.

† See Introduction to "Philosophy of Religion." By John Caird, D.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow.

supplementary, and a third, as it is generally understood, as the most glaring of paralogisms. Orthodox persons, therefore, are not necessarily obliged to attribute Kant's assault on the bad logic, by which these arguments are supported, to a weak head or a wicked heart.

But let us examine more closely the conception of God as a product of the Practical Reason. Kant explains in his remarks on speculative theology that the theorist who recognizes the existence of a Primitive Being through pure reason, is termed a Deist; while the thinker who admits likewise a natural theology is termed a Theist. The first admits a Cause of the World, a Being which possesses all reality, but whose attributes are not further ascertained. The second admits an author of Nature who possesses intelligence and free will. In the limited and peculiarly German sense of the word Kant was not a Deist. To him the term Theist is strictly appropriate. His God is a personal God, a God who has reason and will, and whose government of the world is in accordance with the idea of Law, which is the necessary correspondent of the reason. From the indications of order, of adaptation to end, of the greatness and majesty of Nature, we may infer the existence of a Divine Personality, who is wise and good and powerful, but we cannot infer that he is infinite in power, wisdom and goodness. The conception of such a Being, however, is, Kant contends, legitimated by the agency of the Moral principle which requires for its purposes the existence of a Being of Supreme perfection. He must be Omniscient, that he may be intimately acquainted with the profoundest mysteries of the human heart, and that not only in the past and present, but in the future. He must be Omnipotent, that he may award to all appropriate retribution. Similarly, he must be Omnipresent and Eternal, and be possessed of all the other attributes which the Practical reason demands.

The idea of God is thus the creation less of the intellect than of the Conscience. The Conscience insists that Justice, according to its own notion of Justice, shall be done. It insists that every good man has a right to be happy. It argues that as he is not happy here he is to be happy hereafter, and that he is not only entitled to a future life but to an eternal existence, because perfect virtue and perfect happiness demand an eternity for their conjunction, though even in eternity this ideal is never really attained. The human soul, as the poet sings, seeks the perfect, and seeks it in vain.

"Deeper, deeper,
Man's spirit must dive,
To his eye-rolling orbit
No goal will arrive.

The heavens that draw him
 With sweetness untold,
 Once found,—for new heavens
 He spurneth the old."

In all this reasoning what is the character of the procedure adopted? A conception of a Primitive Being is furnished by the pure reason, which, however, in itself is wholly illusory. To give substance to this idea Natural Theology is then invoked, though the nature of a Designer is, as Dr. Caird allows, far short of perfect goodness and wisdom, and is incapable of application to a Being by supposition infinite. This conception, however, Kant *attempts* to apply to the Object of the Practical reason, and finds that his fundamental principle makes the existence of this Being *possible* only when we embrace the *hypothesis* of an author of Nature *absolutely perfect*.

Every part of this argument seems to us to tremble and shake, like the mountain crag which, in Shelley's song, an earthquake rocks and swings. The idea thus spuriously born of the Reason and dandled on the knees of Natural Theology, which orthodoxy itself has stigmatized as inapplicable, supplementary, and anthropomorphic, is *tentatively* made available by the aid of a presupposition (Kant, "Practical Reason," p. 284). It derives, in fact, an apparent support from a *personal* interpretation of Nature; man constituting himself the measure of all things, visible and invisible, after having declared that the region of Truth is an island enclosed by Nature in unchangeable limits. While the intellect is pronounced bankrupt, the solvency of the Conscience is affirmed. If the deliverance of the theoretical reason is not to be trusted, why, in the name of common sense, is the verdict of the Practical reason to be considered infallible?

In all honesty of purpose, and with great intellectual force, Kant detected and exposed the flaws in the logic of the Schoolmen. The speculative destroyer of grand hopes and great beliefs, compassionating the sorrow and despair which are the natural accompaniments of loss of faith, he afterwards endeavoured, with no less vigour, and perhaps greater ingenuity, to reconstruct the Beautiful Temple which his profane hand had demolished. The endeavour was vain. Kant's later logic did not restore the God which his earlier reasoning took away. It failed to prove the existence of a Divine Being, perfect in wisdom, goodness and power. It failed to show that the soul of man is immortal. His theological philosophy is reared on a foundation still more precarious than his moral science.

But if Kant's Ethical Structure rests on a rainbow, and rises like an exhalation, shall we therefore say that it is illuminated by no pulsations of light from the morning or evening stars, no

scintillations of that Truth which was christened of old vesper or matin Truth ?

Passing lightly over Kant's earlier philosophic elucidation, we shall specify as his distinguishing merits the limitation of all real knowledge to the sphere of experience ; the uncompromising rejection of pure Metaphysics ; the attempt to determine, with some approach to accuracy, the subjective conditions of all phenomena, whether internal or external. Long before Kant, Locke had recognized the existence of a mental activity which he called *Reflection* ; of operations of the mind, operations proceeding from powers intrinsic and proper to itself. But Locke's knowledge of these mental processes was inadequate, his Psychology singularly meagre. Kant, like Locke, rejected the doctrine of Innate Ideas, and though he sometimes calls his *a priori* Forms pure intuitions, thus suggesting *ready-made ideas* ; ideas, that is, antecedent to all experience, he yet distinctly repudiates this meaning, declaring that by these *a priori* Forms he understands simply the laws of our intuitive faculty ; and emphatically affirming that the concepts Time and Space are not innate, but are developed in us as we advance in life, by the active powers of the Mind, arranging its sensations in accordance with unalterable laws. If, as Mr. Lewes was of opinion, Kant's doctrine really was what in his "Inaugural Dissertation" Kant himself expressly denies ; if Kant really *does* identify his pure intuitions with ready-made Forms, we totally disagree with Kant. But if, as his accomplished critic suggests, all that Kant *meant* was that Time and Space have their *a priori* conditions in the nature of the mental organism, or if it be sufficient to say, in language borrowed from Mr. Alexander Bain, that hereditary experience may have predisposed the nervous system to fall in more rapidly into the connections required, we should be in perfect accordance with him. Inherited ancestral tendencies, inherent mental capacities and aptitudes, poetical and oratorical proclivities, musical potentialities and elementary felicities of temperament and disposition, are as much constituents of the individual organism as the senses. Thus, though we cannot accept the doctrine, whether Kant's or not, that we are born with intuitions of Space and Time, we willingly admit that we are born with definite mental activities, that there are in every human organism structural conditions destined to furnish the subjective element which, in combination with the appropriate object-matter, constitutes Experience. Kant's merit in calling attention to this question was signal. His attempt to discriminate between the subjective and objective elements in thought, to determine the *a priori* conditions of human knowledge, evinced an originality which lends an imperishable lustre to his name.

If Kant's Psychology was defective ; if, with Mr. Lewes, we say that he failed to discover the Conditions of Sensibility or the Laws of Thought ; if, with Professor Zeller, we censure the neglect of empirical Observation and condemn the exclusion from the domain of Morals of human impulses, passions and requirements, we can still allow that the ethical prescriptions which characterize the Construction of Kant are susceptible of an interpretation which, while it divests them of their metaphysical extravagance, leaves them a qualified and relative validity.

1. The Imperative of pure reason is, in Kant's phraseology, absolute, universal, objective. It represents an action as objectively necessary without reference to experience. The Categorical Imperative is, in plain English, the human Conscience. To designate this, as Kant does, the practical reason, is a confusing identification of our moral with our intellectual nature. It is not Reason which is imperative ; it is not Reason which proclaims the law. The law emanates from a Sovereign Power external to the agent. It is in the concurrent verdict of our moral sense and of an ideal, yet real, Superior, that the strength of the Imperative is to be found. Conscience, though a derivative principle, has its genesis in the most sensitive elements of our nature, in its tenderest and profoundest sympathies, in associated feelings of exquisite pleasure and pain, and of infinite complexity. The authority is, in a sense, unconditional, complete, absolute. But these predicates are co-extensive with the area of the internal and external Sanction. Assuming similarity of nature and similarity of circumstance the Imperative is absolutely obligatory. "Kant," says Mr. Grote, "is right in calling the maxim of moral agency objective and not subjective. The obligation is equally and universally binding, under the same circumstances, whatever be the personal or peculiar inclinations of the individual."*

2. The doctrine of the Autonomy of the Will, in the transcendental sense of the word, cannot be maintained ; yet there is a sense, as Mr. Grote explains, in which it may be accepted. It is not true that the Will is uninfluenced by motives of pleasure or pain, even when the Agent is most disinterested. Pleasure and pain are generically different. There are pleasures derived from objects of sense or sources of mundane satisfaction ; there are pains which are the consequence of material agents and external operations. When under the influence of these pleasures and pains, for their realization or avoidance, the Will may be said to be Heteronomous, because the motives which determine it depend upon objects *foreign to it*. There are pleasures and pains, again,

* "Fragments on Ethical Science," p. 41.

which are native and constitutional—the soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy, or the agonies of the guilty mind, when "Conscience feeds it with despair." The idea of the glad satisfaction which often follows the loyal discharge of duty, or of the self-reproach and self-degradation which attend its violation or neglect, really supplies the motive to moral action, really constitutes the determining principle which Kant calls Respect for Law, and in which he dimly recognizes the sentiment of Personal value and dignity. Outward success is not absolutely essential to the satisfaction of the sense of duty. Obedience to the moral law is all that is required, and if we fail when we have done our best conscience acquits us of blame. In such cases the Will is actuated, not by the idea of adventitious inducements, but by that of a certain moral grandeur, of a standard of noble conduct. In a qualified sense we may then, with Kant, pronounce the Will autonomous.

3. The second formula of the Practical imperative based on the recognition of man as a rational being, as a person not a thing, as an End in Itself, leads directly to the Consecration of Humanity. We agree in the main with the present distinguished Professor of Philosophy in Berlin, that the conception of human worth, the idea of Humanity, is the motive and measure of all moral action; that the ethical End we should propose to ourselves is the cultivation of man's spiritual nature, of his emotional and intellectual nature. Dr. Zeller, indeed, appears to reject the eudæmonistic principle as the basis of Moral Science; but does the distinction between his view and that of the advocates of the HIGHER USES imply a radical divergence? What, properly understood, is the principle which he vindicates, and which Mr. Mill, Mr. Spencer, and even Bentham, maintain? Do not all equally assert that empirical generalizations from the observed results of Conduct are *not* sufficient to constitute a moral Science; that Happiness, or the highest Human Welfare, is only attainable by an investigation of the laws of life and the conditions of existence? Coleridge, who combated the doctrine of general consequences, is in close agreement with the disciples of the Utilitarian School when he instructs us that the *outward object of virtue is the greatest producible sum of Happiness of all men.* The satisfaction of the higher wants of our nature, of the desire of knowledge, of wisdom, of beauty in life and in art, the thirst for spiritual perfection, of self-identification with others, is equally pleasure, if pleasure of a different order, with sensuous or mundane pleasure. Though Dr. Zeller would hardly accept our statement of the case, his illustration of the necessity and inviolability of property confirms this view. Encroachment on the rights of property, he says, is not immoral because it *inflicts a direct injury*, but because it violates the *rights of reasonable*

beings, living in a legally constituted society. But why is this? Because, he argues, Property is necessary to man's preservation and improvement. What, then, is interference with the preservation and improvement of rational beings *but* injury to the highest interests of humanity? And what, again, is injury to the highest interests of humanity but the *consequence of actions*?

With Kant, with Aristotle, with Zeller, we agree that the Supreme Good of humanity lies in the active development of our intellectual and sensitive nature under the presidency of reason. But since reason unsubsidized by experience is powerless to supply rules of conduct, we maintain with Spencer, with Grote, with the Mills, with Bentham, that the *data of ethics* must be sought in the facts of the human constitution and the external world, systematized and elaborated into science. That the Formal principle of Kant is insufficient, and that psychological investigation is necessary, will be doubted by none who have appreciated with us the opposing criticism of Professor Zeller.

To be trained from our infancy to derive pleasure and pain from the *proper sources* is, in Plato's opinion, an initial requirement of education. The Ethical Sentiment in its full maturity will be the crowning result of the formation of character. As we attain to a completer knowledge of the laws of life; as under the influence of all civilizing agencies human nature itself is ameliorated, the standard of conduct will be raised, the Sense of Right intensified, and the individual and Collective Conscience, in the feeling of one common harmony, brought nearer to that ideal perfection which a traditional philosophy has enshrined exclusively in a superhuman personality, but which will one day be found embodied in the moral consciousness of the human race—the true “Eternal not ourselves (and yet ourselves) which makes for righteousness.” When the higher tendencies, the nobler potentialities of man, as evolved and transmitted in the historic progression of the race approach completion, the *vox populi* will be the realized equivalent of the *vox Dei*. The moral sense will no longer be that of a tribe, or a sect, or a nation, or a continent, but the ripened growth of the spiritual experiences of Humanity, blossoming into the full consummate knowledge of Just and Beautiful and Loving Conduct. An ultimate and inappellable sanction will then be found in the consilience of the personal Verdict with that of a multitudinous Unity, a real yet ideal Sovereign, a Power which can be traced into a distant Past, divined in an imagined Future, revered in a living Present, “a superintending and ever-watchful Providence competent to punish, to compensate, and to reward.”*

* See “Fragments of Ethical Subjects,” by the late George Grote, p. 13.

ART. VI.—ENGLAND'S FIRST FOOthOLD IN THE EAST.

Calendars of State Papers. Colonial Series: East Indies, China and Japan. 3 vols. (1513-1624). Edited by W. NOEL SAINSBURY, of H.M. Public Record Office. Longmans.

THE value of the historical materials which the archivists of our Public Record Office have been laboriously classifying and calendaring during the last twenty years has long been appreciated by men of letters, but remains comparatively unknown to the reading world at large. Such notice as they have attracted has been almost absorbed by the Calendars of Domestic State Papers, which, as their title implies, relate exclusively to the internal history of the kingdom. The fresh light thrown by their documentary revelations upon some prominent personages and events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has already tinged many sombre pages of our annals with the colours of romance; and illustrations not less vivid and picturesque may be looked for as the work of research proceeds. In features of novel and dramatic interest, however, these Calendars scarcely surpass those of the Colonial Series, edited by Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, which only need to be better known to be as highly valued. The first volume of his Calendar, which chiefly deals with the earliest chronicles of our settlements in America, has elicited a cordial recognition of the editor's services from historical students in the United States. The next three volumes commend themselves more attractively to English readers at home, and we select them in preference, as affording a fairer example of the scope and character of the series. They comprehend a retrospect of the efforts to discover a North-western or North-eastern passage to Cathay, which resulted in the formation of the East India Company, and the gradual spread of its relations with Asiatic potentates, whereby England in the person of her commercial representative obtained a foothold for her future Empire in the East. The period included in this retrospect extends from the first quarter of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The copiousness with which Mr. Sainsbury sets out the *ipsissima verba* of all documents of importance, his epitome of those which he has been obliged to condense, and the lucid prefaces in which he sums up the general outlines and salient points of the successive periods embraced, render it superfluous for any but a professed historian to consult the originals. The

careful student of these volumes will derive, we think, a more distinct impression of the way in which a footing for the British dominion was established than from reading a consecutive narrative of its history, however elaborate. Dating from a period when the national imagination was exceptionally vigorous and ardent, and when science was in a half mythical condition, the commercial enterprise to which that dominion is due may be seen to have taken its rise in a diversion of the spirit of adventure, by which some of the noblest natures were then possessed, and to have long retained so much remembrance of its origin as sufficed to preserve it from merely sordid aims and the temptations of cruelty and ambition. This consideration may serve to mitigate the severity of Napoleon's epigram, that "the English are a nation of shopkeepers," which must come home to every reader with the force of truth, as he finds page after page of these volumes devoted to a chronicle of trading operations. The documents set out in Mr. Sainsbury's first volume sufficiently attest that discovery was the pioneer of commerce, and that the thirst for knowledge and glory preceded the hunger for gold.

To England's early navigators the dream of reaching the mysterious land of Cathay, by sailing either north-east or north-west, was not less alluring and all-sufficing than the hope of finding the philosopher's stone had been to the alchemists before them. From 1527, when Robert Thorne, the son of one of the explorers of Newfoundland, petitioned Henry VIII. to let him undertake a voyage for a northward passage to the Moluccas, until 1576, when Martin Frobisher reported his supposed discovery of gold ore in the region of *Meta Incognita*, it is evident that the leading navigators at least were eager to be famous rather than rich. Jenkynson, Gylberte, Frobisher and their fellows did, indeed, put prominently forward the hope of gain as a bait to lure subscribers to the fund which they required for carrying out their enterprise, but without standing in need themselves of any such stimulus. There can be little doubt that Frobisher, the most active of them all, employed his discovery of ore as an ignoble instrument to effect nobler ends; but he was doomed to expiate this indiscretion by a bitter disappointment. In the specimen which he brought home from his first voyage, one refiner found, or professed to find, "a grain of gold;" and another "a little silver." Stimulated by this minute but alluring earnest of prospective wealth, a goodly number of distinguished persons, headed by the Queen, subscribed as joint adventurers to 'fit out three ships for a second voyage, which Frobisher undertook in the following year. Their hopes were flattered by the announcement of the return of his

vessels within six months laden with a heavy freight of ore. Three officers of the Royal Mint were speedily instructed to test its value independently. They were very slow in declaring the result of their assay, and finally arrived at opposite conclusions, one engaging that "two tons should yield in fine gold twenty ounces;" another reporting that he "had proved it to the uttermost," and found "not such great riches as is here spoken and reported of;" and the third, that he could "find no gold or silver, or next to none." One of the proofs so furnished by them in a documentary form is extant, "small particles of the gold itself still remaining attached to the paper by sealing wax." Not discouraged by the meagreness of the yield, the Queen and her fellow-adventurers subscribed for a third expedition with eleven ships, again commanded by Frobisher. The fleet returned in six months "laden with rich gold ore, worth," as he said—and no doubt believed—"£60 and £80 a ton." Repeated assays were made of it during the next two years, and more than one report was issued which reduced the estimate of its value to £10 or £15 a ton. "The real truth, however," says Mr. Sainsbury, "came out at last, and all doubts were finally set at rest by two assays made by William Williams, in June, 1583. The two minute particles of silver found in two cwt. of Frobisher's ore were not nearly so big as a pin's head, and they remain to this day, fastened by sealing wax to the report, as evidences of the worthlessness of the ore."

Amid the alternations of hope, anxiety and chagrin to which this slow process of disillusion gave rise, the original object of the expedition was lost sight of by the adventurers. Frobisher, whose enthusiasm for exploration was as ardent as ever, found that he had evoked a spirit which he was unable to control. He succeeded, indeed, after some delay, in mustering subscribers for another voyage, but their aims were not the same as his. From this time forward it would seem that the spirit of discovery came to be regarded by the adventurers (among whom merchants proper now figured in company with nobles and statesmen) as a hindrance which must be discountenanced and removed in order to give their trading schemes fair scope. The conflict came to a crisis in February, 1582, when Frobisher's fourth expedition was on the eve of starting. The Queen's instructions seem to have been dictated under the influence of strictly commercial motives, the commander being ordered not to pass to the north-eastward of 40° lat. at most, "because we will that this voyage shall be only for trade, and not for discovery of the passage by the north-east to Catayo, otherwise than if without hindrance of your trade and within the said degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall

do well to be inquisitive as occasion in this sort may serve."* This direct prohibition, which the impracticable saving-clause attached to it only served to emphasize, was a rebuff to his ambitious designs that Frobisher could not be expected to accept. At the last moment he surrendered the command, content to sacrifice all prospects of distinction rather than subordinate to mere purposes of trade the energy and skill which he was burning to devote to exploration. His name was struck out, and that of Edward Fenton substituted, to whom yet more stringent injunctions were given that the voyage should be made direct to the Moluccas. Its unsuccessful issue (the ships proceeding no further than St. Vincent, and being hindered by the Spaniards from any trading operations) must have brought consolation to the heart of the old navigator, whose career was thenceforth closed. The idea of discovering a North-west passage, however, was not yet abandoned, and being taken up by the East India Company, after its incorporation in 1600, several bold attempts to realize it were made up to the year 1614. All were equally futile, and it was reserved for an explorer of our own day to achieve the execution of this long-cherished scheme, only to find that it was practically useless.

But just as the dreams of alchemy in search of the philosopher's stone resulted in the discovery of the true laws of chemistry, so the romantic imagination which animated the seekers for a North-western or a North-eastern passage to the land of Cathay was rewarded by the tangible acquisition of geographical knowledge and the establishment of commercial prosperity. Nova Zembla, Lapland, and Labrador, the vast territory washed by the bay which is associated with the name of Hudson, and the straits that bear the name of Borough, Davis, Frobisher and Pet, were thus incidentally brought to light by navigators who failed of attaining their direct object. And though the first trading voyages to the East under Lancaster and Wood in 1591-6 were as barren of pecuniary profit as Fenton's had been, the adventurers accumulated such an amount of experience as convinced them that eventual success was certain. This experience, coupled with the national self-confidence excited by the recent defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the stimulus of jealousy aroused by the wealth which the Dutch derived from their tropical settlements, contributed to the formation of the East India Company. Originated in 1599 by the subscriptions of several merchants and others, amounting to £30,000, and incorporated in the following year, it put forth annual expeditions upon a scale of increasing magnitude, which gradually succeeded

* Vol. i. p. 75.

in establishing factories at all the leading Oriental ports and centres of commerce. These laid the foundation for its eventual growth to a higher pitch of power and wealth than has probably ever been attained by any similar body in the course of the world's history.

Its first operations were cautious and modest enough. The fleet despatched under Captain Lancaster in 1601 only consisted of three or four vessels, but the results of the voyage were abundantly encouraging. Fortified by letters from the Queen to the "King of Sumatra" and other Eastern potentates, Lancaster sailed to Acheen and Bantam, where he was warmly welcomed by their native princes, who replied to the letters in person, and made him the bearer of costly presents to the Queen in return, besides according full privileges of trade to the Company, and permitting the erection of factories. The customs on the goods imported amounted to nearly £100. The second voyage which was made to Bantam in 1604, resulted in the establishment of still more friendly relations with its king, who, in answer to the letter which accompanied the royal presents sent him, declared that "now James had come to the crown, England and Bantam were both one." A net profit of 95 per cent. upon the capital subscribed was realized from these two voyages together. The third voyage was undertaken with three ships, whose commanders were entrusted with letters from James to the King of Cambaya, and the governors of Aden and other places, besides presents of plate and cloth to the value of two hundred marks. A profit of 234 per cent. rewarded the subscribers, and £4,500 was paid for import customs.

The success of the Company's operations naturally soon brought upon it the jealousy of the trading corporations of Spain, Portugal and Holland, which had preceded England in the attempt to obtain a footing in the East. Of these enemies, the Spaniards and Portuguese were the least to be dreaded, because openly avowed, while the Dutch secretly thwarted the Company's enterprises under a cloak of professed cordiality. The only service rendered by them was in combating the efforts of other rivals, which they did so effectually that the Spanish trade in the East Indies had become almost extinguished in 1609, and the strength of the Portuguese was greatly shattered by the defeat of their Armada and the capture of the Admiral off Malacca in 1607. Meantime, the Company flourished in spite of all opposition, and in May, 1609, obtained from the King a renewal of their charter, with a monopoly of the "whole, entire, and only trade and traffic to the East Indies for ever," instead of the limit of fifteen years to which they had been restricted by Elizabeth. Upon the basis of this security they spared no exertion to extend

the area of their commerce. To every place where it was possible to establish a communication with the natives a vessel was sent out, the commanders being uniformly instructed to sound the feeling of the inhabitants before applying for leave to trade there. In the pursuit of their main object the Company did not neglect the opportunities which it afforded for maintaining the high repute of the nation for purity of faith and probity of morals. The factors employed were carefully selected for intelligence, discretion and unimpeachable character. Their spiritual wants were supplied by providing a Protestant chaplain to accompany each vessel and reside at the factory; and their bodily health was entrusted to the care of skilful surgeons. Books and musical instruments were sent out for the instruction and amusement of the crews on their long voyages, and trial was continually made of new inventions for grinding corn, distilling water, &c., which might add to their comfort. Private trading was forbidden to the Company's servants, and they were strictly admonished to the observance of religious duty and honourable dealings with the natives. No attempts seem to have been made to proselytize, but one instance is recorded of Christian instruction being given to an Indian youth brought over to England, in order that he might return home to effect the conversion of others.

In almost all cases the English factors were welcomed and treated with kindness wherever they landed, the occasional failure of their overtures being due to the interference of the Dutch who were already in the field. The Portuguese, whose settlement at Goa afforded them singular advantages for the purpose, interposed many obstacles also to the establishment of commercial relations with India, but these were surmounted with little difficulty. At the outset the Company experienced mistrustful treatment from the native Governor of Surat, who was fearful of offending their rivals, but the arrival of Captain Best with an English fleet put a different aspect upon the relative importance of the two nations. An attack made upon his vessels by the Portuguese fleet of four galleons and twenty-five frigates was brilliantly repulsed, and the enemy defeated with great loss. As the result of this victory Captain Best obtained permission from Jehangeer, the reigning great Mogul, to settle factories in Surat, Cambaya, or any part of his dominions. Following up their success the Company despatched special envoys to the Mogul, by whom they were received in audience at Agra, in 1614. The reports which they sent home of their reception contain some curious details respecting his character and tastes. He is described as very proud and covetous, addicted to drunkenness and other vices, and tyrannical to and hated by his nobles. On the other hand, he showed a particular fondness for art, and

an eager curiosity about all novelties in the way of inventions. He was especially delighted with the performance of "Robert Trully's cornet," but cared little for the virginals as played by one Lawes, greatly to the disgust of that *artiste*, who is said to have died of chagrin. To gratify his taste for inventions, the agents recommended that several should be included in the number of presents which it was requisite that all future envoys should bring with them. At his first audience, Thomas Ker-ridge, the Company's chief emissary, was somewhat slighted in consequence of his being insufficiently provided with offerings of this description, but the omission was rectified on subsequent occasions. "Something or other, though not worth two shillings," wrote one of the agents, "must be presented every eight days," and among the articles which he suggested as suitable were gloves, purses, coloured hats and stockings for the ladies of the harem, looking-glasses, striking clocks, and a jack for roasting meat. To these were added pictures, including portraits of King James and his Queen from the life, and a fancy sketch—which it was thought would "content the Mogul above all—the picture of Tamberlaine, from whence he derives himself." The art displayed in these pictures greatly impressed the Mogul, and with one of them, a portrait of Sir Thomas Smyth, Governor of the Company, he was so much struck that "he sent for all his painters in public to see the same, who did admire it and confessed that none of them could anything near imitate the same, which maketh him prize it above all the rest and esteem it for a jewel." On other occasions dogs of various breeds were sent out for his use, among them a mastiff, which is stated to have fought with a tiger or leopard (probably a cheetah) and killed it. A coach and horses, with a coachman to drive them, completed the list of these gifts. Though so ready to clutch at all that might be had for asking, the Mogul was no niggard of his wealth, but a large purchaser of the costly goods brought out by the Company's ships, such as precious stones, cloth of gold, tapestries, velvets and satins, and was reported as "the best pay-master in the country."

An outrage which the Portuguese had committed in 1613, by seizing a great ship worth from £100,000 to £130,000, in which the Mogul's mother was an adventurer, had greatly exasperated him, and he joined his forces with those of the King of Deccan to besiege their forts between Surat and Goa. Their city of Damaun was also besieged; the toleration previously extended to the exercise of their religious rites was withdrawn, and the famous Xavier, though hitherto in favour at Court, was thrown into prison. Captain Downton, one of the Company's commanders, took advantage of this condition of affairs to repeat

Best's naval achievement. In an engagement with the Portuguese fleet of nine ships, two galleys and fifty-eight frigates, the English were victorious, and inflicted severe loss on the enemy, to the high satisfaction of the Mogul, who (wrote the agents) declared that his country was before us, "to do therein whatsoever ourselves desired." The Governor of Surat still continuing to ill-use its servants and molest them in the discharge of their duties, the Company resolved to send out a special envoy to obtain redress. Their choice was fixed upon Sir Thomas Roe, whom the King also appointed his ambassador to the Mogul's court. He is described as a "gentleman of pregnant understanding, well-spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comely personage," and he proved himself to be no less remarkable for his singular tact and high spirit. He started early in 1615, and sailed direct to Surat. At an audience of the Governor he set forth in detail the wrongs and oppressions which the Company had suffered, and intimated that in default of satisfaction he should make appeal to the Mogul in person. This remonstrance proving ineffectual, Roe addressed the Governor in these resolute terms: "I came hither not to beg, nor do nor suffer injury. I serve a King that is able to revenge whatever is dared to be done against his subjects. I am better resolved to die upon an enemy than to flatter him, and for such I give you notice to take me until your master has done me justice." Receiving no answer he carried out his threat and obtained the Governor's dismissal. In the same strain he wrote to the Viceroy of Goa respecting the injuries which the English had undergone at the hands of the Portuguese, whom they had never molested, and demanded the payment of compensation within forty days. If this demand were refused or disregarded, letters of reprisal would be issued against him in all parts of the Indies, "when you shall not be able to look out of your ports, much less attempt to injure us; your friend or enemy at your own choice." Roe was as good as his word in this instance also, and receiving no reply, declared open war against the Portuguese in the King's name, following up the declaration by seizing three of their ships.

With the Mogul Sir Thomas maintained an attitude of becoming dignity, while observant of all the Oriental forms of respect and courtesy. Though often perplexed by the difficulty of reconciling his twofold functions as the King's ambassador, and the Company's delegate, which he found "sometymes cross one another, seeing ther is no way to treat with so monstrous overweening that acknowledgeth no equal," he succeeded in ingratiating himself at Court, and obtained ample firmans for the protection and extension of trade. The effect of them is thus stated in a letter from Jehangeer to

James, as translated by Roe:—"I have given my general command to all the kingdomes and portes of my dominions to receave all the marchantes of the Englishe nation as the subjects of my frende, that in what place soever they chuse to live in they may have reception and resydence to their owne contentes and safetye, and what goods soever they desyre to sell or buy they may have full liberty without restraynt." After concluding a favourable commercial treaty with Shah Abbas, the "Sophy" of Persia, Sir Thomas returned to England in 1619, having accomplished the mission with which the Company entrusted him to their entire satisfaction and at the smallest possible cost. His charges for housekeeping and travelling did not average more than £600 a year. In acknowledgment of his services the Directors voted him a handsome tribute of thanks, accompanied by a present of £1,500, a sum that, even considering the higher value of money, appears very inadequate, but with which he expressed himself fully contented.

Other servants in the Company's employment at this period merited the highest praise for their courage, fidelity and skill. Sir Thomas Dale, who had been a general in the service of the United Provinces, and subsequently Governor of the Colony of Virginia, was appointed Admiral of the East Indian fleet in November, 1617. In a letter to the Board, dated March, 1619, he gives a graphic, though curiously ill-spelt, narrative of his encounter with a Portuguese carrack of 1,600 tons, manned by 800 men, under the command of Don Chrystophylus de L'Orayne, and richly laden with money and merchandize, which he fell in with on his voyage to Bantam:—

"We somend her to yeld: they mad answere that the Generall was of an noble house, and that the chief offycers had taken the sacrement never to yeld the king's ship upon any condytions whatsomever, but to fyght yt out to the last man or else to burne and synck in the sea; whereupon we prepared ourselves to fyght one both sydes, our blodye collaris hung out and my ship and his being redye to begine the fight, when he hung out a flage of truce and desyred a parley, the effect of which was that to save the bloud which that day would be spent he would make some restitutyon in part for former losses and dangers we had received by the natyone; whereupon I demanded 200,000 dollars in part of satisfactyon for losses our Company had received by them. To be bry [brief] after twenty days of treatye, having had no fighting whether, but stormye weather for twenty days and he lykely to get from us every nyght, we excepted of 70,000 dollars for the Companye and 10,000 for the men in the fleet and so we parted without bloudshed."*

With the Dutch, an enemy possessed of less bluster and

* Vol. ii. pp. xxi. 253.

more determination, Sir Thomas Dale had a naval engagement in the same seas. "The 20 of December," he writes—

"we set sayle for Jackcotra sum 15 leages from Bantam, where the Dutch fleet were, they having a strong castell there and most of the provytyons for ther fleet. . . . Ther fleet which rode in the rode under thier castyll cam forth this nyght and ankered within one. Englishe myle of our fleet. The 22 in the morning by break of day they set sayle towards us, when we were forced to cut our cables and ply to get the wynd of them, the which we had much adoe to get that day. The next day we began the fyght. . . . We wer eight fyghting ships to seven of theirs, but five of theirs much better than ours, yet ther was but five of our ships that fought, the mor sham for som of them. We began the fyght with them between tenn and eleven of the clock the 23 day of December and fought untill 3 of the cloke after mydday, a cruelle blodye fyght, 3,000 great shott between both the fleets, many men maymed and slayen one both sydes, but they had, as we are gyven to understand 4 tymes as many men slayen and maymed as we hade. Three of ther ships is reported to be suncke by the Javas; how true yt is I know not, but I am suer they wer soundly banded."

After describing the circumstances under which the enemy contrived to elude him, Sir Thomas thus concludes:—"Now having chased ther fleet thorow the bay of Jaccatra in the sight of all the Javas, to whom formerly they had mayd ther great bragges, the night overtaking us, we ankered near Jaccatra."*

Another of the Company's servants, Nathaniel Courthope by name, though holding but the humble office of a factor, sustained the honour of England in a prolonged contest with the Dutch as gallantly as any soldier or sailor "to the manuer born." He had already won laurels in Borneo, where he was appointed to the factory of Succadana. Receiving instructions in 1614 to settle another factory up the river of Landak, he was attacked by 1,000 Dyaks, and his passage barred, but defended himself so hotly that they, "not being used to powder and shot, were fain to run ashore." In 1616 he was commissioned as chief in command of two vessels for a voyage to Banda, with instructions to proceed to the island of Pooloroon, which, among others, had been voluntarily surrendered to the English by the natives. and where a small fort was erected for the defence of the Bandanese spice trade. There, with a little force of thirty-eight men, he remained for more than two years, scantily furnished with ammunition, or with any provisions but rice, and in constant expectation of attack from the Dutch, who were resolved to debar the English from intruding on their favourite preserves,

* Vol. ii. pp. xxi. 253.

and kept a fleet ready for prompt action. In June, 1618, they landed with 700 men, but were driven off by Courthope and his garrison, aided by the natives, with the loss of thirty killed and wounded. Unrelieved by the President of the Company's chief factory at Bantam, to whom he had written for a supply of stores, and disappointed of reinforcements from the Indian fleet, Courthope determined to risk a voyage in a small vessel to another island, in order to obtain food for his starving garrison. He was met on the way by a large Dutch ship, with which he fought resolutely for several hours, until he was mortally wounded in the breast, and then, rather than surrender, he plunged into the sea. The Dutch immediately took advantage of their success to make another attack upon the fort, whose garrison, now bereaved of their gallant chief, had no heart to hold out longer. The walls were razed, and the natives, after being disarmed, were forced to hand over possession of the island to the conquerors by the usual render of a "nutmeg tree in a basin."

The savage hostility of the Dutch, of which Courthope was the victim, constituted the severest obstacle which the East India Company had to contend with in the early years of their history. It was the harder to bear because the two natives were nominally in close political alliance, and Holland owed a debt of eternal gratitude to England for the precious blood and treasure which had been spent in freeing her from the Spanish yoke and maintaining her independence. The Bewinthebbers, or Directors of the Dutch Indian Company, were not recognized as acting under national authority when they fitted out vessels to hinder the trade of their rivals, but the States General, which had the power to control them, could not be acquitted from responsibility for their aggressions, however convenient it was found to repudiate any which were too gross to be defended. For awhile the East India Company were unconscious of the rooted determination of the Dutch to prevent their sharing in the wealth of the Spice islands, and only gradually discovered the underhand attempts that were being made to hinder their traffic with the natives. When, however, these proved useless, the Dutch threw off the mask, and their overt acts soon passed all bounds. At Pooloway, an island in the same group as Pooloroon, they seized three or four of the Company's servants, and kept them imprisoned in a filthy dungeon, chained "like so many dogs," feeding them "with stinking water and rice half full of stones and dirty, not able to keep life and soul together." At Lantar, another island, they cruelly beat, fettered and imprisoned all the English in the Company's factory, and seized their goods. The Chinese in their service were beheaded, and the chief

factor, after being tied to a stake with a halter fastened round his neck, only escaped the same fate by the special favour of the governor.

This outrageous and relentless persecution at last became intolerable, and the Company made strenuous efforts to obtain redress. In 1618 they drew up a formal complaint on the subject to the King and Privy Council, which was duly submitted to the States General by the English ambassador at the Hague, with instructions to insist upon satisfaction. Negotiations for a treaty to determine the matters in dispute between the rival companies were set on foot, and commissioners sent over from Holland to arrange its details, but, after protracting the settlement for nearly six months, they could only be induced to execute it upon terms very unfavourable to the English. By one of its provisions the control of the forts, which were requisite for the defence of the traders of both countries in the Spice islands, was left wholly in the hands of the Dutch, although the cost of maintaining them was to be shared by the English; an unequal arrangement, against which the East India Company vainly protested, as likely to entail a gross abuse of power, and the consequences of which realized their worst forebodings. The unsatisfactory issue of the negotiations was in great measure due to the weakness of James, who took an active part in conducting them, and though profuse of bold assertions, always yielded to pressure brought to bear upon his fear of war. The treaty, though concluded in 1619, for a term of twenty years, did not last as many months in operation. The Dutch, having possession of the forts, sought to make the Company's servants liable for charges to which the treaty had not bound them, and in default of compliance threatened to oust them from trade altogether. The obligations justly incurred were already too onerous, and certain shortcomings in their fulfilment gave colour to a counter-charge on the part of the Dutch that the Company were trying to evade them. Negotiations for a revision of the treaty were opened in 1621, and once more protracted by the obstinacy of the commissioners delegated by the States General. James again took a personal share in conducting the business, and was outwitted, as before, by the wily Dutch. The Lords of the Council, to whom the points in dispute were eventually referred for settlement, blundered no less disastrously than on the previous occasion, and left the most important article of all, that relating to the future regulation of the spice trade, undetermined. The treaty revised after this imperfect fashion was, however, agreed to and signed in January, 1623. A week or two after its ratification the calamitous mistake which had been committed

in entrusting the sole control of the forts to the Dutch was terribly demonstrated in the massacre of Amboyna, though the tidings did not reach England until May, 1624.*

The narrative of the affair which the Dutch authorities gave to the English ambassador at the Hague was as follows:— That on the 13th of February, a Japanese soldier, who had already been observed about the castle walls at unseasonable hours, came during prayer-time and inquired of a newly arrived Dutch soldier what was the number of the guard, and how often it was relieved. He was arrested on suspicion, and brought before the Council, when he confessed, under examination, that the Japanese soldiers in the Dutch service had conspired to make themselves masters of Amboyna, and that the plot had been instigated by Gabriel Towerson, and other English merchants in the Company's factory there. The latter were thereupon apprehended, and put under guard. Examined before the Council they confessed—"some before, and others after very little torture"—that on New Year's Day Towerson had assembled his fellow merchants, and having pledged them to secrecy by an oath on the Testament, revealed the plot to them, of which they agreed to defer the execution until the Dutch governor and his troops were absent on duty elsewhere, and an English vessel was in the harbour. The Japanese soldiers were to be won over, and distributed at various points of the castle, which at a given signal they were to seize, killing the officers in charge, and all who resisted, and taking the rest prisoners. The English were then to hold possession of the castle, either by the help of the natives, or of a force despatched from Batavia. Upon the evidence of these confessions, the Japanese soldiers, together with the Portuguese captain of the Dutch slaves, and ten of the English conspirators were executed. Two others were respited, and four pardoned, although accomplices, in order that living testimony might be adduced to the enormity of their "treason," and that the goods belonging to the Company in Amboyna might not be left unprotected.

The news excited the utmost consternation among the English at Batavia, and the President at once demanded of the Dutch general there by what authority the governor of Amboyna had ventured to put the King's subjects to death. Answer being returned that it was derived under the States General, the President drew up a protest against the viola-

* This tragedy, which took place in one of the Moluccas, was not communicated to the President of the English factory at Batavia until December, 1623, and thence took five months to reach England. Letters from the East at this period sometimes spent nearly two years upon the road.

tion of treaty obligations which had been committed, and despatched intelligence of the event to England. Though the falsehood of the accusation upon which the merchants were condemned was as yet only surmised, the alarm of the Company and the agitation of the public mind were extreme. Loud cries were raised for vengeance, with threats to inflict summary reprisals upon any Dutch vessels that arrived from the Indian seas. Even in the assembly of the States General the incidents of torture and execution were regarded as indofensible. The true story of the massacre only became known some time later, when the six Englishmen who had been spared returned home. All the so-called confessions upon which the charge of conspiracy was founded proved to have been extracted by means of excruciating torture. The Japanese soldier first arrested was thus forced to confess the existence of a plot to seize the castle, and under the same pressure some of his fellows and the Portuguese captain of the Dutch slaves made similar admissions, but none of them implicated the English merchants, who during the three or four days that the trials and executions lasted (when they might easily have effected their escape), went about their ordinary business at the castle, without a suspicion that they were concerned in the matter. It happened, however, that an English barber-surgeon, named Price, was then imprisoned there, for having attempted in a drunken fit to set a Dutchman's house on fire, and advantage was taken of this circumstance to incriminate all the English residents in the newly-discovered plot. Price having been confronted with some of the Japanese, was told they had confessed that their conspiracy was instigated by his countrymen, and that if he did not reveal their names he would be more severely dealt with. Under stress of torture he affirmed whatsoever he was asked, and upon the strength of his admissions, Captain Towerson and the other English merchants in Amboyna were sent for, charged with conspiracy, and imprisoned. On the following days the Company's factors at Hitto, Luricca, Cambello and Luglio were arrested and brought in irons to the castle, where they were severally examined and tortured. The horrible form of "water-torture" was chiefly employed, by which the victim having been hoisted in mid-air, with his feet and hands secured by ropes, and a cloth fastened round his mouth and nostrils, was subjected to the repeated pouring of water, which saturated the cloth so that he could not breathe without sucking it in. The torment was prolonged until the water was forced out of his eyes, ears and nose, which swelled to a monstrous size, and he became insensible. The few who in spite of the agonies thus endured refused to con-

fess their guilt underwent other tortures of fire, the details of which are too repulsive in their cruelty to admit of description. Worn out with anguish, the unfortunate men at last assented to any questions that were put to them. The twelve confessions thus extracted were then shown to Towerson, who as the leading merchant in the place was alleged to be chief conspirator. He protested his innocence, and when confronted with some of the witnesses, charged them so earnestly to speak the truth, as they would answer to God, that they implored his forgiveness on their knees, "saying, all they had confessed was to avoid the torment." Being again threatened with it, their courage failed them, and they affirmed their former statements. Towerson then underwent the same torture, and was forced to subscribe the confession, which he had made against himself. Eight days were occupied in these proceedings, and on the 26th of February, 1622-3, all the prisoners were condemned to death. Six of the number were respited, and the remaining ten executed by beheading on the day following. A public festival was then held by the Dutch, to commemorate their deliverance from the threatened danger.

During their imprisonment several of the condemned men found independent means of committing a solemn avowal of their innocence to writing. These records, which were carefully preserved and brought to England by the six who escaped, afforded conclusive evidence as to the absence of any conspiracy, and the baselessness of the charge upon which the victims were condemned. The Company's President at Batavia, in reporting the massacre, added other evidence which put the improbabilities of the Dutch statement in the clearest light. The English in Amboyna numbered but twelve, and they had no arms but three swords and two muskets, with half a pound of powder between them. There were none of their ships then in the harbour, and the next that arrived had received orders from Batavia to take all the English residents away. Was it conceivable that a dozen unarmed men, even if aided by the ten Japanese soldiers who suffered with them, could have conspired to seize a fortress garrisoned by 200 Dutch soldiers and a company of native troops?

These and other arguments were urged by the East India Company in their "true relation" of the massacre, which, together with the written statements of the victims and the six men who were pardoned, was forwarded to the English Ambassador at the Hague for presentation to the States General. Deputations from the Company had audiences of the King and the Privy Council, at which copies of the documents were laid before them, and pressure was put upon all persons of influence to obtain redress. Nothing could exceed the indignation which

the King and Council avowed, and doubtless felt, at the treachery and cruelty of which the Dutch had been guilty, and repeated demands were addressed to the States General that the case should receive a searching inquiry, strict justice be meted out to the murderers, and ample compensation made to the Company. The Dutch, with their usual astuteness, promised everything, but delayed by a score of protests the fulfilment of their pledges. The Bewinthebbers even aggravated the offence, by sanctioning the issue of an answer to the "True Relation," wherein the tortures inflicted to extract confession were palliated by comparison with the *peine forte et dure* of English law, which was represented as an analogous procedure. This publication having been widely circulated was denounced as a libel by the English Ambassador, whereupon the States General disavowed it, and offered a reward for the discovery of the author, but without effect. On failing to obtain satisfaction after many urgent applications, the ambassador was instructed to intimate to the States General that the King would take his own method of securing it—viz., by reprisals upon Dutch vessels; but though the threat was held *in terrorem* over their heads for months, some fresh pretext was always manufactured to prevent its being put in force. Negotiations dragged on in this way until the death of James. The East India Company, whose unceasing cry for justice had failed to overcome the passive resistance of his timorous and vacillating disposition, were hopeful of better success under the rule of a new king, but were again destined to disappointment. A declaration was at last inserted by Charles in the Treaty of Southampton that reprisals would be exacted if redress were withheld for eighteen months, and at the expiration of this term three vessels belonging to the Dutch Indian Company were actually seized at the Isle of Wight. But after detention for a few months at Portsmouth they were released, and here the matter ended, no information being obtainable from the Government as to the conditions of release. The subject was repeatedly revived, and remained a standing sore between England and Holland for years afterwards, but no vindication of the wrong was ever effected.

There can be no doubt, although from the nature of the case it is impossible to prove, that the pretended "treason" was the result of a plot of the Dutch merchants to blacken the reputation of the English factors, and their massacre intended to terrify the East India Company from continuing the spice trade any longer. The crime, however, while it inflicted indelible disgrace upon the community which perpetrated, and the Government which forbore to punish it, formed a temporary and scarcely appreciable hindrance to the prosperous career of the great commercial body

which it was designed irremediably to injure. Down to the close of the period embraced by these Calendars the Company's trade in India, Persia and the Indian Archipelago, especially in the Spice Islands, increased by rapid strides. The kingdoms of Java, Malacca, Cambaya, Pegu and Siam were also comprehended more or less fully within their ambit of traffic. Broad cloths, kerseys, quicksilver, lead and tin were their principal exports; spices, indigo, sugar, rice, aloes, coral, diamonds, silks, carpets, calicoes and cotton yarn formed the staple of their imports. In 1622 the revenue of customs thence derived by the Government was £40,000, which in 1624 had increased to £50,000.

Considerations of space prevent more than a reference to the many interesting notices which these records contain as to the early relations of England with Persia, Japan and China. Bearing in mind that the media of these relations were merely the delegates of a strictly trading corporation, it is not surprising to find few traces of "local colour" in the reports and descriptions which they sent home. From any other narrators one would certainly have expected evidences of keener interest in the novelty and beauty of the untravelled regions into which they penetrated, and the unfamiliar forms of semi-civilization and gross barbarism presented to their view by the politics, creed and customs of the inhabitants. Incidentally, however, some curious traits are disclosed, and a few of the writers, more graphic than their fellows, afford us here and there a picturesque glimpse of the strange splendour and lurid crudity of the East. Of the casual references to national customs, one of the most singular is contained in a letter of 1620, from an agent of the Company in the island of Tecoe, describing the native rite of purgation from the charge of murder, which closely resembles the "ordeal" of our Saxon forefathers. An Englishman having been killed by some of the islanders, Nicolls, the chief factor, obtained their king's license to summon the suspected persons and make them touch the corpse. All except one, who was ill, obeyed the summons, but betrayed no sign of guilt; whereupon the king ordered the absentee to be sent for.


"He took," says the narrator, "the dead man by the hand with extreme quaking and many distracted gestures and answers, but would not hold it any timé. Nicolls urged this to be the man, and required justice. The king caused him to be bound, and professed in his conscience that he was the man, but that he must be tried by their law also. . . . A fire was made, and an iron pan with a gallon of oil set to boil, till it came to such a degree of heat that a green leaf dipped therein was sodden and shrivelled. The prisoner was then, in testimony of his innocence, to take a small ball of brass, little bigger than a musket shot, out of the oil with his naked hand, and if any burning

or scald appeared thereon he was contented to die. . . . Stripping up his sleeve above the elbow, and taking a kind of protestation, desiring that as he was clear he might prosper in this act, he dipped his hand to the wrist in the burning oil, took out the ball, held it fast, and crying *Olla Basar* ('Great is the Lord'), tossed it up, caught it again, and then cast it on the ground, showing his hand, which had no more sign of hurt than if he had experimented the same in cold water; the devil, as seems, being loth at that time to lose his credit. The fellow was instantly released, and within an hour after returned in his holiday apparel, and none so lusty as he, though so weak before as to be brought upon men's shoulders to his tryal. This was all the justice we could have for our murdered man."*

Though boasting no claim, save in exceptional instances, to the dignity of heroic annals, those of the East India Company, so far as we have followed them, are for the most part peaceful, wholly honourable, and unstained by crime. The relations into which they entered with less civilized and un-Christianized races were as yet uniformly marked by justice, courtesy and humanity, and they were only driven to use force against their fellow-religionists, whose jealousy interfered with their legitimate ambition of securing a footing of mutually advantageous trade. No schemes of restless ambition and aggression, no tyranny of strength and culture over weakness and ignorance, such as darken the history of Spanish and Dutch colonization, can thus far be laid to their charge.

After the lapse of another century, during which they "waxed fat" in prosperity, the historian will have to record a less favourable judgment; and still later, after they had become a great military power and embarked on a career of conquest, the chronicle is too often one of bloodshed and rapine. But within the limits of the period to which these Calendars extend, the escutcheon of England in the East entrusted to the Company's charge was kept untarnished.

* Vol. ii. pp. 374-5.



ART. VII.—CAROLINE FOX, JOHN STERLING, AND
JOHN STUART MILL.

Memories of Old Friends, being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox, late of Penjerrick, Cornwall, from 1835 to 1871. Edited by HORACE H. PYM. In two volumes. Third Edition, to which are added fourteen original letters from J. S. MILL, never before published. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882.

THIS book is in every respect delightful and remarkable. It records the experiences and utterances of a mind of far more than common intelligence and cultivation, and of a disposition at once singularly liberal, cheerful, and devout. Throughout the life of Caroline Fox, her home was at the south-western extremity of England, and yet she could reckon in her list of friends very many of the men most celebrated in literature and science, during the period over which her "Memories" extend. John Sterling and John Stuart Mill are the central figures in her group of "Old Friends," and she was also intimate with Wordsworth, Carlyle, the Bunsens, Hartley and Derwent Coleridge, Tennyson, Julius C. Hare, Milman, J. A. Froude, Charles Kingsley, Francis Newman, Frederick Dennison, Maurice, and Sir Henry Taylor; and among men of science with Professors Adams, Airy, Lloyd, and Owen, the Bucklands, father and son, Sir Edward Sabine, Sir Charles Lyell, and Sir Roderick Murchison.

Caroline Fox belonged to a remarkable family of brothers and sisters of old Quaker lineage, whose forefathers two hundred years ago settled in Cornwall. Their descendants dwelt in a cluster of lovely dwellings in the town of Falmouth and its neighbourhood. Falmouth, some readers may wish to be informed, is built where the Truro river,* after flowing through scenery which in parts is not unworthy to be compared with that of the Rhine, past Tregothnan, the stately home of the Boscawens, and Tre-lissick, formerly the abode of Davies Gilbert, a name once not unknown in the world of politics and letters, and still cherished by his fellow Cornishmen as an historian of the antiquities and topography of their common county, joins an arm of the sea, and widens into the capacious harbour of Falmouth, guarded by the ancient castles of Pendennis and St. Mawe's. "The brothers," the editor of the "Memories" truly says, "would have

More properly the Fal, *unde derivatur* Falmouth.

made a noticeable group in any country, and were not less conspicuous from their public spirit and philanthropy than from their scientific attainments, their geniality, and the simplicity and modesty of their lives."* Of these brothers, Robert Were Fox, Caroline's father, was the eldest. Properly to bring this family before our readers' mind would require a power of description such as that which enabled Macaulay to perpetuate the memory of the society of Holland House, Sir James Stephen the memory of the Clapham sect, or Dr. Martineau so vividly to bring before his readers Priestley in his American exile, on the outer margin of civilization, seated in his study, beneath the pictures of the friends he had lost, and surrounded by the books which had been his companions through half a century and over half the earth, while the social voices of the group of heretics round the fireside of Essex Street floated on his ear, and his eye would dream of the philosophers who had welcomed him on his yearly visits to London. Lacking this power, we avail ourselves of the glimpse given by Carlyle in his "Life of Sterling":—

"Of the well-known Quaker family of the Fox's, principal people in that place, persons of cultivated, opulent habits, and joining to the fine purities and pieties of their sect, a reverence for human intelligence in all kinds. The family had grave elders, bright, cheery young branches, men and women; truly amiable all after their sort. 'Most worthy, respectable, and highly cultivated people, with a great deal of money among them,' wrote Sterling, 'who make the place pleasant to me. They are connected with all the large Quaker circle—the Gurneys, Frys, &c., and also with Buxton, the Abolitionist.' "†

With "Friends" wealth seems an almost inseparable accident. Caroline Fox, writing to a kindred spirit, who resembled her alike in intellectual and spiritual characteristics, in the possession of wealth, and in its generous expenditure for the good of others, observes—

"I always try to account for this phenomenon by remembering that we are essentially a middle class community; that amongst us industry, perseverance, and energy of character are habitually cultivated, and that as our crotchets keep us out of almost all the higher walks of professional life, this industry, perseverance, and energy is found in the money market, and is apt to succeed therein. All I can say in apology (for it *does* require an apology) is, that the wealth we gain is not generally spent on ourselves alone. But, pray, tell us, candidly, which of the other crying evils of our country thou wouldst urge on our attention, for there are many listening for 'calls' who would thankfully take a good hint." ‡

* "Memoir," vol. i. p. xiv. † Carlyle's "Life of Sterling," p. 259.
‡ Letter to the late E. T. Carne, of Penzance, vol. ii p. 234.

This was written in 1855, but "Friends" are no longer excluded from the higher walks of professional life. Not only is one Friend a Privy Councillor, but another is a Judge of the High Court of Justice. Early Friends would not have tolerated the being spoken of as the "Right Honourable" gentleman, or being addressed as "My Lord," or "Your Honour." Now it would be curious to see the effect which would be produced if a member of the bar using all "plainness of speech" addressed the learned Judge we allude to simply as "Friend."

We may add that this Cornish family supplied a notable illustration of Richard Cobden's remark, "That the Quakers have acted Christianity, and their women have approached nearer to an equality with the other sex than any of the descendants of Eve."* The abolition of slavery and the slave trade, the spread of Christianity, the bloodless war against ignorance, intemperance, and, not less, against the military spirit, were supported by their labours and their purses. They laboured also in other fields of usefulness, specially those connected with the great industry of their native county. The President of the Royal Society, in his annual address, referring to the severe loss which the Society and the scientific world generally sustained by the death of Robert Were Fox, describes him as "eminent for his researches on the temperature and the magnetic and electrical condition of the interior of the earth, especially in connection with the formation of mineral veins; and further, as the inventor of some, and the improver of other instruments, now everywhere employed in ascertaining the properties of terrestrial magnetism."†

Robert Were Fox also obtained the Banksian medal for acclimatizing more than two hundred foreign plants in his grounds at Grove Hill,‡ a place singularly favourable to the growth of exotics and delicate shrubs. Orange and lemon trees are grown against the garden walls, and yield an abundance of very tolerable fruit. His appearance and character are sympathetically described by one, herself also of Quaker lineage, and who knew him well:—

"The wise but determined and energetic regulator of his own, and the prop and firm support of his mother's large family, picture to yourself his forehead, and the sides of his head, with what Spurzheim used to call 'perpendicular walls of reason and of truth.' Patient investigation, profound reflection, and steadfast determination sit upon

* 'Life of Cobden,' vol. ii. p. 366. † "Memoir," vol. i. pp. xiv.-xv.

‡ Grove Hill was R. W. Fox's Falmouth residence. Penjerrick, the dearly-loved home of Caroline's later life, is some two or three miles from Falmouth.

his thinking and bent brow. Generous and glowing feeling often kindles his deep set eyes, whilst the firm closing of his mouth, the square form of the chin, and the muscular activity and strong form, show that it is continually compressed within by the energy of a self-governing character. Truth and honour unshaken, conscience unsullied, cool investigating reason and irresistible force seem to follow the outlines of his very remarkable character.”*

Of his wife, Maria Fox, we learn from the same authority that she was ‘a “supereminently excellent mother. She had not the scientific tastes that distinguished her husband; but her heart and affections, her least actions, and her very looks were so imbued and steeped in the living waters of Divine truth that she seemed to have come to the perfection of heavenly wisdom, which made her conversation a rich feast and a blessed instruction.”†

The Fox’s always occupied a foremost position in the Society of Friends, and retained, as did Caroline to the last, many of the scrupulosities, and many of the peculiarities in speech and dress, which made the Society what Caroline described it, “surely the most *difficile* and bizarre body in Christendom.”‡ “It is droll,” wrote Sterling to Carlyle, “to hear them talking of all the common topics of science, literature, and life, and in the midst of it, ‘Does thou know Wordsworth?’ or, ‘Did thou see the Coronation?’ or ‘Will thou take some refreshment.’” On occasion of one of the visits of the British Association to Dublin, there was a dinner and soirée to all the savants at the Vice-regal Lodge. “There was quite a row,” Caroline records in her diary, “when the gentlemen wanted their hats: terrible confusion and outcry. Never before had a broad brim so justified itself in my eyes. It was found and restored to its owner, whilst I had to leave poor General Sabine in a mass of perplexities.”§

Parenthetically, we may observe that Caroline records an imaginary saying, put by Carlyle in the mouth of George Fox, utterly inconsistent with, nay repugnant to, historic truth, and showing Carlyle’s ignorance of the man whom he professed to describe. He had “wandered in to tea” with the Fox’s, during one of their biennial visits to London—

* Extract from a letter of M. A. Schimmelpenninck, in “Memoir,” pp. 15 *et seq.* See also her “Life,” by C. C. Hankin. Longmans, 1858.

† *Ibid.* p. 16.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 234.

§ Vol. ii. p. 255. Readers of “Lord Macaulay’s Life” will remember the story of his uncle (a Friend), who, when in London, had looked in at Rowland Hill’s Chapel, and had there lost a new hat. When he reported this misfortune to his father, the old Friend replied, “John, if thee’d gone to the right place of worship, thee’d have kept thy hat on thy head.”—Vol. i. p. 21.

"Looking dusky and aggrieved at having to live in such a generation, and pouring forth such a string of tirades that it became natural in his hearers to ask, 'Who *has* ever done any good in the world?' 'Why,' he replied, 'there was one George Fox, he did some little good. He walked up to a man, and said, "My fat-faced friend, thou art a damn'd lie!!!"' *"

Of one, and not the least, of the benevolent characteristics of Friends—their love of animals—these volumes give us many illustrations. We read of Caroline when quite a child, saying, "O mamma! do let me say my hymn louder, for my poor mule is listening and cannot hear me." † We read also of a walk taken by Caroline and her sister with Sterling. "We took," she notes, "poor Billy, the goat, with us when Sterling chose to lead it, and presented a curious spectacle: his solemn manner with that volatile kid." ‡ On another occasion, she affectionately refers "to Balaam, the ape, whom I had borrowed for the afternoon, and the kid, near by, quite happy in our companionship." § Frank Buckland is described as staying at Uncle Charles's, "and you might have seen him in his glory, lying on the pavement outside the drawing-room door, with the three monkeys sprawling about him." || "We were delighted," is another entry, "to watch Uncle Joshua in his sweet companionship with Nature; the little birds are now so intimate and trustful, that they come when he calls them, and eat crumbs out of his mouth. It is a charming and beautiful sight." ¶

Caroline Fox, one of the three children of her parents, was born May 24, 1819. Her brother, Robert Barclay Fox, was a man of intellectual power and literary tendency, both of which had received the cultivation common amongst Friends. His friendship was sought and prized by three men of very different characters—John Sterling, in a greater degree by John Stuart Mill, and in a still greater degree by that much enduring statesman, William Edward Foster, himself reared as a Friend, and whose friendship with Robert began, we believe, at an early period in their lives. Like Sterling, Robert's literary tendency took the poetic form of expression. From the specimens of his poetry** given us, we can only wish that he had been as fortunate as was Sterling in the possession of a friend, who would, in the spirit of the Scriptural saying, "Faithful are the wounds of a friend," have given to his poetical aspirations, such snubbings as Carlyle and his wife gave those of Sterling.

* Vol. ii. p. 84.

† "Memoir," vol. i. p. xvii.

‡ Vol. i. p. 242.

§ Vol. i. p. 246.

|| Vol. ii. p. 307.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 30.

** *Vide* vol. i. "Memoir," p. 25, vol. ii. pp. 43-230.

Far better was a prose effort of his—a tract, entitled, “My Friend Mr. B.” Its purpose was to counteract the effect of the foolish invasion panic of 1853. Written from the Friend’s point of view, both as regards the immorality of the war spirit and its anti-economical tendency, it so delighted Cobden that he requested a copy of it might be sent to every member of both Houses, which was done.*

Anna Maria, the sister of Caroline and Robert, who survives them both, and to whom these volumes are dedicated, is an artist of no mean ability, and exercises the characteristic beneficence of her family. The Polytechnic Society of her native county, established in a great measure through her exertions, did not, to use her sister’s words, “hesitate to reward” two of her pictures with their medals, and, moreover, paid them a public compliment, which her sister was “almost apt to fancy well deserved.”†

Caroline, like her brother, possessed considerable intellectual power. From her birth she was of delicate constitution, and consequently, never went to any school; but her mother’s care, aided by the best masters obtainable at that time and in her remote home, completely supplied the want of school training, but, says her biographer, “The best part of her education was gained after the school-room door was closed, and she was mistress of her own time.” Association with the literary and scientific men who frequented the houses of her father and his brothers, further developed her natural powers, and the works of Coleridge exercised upon her a peculiar‡ fascination, and stimulated her mind to greater efforts of thought.

Her own description of her state of mind in her twenty-first year is given in the Memoir. There is perhaps too much introspection to be perfectly healthy or natural in one so young. This is due to her training by Friends and their habit of watching and narrating their experiences.

Dr. Calvert, “the excellent ingenious cheery Cumberland gentleman” with whom Carlyle in his “Life of Sterling” has made us familiar, and the closing years of whose life were spent at Falmouth, was one of the intimate friends of the Fox circle; “a few solemn words spoken by him awakened a consciousness in Caroline’s mind of the worthlessness of a merely traditional faith in highest truths.” “The more,” she says, “I examined into my reasons for believing doctrines, the more was I staggered and filled with anxious thought.” She was in the state of mind which Carlyle describes “as the spasmodic efforts of some to

* It is reprinted in full in vol. ii., in the notes to p. 204, *et seq.*

† Vol. ii. p. 192.

‡ “Memoir,” vol. i. p. 18.

believe that they believe." This description she appropriated to herself. "I fully believe," she continues, "in Christ as a Mediator and Exemplar, but I could not bring my reason to accept Him as a Saviour and Redeemer. What kept me at this time from being a Unitarian was, that I retained a perfect conviction that though I could not see into the truth of the doctrine, it was nevertheless true." "A gleam of light, 'the first cold light of morning,' which gave promise of day with 'its noontide glories,'" dawned on her one day at meeting, when she had been meditating on her state in great depression. She seemed to hear the words articulated in her spirit, "Live up to the light thou hast and more will be granted thee." "Then I believed that God speaks to man by His spirit." An exposition of the tenth chapter of Hebrews, by John Stevenson—a minister, we presume, among the Friends—"which he was enabled to give and she was permitted to receive," was the next epoch in her spiritual life. In this exposition she was much interested at the time, but it had not its full effect till some days after, when, while she was walking sorrowfully and thoughtfully, the description of Teufelsdröch's triumph over fear came forcibly and vividly before her.

"Why," she said to herself, "should I thus help to swell the triumph of the infernal powers by tampering with their miserable suggestions of unbelief, and neglecting the amazing gift which Christ has so long been offering me? I know that He is the Redeemer of all such as believe in Him, and I *will* believe, and look for His support in the contest with unbelief."

"The next morning as I was employed in making some notes of John Stevenson's comments in my journal, the truth came before me with a clearness and consistency and brightness indescribably delightful. The *reasonableness* of some Christian doctrines which had before especially perplexed me, shone now as clear as noonday; and the thankfulness I felt for the blessed light that was granted was intense."*

At this time she was much in the society of John Stuart Mill, to whom "she owed very much."† He explained to her brother his views on the doctrine of the Atonement, to which we shall by-and-by call attention, and probably it was Mill's influence which induced Caroline to modify her belief in that doctrine, which at a later period she thus expressed:—

"Namely, that the voluntary sacrifice of Christ was not undertaken to appease the wrath of God, but rather to express His infinite love to His creatures, and thus to reconcile them to Himself. Every species of sacrifice meets, and is glorified, in Him; and He claims from His children, as the proof of their loyalty and love, that perfect subjection

* "Memoir," vol. i. pp. 20-25.

† Vol. ii. p. 269.

of their own wills to His, of which self-sacrifice He is the Eternal Pattern; and bestows the will and the power only to be guided by Himself." *

On one occasion Mill, in giving Caroline what she calls "some glimpses of truth through those wonderfully keen quiet eyes," explained to her what in Friend's language would be called his doctrine of the Inner Light.

"Every one"—such is her note of this conversation—"has an infallible guide in the sanctuary of his own heart, if he will but wait and listen. Some continue for years in a state of unrest, but with few does it continue till the end without physical disease inducing it. At this point, a judicious friend, or a book, has often a wonderful and delightful effect in opening truth, a clear belief, and a peaceful conscience to him who has sought them with such earnestness. Different men arrive at different points and veins of truth by this process; none knew truth in its fulness, nor can know it whilst bound down to earth and time." †

Caroline herself thought—

"The idea of a guiding principle has been held by the best minds in all ages, alike by Socrates and St. Augustine, though under different names. There has ever been a cloud of witnesses to this moral truth, and the sun shining brightly behind then even in the darkest age, and a superhuman light in every one that has been or that is; and in it is there a distinct vision, a glorious reality of safety and happiness." ‡

To the end of her life, as is common with Friends, she believed in and claimed for herself and others "the indispensable blessing of an ever-present teacher and guide."

After Mill's marriage, which separated him from so many of his friends, the intimacy between Mill and the Fox circle, which had previously lessened, altogether ceased. Caroline's criticisms on his later works and opinions agree with those of Dr. Martineau:—

"No one would believe beforehand," he says of Mill, "that a writer so serene and even, not to say cold, could affect the reader with so much sadness. You fall into it without knowing whence it comes. All the lights upon his page are intellectual, coming from a deep reserve of moral gloom." §

"I am reading," writes Caroline Fox to the correspondent whom

* "Memoir," vol. i. 24–25. Conf. John Stuart Mill's letter to Robert Barclay Fox, vol. ii. (appendix) 317–18.

† Vol. i. p. 165.

‡ Vol. i. p. 141. It is not clear whether these are Caroline's own opinions, or those of Sterling, recorded and assented to by her.

§ "Miscellanies," vol. ii. p. 70.

we have before mentioned, "that terrible book of John Mill's on Liberty—so clear, and calm, and cold, he lays it on one as a tremendous duty to get oneself well contradicted, and admit always a devil's advocate into the presence of your dearest, most sacred truths, as they are apt to grow windy and worthless without such tests, if indeed they can stand the shock of argument at all. He looks you through like a basilisk, relentless as fate. We knew him well at one time, and owe him very much. I fear his remorseless logic has led him far since then. The book is dedicated to his wife's memory, in a few touching words. He is in many senses isolated, and must sometimes shiver with the cold."

And again to the same correspondent:—

"No, my dear, I don't agree with Mill, though I too should be glad to have some of my ugly opinions corrected, however painful the process; but Mill makes me shiver, his blade is so keen and so unhesitating. I think there is much force in his criticism on the mental training provided for the community: the battles are fought for us, the objections to received views and the refutation of the same all provided for us, instead of ourselves being strengthened and armed for the combat. Then he greatly complains of our all growing so much alike that individuality is dying out of the land. We are more afraid of singularity than of falsehood or compromise, and this he thinks a very dark symptom of a nation's decay. France, he says, is further gone than we are in this path."*

In her late years Caroline appears to have considered Frederick Dennison Maurice "as a leader in the exposition of Fundamental Eternal Truth." Her own theological position she thus defined:—

"I have assumed a name to-day for my religious principles—Quaker Catholicism—having direct spiritual teaching for its distinctive dogma, yet recognizing the high worth of all other forms of faith; a system in the sense of inclusion, not exclusion; an appreciation of the universal and various teachings of the Spirit through the faculties given us, or independent of them."†

With the ecclesiastical quacks and quackeries of the time she had no sympathy.

"If I remember rightly," she writes to her familiar friend, "nothing short of the destruction of a world could satisfy Dr. Cumming. Oh! the comfort and blessing of knowing that our future is in other hands than Dr Cumming's; how restful it makes one, and so willing to have the veil closely drawn which separates Now from Then."‡

Again, to another friend:—

Vol. ii. 270, 271.

† *Ibid.* pp. 52-54, 195, 216.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 240.

“It must have been delightful to get an experienced sister to assist in the parish work, but don't let them talk thee into joining a sisterhood. Woman's work may well be done without all that ceremony; and, whilst there are wifeless brothers with parishes to look after, I think it would be a shame to turn deserter. This is very gratuitous advice, for thou never gave a hint of such possible change of raiment.”*

The deeply religious element in her character was joined with a strong sense and appreciation of humour. It was, perhaps, “the joviality” which Macaulay claimed to have derived from his Quaker forefathers.† She herself speaks of Amelia Opie, an authoress among the Friends, formerly better known than now, as being in “great force, and really jolly.”‡ Of this disposition there are many illustrations in the anecdotes and sayings which she records. She fixes a date, and gives the name of a witness of a well-known scene:—

“January 31, 1840.—L. Dyke was in the church at Torquay last Christmas Day, when a modest and conscientious clergyman did duty in the presence of the bishop.§ In reading the communion service he substituted ‘condemnation’ in the exhortation, ‘He that eateth or drinketh of this bread or this cup unworthily.’ ‘Damnation!’ screamed the bishop in a most effective manner, to the undisguised astonishment of the congregation.”||

Of some one, whose initials only are given, we are told:—

“Poor J. B., in distressing delirium, having taken in ten hours the morphia intended for forty-eight, he was tearing off his clothes, crying out, ‘I'm a glorified Spirit, I'm a glorified Spirit! Take away these filthy rags. What should a glorified Spirit do with these filthy rags?’ On this E.— said, coaxingly, ‘Why, my dear, you wouldn't go to Heaven stark naked?’ On which the attendants who were holding him set off.”¶

The following remark of Carlyle to Calvert, in reference to his dyspeptic ailments, we do not remember to have seen before: “Well, I can't wish Satan anything worse than to digest for all eternity with my stomach. We shouldn't want fire and brimstone then.”**

Carlyle certainly was not only eminently dyspeptic, but, like Thurlow, “eminently dyslogistic,” as appears by his remarks to

* Vol. ii. p. 307.

† “Lord Macaulay was accustomed to say that he got his “joviality” from his mother's family (members of the Society of Friends). If his power of humour was indeed of Quaker origin, he was rather ungrateful in the use he, sometimes put it to.”—Trevelyan's “Life,” vol. i. p. 21.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 20. § The late Bishop Philpotts. || Vol. i. p. 102.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 88. ** *Ibid.* p. 220.

Caroline on Mill : " He is too fond of demonstrating everything. If he were to get up to heaven, he would be hardly content till he had made out how it all was. For my part I don't trouble myself much about the machinery of the place, whether there is an operative set of angels or an industrial class. I'm willing to leave all that."*

Of Martin Farquhar Tupper, Caroline speaks as " the proverbial philosopher from whom I heard neither philosophy nor proverb."†

Caroline laboured much among the poor, and she gives some curious instances which will be appreciated by those acquainted with the Cornish poorer class, and which illustrate the depth and exactness of the knowledge gained from the religious teaching so abundantly heaped on them—*e.g.*, " called on some of the old women. One of them said ' It was quite a frolic my coming to read to them.' What different views some people have of fro'ics."‡

Here is another entry which by many of the straiter sects of our religion would be considered profane : " What things wives are! What a spirit of joyous suffering, confidence, and love was incarnated in Eve. 'Tis a pity they should eat apples."§ It must be remembered that Friends from the first protested against " being under bondage to the letter" of Scripture, and took broader views on literal inspiration than is common among other evangelical religionists. Reading Scripture lessons in public worship was considered by older Friends unduly honouring " the letter."

In a cottage visit (in Norfolk, by the way, not in Cornwall) " a young woman told us that her father was nearly converted, and that a little more teaching would complete the business, adding ' He quite believes that he is lost, which of course is a great consolation to the old man.' "||

On finishing her week's work at the Falmouth Infant School, she " wrote in the Visitor's Report Book ' that as many eminent men were very stupid at school, there was every hope for the sixty-three there.' "¶

On another visit to a school : " The good teacher was taking most patient pains with an endlessly stupid little girl, who meekly and respectfully whispered the most heterogeneous answers to the simplest questions. ' Who did Adam and Eve sin against when they ate the fruit ? ' ' Their parents and friends, Ma'am.' ' Were Adam and Eve happy when they left the garden ? ' ' Holy and happy, Ma'am.' " **

* Vol. i. p. 309. † Vol. ii. p. 246. ‡ Vol. i. p. 27.
§ Vol. ii. p. 11. || *Ibid.* p. 16. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 23. ** *Ibid.* p. 157.

We have space only for one more extract of this kind—

"A damsel belonging to Barclay's establishment being here, I thought it right 'to try and do her good,' so I asked her, after many unsuccessful questions, if she had not heard of the Lord's coming into the world. 'Why,' she said, 'I might have done so, but I have forgotten it.' 'But surely you must have heard your master read about it, and heard of it at school or chapel.' 'Very likely I have,' said she, placidly, 'but it has quite slipped my memory;' and this uttered with a lamb-like face and a mild blue eye."*

Caroline's devotion to benevolent labours shortened her life. For some years she had been subject to attacks of chronic bronchitis, and during the Christmas of 1870, while going her rounds with New Year's gifts to her poorer neighbours, she took a cold, which rapidly developed into bronchitis. Her power of rallying, which had previously brought her through many severe attacks, now failed, and she died in her sleep in the early morning of January 12, 1871.

To readers of *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, the chief interest of these volumes will be the large portion which refers to John Stuart Mill. In Caroline Fox's memories of him and in his own letters to Barclay Fox, he appears in a far more genial light than in his "Autobiography," or in the recollections of Professor Bain.† These letters also seem to us to throw a new light upon Mill's religious opinions. We must, however, first speak of Sterling, who in these volumes fills a space as large as or even larger than Mill. Mill, while Sterling was yet living, held a similar opinion of his character and influence to that which he has recorded in his "Autobiography." "Sterling," he wrote, in 1842, to Barclay Fox, "fancies himself idle and useless, not considering how wide an effect his letters and conversation must produce; and, indeed, the mere fact of such a man living and breathing amongst us has an incalculable influence."‡ After Sterling's death, Carlyle, in his usual dyslogistic spirit, passed a more sober judgment on him. "His character was not supremely original; neither was his fate in the world wonderful. What he did was inconsiderable enough; and as to what it lay in him to have done, this was but a problem, now beyond possibility of settlement."§ He foretells that the two volumes published by Archdeacon Hare "will be held in memory by the world, one way or other, till the world has extracted all its benefit from

* Vol. ii. p. 157.

† "John Stuart Mill," *A Criticism with Personal Recollections* by Alexander Bain, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Longmans, 1882.

‡ Vol. i. p. 291. Conf. p. 189. Conf. Mill's "Autobiography," 152 *et seq.*

§ "Life of Sterling," p. 7.

them.”* That time has, we think, come; Hare’s book is long since out of print, and neither in that great public convenience, the railway library of W. H. Smith & Son, nor in one of the best public libraries possessed by any provincial town, can we find a copy of it. These memories of Sterling, by a friend who had a thorough knowledge of him, zeal for his memory, if not rather a personal affection for him, and ability rightly to estimate and faithfully to represent him, will revive his memory for a time, but in the end will, like the rival biographies by Hare and Carlyle, preach, to use the words of Sir James Stephen, one more unheeded sermon on the text, “Oh, ye candidates for fame, put not your faith in coteries.”

The friendship between Sterling and Caroline Fox began during his first visit to Falmouth. It increased after he took up his abode there, and continued unabated to the close of his residence in that place. The relation of master and pupil existed between them, and the master’s multifariously diversified speculations on theology, philosophy, and literature, are reported with Boswell-like fidelity by his admiring pupil. Caroline first mentions Sterling as a very “literary man with whom her brother had been much pleased, and who was an intimate friend of S. T. Coleridge during the latter part of his life.” On first acquaintance she pronounced him to be “a very agreeable man, with a most *Lamb*-liking for town life.” Cornish readers, if so be we have any, will appreciate a remark of Sterling’s. On an excursion to Glendurgan, the lovely abode of one of the Fox’s, Sterling, at one part of the road where there were a few trees, naïvely exclaimed, “Why, this really reminds one of England.”†

Sterling suggested to Caroline that as she saw many eminent persons, she should make notes of their appearance as well as their conversation. The idea “seeming to her good,” she resolved to try her ’prentice hand on him himself, and here is the result:—

“John Sterling is a man of stature, not robust, but well-proportioned; hair brown, and clinging closely round his head, complexion very pale, eyes grey, nose beautifully chiselled, mouth very expressive. His face is one expressing remarkable strength, energy, and refinement of character. In argument he commonly listens to his antagonist’s

* “Life of Sterling,” p. 205.

† Vol i, pp. 102-3, 149. Had Sterling in his mind the lines of the old poet quoted by Camden in the “*Britannia* :—

“Cornwall from England, Tamar’s streams divide,
Whence with fat salmon all the land’s supplied.”

Unhappily, the last line is now a mere poetic dream.

sentiments with a smile, less of conscious superiority than of affectionate contempt (if such a combination may be)—I mean what would express, ‘Poor dear! she knows no better.’ In argument on deep or serious subjects, however, he looks earnest enough, and throws his ponderous strength into reasoning and feeling. Small chance then for the antagonist who ventures to come to blows! He can make him and his arguments look so small; for, truth to tell, he dearly loves this indomitable strength of his, and I doubt any human power bringing him to an acknowledgment of mistake with the consequent conviction that the opposite party was right. Sterling possesses a quickness and delicacy of perception quite feminine, and with it a power of originating striking thoughts, and making them the foundation of a regular and compact series of consequences and deductions, such as only a man, and a man of extraordinary power of close thinking and clearness of vision, can attain unto. He is singularly uninfluenced by the opinions of others, preferring, on the whole, to run counter to them than make any approach to a compromise.”*

This brings the man more vividly before us than the laboured efforts of Carlyle, or so far as at this distance of time we can remember, anything in Hare’s memoir.

The subjects of some of the conversations between the master and his pupil are remarkable, considering that the master, though he had been some years married, was still only in his thirty-fourth, while his pupil was only in her twenty-first year. “We talked,” she notes, “on the mental differences between the sexes, which he considers precisely analogous to their physical diversities: her dependence upon him, he the creative, she the receptive power.”†

Mill, with his later views on the relations of the sexes, would have thought that his friend Sterling was far from the truth. On another occasion, when Sterling and Caroline were joined by Calvert and Anna Maria, the conversation ranged over Napoleon, Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, the practices of the Society of Friends, the evils of marriages between persons of differing religious beliefs, the Churches of Rome and England, to Keightly’s “History of Rome.” Caroline, with a spice of mischief, adds:—

“As we neared home, Bobby (the pony) got his bit out of his mouth, and it was delicious to see the ignorance of common things manifested by our transcendentalists. ‘You’d better let him go, he’ll find his way home,’ said Sterling, with a laudable knowledge of natural history, and a confused recollection of the instinct of brutes. We, thinking it would go probably to Kergillack, thought it best to lead him. So, Sterling took his forelock, and I his tail, and marched the little kicking beast homeward. ‘Calvert, just put the bit in his

* Vol. i. p. 241.

† *Ibid.* p. 128.

mouth, can't you; it's very easy.' 'Oh, yes, perfectly easy,' said Calvert; 'do you do it, Sterling?'" *

The communications between the master and the pupil occasionally took a lighter shape, if, indeed, they did not amount to flirtation, supposing such a thing possible between a married clergyman and a female member of the Society of Friends. To us it seems as impossible as did flirtation by a Bishop to Sydney Smith. "John Sterling," says the lady, "wrote the following impromptu to me by way of autograph" (of autographs she was a great collector):—

"What need to write upon your book a name,
Which is not written in the book of fame;
Believe me, she to reason calmly true,
Though far less kind, is far more just than you." †

She narrates, on Sterling's authority, the following reply by him to Carlyle: "Carlyle was as often pouring out the fulness of his indignation at the quackery and speciosity of the times. He wound up by saying, 'When I look at this, I determine to cast all tolerance to the winds.' Sterling quietly remarked, 'My dear fellow, I had no idea you had any to cast.'" ‡

A pendant to this is a retort of C. Lamb, to Coleridge, which she records on the testimony of one who heard it. "On one occasion Coleridge was holding forth on the effects produced by his preaching, and appealed to Lamb, 'You have heard me preach, I think?' 'I have never heard you do anything else,' was the urbane reply." §

When Sterling's life came to be written, Hare naturally applied for information to the Fox's, who had heard much and so many of Sterling's later opinions. Caroline notes in her diary the receipt from Hare of a long letter "detailing difficulties which we had foreseen, and could well enter into. He seems almost forced to publish more than he would wish, in order to leave Mill and Carlyle no pretext for an opposition portrait." ||

Her opinion of Hare's work was "that it was full of exquisite interest, but of a very mixed kind." ¶

Mill intended to write Sterling's Life, and Caroline gave him some cautions as to it. "Clara Mill writes: 'Is Caroline's note a brave note in answer to my cautious entreaties? Publish what you will, and all you can, it can only do him honour.'" **

What a Life of Sterling by Mill would have been we know from the mention in his "Autobiography:" "Of that short and

* Vol. i. p. 118. † *Ibid.* p. 115. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 208. § *Ibid.* p. 23.
|| Vol. ii. p. 95. ¶ *Ibid.* p. 97. ** *Ibid.*

transitory phasis of Sterling's life, during which he made the mistake of becoming a clergyman."*

According to Hallam, who so told Caroline Fox, the impression produced by Hare's work on those who knew Sterling intimately, was "that it portrayed a mere book-worm, always occupied with some obstruse theological problem, rather than the man they delighted in for his geniality and buoyancy of feeling."†

This feeling was, no doubt, the origin of Carlyle's opposition portrait of Sterling, and of his caricature of Hare's.

"A pale sickly shadow is presented to us here—weltering, bewildered, amid heaps of what you call 'Hebrew old clothes,' wrestling with inopotent impetuosity to free itself from the baleful imbroglia, as if that had been its one function in life. Who, in this miserable figure, would recognize the brilliant, beautiful, and cheerful John Sterling, with his ever-flowing wealth of ideas, fancies, imaginations, with his frank affections, inexhaustible hopes, audacities, activities; and general radiant vivacity of heart and intelligence, which made the presence of him an illumination and inspiration wherever he went? . . . Once for all, it is unjust, emphatically untrue, as an image of John Sterling. Perhaps to few men that lived along with him could such an interpretation of their existence be more inapplicable."‡

Caroline Fox possessed every qualification justly to criticize Carlyle's work, and thus she did so:—

"That it is calculated to draw fresh obloquy on the subject of it, is a very secondary consideration to the fact that it is a book likely to do much harm to Carlyle's wide enthusiastic public. It is painful enough to see the memorial of his friend made the text for utterances and innuendoes from which one *knows* that he would now skrink even more than ever, and God alone can limit the mischief. But He can. That the book is often brilliant and beautiful, and more human-hearted than most of Carlyle's, will make it the more read, however little the world may care for the subject of the memoir. The graphic parts and the portraiture are generally admirable, but not by any means always so."§

We now turn to John Stuart Mill. These diaries not only show him in a more genial light than any previous account of him,|| but they also abundantly illustrate and justify Bishop Thirlwall's remark: "I always considered Mill a noble spirit, who had the misfortune of having been educated by a narrow-minded pedant, who cultivated his intellectual faculties at

* "Autobiography," p. 155.

† "Life of Sterling," p. 6.

|| Mill in his "Autobiography" makes no mention of the Fox's, or his friendship with them.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 138.

§ Vol. ii. p. 173.

the expense of all the rest, yet did not succeed in stifling them.”*

The elder Mill left a decidedly unpleasant impression upon some of those who knew him. Sir John Bowring, who was associated with him in the earliest years of *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, described him to Caroline Fox as “stern, harsh and sceptical,” and added that Bentham said of him that “he rather hated the ruling few than loved the suffering many.”† While another intimate associate, Grote, spoke of him as “having all that cynicism and asperity which belong to the Benthamian School, and of the readiness and seeming preference with which he dwelt on the faults and defects of others, even the greatest men.”‡ These qualities were certainly conspicuous by their absence in John Mill.

The circumstances which led to Mill’s acquaintance with the Fox’s were sufficiently melancholy.§ Late in 1839, or early in 1840, Henry Mill, his younger and favourite brother, then in his nineteenth year, was far gone in consumption. “Probably encouraged—Carlyle thinks—by Sterling, he came with his mother and sisters to Falmouth. There also came Sterling and Calvert, all three seeking refuge of climate.” To the Mills as well as to Sterling and Calvert “the doors and hearts of this kind family”—we quote Carlyle’s words of the Fox’s—“were thrown wide open.” Henry Mill is described in the “Memories” as “a most beautiful young creature, almost ethereal in the exquisite delicacy of his outline and colouring, and with a most musical voice.”||

John Mill afterwards joined the sorrowing group which surrounded the dying bed of Henry, and became intimate with the Fox family. Henry Mill, like his elder brother, delighted in a study John Mill’s proficiency in which, we suspect, is not generally known even among his admirers.

“Botanical students, more than thirty years ago, turning over the leaves of the English ‘Flora,’ encountered the frequent name of J. S. Mill, as an authority for the habitat or the varieties of flowers. Before the earliest of these papers was written, the author, stripling as he must have been, was already known to distinguished men as a faithful observer of Nature. A holiday walk through the lanes and orchards of Kent, which would have yielded to most youths a week’s frolic and a bag of apples, filled his tin box with the materials of a naturalist’s reputation.”¶

* Bishop Thirlwall’s “Letters to a Friend,” p. 295. † Vol. i. p. 216.

‡ “Personal Life of Grote,” p. 21.

§ James Mill died June 23, 1836. Henry was then in his fifteenth year.

|| Vol. i. p. 102. Conf. Carlyle, p. 260. Bain, p. 61.

¶ Martineau, “Miscellaneous,” vol. ii. p. 63. This was written in 1859, the thirty years therefore are now fifty.

Even when Henry was "fast fading from the eyes of those who loved him," he peculiarly enjoyed looking into flowers, and amused himself in helping his sister to press flowers she had collected, and making the foundation of an herbarium.*

Before leaving the subject of John Mill's botanical pursuits, we may mention that he gave Caroline a calendar of the odours that scent the air, arranged chronologically according to the months, beginning with the laurel and ending with the lime. It is addressed "To Miss Caroline Fox, from her grateful friend, J. S. Mill."† Mill continued his botanical pursuits to the very close of his life.

If James Mill, in the case of John Mill, did not entirely succeed in his endeavour to stifle all religious belief and devotional aspiration, he was even less successful with his other children. We read the following entry in Caroline's diary:—

"Mamma had an interesting little interview with Henry Mill. . . . She led the conversation gradually into a rather more serious channel, and Henry Mill told Clara‡ afterwards, that her kind manner, her use of the words, *thee and thou*, and her allusions to religious subjects, quite overcame him, and he was on the point of bursting into tears. She gave him a hymn-book, and Clara marked one which she specially recommended—'As thy day thy strength shall be.' For the last few evenings they have read him a psalm, or some other part of Scripture."§

Within ten days of his death he conversed tranquilly with his brother about his past life, in which he thought he might have done more and done better; but he hoped his death might be of some use to others—he felt perfect confidence in looking to the future. "We have all we could desire of—comfort," were John Mill's own words, in seeing him in this most tranquil, calm, composed, happy state."§

Caroline first heard from Sterling of Mill "as a man of extraordinary power and genius, the founder of a new school in metaphysics, and a most charming companion." From Clara Mill she learned how their father "had entirely educated John, and made him think prematurely, so that he never had the enjoyment of life peculiar to boys, which he felt to be a great disadvantage."|| The first impression he made on her she thus describes:—"A very uncommon-looking person; such acuteness and sensibility marked in his exquisitely chiselled

* Vol. i. pp. 132-5.

† *Ibid.* p. 166.

‡ Sister of J. S. and H. Mill.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 132, 133, 146.

|| *Ibid.* pp. 107, 145.

countenance, more resembling a portrait of Lavater than any other that I remember. His voice is refinement itself, and his mode of expressing himself tallies with voice and countenance."*

Many and various are the conversations of Mill which these volumes record. Mr. Bain admits that Mill's opinions "are very fairly set forth; but the thing," he adds, "wanting to do full justice to his conversation is to present it in dialogue, so as to show how he could give and take with his fellow-talker. A well reported colloquy between him and Sterling would be very much to the purpose."† "In a glorious discourse on reason, self-government, and subjects collateral," of which Caroline professes herself unable to give but the barest idea, "Sterling was the chief speaker, and John Mill would occasionally throw in an idea to clarify an involved theory or shed light on a profound abysmal one."‡ Of this conversation such a report as Mr. Bain desires would have been most valuable and interesting, but it would be doing Caroline Fox great injustice to estimate her records of Sterling and Mill's conversations as of no higher value than Senior's "Conversations with Distinguished Persons"—"every one of whom speaks precisely in the style of Mr. Senior himself, and not with the wit and vivacity of the original interlocutor."§ Those who remember Mr. Senior in the discharge of the judicial functions of his office,|| and the difficulty verging on impossibility of getting into his mind any idea not previously lodged there, will appreciate this criticism. Caroline Fox had a singularly accurate memory, and an equally singular power of giving from recollection a condensed report of what she heard, "wonderfully vivid and almost literally correct," to use words applied by J. Mill to notes of a sermon taken by another of the Fox family. That they were equally applicable to Caroline's notes, may be proved by comparing her notes of Carlyle's Lectures with his published volumes. Friends, it appears, cultivated talent¶ of this kind.**

In a sentence, the reconstruction of which, on grammatical principles, Mr. Bain foretells is likely to become one of the stock exercises in our manuals of English composition,†† Mill tells us "I am one of the very few examples in the country of one who has not thrown off religious belief, but never had it," and he further tells us that his father, in giving him an opinion contrary to that of the world, thought it necessary to give it as one which

* *Ibid.* p. 132. † Bain, p. 191. ‡ Vol. i. p. 141.

§ *Edinburgh Review*, No. 316, Oct. 1881, p. 475.

|| One of the Masters in Chancery. ¶ *Vide* vol. i. p. 182 *et seq.*

** See J. S. Mill's letter to R. B. Fox, vol. ii. appendix, p. 318.

†† P. 175.

could not prudently be avowed to the world. "This lesson," he adds, "of keeping my thoughts to myself at that early age was attended with some moral disadvantages, through my limited intercourse with strangers, especially such as were likely to speak to me on religion, prevented me from being placed in the alternative of avowal or hypocrisy."* The moral disadvantage he speaks of may have unconsciously affected him throughout his life.

Sterling, who in 1810 had long been intimate with Mill, told Caroline Fox, "It was a new thing for Mill to sympathize with religious characters. Some years since he had so imbibed the errors which his father instilled into him, as to be quite a bigot against religion. Sterling thinks he was never in so good a state as now."† We read also of Mill sitting for hours at the foot of Calvert's bed, "who had a racking headache," expatiating on the delights of "John Woolman" (which he is reading) and on spiritual religion, which he feels to be the deepest and truest. In this Calvert "thoroughly delights." Calvert, we may remark, was brought up among Friends, but by this time had become an Evangelical Churchman. Speaking to Caroline of motives, Mill said, "It is not well for young people to inquire too much into them, but rather judge of actions, lest, seeing the wonderful mixture of high and low, they should be discouraged; there is, besides, an egotism in self-depreciation: the only certain mode of overcoming this and all other egotisms is to implore the grace of God."‡

We cannot but think that Caroline Fox has in her notes of this conversation mixed up her own ideas with those of Mill, and the reference to the grace of God must be her own interpretation of, or gloss on, Mill's words. Shortly after this conversation, Mill, *apropos* of the Falmouth quarterly meeting of the Friends, wanted to know all about the constitution and discipline of the Society, and then "dilated on the different Friends' books he was reading;" on "John Woolman" he—

"philosophized on the principle that was active in him—that dependence on the immediate teaching of a superior being, which gave him clear views of what was essentially consistent or inconsistent with Christianity, independent of and often opposed to all recorded or common opinion, all self-interest. He had read Sewell and Rutty before he was ten years old. His father much admired Friends, thinking they did more for their fellow-creatures than any other body.

* "Autobiography," pp. 43-4.

† Vol. i. p. 213.

‡ Vol. i. pp. 156-7. "John Woolman" is a work well known among Friends.

. . . . He (J. S. Mill) much admires the part Friends have taken about tithes, and values *that* testimony against a priesthood as at present organized.*

Two days after Henry Mill's death Calvert spoke to Caroline Fox—

“of the great humility compatible with high metaphysical research, of John Mill standing on one side, and himself on the other, of his brother's death-bed, when Calvert remarked: ‘This sort of scene puts an end to reason, and faith begins.’ The other emphatically answered ‘Yes.’ The conversation which followed displaying such humility and deep feeling as, coming from the first metaphysician of the age, was most edifying.†

Here we have only Caroline's note of Calvert's report of Mill's conversation. Probably he meant and said only what he wrote to a friend under domestic sorrow: “To my mind the only permanent value of religion is in lightening the feeling of total separation which is so dreadful in a real grief.” We know, from the “*Essay on Theism*,” that he thought “the beneficial effect of the indulgence of hope, with regard to the government of the universe and the destiny of man after death, is far from trifling.”

Very shortly after Henry Mill's death, John Mill wrote Barclay Fox a letter of acknowledgment of the kind attentions shown by the Fox family to Henry, of which Mr. Bain says: “It is for Mill unusually effusive, and teems with characteristic traits. One not a Christian addressing a Christian family upon death, and wakening up the chords of our common humanity, is a spectacle worth observing.”§

In the letter to which Mr. Bain refers occurs this passage:—

“Among the many serious feelings which such an event|| calls forth, there is always some one which impresses us most, some moral which each person extracts from it for his own more especial guidance; with me that moral is, ‘work while it is called to-day; the night cometh in which no man can work.’ At least we know this, that on the day when we shall be as he is, the whole of life will appear but as a day, and the only question of any moment to us will then be, Has that day been wasted? Wasted it has not been by those who have been, for however short a time, a source of happiness and of moral good even to the narrowest circle. But there is only one plain rule of life eternally binding, and independent of all variations in creeds, and in the interpretation of creeds embracing equally the greatest moralities and the smallest; it is this: ‘Try thyself

* Vol. i. p. 160.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

† *Ibid.* pp. 158-9.

|| The death of Henry Mill.

‡ Bain, 140.

unweariedly till thou findest the highest thing thou art capable of doing, faculties and outward circumstances being both duly considered, and then do it.”*

Another of these letters refers to a sermon on the Atonement, by a Welsh preacher,—one of those, to use Macaulay’s words, “whose rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly while the rector preaches on the Apostolical Succession.” Mill says of it :—

“It is a really admirable specimen of popular eloquence of a rude kind. It is well calculated to go to the very core of an untaught hearer. . . . I really believe even this does good when it really penetrates the crust of a sensual and stupid boor, who never thought or knew that he had a soul, or concerned himself about his spiritual state. But, in allowing that this may do good, I am making a great confession ; for I confess it is as revolting to me, as it was to Coleridge, to find infinite justice, or even human justice, represented as a sort of demoniacal rage that must be appeased by blood and anguish, but, provided it has that, cares not whether it is the blood or the anguish of the guilty or the innocent. It seems to me but one step farther, and a step which in spirit at least is often taken, to say of God what the Druids said of their gods, that the *only* acceptable sacrifice to them was a victim pure and without taint. I know not how dangerous may be the ground on which I am treading, or how far the view of the atonement which is taken by this poor preacher may be recognized by your society ; or by yourself, but surely a more Christian-like interpretation of that mystery is that which, believing that Divine wisdom punishes the sinner for the sinner’s sake, and not from an inherent necessity, more heathen than the heathen Nemesis, holds, as Coleridge did, that the sufferings of the Redeemer were (in accordance with the eternal laws on which this system of things is built) an indispensable means of bringing about that change in the hearts of sinners, the want of which is the real and sole hindrance to the universal salvation of mankind.”†

We have space left for only one other extract from these letters. It relates to—

“a curious speculation of Barclay Fox, respecting a duality in the hyper-physical part of man’s nature. ‘Is not,’ says Mill, ‘what you term the mind, as distinguished from the spirit or soul, merely that spirit looking at things, as through a glass darkly, compelled, in short, by the conditions of its terrestrial existence to see and know by means of media, just as the mind uses the bodily organs ; for to suppose that the eye is necessary to sight seems to me the notion of one immersed in matter. What we call our bodily sensations are all in the mind,

* Vol i. p. 173 *et seq.*

† Vol. ii. p. 317. Conf. Caroline Fox’s later views on the Atonement, vol. i. p. 24, quoted *ante*.

and would not necessarily or probably cease because the body perishes. As the eye is but the window *through* which, not the power *by* which, the mind sees, so probably the understanding is the bodily eye of the human spirit which looks through that window, or rather which sees (as in Plato's case), the camera obscura images of things in this life, while in another it may or might be capable of seeing the things themselves. I do not give you this as my opinion, but as a speculation which you will take for what it is worth."

On the death of Barclay Fox :—

"It came over Caroline so strongly"—to use her own words to Clara Mill—"that Barclay would like Mill to be told how mercifully he had been dealt with, and how true his God and Saviour had been to all His promises, that I took courage and pen and wrote him a long history. . . . I hope I have not done wrong or foolishly, but I do feel it rather a solemn trust to have such a story to tell of death robbed of its sting and the grave of its victory."*

The editor informs us that both Mill and his wife sent replies full of tenderness and deep sympathy, but unfortunately they cannot be found.

It will be remembered that in Mill's account of his mental development, after his acquaintance with his wife, he says :—

"In this third period (as it may be termed) of my mental progress, which now went hand-in-hand with hers, my opinions gained equally in breadth and depth. I understood more things, and those which I had understood before I now understood more thoroughly. I had now completely turned back from what there had been of excess in my reaction against Benthamism. I had, at the height of that reaction, certainly become much more indulgent to the common opinions of society and the world, and more willing to be content with seconding the superficial improvement which had begun to take place in those common opinions, than became one whose convictions on so many points differed fundamentally from them. I was much more inclined than I can now approve to put in abeyance the more decidedly heretical part of my opinions, which I now look upon as almost the only ones, the assertion of which tends in any way to regenerate society. But, in addition to this, our opinions were far *more* heretical than *mine* had been in the days of my most extreme Benthamism.†

Dates are but scantily given in the "Autobiography," but we know that Mill's acquaintance with Mrs. Taylor began in 1831, and so when he visited Falmouth, had already lasted nine years. We do not know at what date Mill fixed the height of his reaction against Benthamism, and of his undue conformity to the world. Nor do we know whether he refers to his intercourse

* *Ibid.* p. 237.

† "Autobiography," pp. 230-1.

with the Fox's, as one of the occasions when he put in abeyance his heretical opinions, and was over-indulgent to society and the world.

On the whole, although there is some difficulty in reconciling these conversations and letters of Mill's with other expressions of his views, the difficulty is probably more apparent than real. In his intercourse with the Fox's he exemplified, what one who knew him well has told us, that he was "peculiarly considerate and gentle in his relations with sincere, and estimable persons, holding opinions which he believed to be erroneous."

It is high time to bring this over-long paper to a close, but before doing so, we must refer to a Cornish philosopher, of whom mention is made, who thought that civilization and knowledge of the arts is rather "retro- than progressive, and was severe on all who thought otherwise. Adam and Eve, he held, were perfect in all sciences, literature, and art, and ever since their time we have been steadily forgetting."* This is a new light in which to consider our first parents. It is difficult to realize Adam holding "inarticulately," as Carlyle would have said, the principles of the *Novum Organum*, or Eve "inarticulately" anticipating Mrs. Mill in her views on "the subjection of women."

Of Carlyle, the world has lately heard almost as much as for the present it cares to hear. But of Caroline's many recollections of him, we cannot refrain from noticing one or two. Carlyle, without doubt, aped Johnson, and not least in the habit in discussion of taking on any subject, the opposite side to that taken by any one, with whom he might be talking. *More suo*, Carlyle was lecturing to the Fox's, and compared Francia, the Dictator of Paraguay, with Cromwell, much to the disparagement of Francia. Mrs. Carlyle broke in with "Why, a short time ago Francia was all in favour, and would be again if you had but a little contradiction."†

After an interval of many years Caroline, for the last time, saw Carlyle at Mentone, where, after his wife's death, Lady Ashburton kindly induced him to visit her. "It made me," Caroline says, "sad to think of him, his look, and most of his talk, were so dreary." And no wonder; we never read anything more melancholy than her vivid sketch. Carlyle was by nature vain and egotistic, and therefore spiteful:‡ he had a merely provincial education. His life, for the greater part of it, was one of poverty, and always of physical suffering; in his earlier years he mixed little with any society. At all times he despised ordinary people,

* Vol. ii, p. 250.

† *Ibid.* p. 29.

‡ See his letter to his mother, Froude's "Life of Carlyle," vol. i. p. 254; and vol. ii. p. 348.

and many who were far more than ordinary. In his later years—to borrow words in which Mill was described by one who knew him from early years—he “affected something of the life of a prophet, surrounded by admiring votaries, who ministered to him largely that incense in which prophets delight.”* As portrayed by Caroline Fox in these latter days, he resembles nothing so much as Bunyan’s Giant Pope, “grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave’s mouth grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.” At this last meeting Carlyle, after railing “at the accursed train with its devilish howls and yells, driving one distracted,” went on to the state of England:—

“Oh! this cry for Liberty! Liberty! which is just liberty to do the devil’s work, instead of binding him with ten thousand bands—just going the way of France and America, and those sort of places. Why, it is all going down hill as fast as it can go, and of no significance to me. I have done with it. I can take no interest in it at all, nor feel any sort of hope for the country. It is not the liberty to keep the Ten Commandments that they are crying out for—that used to be enough for the genuine man—but liberty to carry on their own prosperity, as they call it. And so, there is no longer anything genuine to be found. It is all shoddy. Go into any shop you will, and ask for any article, and ye’ll find it all one enormous lie. The country is going to perdition at a frightful pace. I give it about fifty years yet to accomplish its fall.” Spoke of Gladstone—“Is not he a man of principle? Oh, Gladstone! I did hope well of him once, and so did John Sterling, though I heard he was a Puseyite, and so forth. Still, it seemed the right thing for a State to feel itself bound to God, and to lean on him, and so I hoped something might come of him; but now he has been declaiming that England is in such a wonderfully prosperous state, meaning that it has plenty of money in its breeches pockets, and plenty of beef in its great ugly belly. But that’s not the prosperity we want, and so I say to him, ‘You are not the life-giver of England. I go my way, you go yours. Good morning’ (with a most dramatic and final bow). Which times were the most genuine in England? Cromwell’s?—Henry VIII.’s? Why, in each time it seems to me there was something genuine, some endeavour to keep God’s commandments. Cromwell’s time was only a revival of it. But now things have been going down further and further since George III.” †

It is difficult to ascertain Carlyle’s position as to religion as it is that of Mill. “The Ten Commandments” of this conversation must have been near of kin to the “What you call Hebrew

* *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1874, as quoted by Bain, p. 187.

† Vol. ii. pp. 300-1, 2.

old clothes," of "Sterling's Life." The only time when Mr. Bain saw Carlyle and Mill together, Carlyle denounced "our religion and all its accessories." Mill struck in with the remark, "Now, you are just the very man to tell the public your whole mind upon that subject." This was not exactly what Carlyle fancied. He gave, with his peculiar grunt, the exclamation, "Ho!" and added, "It is some one like Frederick the Great that should do that."*

We must tear ourselves from Caroline Fox and her friends. Our review gives at best a very imperfect idea of the richly varied contents of her journals and letters. Here, if ever, those who read our review, but who have not yet read the book, will do well to mind and act on the counsel of one of the old sages of the law—"It is ever good to rely upon the book at large, for 'melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos.'"



ART. VIII.—INVENTION AND PATENT LAW.

1. *Sketch of a Proposed Bill for the Amendment of the Patent Laws.* By ROBERT STERLING NEWALL. 1848.
2. *Bills to Consolidate with Amendments the Acts relating to Letters Patent for Inventions.* 1877 and 1879.
3. *Proposed Patents for Inventions Bill of the Society of Arts, and Discussion upon the same.* 1881 and 1882.
4. *A Bill for the Amendment of Law as to Patents for Inventions.* By MESSRS. ANDERSON, BROWN, PALMER and BROADHURST. 1881.
5. *Case before the Court of Appeal (heard by JESSEL, M.R., and BRETT and HOLKER, L.J.J.) Otto v. Linford.*

IN once more recurring to the Patent Laws, and the broad national interests that hinge upon them, we shall perhaps best contribute towards a clear apprehension of the subject if we attempt to give a distinct idea of the actual business of an inventor of the best type, before touching upon the laws themselves, or the proposed amendments to the same; and in dealing with these latter, we shall, wherever it seems desirable, point out how the existing laws have injured the interests of the inventor in specific instances, and how an improved law would have benefited him, and through him have contributed towards the

* Bain, p. 191.

public good. We shall thus bring into strong relief the characteristic features of the present laws, and shall show how they have prejudicially affected the inventor, have hampered the action of the courts—thus producing vacillating judgments; and, lastly, how they have often injured the public by giving the patentee more than he has a just right to claim, for the sake of preventing him from losing the benefit of those meritorious portions of his invention to which he was, by the laws of public expediency, if not by the sentiment of natural right, strictly entitled.

Among the many subjects that divide public attention and interest to-day, political, commercial or scientific, few come so prominently forward as the remarkable facts, continually obtruding themselves upon our view, that evidence the signal and ever accelerating progress being daily made by invention in all the more useful arts and manufactures which have not yet reached their period of maturity of development. In tramways and tramway engines, in the smaller machinery accessory to the navigation of steam ships, in floating dry docks, in all classes of electrical gear, in gas engines, in war material, and in a host of other, as yet growing branches of manufacture, which are not so prominently before the public view, this rapid and too often excited progress is exhibited in a manner compared with which the past history of the world offers no parallels. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that the results of invention enter so largely into our national affairs so as to have become matter of common interest to all men, whether of high or low degree, in business or in private life, no separate or organized class of trained men devoted to it alone, to the exclusion of all other business, exists, the pioneering in all classes of machinery and manufacture being left to empirical development, or to the efforts of individual men trained in a different class of work, and therefore inadequately equipped for pursuing with advantage the ends of the great subject they have in view; a subject which, considered in a comprehensive manner, is fraught with more promise to society than all the more popular movements of the time, whether political, military or theological.

This singular condition of things seems to result from several distinct causes. It is partly due to inheritance from a past generation, when the proverbial prejudice of our forefathers, against what they considered innovations, made the occupation of an inventor a species of infatuated pauperism, a feeling which has since given way to an eager desire for what is new, on the part of a large proportion of men incapable of critical examination as to utility, which has resulted in so great a growth of quackery as to induce, on the part of the remainder, an inveterate

scepticism, making them doubt the benefit of everything with which they are not already familiar. This feeling on the part of the medical profession has resulted in their assuming an aspect of inveterate hostility to all protected inventions within their field, although it has been repeatedly and incontrovertibly shown* that this hostility tends powerfully to diminish the rapidity of advance towards new and improved methods of surgical and medical practice, and thus towards man's welfare. It is partly the result of this very growth of quackery which has made the occupation of an inventor anything but a creditable one, while the widespread impression that important inventions are always the result of genius keeps out of the track the chief part of sober-minded mankind who have no reason to think themselves clever. Thus, the popular notion of a would-be inventor, unless he happens to be already known to fame, is that he is most likely either a knave or a fool, and that, if the latter, his folly is aggravated by the fact (not at all an uncommon one among the insane) that he considers himself a genius.

The end that we have set before ourselves in the preliminary portion of this article is to show that these views are unsound, and that, while men of average capacity and without any pretensions to cleverness can do effective pioneering work, provided only that they are possessed of the ordinary qualities that contribute to success in life, the business of invention is often one which leads, not only to distinguished social position, but to financial reward of a substantial and even brilliant character.

That the rudiments of a system of organized invention exists in the occasional practice of certain enterprising firms of engineers will not be denied by those who are acquainted with the subject; and, indeed, among firms engaged in trades which are rapidly developing, such as the construction of agricultural and road engines, it is not uncommon to find several hands kept constantly employed upon newly designed machines; but they are seldom or never men properly trained to the work, which is quite apart from the ordinary practice of the profession, and they are under the guidance of principals almost as blind as themselves. Few more convincing proofs that these gentlemen lack the required qualifications could be adduced than the now generally admitted truth, that many of the great improvements hitherto effected in machinery have been the work of amateur engineers, such as Sir William Armstrong, who, up to middle life, was a solicitor, and Stephenson, who was what is contemptuously spoken of in the profession as a "shovel engineer."

* "Medical Patents: A Letter on the Patenting of Inventions," by John Chapman, M.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

Perhaps the conventional idea of an inventor, pure and simple, is best expressed by the Scotticism that he is a person with "a bee in his bonnet." To most people the word brings before the mind the picture of a man, eccentric, enthusiastic, excitable—one whom it would be folly to attempt to reason out of his one idea. Yet men who have reached fame through this gateway are very different from such a libellous conception. They are mostly plain men, and almost always workers. If, indeed, they are endowed with enthusiasm, it is an enthusiasm which may stimulate, but does not distort the mind. If with imagination, it is an imagination under their control, and which does not control them—a tool for rapid and productive work; and perhaps the most powerful tool, when in full force and under suitable guidance, that it is the privilege of man to possess.

All, however, that can be said in favour of the class of inventors must fail to disprove, or even to hide, the too obvious fact that the vast majority of so-called inventions, and especially of patented inventions, fail to merit the name when tested by practice, and either prove useless or little more than imitations of earlier types. We speak here of inventions that are at least intended to be *bonâ fide*, and not of the innumerable class of imitations that are consciously, although not ostensibly, produced as such, by makers who think this a far more ready means of making money than that of attempting to effect *real* improvements upon preceding types of machines. These constant disappointments are not characteristic only of obscure inventors: innumerable instances might be cited from the lives of even the most famous. An inventor who could move forward to his goal unpained by occasional defeat is a phenomenon as yet unknown to history. It will be desirable to devote some attention to ascertaining the causes of these frequent, and often ruinous, failures.

Few men, except those possessed of almost feminine generosity, can endure the thought that their friend is possessed of genius, unless they can credit him with a fair share of folly also; and as genius is a quality popularly supposed to be necessary to invention and sound sense to success in life, the inference is natural that no man of common prudence should enter upon the work. Every action is followed by its correlative reaction; and that reaction is, in their instance, the very general abandonment of the field to the imprudent. Call a dog a thief, and it will steal! The body of pioneers in machinery is thus increased by the addition of a number of men, who would be discreditable to any class of real workers, and this fact again reacts upon opinion, confirming the popular impression. Among this section of inventors success seems to be thought to depend upon the possession of some spontaneous but happy idea, and

not upon steady, persistent, and wisely directed effort, accompanied by a due appreciation of the needs and an accurate knowledge of the conditions of the case in question. That the usual result is failure, and disheartening disappointment to all concerned, any sensible man would predict; the method followed is essentially unscientific, and tainted with an odour of quackery—it is diametrically opposed to the principles and practice of all our great experimentalists who have followed out purely scientific methods to successful conclusions. With them not one idea, obstinately held to in the face of falsifying experiment, but a hundred ideas *tentatively utilized*, but unhesitatingly rejected if disproved by practice, were the means used for advancement. The former course is mere notion-mongering; the latter is that which has given tone to the characteristic features of the work of the nineteenth century. Had Faraday been disheartened by the failure of his first conception when tested by his first experiment, what would have been the present condition of manufacture in relation to electrical apparatus? It might, we think, be said in reference to the workers in the department of science of which he was chief, that of every six ideas which they tested by experiment, scarcely one was found valid. Yet look at the result—small need is there to murmur over the five failures!

That failure of the first idea, however, among mechanical pioneers, usually leads them to abandon the attempt at invention, is largely due to the expense and delay incurred by patenting and experiment. The object being, in the vast majority of cases, profit, and the speculator's means small, his belief in his machine and his hopes of success must be strong to induce him to adventure. But these feelings, which favour speculation in the first instance, have also a secondary effect: they foster rigidity of conception, and conduce to most disastrous disappointment. Nay worse: in a large number of instances they hold out a premium to direct fraud, in representing a machine as successful which is known to lack the elements essential to success. And fraud again reacts upon the fraudulent. Few men who persistently attempt to deceive their neighbours escape deceiving themselves; so that here we have a set of conditions induced which quite prohibit the chance of advancement, for in no occupation is a cold and well-balanced judgment more necessary than here. Could these gentlemen have realized from the first how usual it is for success to necessitate several distinct experiments, they would have either adopted a very different plan of action, or, recognizing the fact that they were inadequately equipped for the work, they would, like sensible men, have turned their attention elsewhere. To

the outside public the fact is of importance in this way: The commercial balance is such that, in one form or in another, *all* individual loss ultimately, in chief part, falls upon the shoulders of the community. The question then becomes, are the results aimed at by these spasmodic individual efforts achieved in the most expeditious way, and with the least possible expenditure? This can scarcely be the case when the experiments, always preceding success, are usually the disconnected work of fifty or a hundred separate individuals, each of whom takes especial care not to give the others the benefits of the, often valuable, information he has gained by defeat; and, in general, in consequence of his want of a special training for what is really a distinct branch of his profession, conducts his experiments in the clumsiest, and most expensive way. We need scarcely say that each error is repeated in endless sequence, and that the results are disheartening, and frequently even ruinous.

But the error often begins still earlier. The choice of a subject depends, or should depend, upon two separate conditions; one, the probability of success with a prudent degree of expenditure, and the other, the estimated commercial value of such success when it is attained. How often, however, do these very practical questions *precede* the development of the "idea"? And when once an excitable man is in possession of, or is "possessed" by, what he considers a happy idea, he certainly is not in a condition to estimate fairly either his chance of mechanical success, or the commercial value of such success. So strongly are we sometimes impressed by this fact, that we would almost recommend it to be held as an inviolable axiom by inventors, that they must *never* enter upon an invention if the idea has originated before a businesslike estimate of the conditions sanctioning it has been made. Such a rule would at least reduce useless expenditure, and would give to the attempts made in accordance with it the inestimable value of premeditated and sensible effort, and would diminish the percentage of useless expenditure of brains.

Even should, however, a rational choice of a subject have been made, fairly within the range of the inventor's experience, it usually occurs, if it is one of considerable importance, that the information in regard to past efforts and present practice is spread over so large an area, requires so much special knowledge to get at, and involves such patient research and expenditure of time, that it is beyond the power of any one man to command, while often perseverance after protracted defeat, which only the strong and self-confident can endure, is absolutely required. Again, notwithstanding these numerous difficulties involved, the fact that invention is looked upon simply as a

ready means to an end, not as the end itself—which is usually business, cash or fame—prevents any man from becoming a thoroughly *trained* inventor, as scientific men become *trained* experimentalists; for no man at present looks upon invention, pure and simple, as a proper subject to make a life business of. Thus all inventors are at best but amateur inventors.

Having to some extent accounted for the inordinate number of failures on the part of private inventors, to effect the objects they have in view—failures that are almost as common among professed engineers as among outsiders—we shall now attempt to give some idea of the business of an inventor as it should be carried out.

We have said that the first rational step required to be taken by a man who wishes to pursue his object in a legitimate and businesslike, to say nothing of a scientific, manner, is the choice of a promising subject for improvement, in which the public utility and economic value of the end in view is undeniable. The range of contrivances in which improvement will certainly be ultimately effected is of course as wide as is manufacture itself, but there is a great difference in their chances of immediate advancement. The evolution and rapid development of new forms in many branches of engineering is very marked, while others seem to have reached a comparatively stationary stage, which may be looked upon as their period of maturity. In mill engines and in locomotive engines the productions of five-and-twenty years ago are essentially similar to those of today. In chemical factories, on the other hand, the machinery of ten years ago is completely out of date. The difference seen in these effects lies primarily in the difference of the conditions; for, whereas the demand for rapid rail transit sprang up during the earlier part of this century, the demand for chemical “plant”, upon a scale large enough to warrant the expenditure involved in modern appliances and machine tools, is only of very recent date. Again, in relation to ships, the paddle engine may be said to have been but slightly improved for many years; while in screw propulsion, since the introduction of surface condensing and the compound engine, little change has taken place, except in relation to the proportion of parts, and the gradual but steady increase of steam pressure, and the consequent abandonment of the dry-bottomed and wall-sided boilers of ten and twenty years ago. It is far otherwise, however, with the smaller gear that is found convenient for the working of modern steam ships. Steam starting gear for the main engines, direct-acting steam windlasses, and steam steering gear are all modern; while the extensive use of steam winches and cranes does not date very far back. But these machines, it will be noticed, could only be

commercially justifiable when the use of large steam ships had extended. Unless, however, with respect to steam steering appliances, the gear has not been invented at all, but has developed—a fact which is particularly noticeable in the winch, the earlier patterns of which were neither more nor less than unaltered hand winches, driven by a pair of steam cylinders instead of a couple of men, and even standing in their positions. Had it not been for this no rational designer would have dreamt of fixing the cylinders diagonally, and making them work a crank shaft on the rickety top of so light a structure.

Passing over without comment hydraulic motors, direct-acting non-rotating pumping engines, machine tools, and a host of other appliances which, though showing great strides in advance during the past ten years, are interesting only to the specialist, we may now turn our attention to those trades which are in a thoroughly progressive condition. The application of steam power to road engines dates at least from the time of the unfortunate Trevithick, but as the commercial conditions did not favour their economical use until the world was fairly supplied with the more rapid and effective means of rail transit over long distances, the extensive opening up of this branch of engineering did not take place until a quite recent date. They now, however, form the staple trade of some of the most extensive private firms of locomotive engine builders. Contemporaneous with their recent development arose the adaptation of steam power to farming purposes, a manufacture which is generally coupled with that of traction engines, and which, although it can hardly be said to be in its infancy, yet shows a strongly specializing tendency, that would lead one to think that there is much scheming still to be done. The branches of the business which are really just now exhibiting signs of a leviathan babyhood are, first, the rapidly increasing application of explosive compounds to translating into a useful form the long-hoarded energy with which they are endowed; and secondly, the utilization of electricity and magnetism as media for the transmission and change of energy into various useful forms, such as those of light, sound, and readable signs. The first comprehends a field of which only those who have thoroughly thought out its convenience and many economic advantages can have any adequate appreciation, and the second is already so prominently before the public as every now and then to cause a species of mania. One other direction of modern enterprise should be mentioned, especially as it is likely to absorb a greater amount of effort and capital than any other growing section of mechanical art during many years to come. We speak of tramways and tramway locomotion, the issues of the development of which will in all reasonable probability lead up

to a wholesale modification both of road-making and road traffic. At present no satisfactory locomotor has been applied, and the clumsy, though often ingenious, adaptations of colliery and fire engine types of locomotives to these requirements mark only the chrysalis stage of an industry which may be expected to take a prominent place in the social surroundings of the next generation. If we are not in error, coming events are even now casting their shadows before, and either coal gas, already so largely used in engines for small purposes, or gas obtained from petroleum or other liquid fuel, will be found to contain the fitting qualifications for tramway traffic, in which cleanliness, coolness, handiness and independence during the entire working day of a base of operations, are the crucial tests of success.

Reviewing this rapid sketch, the reader will immediately observe that the subjects which at this moment exhibit signs of rapid growth are sufficiently large and numerous to form an ample field for a small army of inventors. If there is any difficulty in choice it lies in the number of branches to be examined, and not in the absence of work. Each particular subject, however, and each branch of each subject, requires a separate study before any attempts should be made at improvement, or otherwise the efforts will be misdirected and sink to the level of mere guesswork. The causes of its development lie often far beneath the surface, and are sometimes solely dependent upon the growth or decay of other branches of manufacture. Take, for instance, the rapid progress made during recent years in machine moulding in foundry work, and in stamping under the steam hammer in what was formerly smith's work, which has often reduced the cost of labour to one-fourth the figure at which it stood when done on piece prices by hand. These two processes, now extensively in use, are solely dependent upon the growth of the demand for machines made in numbers, as the plant required is so costly that it will not pay unless hundreds or even thousands of each article are made; and it thus becomes as essentially factory work as is the production of textile fabrics. This interdependence of branches of manufacture is often so complex as to baffle any one who is not accustomed to examine their development systematically; and whenever processes thus escape from the control of intelligence, while being quickly specialized by the cross-play of circumstances, their resulting progress essentially resembles a process of evolution by variation and natural selection, the tendency to survival being always on the side of the most efficient and economical type, and slight variations being produced by almost every new maker and user of the machine. Growth of this kind, however, is essentially slow and must be wasteful, as for each variation selected a dozen in all likelihood are rejected. It is desirable, therefore,

for the common good, to have it substituted as far as possible by effort under the control of intelligence—a process far more rapid and effective. This, however, can only be safely attempted by the inventor where the need is defined and obvious, and there can be no more serious practical error than for him to direct his efforts and expend his energy where the direction of advance is at all obscure, as otherwise, even should he be mechanically successful, his enterprise will meet with but a doubtful reward. He should in fact be always able to say that it is morally certain that if he does not effect the advance some one else will do so. For instance, it may be fairly expected that in answer to the obvious demand, electricity will be rendered applicable to lighting purposes upon a large scale and at a moderate cost; that gas will be adapted to driving direct-acting, self-starting, reversing engines, and that gas engines of large power will be rendered commercially possible; that a good practical sightly and convenient town road locomotive will be produced, and a steam steering gear designed that will be sufficiently useful to be adopted by small carrying steamers when out of sight of land (a problem, by the way, involving conditions essentially different from those met by existing apparatus), &c. &c. All these tendencies—and we have chosen examples that are as far as possible before the public—are sufficiently decided to warrant direct effort on the part of the inventor. If, on the other hand, they are allowed to come about by the mere selection and rejection of slight variations only, fifty times the time will be occupied, and a hundred times the money will be expended. The present waste is the necessary result of the numberless spasmodic efforts made on the part of isolated individuals, each seeing the demand, and that the changes desired *must* come about, but all at present engaged in other businesses, not possessed of the full information requisite of the past histories of their subjects, unprepared for being waylaid by failure, and consequently quite incapable of that persistent and unflagging effort, which is the shortest, most economical, and only certain road to success. If it is true that in those very subjects in which advancement is most certain to take place competition is most to be met with, it is all the more true that sound judgment, organizing power and enterprise, are there most likely to come to the front, for there most information, fertility and rapidity of movement are required.

When the subject of improvement is determined upon the aim is, or rather should be, always to design something better than the best result of past efforts—better either in the sense of doing more work, or of doing the same amount of work more efficiently or more economically than it is done by existing machines. The *amount* of improvement practicable at any time may be usually

assumed to be only one step—and that step a small one—in advance of the present position. Where very much is attempted, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the result is failure. Assuming, then, a suitable subject to have been chosen, and full information collected, some definite improvement to be in view, and that improvement to be within apparently easy reach (the *whole* of which process should, it cannot be too often repeated, *precede* any decided effort of invention), we have now to consider the *modus operandi* by means of which substantial progress is most likely to be effected.

The property of the mind which is used more truly in mechanical pioneering than in any other calling, excepting perhaps that of the physicist, but the sole claim to which was long thought to belong to the poet, the painter and the novelist, is the imagination. No new scheme can be projected, nor any old scheme developed, without this picture-mill of the mind being brought to bear upon it frequently, and with long-sustained and laborious effort. But, whereas in the other works of the imagination the scheme once finished is itself a finished work, and has only thereafter to be submitted to the comparatively simple “laws of art,” or to the public taste, in the instance before us that scheme, although the foundation of all, takes the humble place of an unrecognized beginning, and has, when realized, not in the form of a figment of the mind, but in that of stubborn iron and steel, to compete for life amid the multiform adverse conditions with which practice surrounds it. Moreover, when the scheme refers to moving parts, it will not do alone to see them in the mind’s eye, however distinctly, when in a state of rest; their relative positions must be accurately conceived throughout all their changes of motion; a process which, especially in such cases as those of valve gear, is often exceedingly difficult. The mere question of how to make the parts, quite independent of their applicability when made, often taxes the conceiving faculty in a rather high degree, and one frequently meets with little problems in connection with such work as pattern-making and moulding that would draw largely even on a skilled mathematician’s power of mental representation. How much more is this the case when dealing with machinery in motion often possessing half-a-dozen or a dozen “variable quantities.” To clearly *see* the relations between the parts in such machines throughout all their changes of position, during an entire cycle of such changes, and without the assistance of calculation, drawings or models, is the privilege of the few; but the value of such a power, when it is possessed, of dealing with problems that would weary a conception as clear and as detailed as was Dante’s, can scarcely be overrated. When we consider

that a picture summoned before the mind is the work of a moment only, whereas the crudest drawing takes many thousands of such moments, it is at once seen that here lies the faculty that is the very backbone of inventive power. But, like all great forces, it has its dangerous side ; and, if allowed to get the upper hand and override the judgment, would ruin the very best man living. Under proper guidance however, so as at the same time to keep it condensed upon really useful and practical work, and also allow it free play, it is a power with which to move the world. A good servant but a bad master, it should always be the controlled and not the controlling force. The first task is to summon before the mind all the plans that can be thought of for accomplishing the end in view. The more fertile the inventor in producing such conceptions, and the more minute and severe he is in criticizing them, the more probable is his success. To have a large store of ideas to choose from, each having been clearly thought out, and to have the incisive critical faculty which will prevent the likelihood of any further time being expended upon those that are useless, is the first step towards success : while the very exercise of this method of conscious production and selection gives the mind a well-rounded, many-sided habit of thought, and neutralizes the "bee in the bonnet" tendency. First notions are always crude and usually beside the mark, but everything must have a beginning, and no wise man will, in such a work, expect to jump at success. If this fact is consciously realized much disappointment will be avoided.

But the selective work does not end here by any means. The unaided imagination has the benefit of speed and flexibility, and thus it is the proper tool for "roughing out" the work, but as, even in its highest form, it is seriously lacking both in grasp and in defining power, other methods must now be applied. The sketch comes next in order, and in good hands is no bad substitute for drawing, lacking chiefly the accurate proportioning of parts ; a defect that may be frequently remedied by filling in the required dimensions in figures. If an idea, arising first as a mere indistinct mind picture, but relating perhaps to a complex machine, passes successfully through these stages, it may be considered deserving of the labour of careful drawing. Our own opinion is, and it is an opinion that has been purchased by dear experience, that not alone one such selected idea, seemingly adequate to fulfil the desired end, but three or four in most cases, should be submitted to the further test of drawing, so that this selective process, sifting out the good and eliminating the bad, may be carried on there also. The same course, though with greater rapidity, in consequence of their lesser complexity, should

be pursued with each separate part. It will be admitted that, after all this laborious work has been gone through, the outcome should have some merit in it. It must be stated, however, that the whole of the process so far is rapid and therefore cheap work. More may be accomplished at the cost of a few pence in the labour of sketching, and for that of a few shillings in drawing, than can be done for the same number of pounds in actual practice; and therefore economical as well as other reasons dictate that as much of this work should be done as seems to hold out any hope of useful effect, in the full belief that it will pay for itself many times over in the saving of labour in metal. It is not possible to say at what stage or in what degree calculation should be resorted to, but it may be taken as a rule that it should be whenever required, at as early a stage as possible. The relative values of calculation and drawing (itself a species of detailed calculation) differ very widely in different constructions, the former being of chief value in large structure, under statical conditions. Usually, in pioneering work in complex machinery subjected to varying conditions in practice, the requisite data are either unknown or too complex to be amenable to its methods. The finally selected design has now to be submitted to the crucial test of experiment.

Before experiments can be carried out, it is frequently desirable to cover the scheme by the protection of patent. In most cases, however, it is a great mistake if this is done prematurely, so that no hurry should here be used. It is, then, customary to protect "provisionally," and perhaps give "notice to proceed," so as at once to get over the stage during which opposition can be entered, and throw upon any one who wishes to void the patent the burden of an expensive action in open court.

It is very desirable that the experimental stage should precede the "final specification," as in most cases it will to some extent modify that document, wherein it is useful in two ways; first, in enabling a more full and reliable description to be given, and second, in affording opportunity for any useless, and consequently prejudicial, clauses to be dropped out. Where difficult subjects are being dealt with "tentatively," experiment will in very frequent cases involve or render desirable an entirely new patent, and in this case—and it is the very reverse of uncommon—the less money has been expended the better. What we particularly insist upon, however, is that all these drawbacks should be looked forward to. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

It is here perhaps more than elsewhere that the sterner and more admirable qualities of men are most likely to be exhibited. When, as must *often* be the case, hedged round by difficulties and

discouraged by others, in comparative darkness as to the path that it is right to follow, and after a continuance of disappointing failures and apparently irrecoverable loss, he still feels the necessity of pushing steadily on in the sure hope that if he does so intelligently he is likely to be rewarded in the end, the man's mental fibre must suffer severest strain. Here, too, the calm judgment is most valuable, to point out where further movement in this direction or in that ceases to be laudable perseverance and becomes obstinate fatuity; and here fertility and knowledge of work and of workmen will become conspicuous; for nowhere else is this so much wanted as where all the parts are entirely new, and some have to be extemporized after the others are made.

Eight or ten hours a day face to face with the obstinate iron is good training; it will take the conceit out of most men, but it leaves the genuine metal behind. It is those successes that are most difficult to attain, however, that are the most valuable when attained. Where success is very easy there is a fair presumption, either that someone else has done the like before, or that no-one has thought the end in view worth the trouble of seeking. Many think that they can jump to success; few reach their goal.

Nothing is more wrong than to suppose that, with a definite end in view, experiments that fail are useless. It is often the case that far more is to be learned from an unsuccessful experiment than from a successful one. In a large number of instances, where perseverance is exercised they form the groundwork of ultimate success; while not infrequently they lead up to quite other and more valuable issues than those originally contemplated. We believe experiment (even purely tentative experiment) in machines is quite as valuable as experiment in physics, and we have seldom known of one being made that has not, or might not ultimately have, done *some* good. In pure science, from the time of Roger Bacon to that of Thomson, Crookes and Bell, it has told the same tale. But it is always difficult to get engineers to understand that in mechanical science a process so costly and so troublesome can really form an effective arm for use in an economical sense. And where experiment is applied simply as a trial to prove the success of some pet crotchet, as among patentees we are sorry to say is usually the case, we are bound to admit that in nine cases out of ten the game is not worth the candle. It is far otherwise, however, when used scientifically, as the only sure guide by which to direct future work. Then, and then only, in full submission to its verdict, do we feel its helpful power. This being so, however, it is absolutely necessary that a readiness must exist to discard ideas at once when they seem to be untenable, and this *without* giving up the object in view; fertility of resource and elasticity of temperament being the most useful

qualities to enable the inventor to recover from those temporary defects.

Surely this is enough to expect of one man! Yet it is only one moiety of his work—the side of production, not that of reward. It must be recollected that hard cash is the end in view, and that on the total expenditure a substantial return must be effected, or inevitable failure is the result. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the inventor, if not already in some business, intends to make a business, or part of one, out of his invention, and with this object arranges to take part, either in the production or in the sale departments, for the successful working of which an entire change of mental habit and bodily activity is required. Not a little skill is needful in agreements and in handling the monopoly, for it must be recollected that this property in ideas is, perhaps, of all others, that which is least easily retained. It may be said that invention is the scientific base, and manufacture the trading superstructure, of mechanical pioneering; but, notwithstanding the fact that capital is much more freely obtainable for developing promising ideas than it was in years gone by, the latter is still considered by business men the only safe and legitimate field for commercial enterprise. To sum up: on the side of invention the qualities chiefly required to ensure success are, keen commercial foresight, wide information rather than deep, patience, moderation, great power of steady work, and inflexible perseverance in pursuit of the end in view in the face of continued disappointments: while on the side of manufacture those qualities which are needed, and which have contributed to the success of every self-made business man, are too well known to need repetition here.

It will not, we think, be denied that we have shown good grounds to warrant us in saying that no single man, unaided by an efficient staff and able co-operation, can adequately handle, in these days of mechanical progress, the subject under discussion, and the question is worthy of consideration whether the time is not yet ripe for the establishment of firms or companies efficiently backed, whose undivided attention would be given to invention, assisted by the division of labour and appliances suited to the various branches of pioneering they might deem it advisable to pursue.

If we trace back any business or profession to its earliest stage, we shall find it beginning in single-handed intermittent individual enterprise, which often for ages did not pay, but was resorted to by men who were biassed either by taste, or by circumstances which combined to give them no other outlet for their energies, in that direction. The tradesman and merchant owe their origin to the itinerant pedlars on land or on sea who did the work of

carrying about their own goods. Bankers are the modern representatives of the despised and hated Jewish money-lenders, who probably, in their earlier days, would have gladly followed any other profession had the then existing prejudices of society permitted them to do so. Physicians and surgeons have developed out of herbalists and bone-setters, and the modern clergyman has a respectable ancestry among the "medicine men" and other quacks that in all ages and countries have infested uncivilized society. Those of us who possess friends among artists and literary men can perhaps scarcely realize the conditions which, a century or two ago, when few purchasers existed of either books or pictures, gave rise to the still prevalent idea that those professions involved the necessary accompaniments of dirt, debt and dependency, although now men with a little industry but without talent, or with a little talent but without industry, can by their means make a comfortable living. In the earlier stages of all these walks in life the inducements were too doubtful and too trifling to encourage men of real steadiness of character, unless possessed of extremely strong bent, to enter them: The result is that the histories of such men as Goldsmith, Burns, and Trevithick are still looked upon as typical, although they were all of them lacking in those primary characteristics of every sound mind which can alone, among the prudent, entitle its possessor to respect. Now, the rewards being more adequate, the ranks of their professions are filled by better men, and men exhibiting their want of stability are either reformed by example or left in the unacknowledged rear. Most of us have known men possessed of admitted talent who have become simple loafers, but who, under the old *régime*, might have shone out as men of genius. Now, the increased competition within their professions by men of equal talent but greater steadiness has raised the standard of excellence, and keeps them so hopelessly in the background as even to render effort useless. Thus, the mere fact that invention on the part of individuals was long a profitless, if not a useless profession, cannot be alleged as a valid ground for supposing that they do not hold out fair chances of profit to-day.

Whenever businesses or professions are of a sufficiently arduous or complicated nature to render it economical to apply the principles of co-operation and the division of labour, these principles in time extinguish competition on the part of single-handed enterprise. To illustrate this fact we need only name the abolition of the old hand-loom weaver in favour of the modern factory, of the individual news-letter writer in favour of the present enormous organizations for the distribution of news. A less known example, but one singularly *à propos*, is that of the gradual decay

of single-handed gold mining—which, in consequence of the fact of the business being of so exceedingly speculative a character, may be regarded as in many respects similar to invention—before the growth of companies, backed by adequate capital to withstand the drain of occasional failures in productiveness, and enable them to use the most efficient and economical means for attaining the desired result. Thus, it is evident that, in businesses which, in their uncertainty as to pecuniary results, are akin to that of invention, the employment of sustained and organized effort and capital has been sanctioned by results. On the other hand, the considerations adduced as to the enormous extent and complexity of the subject even in its branches, when adequately dealt with, taken together with the fact, patent to the whole world, of the rapid, and even steady progresses being now effected by invention, will equally lead us to the belief that the time is ripe for its efficient organization upon a large scale.

So far we have dealt with the subject as though no change in the law was to be desired, and the only adjustments to be advocated were those which should best fit the inventor to fulfil his laborious task in the present order of things. We will now, however, consider the question of how the law can be best adjusted to the needs of the inventor—not of the pretended inventor (such as was a certain gentleman who took out a patent a year or two ago for a method of driving a tramway locomotive by a well-known gas engine of constant speed through spur gear, so arranged that the former would just succeed in travelling *one mile in five hours*, but could not by any possibility have accomplished that distance in four!), who rushes off to a cheap patent agent with the first ill-considered notion which enters his head, but the genuine inventor, much of whose useful life is spent in the conception of new devices and in their trial by experiment. Before doing so, however, we will briefly trace the progress of the average patentee from the moment in which his invention is conceived to the time at which he has an unquestionable patent right over it. It is necessary in the first place to apply for protection, and as the documents have to be lodged in London, and certain legal forms have to be complied with, it is almost always found necessary to apply to a patent agent. There are many good, and experienced patent agents, but as the mere operation of obtaining a patent is exceedingly easy, and as everybody, with or without training, can belong to the class, it will be easily believed that, especially in the provinces, there are also many bad ones; and indeed the profession has become a refuge for the destitute among broken-down patentees, who, being utterly unscientific and absolutely destitute of legal training, have just enough wit left to prey upon their

neighbours. It is not to be expected that such agents would be very critical of their clients' inventions, even when palpably absurd, nor is it likely that they would gratuitously suggest the desirability of a search that would tend to destroy the appearance of novelty, and thus prevent the acquisition of fees. This latter question of inquiry into novelty is one for which a patent agent, even of good type, is unfitted, not only by his own individual interests, but by the want of facilities, and the reform needed is that of placing this duty in the hands of responsible Government officials, a matter which will be referred to again in the sequel. What we desire to point out now is that it has become really necessary that patent agents should be required to pass some acknowledged test, which would show that they were competent to take charge of the interests of their clients, and unless they could do so they should be incapacitated from recovering fees. Vested interests might be dealt with in a similar way to that in which they have been met in similar instances in the past. The mere institution of such a test would tend to bring business into the hands of those who had passed it, and out of the hands of those who were either unwilling or unable to undergo the trial.

The sums payable under the existing law as stamp duty are so large in the aggregate as to have become quite oppressive to the poorer class of patentees, and as these fees thus often prevent the public from benefiting by their fertility they are distinctly prejudicial to the nation's best interests. They act especially against inventions of the smaller class, and involving only small profits to compensate for large risks; and perhaps this is the main cause of the enormous influx of ingenious little inventions of transatlantic origin. An inventor who wanted to patent an egg-beater, or a potato-paring machine, would think twice before he spent the larger half of a hundred pounds for three years' protection, with the prospect of being taxed to the extent of £150 more for the remainder of the term. Looking, however, at the Bills before Parliament, we think we may say that it is in a fair way towards settlement—or rather, in as fair a way towards it as any question that does not relate solely to Irish affairs can be.

Where prominent and really valuable inventions are in question a very different tax has frequently to be paid, and is always looked forward to as a probable contingency by prudent inventors. It comes in two separate forms. Where large pre-existing interests are prejudicially affected by the new invention, the known uncertainty of the law, and the incapacity of the courts, is such that the validity of a patent is frequently challenged by men of large capital, even when its beneficent effects and great public utility are universally acknowledged. This is sometimes solely done with the iniquitous object of running the inventor

into an action the expense of which will prove beyond his means, and thus breaking him down before an adequate hearing has been obtained. Such a practice of course merits the sternest censure; but it could only be crushed out while it remains legal by the destructive influence of universal social contempt, and to hope for that is to be utopian. Practically, it can only be dealt with by a change in the law, and in the practice of counsel, and we hope to be able to shadow forth some plan of bringing about this change before the close of the present article. The second form in which this tax acts is where a valuable invention has to assert itself against infringers, as it will always have to do while the present uncertainty overhangs even the best patents. As a rule, an inventor waits until he has made some money by his business before he can afford the expensive luxury of these actions; and we would wish to make it perfectly clear, that in every case this cost ultimately falls upon the public, as higher royalties upon patent articles are charged, both in consequence of the risks due to this uncertainty, and also to compensate the patentee for the expense of these actions. The ultimate effect of all bad laws is to saddle those who are responsible for those laws—i.e., the nation as a whole—with the expense and inconvenience arising therefrom. To obtain improvement in this respect, the first thing to be done is to get rid of the uncertainty overhanging the specification, and the second is to reform the at present egregiously incompetent courts. Justice, it is customary to think, should be free to all; but the inventor, after his gallant efforts for the common weal, in a profession which, whatever it may be thought of now, will probably by future generations of men be ranked among the highest, both in its honours and in its rewards (for has it not to deal with the most scientific branch of every scientific calling?), has often to pay more to obtain that which is every man's natural right than that much talked of ten thousand which, according to the present absurd law regarding extension of term, is the maximum gain to which he is entitled. But it is time that we examined the utility of the various improvements in the law suggested more in detail, so as to enable our readers to gauge the value of any Government measure of patent law reform that may be laid before the House.

As early as January 1, 1848, it was proposed by Mr. Robert Sterling Newall, himself both a patentee and a practical manufacturer, that Commissioners of Patents should be appointed, whose business it should be to examine into specifications prior to the grant; and as we turn over its pages we are surprised to see how fairly, in the constitution of the Commissioners' staff that he suggests, he has anticipated the needs of to-day. In a recent celebrated action (*Otto v. Linford*) for infringement, five pleas were

advanced for the defence, four of which are of such a character that they would, if Mr. Newall's suggestion had been carried out, have already formed the subject of examination; an examination which might be supposed to have largely tended to avert future action. From time to time this suggestion has been renewed, and it is still, in a modified form, felt as a want, and adverted to as such by the most experienced men connected with patents. Yet we notice that in neither of the Bills before Parliament (the Society of Arts—now Sir John Lubbock's—Bill, and Mr. Anderson's Bill), is this matter dealt with in a manner that will at all meet the needs of the interests involved, for they include no provision for examination as to novelty. The reduced utility of the Commissioner's work may be judged when we state, that, as thus planned, it would only have dealt with *two* out of the five pleas raised, instead of dealing with *four* of them. If such an examination had been made, it is very probable that the prior specifications brought forward in court (Barnet, 7615, 1838; Lenoir, 335, 1860, and 107, 1861; and two of the omnipresent Boulton's, 338, 1866, and 2000, 1867), would have been laid before the patentee, and, although they do not appear to have contained any material anticipations of the invention, yet they might have been kept more fully in view, and have produced such slight modifications as prudence would have dictated in the claims. The weight of professional opinion upon this subject is, we think, decidedly in favour of such an examination, carried out as only an organized commission could carry it out, but the functions of which would not be to *dictate* alterations of specification to the patentee—a matter which could only be entrusted to a competent court—but to place prominently before him all anticipations of his invention, and to act as a help and not as a hindrance to his desires. The question of whether the Report of the Commission should or should not be published is a very delicate one, but we incline, after giving much attention to the evidence adduced at the Society of Arts, and also to the opinions of the professional press, to think that the only safe and just form that such a publication should take, is that of being strictly limited to the names and numbers of approaching specifications of invention, and that even before this is done, the patentee should be offered the chance of adding them to his specification, as though of his own accord, a course which he would certainly take. The utility of such a course is not so striking, however, in the case of a patent like that above referred to (Otto's, 2081, 1876), which undoubtedly contained much that was new, as in those of the thousands of patentees who, for want of trouble or cost, avoid examining into novelty, and continually repay for the patenting of old and useless inventions.

One of the most important of the suggested alterations of the law in its bearing upon cases like this is that which lengthens the term of provisional protection, and thus puts off the day when the complete specification has to be filed. We are somewhat surprised to find that in Sir John Lubbock's Bill, although the inadequacy of six months' interval, within which to mature an invention, was fairly brought out in the Society of Arts discussion, and this term was admitted to have been not finally decided upon, it has yet remained unaltered in the Bill as it will come before the House. In this respect Mr. Anderson's meets the circumstances of the case much better, the term therein proposed being twelve months. It seems strange that among men who desire to be considered practical it is supposed that a complicated invention can be matured in six months. To make a first engine would generally take fully that time, even supposing no unusual delay occurred in the work. Not less than six months should be allowed for experiment, so that an even partial knowledge of the best methods of applying the principles can be hit upon. Our feeling is that twelve months should be given in *every* case, it being left to the discretion of the law officer to extend the term for another six months in cases where proof was forthcoming that the experiments would require that time to carry out.

This seems a fitting place to mention that one of the most admirable provisions in Sir John Lubbock's Bill—a provision, we believe, of really great importance and value—is that enacting the destruction of provisional specifications of patent in cases where the patents are not completed. The growth of this useless class of literature is not only a burden to libraries, but a source of work to inventors that it is difficult to overestimate. It is, however, worse than all these, for it is the most fruitful source of pitfalls to patentees whose representatives cannot afford the time to search through the text of unillustrated provisionals, which are never adequately looked into until an action is impending. They are then often the means of great injustice being done, not only to the inventor, but to the public, for by rendering the former's patent invalid they frequently retard for many years the introduction of a useful invention. This subject has been well considered by the Society of Arts, and we think that both the public and the inventor owe them much for having done so.

It has long been adopted as a principle in other countries that, after the grant of letters patent, amendment of the same may be allowed by the Commissioners, and dependent improvements added. A good clause exists in Sir John Lubbock's Bill to that effect, and in this respect it has followed the principle

adopted in the Bills of 1879 and 1877, and suggested by Mr. Newall so early as 1848. The clause, however, should have provided that if new claims upon the matter originally specified, those claims should not hold good against any one who had in the interval used the newly claimed invention, unless he was first fully compensated for all plant and other vested interest in the matter.

The advantage of such a clause to patentees would be incalculable, and would enable a large percentage of patents now legally valueless to be rendered sound. In the case of a recent action for infringement, certain slight inaccuracies were discovered in the drawings attached to the specification of the valuable patent infringed, and the court was asked to annul the patent on this ground. As the witnesses brought forward differed as to whether the workman, with the specification in his hands, could or could not have rectified these errors, the court gave the patentee the benefit of the doubt, and the patent was sustained. How unfair it is that the law itself does not accord him ready permission to make such slight amendments of detail, without the risk and expense now involved in doing so. Such amendments would often, by rendering a specification as a whole less easily assailable, be the indirect means of avoiding expensive and even ruinous actions.

To show the extremely prejudicial effect that the theory that the soundness of a specification as a whole is dependent upon the complete accuracy of each of its separate parts, we cannot do better than quote the words of the Master of the Rolls in a recent decision; words which also exemplify the undignified evasions to which our respected law officers are compelled to stoop, so that they may be able to do justice to patentees consistently with the terms of a law that is now admitted by all who have studied the subject to be an anachronism. He says:—

“The evidence” (upon the special point under consideration) “is all on one side, that we are dealing with an invention of great merit and great importance. . . . I have heard judges say, and I have read that other judges have said, that there should be a benevolent interpretation of specification. What does that mean? I think, as I explained elsewhere, that it means this: when the judges are convinced that there is a genuine, great, and important invention—which in some cases, one might almost say, produces a revolution in a particular art or manufacture—the judges are not to be astute to find defects in the specification; but, on the contrary, if it be possible consistently with the ordinary rules of construction, to put such a construction on the specification as will support it.”

What are we to say to a system which actually compels its law officers to be ostensibly blind to defects so that they may,

thus illicitly, avoid doing injustice to merit? Surely the right course (the *only* course that would be at the same time fair to the patentee and just to the public) would be to be astute to find out such defects, but to allow those defects, *where they do not affect the whole specification*, to be remedied, and not to condemn the patent—for which it will be remembered the patentee has *paid*—in all its parts simply because one of those parts is not verbally or theoretically accurate. We take exception even to the conventional phrase, “benevolent interpretation” used by judges. The inventor is in no way desirous of being treated benevolently. Benevolence forsooth!—what absurdity to speak of treating benevolently one of the best of all public servants, himself a benefactor of his kind. What the inventor wants is not to be treated with benevolence, but with a fair degree of sense, and a little ordinary honesty and common straightforwardness. If any English man of business were known to be guilty of such unmitigated sharp practice as that with which the English law (alleviated only by judicial benevolence!) treats the inventor, he would be at once tabooed by all other men of business of good type—and, indeed, by such men the very law itself is thus tabooed wherever that is possible, for men avoid entering a court of justice for the settlement of their disputes as they would avoid perdition. If the work done by the courts were better done—more justly, more cheaply, and more expeditiously—they would be more freely patronized.

Sir John Lubbock's Bill suggests that all patent cases should be referred to a body of three commissioners, one of whom is versed in the law, one of whom is an engineer, and one of whom has a knowledge of chemical science. These three commissioners are, when it is considered necessary, to be assisted by an assessor versed in any particular branch of business to which any action before them may relate, and to whose opinion they may refer. He is, however, to have no voice in the decision.

A court thus constituted would undoubtedly be open to grave objections, and we fully appreciate the strictures upon this part of the Bill that come from both lawyers and patent agents, as well as from the professional press. Without doubt the choice of an engineer or a chemist possessed of the “judicial mind,” would be a matter of great difficulty, and very doubtful as to results; though it might also be argued that the outcome could scarcely be such conspicuous inefficiency as that which now exists. We should at least not be pained by hearing a judge, presiding over a court dealing with an engineering case, say, as he took up a common indicator diagram: “And as for this diagram, I take it that it is like arithmetic. The diagrams that are put in in patent cases almost always seem to me to be

able to prove anything, and therefore they prove nothing. But I care not. I do not flinch from that diagram myself; and if I say something which is very ignorant so much the worse for me." We do not complain of the unscientific idea that arithmetic will prove anything, which often arises in the ordinary mind from the fact that wrong conclusions are frequently drawn from arguments based on statistics which have been handled by ignorant or interested persons. What we do wish to direct attention to is, the fact that this responsible functionary owns himself incapable of reading a diagram which would be perfectly clear to the mind of an even partially trained engineer; and it is obvious that the evidence of interested professional witnesses had only tended—as indeed, we should naturally expect—to make confusion worse confounded.

Equally unquestionable is Justice Stephen's argument that the patentees of electrical apparatus would be, even if such a commission were appointed, as badly off as ever. Our own feeling is that the difficulty is insoluble in a single effort, but that the present suggestion, imperfect as it is, is a step in the right direction. It could scarcely be so costly to educate an engineer in the details of some improvement in optical apparatus as to educate a lawyer, and yet more conspicuous would be the difference in the facility with which a chemist could learn to appreciate the value of some improvement in medical or in electrical science. If such appointments were once created, inducements would be held out to scientific men to undergo the triple training—in law (so far as it relates to their branch of it) as well as in science and practice—which is the only adequate preparation. Such men do not yet exist, but we trust that if care were taken that the first scientific commissioners appointed were comparatively young men, that they would not long feel the lack of legal knowledge. In any case, in a few years' time, men could be produced possessed of the requisite training, scientific and legal; and to facilitate this object, we would hazard the suggestion that certain assistant commissioners should be appointed, whose office it should be to prepare for the consideration and aid of the judicial commissioners an *impartial* summary of each case, either by word of mouth or in writing as seems most convenient. In any case, however, we fear that three commissioners will be unable to cope with the work or to cover the vast field of knowledge required.

The chief expense attending this class of actions results from the lavish employment of leading counsel and eminent professional witnesses. We say that this rivalry in the use of cash is constantly used by the rich to break down the poor before a proper hearing in court has been accorded. It has become a legalized system of fighting with money; for, if one party to an

action employs three leading counsel, the other is at a clear disadvantage if not able to do so. And this does not deal with the iniquitous practice of retaining the leading counsel all round, so as to prevent the other side from obtaining any well-known advocate, a practice so outrageously unjust that it would probably have been stamped out with stern censure years ago had it not been for the strong legal interest in Parliament, which stands next in power to the landed interest, and still possesses in the House of Commons, no less than 118 direct votes! The lawyers do not seem to see that regulations which tend to cheapen law, like regulations which tend to cheapen commodities, would increase their aggregate takings instead of diminishing them.

Could nothing be done to mitigate these great evils? Would it not be practicable, for instance, to make it a rule of the new court that suitors should appear through *one* counsel only; but that if it should be the desire of either (presumably the wealthier) party to the action to employ additional counsel, it should be permissible for him to do so, provided that he would deposit in court a sufficient sum to defray an equivalent expenditure upon the part of the other party to the action, leaving it to the option of the judge to order the return of this sum in case he deemed the employment of additional counsel by the latter unnecessary? And in regard to professional witnesses—another weapon often used by the rich suitor oppressively—it appears to us that such witnesses to be trustworthy should be chosen either by both sides mutually or by the court, and paid either by both sides mutually or through the court. They would thus take much the same place as assessors, except that they would probably have more to do with the actual inspection of machinery and work. If both parties could be got to agree to the appointment of a professional witness to be paid by them mutually and through the court no difficulty would be experienced; and, we would ask, could the desire on the part of one party to an action only for such aid not be met by the choice of a suitable witness on the part of the court, the cost being charged against the suitor at whose request the appointment was made, unless otherwise ordered by the court? We put these suggestions forward as tentative only; but what we insist upon is that the forms of our courts of justice should not be of such a character as to allow the mere possession and use of money to influence the judgments arrived at.

On one more function of these projected commissioners we should wish to say a few words. It is proposed that they should publish illustrated abridgments of specification. This is a most important office, and was said to be impracticable, until the enterprising publishers of *Engineering* showed, not only that

this could be done, but that it could be done by private enterprise. These abridgments, however, were never sufficient for the purpose, and have already fallen off in quality, and a great want is felt among patentees of more complete records, such as an official staff, independent of commercial considerations, alone can give. The suggestion that we would make is, that these records should be very amply illustrated, but to a small scale, for very small scale drawings, when well printed, are easily readable with a hand-glass; and we would further advise that the whole be not published in a single division, but that it be divided into three or four sections, each including a large proportion of matters patentable. By this means purchasers need not expend money upon or time in examining matter in which they were completely uninterested. We also think that a much more extended circulation would thus be secured.

In regard to the question of fees, we think that they should not in the aggregate yield more than sufficient to cover the expenses entailed, and should not be treated in any sense as a tax from which revenue is expected. Looking at the Bills, however, we think the question is in a fair way towards settlement on a basis that will satisfy the majority. In regard to term, we think that, in the greater number of cases, seventeen years will be sufficient, as is proposed by Sir John Lubbock's Bill. Cases differ greatly, however, and it is a matter of the very greatest importance that no obstacles should be put in the way of acquiring an extension of term by inventors whose inventions are of such a character as to have taken a long time to come into public notice. For it is this very class of inventions that shows the most originality, and the most scientific advance that takes longest to creep into popular favour; and the extreme uncertainty of proceedings under the present system, and the needless expense involved often causes great hardship. If *real* facilities, however, are given to those who desire prolongation on just grounds, we think the eleven years' term of possible extension proposed in Sir John Lubbock's Bill will fairly meet the case; but care should be taken to prevent the Crown from constantly opposing such applications on frivolous grounds.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

A PROBLEM of vital consequence on Biblical Criticism is the determination of the authorship and date of composition of the Gospel according to St. John.¹ Many eminent German critics, some English scholars, and some ministers of religion, regard it as an idealized Life of Jesus reflecting the Christian consciousness of the second century. They affirm that both historic reality and doctrinal truth are coloured and transformed by an infusion of Alexandrian or Gnostic theosophy. They point to contrasts and antagonisms in the representations of the fourth Evangelist, and the narratives of his predecessors. The fourth Gospel has been described as one in which Jesus never meets a demoniac, and never utters a parable, partakes of no Passover, and substitutes no Last Supper, announces no kingdom of heaven, no fall of Jerusalem, and no return of Messias to judgment; as belonging, in fact, to a different world from the earlier Synoptical Gospels. The late Mr. W. Rathbone Greg has forcibly remarked that all the events said to have been witnessed by John alone are omitted by John alone, as the raising of Jairus' daughter, the Transfiguration and the Agony in Gethisemane; a fact which he considers fatal either to the reality of those events or the genuineness of the Gospel which records them. The distinctive vocabulary, in the quasi-polemical, quasi-cirenical introduction,—Logos, Charis, Aletheia, Pleroma—approximate its teaching to that of the Gnostic Valentinus, A.D. 140. Its miracles—the conversion of water into wine, the restoration to sight of the man born blind, the resuscitation of Lazarus—are of a portentous character, and have a suspiciously symbolical significance. To perform the last miracle, John brings Jesus from the district beyond Jordan, and makes the resurrection of Lazarus the immediate occasion of his own death. The Synoptists, on the other hand, are unacquainted with the occurrence, and ignorant of the sensation which it produces. Another cardinal difference turns on the institution of the Lord's Supper and the day of the Crucifixion. The Synoptists tell us that Jesus at the Passover instituted the Lord's Supper on the 14th, and was crucified the 15th Nisan. The author of the fourth Gospel recognizes only a farewell meal (not the Passover) on the 13th, and places the Crucifixion on the 14th. The explanation is obvious. A dispute arose in Asia Minor in the second century on the celebration of the Passover. The Jewish Christians

¹ "The Gospel according to St. John. The Authorised Version, with Introduction and Notes." By B. F. Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, Canon of Peterborough, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen. London: John Murray. 1882.

held to the old tradition and kept the day on the 14th, appealing to the *Gospel* of Matthew and the *practice* of John; while the Pauline Christians, remembering that "Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us," would have nothing to do with a Jewish festival. The author of the fourth Gospel, adopting the more liberal view, omits the Passover and makes the Lamb of God die at the very hour at which the Jews slew the Paschal Lamb. Now these difficulties, and many others which we cannot even glance at here, have not been removed by Dr. Westcott in his book on the fourth Gospel, reprinted from the "Speaker's Commentary;" and yet Dr. Westcott is a learned and instructed man. We infer, therefore, that the arguments of Baur, Strauss, Hilgenfeld, Keim, and Davidson, are unanswerable; that the fourth Gospel is neither authentic nor genuine.

To save in some degree the credit of the author of this Gospel, Mr. Matthew Arnold falls back on the ingenious but improbable hypothesis that that author, to borrow Dr. Davidson's words, "was a theological lecturer who got a stock of materials from John, and altered their form while retaining their substance." We meet Mr. Arnold now on new ground." If we understand him rightly, Mr. Arnold advocates a Christianity of heart and life, the Christian religion *minus* the Christian theology—Christianity not as a creed or a doctrine, but as a temper, a behaviour. Professor Zeller, in his second volume of *Essays*, has said the same. We suppose, then, that a man who does not believe in God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, and who compares the three persons of the Trinity to three benevolent British noblemen, but leads an upright, loving, reasonable life, is a Christian *par excellence*. In contrast to a transcendental Christianity, there is, it seems, a natural Christianity. To illustrate the natural truth of Christianity with a view to elevate and sweeten human nature, Mr. W. M. Metcalf has published a volume of "Selections from the Select Discourses of John Smith," a learned and eloquent divine, born 1618, and introduced to us, the children of the nineteenth century, by "our most accomplished critic," in a few appropriate words. John Smith, one of the Cambridge Platonists, or *latitude men*, idealizes and allegorizes, treating theological facts as moral truths, without, so far as we perceive, surrendering the facts. Indeed, we should think Mr. Arnold can hardly accept Mr. Smith's version of Christianity, since we find in these selections ample evidence of the author's supernaturalistic prepossession. The passages, however, selected with care and discrimination by Mr. Metcalf, exhibit favourably the mingled poetry and philosophy of the author, and may be read with profit and delight by those who are in sympathy with a mystical, imaginative, yet practical theology.

Much of our recent theology is somewhat similar in character to

* "The Natural Truth of Christianity." Selections from the Select Discourses of John Smith, M.A., with an Introduction by Matthew Arnold. Edited by W. M. Metcalf. London: Alexander & Co. 1882.

the natural Christianity which may be discovered in the "Select Discourses." The moral, the sentimental, the poetic in Christ's life are selected for enlogistic dissertation, and the dogmatic, the critical, the controversial constituents of the gospel are pretermitted. "Christ our Ideal,"³ by the author of "The Gospel for the Nineteenth Century," is an example of this indistinctive, evasive Christianity. His familiar discourses on the imitation of Christ, eighteen in number, will be found edifying or stimulating by those to whom they are addressed, rather than instructive. "The argument from analogy" attached to them appears to be an after-thought. Indeed, the author admits that they were not framed to meet the requirements of the argument, but that the argument was suggested by them. We will briefly indicate the nature of that argument. The slow progress of Christianity, as a spiritual and moral force, supplies a point of analogy to the progressive character of the Old Creation, that is to say, the development of life on the earth, during countless geologic ages. The Darwinian hypothesis modified, is transferred from the order of the Old Creation to the order of the New Creation in Christ. That hypothesis is held by our author to be favourable to Theism, and conclusive evidences of design are detected by him in the structure of plants and animals. The conclusion which he draws from his asserted analogy is, that if his theory be correct, it affords a strong argument in proof of the divine origin of Christianity. It is satisfactory to find that homage is now paid to the great scientific thinker, who, being dead, yet speaketh; but this homage offered to truth when the votaries of error have found its progress irresistible, is purchased at the price of consistency, of logic, of common sense, and sound exegesis. The evolution of man, say from his "Cambrian" ancestors,* extended over perhaps millions of years, is declared to be identical with the direct creation of man, adult, in a moment of time, out of a handful of divinely inflated dust, by the fiat of Omnipotence. What is the evolutionary process, we would ask, which corresponds with the derivation of woman from the rib of Adam? If the analogy holds good throughout, the victory of the Christian religion must be postponed to a very remote future. A million years hence the value of our author's analogy will be experimentally ascertained, if his hypothesis be correct, but we should prefer a more compendious method of confirming or refuting it.

"The Perfect Way"⁴ professes to explain the mode of the redemption of spirit from matter. The authors of this work prefer to withhold their names, not from any self-distrust, or wish to avoid the responsibility they incur, but that the work may rest upon its own merits and not on theirs. What the personal merits of the authors may be, we know not: their literary or philosophical merits are not such as we can discern. The work, which appears to be of American

³ "Christ our Ideal; an Argument from Analogy." By the Author of "The Gospel of the Nineteenth Century." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

* See Darwin's "Origin of Species," p. 428. Sixth Edition.

⁴ "The Perfect Way, or the Finding of Christ." London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1882.

origin, reminds us of the Gnostics, of Jacob Böhmen, Swedenborg, the Cabbala, or of such citations rather, as we have seen, from those sources. Astral spirits, emanations, holy mysteries, projection, granulation, protoplasms and peripheries, are all jumbled together in most admired confusion. The orthodoxy of the writers may be inferred from the statement that the notion of redemption by a personal Saviour in the flesh extraneous to man is an idolatrous travesty of the truth; their theory of inspiration from the assertion that the Book of Genesis, as it now stands, is the work, not of Moses, but of Ezra who recovered it and other writings by the process already described as Intuitional Memory.

Mr. Newman Smyth takes a very different view. He appears, at least to us, not only to believe in a historical and literary Moses, but in the scientific teaching of the Mosaic Genesis, especially of the pure Song of Creation, as he calls the first chapter of that legendary book.⁵ Mr. Smyth veils his meaning in a cloud of rhetoric. He is never exact, definite, critical. Confining himself to vague generalities, and importing modern ideas into ancient documents, he contrives to elicit results, sufficiently accordant with recent speculation, to satisfy his craving for reconciliation between Science and Scripture. The idea of development, of evolution, having survived the battery of the old theological school, and having at last established itself, not only as a philosophical truth, but as a fashionable hypothesis, Mr. Smyth favours it with his patronage, and endeavours to show how entirely it accords with the science of the Bible. Moses, it appears, had a genius for teaching, and his Song of Creation gives us a providential elementary lesson on Nature. We refuse to bend the meaning of Scripture into conformity with the discoveries of science, or, in deference to Mr. Dawson, or Mr. Korison, or M. Godet, to accept artificial interpretations of it which are more incredible than the original statements. We do not class ourselves among the demagogues of unbelief, but as Mr. Smyth may choose to place us in that category, we will oppose, not our own reasonings to his, but the verdict of reputable theologians, such as Dr. Arnold, Rev. S. Davidson, Dean Stanley, and so far as the rejection of all spurious reconcilements is concerned, the present Master of Balliol, Oxford. The author of the article "Genesis," in the "Dictionary of the Bible," which Mr. Smyth so greatly admires, but which we advise him to use with judicious scepticism, admits that "Moses or some one else knew nothing of geology or astronomy." We do not find fault with Moses or *some one else* for not teaching us what he did not know, but for teaching us what he erroneously assumed that he knew; as we find fault with Mr. Smyth and Dr. Buckland, and many Neo-Christians, for their attempts to discover the results of modern thought in the "conception of an unlearned man and of a rude age." As to Mr. Smyth's general application of the principle of evolution to Biblical history, it would be wonderful indeed if indications of historical development were not discernible in a literature which ranges over three thousand years or more; but that the modern

⁵ "Old Faiths in New Light." By Newman Smyth, Author of "The Religious Feeling." London: Ward, Lock & Co.

theory of evolution is recognizable in the Bible, or any adumbration of it, is, in our opinion, "a devout imagination."

Mr. J. P. Mahaffy, an accomplished and thoughtful writer, seems more desirous of taking part in the moral and intellectual development of the present than of discussing that of the past, or of comparing scientific with scriptural evolution.⁶ The masses, not the educated laity, who are as wise as their would-be instructors, are still, he thinks, accessible to good influences through the platform and the pulpit. To render such training effective, general culture and a direct theological learning, a combination of dogmatic stringency with intellectual latitude, reinforced by the celibacy of a preaching Order, to secure an approach to an ideal life, are some of the remedies recommended by Mr. Mahaffy. His theme, however, is not the revival but the decay of preaching; a decay, the announcement of which has taken us somewhat by surprise, as we were not aware of the decline of that institution. The essay proclaiming it abounds in remarks which are often just, and if not altogether startling from their originality, at least capable of arresting attention from boldness of avowal. Thus the author accounts for attendance at church by the desire to be respectable and orderly; he contends that people to whom these epithets apply dislike nothing so much as having their traditional religion questioned, and that rival statements of doctrine are denounced as a violation of all propriety. The decay of preaching he attributes to want of ability, of learning, of firmness of character, of due preparation, and of defective treatment. Among the types of defective preaching are the logical extreme and the emotional extreme, the orthodox extreme and the heterodox extreme. By the heterodox extreme, which Mr. Mahaffy says is very common and even fashionable, he does not include "the cases in which men set forth from their pulpits, doctrines clearly at variance with the creed which they have professed," but a general laxity as regards the importance of dogma, and the silent implication that belief is of little consequence, as long as men live uprightly and purely. Though insisting on a dogmatic theology, Mr. Mahaffy is tainted with the fashionable laxity, favouring the *constitutional* view as against the despotic aspect of divine government, regarding the doctrine of eternal punishment as an anachronism, and that of the numerical limitation of the elect or redeemed as a discrediting excess of orthodoxy.

In his estrangement from these views of future retribution the Rev. F. Nutcombe Oxenham would more than agree with him.⁷ We cannot examine the details of what is apparently a carefully conducted inquiry into the original controversy, and the authority of the Council which condemned the errors of the great champion of universal restitution. Mr. Oxenham seems to have accomplished his task with conscientious

⁶ "The Decay of Modern Preaching." An Essay. By J. P. Mahaffy. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

⁷ "What is the Truth of Everlasting Punishment?" Part II., &c. In reply to Dr. Pusey's late Treatise, "What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?" By the Rev. F. Nutcombe Oxenham, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

industry; and on particular points to have made out his case against Dr. Pusey. We cannot, however, accept his view of this "anachronistic" doctrine of everlasting punishment. We maintain that not only was it taught in the third, but in the second and in the first centuries of our era, and not only by the Fathers but by the Founder of Christianity himself. The doctrine of endless torment for the wicked was Palestinian theology. It was held by the Pharisees and Essenes. If on special points Dr. Pusey can be shown to be in error, he is unquestionably right when he asks, "If endless duration of suffering, which Jews and heathens believed when Jesus came, had been an error, what would these words [everlasting punishment] be but an emphatic confirmation of the error?" addressed as they were to those who already believed in it.* We entirely agree with the Regius Professor of Hebrew, that the moral aspect of the use of the word lies far deeper than any question as to its abstract meaning.

St. Cyril, says Dr. Pusey, in a learned and elaborate preface, doctrinal and historical, prefixed to a translation of the works of the Archbishop of Alexandria, was my own early teacher on the connection of the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist.³ This translation was executed by a son whose loss Dr. Pusey has to deplore. "It was," he adds, "at my wish that, in his uniform filial love, my son undertook as the central work of his life to make the text of his works as exact as it could be made." It requires a subtle intellect to appreciate the distinctions of the metaphysical theologians of the fifth century. Nestorius, the then Bishop of Antioch, denied the propriety of calling Mary the mother of God, explaining, however, that he rejected the Greek expression *Θεοτόκος* only in its false acceptation. For his real or supposed erroneous doctrine he was declared a heretic, and Cyril in twelve anathemas endeavoured to establish the new doctrine of Christ's person against the heresy of Nestorius. The Bishop Rhiginus, of Constantia, in Cyprus, denounced him as worse than Cain and the Sodomites, declaring that the God Logos, who had come forth in the flesh from Mary *Θεοτόκος*, would sentence him in the Day of Judgment to eternal torments. Neander is of opinion that the Nestorian party did worship the incarnate God, and that a new slavery to forms of expression was now substituted in the place of the worship of God in spirit and in truth; and Gieseler states that the contemporaries of the heretic, whom an amiable Church historian of the period declared to be eternally damned, misrepresented his doctrinal system, and that he never asserted anything really inconsistent with the confession of faith signed by Cyril himself. Dr. Pusey, however, considers that the alleged heresy menaced a vital element in the Christian Creed, and

* See Dr Pusey's sermon "On Everlasting Punishment." 1864.

³ "A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of the East and West." Translated by Members of the English Church. S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria. Five tomes against Nestorius; Scholia on the Incarnation; Christ is One; Fragments against Diodore of Tarsus; Theodore of Mopsuestia; the Synousiasts. Oxford: James Parker & Co.; and Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1881.

has done his best to vindicate the "God-devoted character of his early benefactor."

Happily there is little or no metaphysical theology in the work that comes next to hand—"Onesimus." "Onesimus" is at once an essay and a romance. As a work of art we shall briefly commend it to our readers. Its portraiture of Pagan and Christian life and manners, its representations of scenes of sorrow and joy, of outward sorrow and conflict, are full of interest, and the composition harmonizes with the grace and beauty of the subject. The theological purpose, however, and not the literary merit, is our present concern. Though, as we understand, the author is a clergyman, he not only accepts the idea of an historical development in Christianity, but to some extent even favours the mythical theory advocated by Strauss. Thus, before two generations had elapsed since the birth of Christ, he seems to admit that "already are there current many fables and stories which overshadow the things that He really did, and the doctrine that He really taught, and all this because of the ancient prophecies of His nation. Of the Jewish writers of the Old Testament books his hero says that their minds "seem ever on the poise between poetry and prose, between figures of speech and plain sense, between hyperbole and fact," and that in their relations it is impossible to tell where the poem ends and the history begins. At first Onesimus finds the Jewish Christians of the stricter sect maintaining the obligatoriness of the Mosaic Law, and denouncing Paul as a teacher of heresy. At a later period "these Ebionites, as they were called, who in former times alone seemed to be the Church, and the rest heretics, themselves came to be thought heretics, while the doctrine of Paul was accepted as the doctrine of all the Churches." This view of the early Christian parties approximates very closely to that of Dr. Baur and his followers. It was not till about the end of Vespasian's reign, we are told, that the Churches began to commit to writing the traditions of the acts and discourses of the Lord. "For as long as the disciples and apostles of the Lord themselves lived, it had seemed to the saints that there was no need of books, having, as it were, the living words of the Lord Jesus among them. Moreover, before the destruction of Jerusalem, the saints for the most part lived in continual expectation of the coming of the Lord; wherefore, hoping soon to have heard His voice from heaven, they were the less careful to record exactly the words He had spoken on earth." The intrusion of mythical elements into the original tradition is cleverly illustrated in the imaginary discourse of Lucian of Cyrene, which shows us how readily history can be manufactured out of prophecy, as well as in the pictorial representations on the Catacombs, where Onesimus finds the very beliefs embodied which he had described as currently reported, but not yet added to the tradition. In assuming a general correspondence between the views of Onesimus and the author, we

⁹ "Onesimus: Memoirs of a Disciple of St Paul." By the Author of "Philo-Christus." London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

conceive ourselves to be amply justified; for, to quote his own words—

“Artemidorus, Nicostratus, Philemon, and Oneirocritus represent thoughts that must have been in the air throughout Asia, as early as A.D. 60, though they did not find expression in extant books till some time later. So also of Justin and Irenæus; it may safely be asserted that the tendency to see in each of the acts of Jesus the exact fulfilment of some prophecy, and in each prophecy the prediction of some act of Jesus—the next step being to believe and then to assert that that act must consequently have occurred—permeated the early Christian Church at least as early as the date of the composition of the Introduction to St. Matthew’s Gospel, and long before it found expression in the pages of Justin and Irenæus.”

What is this but the theory of the Evangelical Mythos to which Strauss unfortunately accorded such exaggerated proportions?

In “Present Day Tracts,” the Rev. Prebendary Row expatiates on the historical evidence of the “Resurrection of Jesus from the Dead.”¹⁰ And Dr. Cairns infers the truth of Christianity from the transcendent wonderfulness and originality of the character of Christ. In his plea for Miracles he treats the subject with temper and intelligence, but not, as we think, conclusively.

In a similar series, the “St. Giles’ Lectures,”¹¹ the Rev. James Dodds descants on the Religion of Egypt, the best features of which reappear, he tells us, in the Books of Moses; and Dr. Milligan, ending his picturesque account of the Religions of Greece, draws the moral that the search for the divine in Nature alone led to self-abasement.

In describing the early career of Mahommed, Dr. Hauri agrees pretty closely with Dr. Sprenger.¹² Nervous excitability, marked by paroxysms and attended by hysteria, characterized the physical constitution of the prophet. With hysterical temperaments a certain tendency to invention, exaggeration, deception, and falsehood is often found allied. And though unquestionably sincere in his belief in his mission, a good husband, a good father, and a good friend, Mohammed was not without that alloy which these unfortunate proclivities implied. Through its religious elevation and civilizing influence Islam was, in some degree, of service to the world. Nevertheless, in consecrating polygamy, slavery, war, it has produced enormous evil. In the Imperial circle it has led to deadly crime; the political, social, and domestic institutions of Islam all co-operate to destroy the empire and its rulers. Our author predicts its gradual decay in the East. He allows, however, that in British India it exhibits indications of a new era in science and culture. In China, too, it is making way. In the

¹⁰ “The Historical Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead.” By the Rev. Prebendary Row, M.A. “Christ the Central Evidence of Christianity.” By the Rev. Principal Cairns, D.D. London: Religious Tract Society.

¹¹ St. Giles’ Lectures. Second Series. Faiths of the World. Lecture V. “Religion of Ancient Egypt.” By the Rev. James Dodds, D.D. Lecture VI. “Religion of Ancient Greece.” By the Rev. William Milligan, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

¹² “Der Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben seiner Bekenner.” Von Joannes Hauri. Pfarren in Davos. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

Indian Archipelago, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, it follows the Dutch Government like its shadow. The necessity of employing Mohammedan interpreters and clerks explains this startling connection. Elsewhere the pilgrims are important auxiliaries to the spread of Islam. In Central Asia, Russia, the natural enemy of this creed, has, our author contends, a true mission of civilization. Predicting its ultimate decay in the East, Dr. Hauri cannot deny that it has a prodigious vitality in Central Asia. Mohammedan merchants are reducing whole districts into their power, and persuading the various populations to adopt the religion of the Crescent. In Sierra Leone it flourishes. In the Soudan, Timbuctoo, and other regions, it is the dominant creed. In fifty years, if there be no reaction, Central Africa will be wholly Mohammedan. With this vision of decay and revival our author does not look for a golden age of peace and harmony; the people are destined to toil, to disturbance, to struggle; but, believing in the conquering energy of the Christian faith, he is satisfied that our historical development will achieve its desired end.

Mr. Keary is of opinion that in some crude form most of the myths of the Indo-European system existed among human beings at a date much earlier than the era in which we first distinguish the Aryan races.¹³ So thinking, he has attempted to reconstruct in outline the primitive creed of the Indo-European races, tracing it up to a time which preceded the historical age. The primitive Aryan creed rested, he is convinced, upon a worship of external phenomena, such as the sky, the earth, the sea, the storm, the wind, and the sun. In contesting the accuracy of certain previous definitions of religion, Mr. Keary arrives at the conclusion that the essence of religion lies in a capacity for worship, in the recognition of a Something which does not exist in mere outward sensation. This definition, we think, requires to be guarded. If the Something beyond is Power or Beauty, something that exists in the mind of man only, we need not take exception to it; but if it be meant that man discerns, and not merely imagines or infers, something "beyond Nature," we cannot acquiesce in the statement. We agree with Mr. Keary, however, in his view that fear and wonder are ingredients in primitive religion. We also agree with him in refuting the notion, though supported by high authority, that the ghosts of dead men are the first objects of religious worship. With Mr. Keary, we believe that material objects—the tree, the mountain, the river—were the earliest, or amongst the earliest, objects of superstitious affection, whether love or fear. In treating this topic he well remarks, that for the primitive men a thin atmosphere of thought and emotion surrounded the world with sense; all material things shared in a certain vitality which is shed upon them by the subject. The early growth of belief is very fairly described by our author. Preceding Nature-worship, as he defines it, was a preliminary kind of theology, for which

¹³ "Outlines of Primitive Belief among the Indo-European Races." By Charles Francis Keary, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1884.

perhaps a less equivocal term than Fetichism might be substituted. Fetichism (we retain the word) indicates not the worship of something *beyond* the object, but the worship of the object itself. From his introductory exposition of the nature of religious belief, Mr. Keary proceeds to a direct illustration of his argument, dealing almost exclusively with the phenomena of Nature-worship among the Aryas, with their Agni, Dyans, and Indra; among the Greeks, with their prominent deities, Zeus, Apollo, Athene; among the Germans, with their gods of the Mark and the Homestead. The mythic day, the mysteries or celebration of the Spring, Prometheus, whose original was Pramantha (the Fire-drill), the Underworld, with its river of death and bridge of souls, mediæval heathenism, the earthly paradise and twilight of the gods, are among the subjects treated by Mr. Keary, with lucidity, liveliness and poetic grace. The impression which his clever and agreeable book produces on our mind is often favourable to the theory which he advocates. A plausible etymology sometimes affords a strong presumption of the correctness of his identifications. Sometimes additional evidence is required to support his mythological interpretations. The Wind and Dawn hypothesis, for example, rests on a precarious basis. Is *Cerburu* a correct transliteration of the Sanskrit name of the renowned dog of Yama, as Mr. Keary gives it? Professor Max Müller, while disposed to connect Cerberus with *Sarvari*, does not notice the suspicious-looking etymon which our author adopts.

A pamphlet, which appears to us as excellent in tone and temper as it is decisive in argument, defends the Revisers of the translation of the New Testament from the rash assault of the *Quarterly Review*.¹⁴ In this pamphlet, by two Members of the New Testament Company, it is shown that the attack of the Reviewer on the text of the Revisers is really an attack on the critical principles that have been established during the last fifty years, or it might almost be said during two centuries. In reply to the general charge, the responding Members contend that the ultimate basis of the Received Text is principally that of late MSS., thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries, and in one instance of a mutilated MS. of the twelfth century. Their rejection of the *Testus Receptus* (which the Quarterly Reviewer himself says requires correction), in favour of a text grounded on the consentient testimony of the most ancient authorities, harmonizes with the evident conviction of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles. On particular cases of alleged textual error, as in that of the form of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke, and *He who for God* (1 Tim. iii. 16), or rather the Greek equivalents, they have conclusively shown that they had ample warrant for the variations they have adopted. We strongly recommend all who have read the Reviewer's attack to study the Revisers' vindication.

We may appropriately acknowledge here the merits of a handsome crown quarto, the Parallel New Testament, being the Authorized Version set forth in 1611, arranged in parallel columns with the

¹⁴ "The Revisers and the Greek Text of the New Testament." By Two Members of the New Testament Company. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Revised Version of 1881. Typographical errors and false references which had crept into the A. V. have been corrected.¹⁵ The Marginal Notes of the R. V., the Revisers' Preface, and the list of readings and renderings preferred by the American Committee, are contained in the volume.

PHILOSOPHY.

MISS SARA S. HENNELL, whose intellectual vigour and consistent fearlessness have not been without appropriate recognition, has, in the second division of her "Comparative Ethics," an instalment of her comprehensive work on "Present Religion," explained the actual operation of moral principle based specifically on religion.¹ Though from the first an ardent disciple of Mr. Herbert Spencer, she never derived more than indirect support from her adhesion to his scheme of Nature. More recently, the "religious negativeness" which she thought so admirable, has with the development of the "Synthetic Philosophy" been seriously impaired. Accordingly, Miss Hennell finds herself at present "much more an antagonist than an adherent of Mr. Spencer's teaching." In her indictment of this teaching, three principal counts may be specified. 1. His estimate of woman's natural position in the sociological sphere; Mr. Spencer appearing to her "to imply always in the exceptional discussion allotted to [women] that all good to be attained by [them] of the kind he has in view, has only to be conceded them by man and not earned by their own efforts." 2. His hypothesis that the savage worship of dead ancestors is a sufficing representation of the origin of religious worship in general—a conception for which the authoress substitutes one, in her opinion, expressing a far deeper truth, the universal apprehension of the nature of death in the abstract, embodying all existing causes and occasions of spiritual fear, and pointing to the correlative sense of Deity, in the Agnostic signification of the word. 3. His conclusion that "the sense of Deity, or moral obligation, is transitory, and will diminish as fast as moralization increases." In defending her view of the permanence of the moral sense, Miss Hennell argues that this sense, as being naturally based on our instinct towards social aggregation, involving the need of controlling law and following necessarily on religious sentiment, will inevitably continue to improve and refine, and cannot possibly become extinct. For Miss Hennell's view of the intimate connection between religion and morality, as historically represented in the Appeal by Oath—the only means, as she believes, of expressing the recognition of inward law; for her partial identification of her own statement with the Contract theory of Hobbes (pronounced gratuitous and baseless by Mr. Spencer), as well as for her

¹⁵ "The Parallel New Testament, &c." Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford: at the University Press. 1882.

¹ "Comparative Ethics." I. Moral Standpoint. "Present Religion," vol. iii. By Sara S. Hennell, Author of "Thoughts in Aid of Faith." London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

strictures on the Positivist ideal of Humanity and the ethical doctrine of Altruism, we must refer all who are curious on the matter to the pages of the somewhat abstruse work in which these difficult questions are discussed.

Professor Gonne, in his "Philosophical Considerations," reminds us a little of Mr. Spencer.² Accepting Kant's position, that there is a Noumenon, or thing in itself, an *Urwesen* which underlies mind and matter alike, but which is an altogether inscrutable essence, Dr. Gonne maintains that only what is recognizable as the homogeneous in mind and matter, through sense and intellect, is to be regarded as our *Absolute*, and that this Unknown Something is to be traced through the analogies observable in science, in art, and practical life. The existence of an object is (he continues) announced to us by motion, present alike in mind and matter, as the primary perceptible condition of all reality; motion and perception being identical, and motion being at once cause and effect. External motion manifests itself as sensation in the body, reacting on the sensorium; internal motion, a repetition of the external, occurs in the central organ, continuing, even when the outward cause is removed, to exist as memory, a purely mental product. It is Motion or Force, equally impelling Body and Mind, which first reveals existence to us. The thing in itself, or as Gonne calls it, the *Urwesen*, possesses *infinite* motion. The mode of perception of this transcendent Being is an impenetrable mystery. We know only that it does not take place through sense-organs such as we have. Nature our author regards as a revelation of this Creative Power; but the revelation varies with the spirit of the age. The Christian ideal, though an attractive one, cannot be a permanent ideal; the religion of love which Jesus proclaimed must be preceded by the religion of duty, its indispensable prerequisite. For the struggle for existence, or the satisfaction of material wants, our author substitutes a more refined principle. The object for which men are really contending is *Equilibrium*. The contest, it is true, will never cease, and a perfect equilibrium therefore will never be attained; but in the long-continued battle with evil, which is irreparably implicated with good, the good is increasingly victorious, and the tendency is ever towards a balance or harmony of life. The *Urwesen* of the Professor, revealed in Nature, and present, as he believes, in every man's consciousness, is God. It is not clear to us that this God is a personal intelligence, though some mysterious power of perception is attributed to him. Of a future life, our author holds that no intimation is afforded us. Our duty, therefore, is not to trouble ourselves about another world, but to be faithful to all moral obligations and meet our end with serene confidence. The individual is a part of the whole, and must work and suffer for the whole, with or against his will, regarding his private unhappiness as a sacrifice to the collective good. Such is a rough view of the ingenious argument and lofty moral aim of Professor Gonne's work.

² "Das Gleichgewicht in der Bewegung." Philosophische Betrachtungen von Christian Friedrich Gonne, Professor an der königliche Sächs. Kunstakademie in Dresden. Dresden: R. v. Zahn. 1882.

Dissatisfied with the absolute philosophies, whether of mind or of matter, Mr. H. Macaulay Posnett professes to care only for relative truths.³ To conform the spheres of association and absolute truth is, he tells us, no purpose of his. He purposes to build his science sensuously out of human associations. In writing the essay in which he embodies his views, he attempts to "prove that the historical method is in harmony with inductive science; that its essential characteristic is the reversal of mental evolution, and that the philosophy of the finite and historical philosophy are one." The instruments with which he undertakes to build experience into social theory are the four methods, entitled the Comparative Method, the Method of Scientific Imagination, the Method of Survival, and the Method of Concrete Analysis. Three ages of generalization, marked respectively by Deductive, Inductive and Historical Reasoning, lie, he conceives, within man's memory. In Mr. John Stuart Mill's "Reconciliation of the Aristotelian and Inductive Logic" he sees the way cleared for the recognition of both, as analysis of mental evolution, preparatory to the historical method, the historical and inductive methods being to all intents and purposes one and the same. Though discarding "Absolute Truth" at the commencement of his essay, Mr. Posnett seems inclined to recognize, if not absolute truth, a kind of mystical *universal* at the end of it. The agreement of particulars in an abstract idea suggests to his mind a solution of the problem of abstraction. Is not, he asks, the abstract entity to which generalization seems to point a conception of *cause*, unconscious, vague, or scientific? And does not the logic of induction abound with obscure recognitions of this ideal, this imaginative element, in hypothesis scientifically controlled, in analogy scientifically limited, and in the inherent *petitio principii* of all reasoning? In all such speculations there is, we fear, an *ignis fatuus* light, which can only mislead the speculator. Can we, with Mr. Posnett, identify the historical method with induction? and, through recognizing the legitimate use of hypothesis and the discolouring tendencies of thought and language, can we admit the presence of an imaginative element in *all reasoning*? Mr. Posnett descants on the application of his historical method in ethics, jurisprudence, and political economy, recognizing the merits and censuring the shortcomings of Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Bentham, Ricardo, and Austin. We are often compelled to dissent from his conclusions. His essay, however, is clever and suggestive, and the challenge of opinion is indispensable for the correction of error or the confirmation of truth.

We have examined, as we best could, the "Elliptical Philosophy of the Marquis de Seoane," and can make but an unsatisfactory report of it.⁴ To us, indeed, the science of the "Latent Efficient" is no better

³ "The Historical Method in Ethics, Jurisprudence, and Political Economy." By Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett, M.A., late Senior Classical Moderator, &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

⁴ "Elliptische Philosophie des Verborgnen Wirkenden. Pantanomische Pantonomie, oder das Fünffache Universal-Gesetz." Von Marquis de Seoane, Senator, &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

than darkness visible. We will try, not by argument, but by exposition, to justify our verdict. In constructing his philosophical system the initial difficulty which the author encountered was to discover a basis for the principle of "Pantanomy," or universal Quintuple Law—in plain English, the Law of Fives. There are, we are informed, five senses, though the author should be aware that the sensations of organic life have been reckoned as a sixth sense. There are also five primordial laws, five corresponding sentiments, five terms in the syllogism, five laws in the legislative, and five laws in the mathematical science. Now, the basis of Pantanomy must be sought in mathematics. This basis is derived from a determinate position, or fixed point, implying four others, which are *latent*. The fixed point, as determined by the four latent points, may be regarded as the *primogenitus latentiorum*, or first-born of the latents. The latent is thus generative or creative of the apparent. It is found in all the sciences, but particularly in that science which is designated philosophy, the designation implying an ellipsis, or omission, and the omission being none other than the word science, or its signification, so that the LATENT thus understood is the science which investigates the laws of mind. From this explanation our readers will, we trust, infer the origin of the enigmatical title of the book before us, and conjecture its general character. The first part of this system of elliptical or *Pantanomical Philosophy* comprises the so-called integral division treating of the function of the senses, the real or imaginary quintuple element in science, method and law, constituent or cognate ideas, and universal representations. The second division is entitled *Fractional Philosophy*, and is mainly an historical review, necessarily somewhat superficial, of the systems of predecessors, from Aristotle to Comte, Spencer, Darwin, Helmholtz, Huxley, Lewes, and others, including French and German metaphysicians. The result of all this "Elliptical" philosophy is a creed—the creed of contact, or touch, comprising the four other senses, and having more than a merely material significance. The sciences appear as an aggregate of contacts. Our desires, notions, decisions are all in reciprocal contact. The true philosophy is based on our ideas or representations of reality. Five rules of life—the five commandments of the Quintuple law of the universe—(1) Believe in yourself; (2) Labour with others; (3) Economize or save; (4) Act through freedom; (5) Be complete and upright—are the practical issue of this "Philosophy of the Latent." A more meagre philosophy, surely, was never constructed; but what can be expected, when the world is "done up" in parcels of Fives! With Hegel, Three was the sacred number—"the foot that scans the rhythmus of the universe"—and accordingly he did up "all creation" in parcels of Threes. With what success is known. M. de Seoane will be equally successful.

The author of the Quintuple System, parodying a well-known proverb, applies it to the philosophy of Hartmann—"Man proposes and the Unconscious disposes." Such profanities, however, are very

offensive to Herr Plumacher,⁵ who, after seven years' study of his master in the rural solitudes of Tennessee, defends with becoming vigour the various positions of their philosophical system against all assailants, logical or ontological, materialistic or theistic. Sensation, but not intelligence, is attributed to the Spirit, or *Geist*, which is the *Urwesen* of this system, even Hegel recognizing sensation as a dull movement of the *Geist* in unintelligent unconscious individuality; and it is only by conceiving Spirit as *per se* unconscious, that we can identify collective being in its material and physical aspects, only thus that we can abolish dualism and realize monism. Though Herr Plumacher denies the unconscious Principle intelligence, he concedes it some kind of sensibility. Sensations, he metaphorically says, are the building stones out of which our mental representations are constructed. Hartmann, he reminds us, attributed to the unconscious a clairvoyance which seems to be the equivalent of instinct; but as this *Hell-sche* is not subjective but objective, to compare the unconscious to a somnambulist, is, he indignantly exclaims, a malicious misrepresentation to which only a Stockel is equal! Herr Plumacher's work throughout exhibits some power of reflection and care in composition, and may be recommended to those who are interested in transcendental speculations of this kind.

Hartmann has been accused of paradox because he starts by declaring that our world is the best of all possible worlds, and ends by pronouncing the Universe "une œuvre manquée." The doctrine of Monads,⁶ for which, together with the view of the world that Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss made so merry with, we are indebted to Leibnitz, is the subject of an essay by Mr. P. H. Ritter, containing an exposition, a critique, and an introductory sketch of such portions of the system of Descartes and Spinoza as are required for general elucidation.

Mr. Cleland's essay on Evolution, Expression, and Sensation, is rather scientific than philosophical, but the speculative element which it contains renders its inclusion in this Section admissible.⁷ We shall leave our readers to form their own opinion of the value of those portions of his book which relate to Symbolic Correlation in Expression; the Physical Relations of Consciousness, and the seat of Sensation, and the new hypothesis which he advances on the Functions of the Nerves, and confine our observations to the general aspects of his subject. Acknowledging that science is enormously indebted to Darwin for the stimulus which he has given to the study of "Environment," he pro-

⁵ "Der Kampf um's 'Unbewusste.'" Von O. Plumacher, Nebst einem chronologischen Verzeichniss der Hartmann—Literatur als Anhang. London: Trübner. 1881.

⁶ "De Monadenleer van Leibniz." Academische Proefschrift. Door P. H. Ritter. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

⁷ "Evolution, Expression and Sensation, Cell-Life and Pathology." By John Cleland, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1881.

nounces that the doctrine of Natural Selection has precisely the same defect as the Lamarckian doctrine of Appetency. It does not account, he continues, for the formation of any new organ; it leaves the problems of sex and symmetry unexplained, and while it deserves credit for referring the origin of life to a creator, it denies the existence of any definite evolution of organization dependent on a definite cause, referring evolution to external influences only. Admitting that the evolution of the vertebrate from the invertebrate eye is made easier by Kowalevsky's discoveries in the larval ascidians, he refuses to recognize the conclusiveness of Darwin's prerogative instance of the asserted conversion by natural selection of the "simple apparatus of an optic nerve, merely coated with pigment and invested by transparent membrane into an optical instrument, as perfect as is possessed by any member of the great articulate class." To explain the facts of morphology, and establish the Darwinian hypothesis, Mr. Cleland transports us into an unknowable territory, and assumes the existence of an Infinite Spirit; beginning, where Plato began, with the Eternal and Unlimited, and postulating "an endless unrolling of definite evolutions." To us, this hypothesis, which is poorly reinforced by the precarious doctrine of Final Causes, appears chimerical. It is the offspring of a mythological metaphysic. Where our knowledge fails or is defective, imagination stands in the gap. Moreover, granted the existence of a mythical agent, the hypothesis explains nothing. As to the theory of Mr. Darwin, to speak of it as if the sole factor in it were natural selection, pure and simple, is to give but an inadequate idea of it. Surely it includes not only this principle, not only the general conditions of existence, but the tendency of organic matter to spontaneous variation, and the disposition to transmit forms of variation leading to permanent modifications of structure. Moreover, Mr. Darwin has himself carefully recorded his conviction that Natural Selection has been the main but not the exclusive means of modification. As our opinion of the value of Darwin's work, however, is not that of an expert, we will give one which carries authority with it. Professor Huxley, in his touching and eloquent tribute in *Nature*, to the man of noble heart and fruitful brain, who has lately passed from among us, writes:—

"None have fought better, and none have been more fortunate than Charles Darwin. He found a great truth trodden under foot, reviled by bigots and ridiculed by all the world; he lived long enough to see it—chiefly by his own efforts—irrefragably established in science, inseparably incorporated in the common thoughts of men, and only hated and feared by those who would revile but dare not."

Kant, like Darwin, was of opinion that the prime source of all organization does not fall within the scope of physical science, but, unlike Darwin, drew a rigid line of division between a race and a species. The general speculations of the great German thinker—ethnological, cosmical, logical, and æsthetic—as well as his more systematic expositions in the "Critique of Pure Reason," of the

Practical Reason, and of the Power of the Judgment, are sufficiently characterized in Mr. Wallace's welcome contribution to "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics."⁸ Both the exposition and the biographical portions of the volume are written with excellent taste and judgment. Kant's cardinal merit lay in his critical survey of the powers of the human mind, his demonstration of their limited nature, and his consequent rejection of ontological metaphysics—that "bottomless abyss, that gloomy ocean, with neither shore nor lighthouse," as he called it. His second claim to our homage was his striking, though not successful, attempt to determine the conditions of sensibility and the laws of thought. His philosophy lies in ruins, but the ruins deserve to be diligently explored. Though his "Critique of the Pure Reason" was the abhorrence of Jean Paul Richter, his "Categorical Imperative" a thorn in the side of Goethe, while his sober integrity of intellect suggested to Heine the type of a petty tradesman weighing tea and sugar, as the Professor kept weighing God in the scale, Kant will remain a king in the realms of mind. If his attempt, by an appeal to the practical reason, to revive a belief in the mythical universe, which the inexorable logic of the "pure reason" had destroyed, is a failure, he was, at least, successful in showing that a scientific knowledge of the super-sensuous world is impossible, that metaphysics supply no basis to religion or morality.

According to Mr. Seth, however, a new metaphysic compensates for the overthrow of the old. In the clever essay, entitled "The Development from Kant to Hegel,"⁹ published by the Hibbert trustees, this gentleman attributes to Fichte the fundamental conception of Idealism. The most perfect expression of the general movement of thought, known as German idealism, he ascribes to Hegel. "The new metaphysic, developed by Hegel, out of Kantianism, does away with the abstract distinction between God and man, which still remains at the Kantian standpoint." The thing in itself is incognizable. With Hegel *thought* became the object of philosophy, and the search for something real beyond and apart from thought was abandoned. To the new metaphysic, the current doctrines of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul are unnecessary. The first cause is a contradictory conception. God is in no sense an object. The idea of God, His existence in thought, is His real existence; He is the spirit in all spirits, the dialectical development of consciousness, the eternal historical process. "The life of the world appears crystallized in Hegel, as the visible evolution of a corporate self or individual." Mr. Seth, while admitting the imperfection of the philosophy of Hegel, is yet of opinion "that he has laid down the lines on which a complete

⁸ "Kant." By William Wallace, M.A., LL.D., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

⁹ "The Development from Kant to Hegel, with Chapters on the Philosophy of Religion" By Andrew Seth, M.A., Assistant to the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, and late Hibbert Travelling Scholar. London: Williams & Norgate. 1882.

explanation must move." Against this verdict we must be allowed to protest. To us the philosophy of Hegel is a "cobweb philosophy." Mr. Seth commends Hegel for his laborious and faithful study of experience in all its forms. This study, however, led him to reject the science of Newton, and to prefer the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system of astronomy. Mr. Seth thinks Hegel's historical criticisms invincible. Others see in them only perversions of notorious facts. As to Hegel's identification of his religious idealism with historical Christianity, we can only regard it as intellectual legerdemain. With Hegel, the Triune God has no reference to the number three. The eternal generation of the Divine Son by the Divine Father, is the eternal determination of the Idea by the Idea. To the *facts* of the history of Christ, Hegel is profoundly indifferent. From the conception to the ascension of Jesus, all is miraculous; but, in the opinion of Hegel, no well-educated man can now believe in miracles. Miracles, he says, are *Dinge an die er auf einem gewissen Standpunct der Bildung nicht mehr glauben kann*. Hegel's astonishing speculative ingenuity in his philosophical exertions all may admire. Few, we should hope, can approve his peculiar manipulation of Christian dogma.

In Marcus Aurelius Antoninus we have a philosopher of a different kind. We regret that Mr Crossley has not been able to command the leisure necessary to complete the work he proposed to himself seven years ago.¹⁰ We would gladly have had a complete Greek text, and an entire translation of the "Stoic Book of Piety," the world-renowned "Meditations." For the revised text, however, and translation of the Fourth Book (and of the Fourth Book only), with a commentary and appendix on the relations of the Emperor with Cornelius Fronto, we are grateful. Mr. Crossley's work appears to us adequately done. On one point, nevertheless, we differ from him. He attributes, we think, more importance to the foreign descent of Zeno and other chiefs of Stoicism than we are able to do. To say that Stoicism in Greece is an "exotic importation" is a scarcely permissible expression. Race may have had some influence on character, and birthplace may have helped to generate the cosmopolitan tendencies of Stoicism. But the philosophical education of the leading men of the Stoic school, and their distinctive doctrines, demonstrate their spiritual derivation from Antisthenes and Socrates. Mr. Crossley refers, in support of his view, to Zeller. We will refer him to the same authority. If he will turn to "Die Philosophie der Griechen." (dritter Theil, erster Abtheilung, pp. 327, 328), he will find some evidence of the personal connection as well as of doctrinal filiation.

Something of the spirit of Marcus Aurelius will be found in a little work of practical wisdom by a lady whose "Physiology for Schools" has been long known and appreciated. Mrs. Charles Bray, who

¹⁰ "The Fourth Book of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus." A Revised Text, with Translation and Commentary, and an Appendix, &c. By Hastings Crossley, M.A., &c., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

writes for children with a charming sympathy and intelligibility, has illustrated, in her "Elements of Morality,"¹¹ the principles of that science in all their numerous applications to the conduct of juvenile life. Her ethics may be described as Christian ethics, but beyond the recognition of the invisible source of all life, and of Christ as the teacher and friend of all, there is no theology discoverable in her Manual. Verse and anecdote relieve the graver matter of the "Elements." Among the original poems is one written by Miss Alice Noel, entitled "Houses on the Sand." The subject is treated with a characteristic moral grace, and there is a pleasant ring in the unpretending rhymes.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

MR. CANT-WALL'S letters from Ireland¹ attracted a good deal of notice when they made their first appearance in the columns of the *Standard*. They are now republished in book form, with appendices, containing materials which will be welcomed by all who wish to know how the Land Commission is doing its important work. Mr. Cant-Wall's account of Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners is, on the whole, a favourable one. He thinks that the prevalent Irish complaints in regard to rack-renting and confiscation of improvements are by no means unfounded, and that the reductions of rent already effected have been, on the average, not more than fair to the tenant. At the same time, he admits very fairly that what is now going on in Ireland is only a rough kind of arbitration, resulting in a good deal of individual hardship, and in some extraordinary perversions of the ordinary rules of evidence and valuation. "More painstaking, high-minded, intelligent men than the great bulk of the Assistant Commissioners could not be found;" but even the best and most capable of judges cannot avoid mistakes if he has to consider his decisions, not *à tête reposée*, but on the top of an outside car. Once or twice these important arbitrators have committed themselves to somewhat questionable declarations of principle. Professor Baldwin, of whose ability and enthusiasm Mr. Cant-Wall has a high opinion, was understood to hold that "unearned increment" belongs in all cases to the tenant, and that in fixing a fair rent the proper rule is to give only the value of the land in the hands of its actual occupant, however shiftless and idle the occupant may be. But these mistakes were promptly rectified; and there seems every reason to hope that the Act of 1881 is to have a fair trial. In his chapter on Outrages, Mr. Cant-Wall makes some useful remarks on the defects in the Constabulary system. It appears that there is jobbery in relation to the more desirable appointments in the force; and positions

¹¹ "Elements of Morality." In *Easy Lessons for Home and School Teaching*. By Mrs. Charles Bray, Author of "Physiology for Schools." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

¹ "Ireland under the Land Act." By E. Cant-Wall. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

of great responsibility are too often filled by young gentlemen of the squireen order, who take no trouble to understand the serious work in which they are engaged. There seems to be little doubt that an intelligently organized system of night patrols would do more for such centres of outrage as the Millstreet district than all the Coercion Acts that can be passed. This book contains only too much evidence that the Irish peasantry have been treated by the representatives of English rule without the full knowledge and sympathy which would give us courage to be firm on proper occasions. We hope it may contribute to form an enlightened opinion in England on these matters.

Mr. Bagenal,² whose essay on Parnellism we reviewed some time ago, has compiled from history and observation a fairly complete account of the American Irish. Beginning with the transportation of 550 Irish men and women by the Commissioners of Ireland in 1653, he shows that emigration to the United States has been going on steadily for more than two hundred years. It is asserted that there are more than ten millions of people of Irish blood in the States—a fact which may turn out to be important if we are ever involved in a difference with our American kinsmen. A considerable portion of the Irish immigrants do not come to much good. They form the most hopeless element of the “tenement” population of New York and other great cities. But those of them who are fortunate enough to find friendly guides to take them out West on their arrival are found to develop into hard-working and well-conducted farmers. Whether they prosper or fail, they retain in almost all cases their hatred of England; and this hatred combines with the democratic and socialistic notions so easily picked up in the States. The result of the combination is Fenianism or Parnellism, according to circumstances. The true Fenians were politicians, aiming at the independence of Ireland. The Land Leaguers are socialists, who aim at separation from England chiefly that they may be free to work out the social revolution in their own way. Both movements have derived most of their strength from America. Mr. Bagenal’s account of Irish American politics is enriched with a large number of extracts from the organs of Irish opinion.

Mr. Matthew Arnold’s contribution to the question of the hour³ has a peculiar value of its own. There are few Liberals free enough from party influences to judge a measure like the Land Act calmly and rationally, in the light of history and principle. There are fewer still who have a clear enough notion of civilization as a whole, to enable them to bring the measures of the moment into their true perspective as parts of the mechanism by which we are labouring to build up better types of human character. Viewed from Mr. Arnold’s philosophic observatory, the Land Act and the Coercion Bill shrink to their true proportions. He has to tell us that a complicated system of tenant-right will benefit the Irish lawyer rather than the Irish farmer; that it is

² “The American Irish.” By Philip H. Bagenal. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

³ “Irish Essays and Others.” By Matthew Arnold. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882.

useless to threaten or cajole disaffection; that the only way to gain a people is to please them, and that to please we must be amiable. Having thus worked his way back to familiar ground, Mr. Arnold takes occasion to repeat the lessons he has so often impressed on us before in regard to the pedantry, the hardness, the vulgarity of English middle-class civilization. No great preacher was ever afraid of becoming monotonous; and the author of "Culture and Anarchy" is a preacher whom we ought to take more seriously than most of his hearers are inclined to take him. It is the fact, that many of our difficulties in Ireland arise from our unscientific way of looking at social questions, our want of directness, simplicity, and grace; our arrogant obstinacy in demanding that other nations shall follow our ways, and cut themselves after our patterns. With this part of Mr. Arnold's doctrine we are in entire sympathy. But we cannot profess to share his belief in enlightened State action as a remedy for the evils brought about by self-confident pedantry. To expropriate "bad landlords" by means of a Commission would be a programme requiring an impossibly wise Government to carry it out with safety. No men, not even "Lord Coleridge and Mr. Samuel Morley," are good enough to be trusted with absolute power. There must be a law to guide your Commission (will Mr. Arnold say this is a piece of English pedantry?): law implies definition, and it is about as difficult to draw a definition of a bad landlord as it would be to define a bad husband. Mr. Arnold's Commission would soon find itself in deep waters, beset with unreason and calumny on every side, and quite unable to find any firm ground of principle to stand on. Nor do we believe that the Irish education problem is to be solved by establishing State schools on the Catholic or any other basis. National education means that a few educated people who believe in learning combine to force instruction on the children of many uneducated people who do not believe in any such thing. It is better to have board schools or Government middle-class schools than to have none. But it appears to us that the ideal of reformers should be, not a State system of schools, but a system growing naturally out of the desires and interests of urban and rural communities. In the meantime, we are content to accept National Education as a *pis-aller*; but we are not sanguine as to the results of any National system in Ireland. It is common enough to find Irish people who take an interest in education: but it is not at all common to find people who will give money, or labour, or thought to the improvement of the schools in their own neighbourhood. So long as this apathy continues, the State may provide colleges and schools *galore* without producing much effect. Mr. Arnold contends that we must make up our minds to endow Irish education on a Catholic basis. If this proposal promised a real improvement which could not be attained in any other way, we should not be pedantic enough to oppose it on the ground that "the Liberal party has made up its mind against religious endowment in any form." But we must admit that we do not regard the Roman Catholic Church as a body with which the State can safely contract. A Church which

claims infallible and universal authority must advance its pretensions with every concession. The State would be asked to hand out its money without retaining any control whatever in the schools where the money would be spent. Inspection, or revision of the course of instruction, or intervention on behalf of the children of Protestants, would be regarded as so many insults to episcopal authority. We are perfectly willing to co-operate with the Catholic clergy; but, unfortunately, Rome co-operates only on certain terms, and those terms we cannot with prudence concede.

Mr. Wallace's defence of Land Nationalization⁴ is meant to be read with special reference to Irish troubles. It need not be said that the book is ably written, and founded on wide and detailed study of facts. But we cannot say that Mr. Wallace displays in dealing with social questions the same patience and accuracy which he has displayed in the field of natural science. He starts with a violent prejudice against the institution of private property in land, and his argument hardly professes to be more than an *ex parte* statement. He deals much in general assertions, some of which appear to us to be quite unsupported by statistics. Thus, his repeated statement that England is "the most pauperized country in the world" is not correct, as Mr. Thornton (an authority whom Mr. Wallace is bound to respect) proved long ago. Again, the assertion that the poverty of wealthy countries is chiefly due to landlordism and the exaction of rent has not been proved, either by Mr. Wallace or by Mr. Henry George. Rent must be paid, so long as soils vary in fertility; and the condition of the Madras peasantry proves that rent paid to the State may be just as difficult to pay as rent paid to a landlord. Mr. Wallace has compiled a graphic account of the hardships wrought by eviction in Scotland and Ireland. We have no desire to defend the memory of Mr. Sellar or Mr. Trench, but we must point out that, if Mr. Wallace is going to sit in judgment on landlordism, he must allow for the good as well as the evil. What, for instance, would he make of Sir H. Mair's statement that private property in land has been the stimulus of agricultural advance, both in England and America? What would he answer to Mr. Caird, who says that the English system of culture produces better economic and social results than any other known to him? When Mr. Wallace comes to work out his own notion of a just land tenure, we are impressed by the laxity of his legal and political ideas. He thinks that every man has "a right to live on his native soil." What is a "right to live"? Is it the right to seek a piece of land, or the right to require somebody else to provide you with land? Then, what is a man's "native soil"? Take a native of the Island of Achill. How far does his "right to live" extend? To the island, or to the kingdom of Ireland, or to the United Kingdom, or to the world? Mr. Wallace should remember that he is dealing, not with abstractions, but with men who are quite capable of quarrelling if their rights are not properly defined for them.

⁴ "Land Nationalization." By A. R. Wallace. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

Mr. Wallace says nobody but the cultivating occupier should have any rights in the land. But who is the occupier? May a man have land and employ his son to till it? May he employ a neighbour? And if he may employ another without working himself, how are you to prevent these occupiers from becoming landlords, and exacting oppressive dues from those whom they allow to work on their lands? Mr. Wallace will, perhaps, say that nobody need labour on oppressive terms, because every subject will have an opportunity of acquiring land of his own. But what is the precise value of this opportunity? Is a south-country labourer to leave his labour in order to embark in business as a peasant proprietor? If he does, and succeeds, let Mr. Wallace have the credit. But what if he fails? He may turn up on your hands, and tell you that the piece of land you gave him to reclaim cannot be cultivated at a profit. That was the end of many peasant proprietors created by the agrarian laws of Rome. And the only way to escape such social fiascos is to let the men who wish to become peasant proprietors find their properties for themselves. We entirely sympathize with Mr. Wallace in his hatred of inequality and his desire to raise the labourer beyond the danger of pauperism. But we do not believe in raising people by putting more power into the hands of the central Government. M. Thiers said that the "right to labour" would make the French a people of idlers and slaves. We feel sure that Mr. Wallace's "right to live" would produce a people whose life would not be worth living.

Mr. Ellershaw's articles⁵ are written in a pointed style and embody a good deal of sound sense. But it is matter of common knowledge that newspaper articles do not bear reprinting. They are directed to a given opinion or state of circumstances which has come to the front for the moment; and when they are thrown together they look scrappy and unsystematic. We observe that Mr. Ellershaw, like Mr. Bradlaugh, under whose editorial auspices these articles appeared, avoids committing himself to the socialistic view of property in land.

Lord Dufferin's speeches⁶ take us back to an earlier and quieter phase of Irish controversy. But there is little consolation for English politicians in the history of the years before 1870, when it was still thought possible to establish a *modus vivendi* between landlord and tenant on the basis of free contract. The more we study that period, the more clearly we see that our ignorance and apathy, reinforced by the selfishness of the House of Lords, refused to deal with an urgent difficulty until it was hardly possible to deal with it wisely. If the landlords had set to work in 1854 in the spirit of Lord Dufferin's speech on the Land Bill of that year, if they had recognized the justice of the tenants' claim in respect of permanent improvements, and the desirability of reducing an uncertain custom to legal and business-like form, they might never have had to complain of Healy's clause

⁵ "The Soil of Great Britain and Ireland." Articles from the *National Reformer*. By Charles Ellershaw. London. 1882.

⁶ "Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Dufferin." Edited by Henry Milton. London: John Murray. 1882.

and the doings of the Land Courts. Lord Dufferin has always approached these questions in a conservative spirit. He wishes to make it quite clear that the tenant is not, and ought not to be, more than an occupier for a term, and that at the end of the term the tenant's interest in his own improvements should be allowed to expire. He shows very clearly how the custom of tenant-right burdened the peasant with two rents, one paid in respect of the land, the other in respect of the money required to buy out his predecessor. But he strove to impress on Parliament the necessity of giving effect to all just claims under the Irish custom as it stood, and the danger of pressing a legal theory which no landlord could carry out unless he had "a million of money and a heart of stone." Unfortunately, Lord Dufferin's advice was not taken; legislation was left imperfect, or was thwarted and evaded by landlord influence; and the result of this suicidal policy was seen in the success of the agitation of 1879. Besides the speeches on Irish questions, this volume contains those Addresses which contributed so much to the brilliancy of Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty in Canada. These speeches are still so fresh in our memories that we need not do more than refer to them. Who can have forgotten the wit and skill with which the Viceroy touched off the frank affection of Canada for her big cousin of the United States, or the exuberant eloquence and humour of his glorifications of the colony and its boundless resources? It is well that a permanent record should be kept of speeches so full of sense and geniality, and expressed in so excellent a style.

From the pleasant pages of Lord Dufferin we turn to the unpromising tables of figures which make up the greater part of Mr. Meade's careful account of our coal and iron industries.⁷ The statistics of this bulky volume are taken from the best sources, and they are arranged with a systematic completeness which leaves nothing to be desired. Each coalfield and iron district is separately treated with special reference to its geological formation and to the chemical analysis of its product. Returns are given of the output and prices of material; the persons employed, and their various occupations above and underground are duly enumerated; and estimates are given of the probable duration of the supply. In summing up the results for the United Kingdom, Mr. Meade is content to give us the result of the Coal Commission Inquiry, and the Commissioners' estimate that our supply is good for 920 years at the present rate of output, without entering on the vexed questions discussed by Mr. Jevons and others in regard to the increased rate of consumption, and the probability of the increase being maintained. There are also speculative questions of great importance as to the effect of increased cost of production when we have to draw the coal required for our industries from greater depths. But these are matters outside the range of Mr. Meade's work. His object is to present us with a complete account

⁷ "The Coal and Iron Industries of the United Kingdom." By Richard Meade. London: C. Lockwood & Co. 1882.

of things as they are, and, so far as we have been able to test his account we find it accurate and valuable in a high degree. It is gratifying to note that legislation and inspection have rapidly reduced the amount of youthful labour in our mining industries. Female labour is also rapidly diminishing. Male labour does not increase in a corresponding ratio; for improved machinery has so raised the output per man that the same number of men turn out a larger and larger quantity of coal.

Dr. Oswald's "Physical Education"⁸ is a book worth reading. It ought to be in the hands of some few hundred thousand persons on this and the other side of the Atlantic, who are making their children's lives less happy than they might be, from their ignorance of the laws of Nature. The amount of evil wrought by ignorance and false beliefs about diet, clothing, fresh air, and exercise, is beyond calculation. And so rooted are the prejudices which lead us to stifle instinct and outrage our healthy impulses, that he who advances to make an attack on current notions of what is "good for you" and "bad for you" ought to be armed with a triple armour of science, common sense, and genial indifference. Dr. Oswald seems quite equal to the contest he has provoked. His doctrine is, if we may venture to say so, in accordance with true scientific principles; his advices are pervaded by sound sense; and he expresses himself in a forcible and humorous style, which ought to arrest the attention even of the most utterly deluded and self-confident autocrat of the nursery. His book is written for Americans, but it contains a great deal which may be read with profit by English people. If we must be critical, we may point out to Dr. Oswald that his historical illustrations are not always so accurate as they might be. It was Fabricius, not Cincinnatus, who was discovered making his supper of turnips; it was at the siege of Arcot, not at the siege of Lucknow, that the Sepoys offered to subsist on rice-water that their English comrades might have the rice: the *solarium* of a Roman house was an open terrace on the roof, not a "glass-covered turret"; and the *glirarium* was used for fattening, not rats, but dormice. These mistakes do not affect the value of Dr. Oswald's essay; but they should be corrected if it passes, as we hope it may, into a second edition.

Another medical authority, Dr. Allen,⁹ of Lowell, Mass., calls attention in two statistical essays to changes which are taking place in the physical and moral condition of New England. During the present century the old English stock of the Eastern States has been exposed to the disintegrating influence of a somewhat too rapid development of material prosperity. The men have been tempted to leave the hard work of the farm to German immigrants, and to throw themselves into the excitement and luxury of city life. The women

⁸ "Physical Education." By Felix L. Oswald, M.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

⁹ "Changes in New England Population." By N. Allen, M.D. Lowell, Mass. 1877. "The New England Family." By the Same. New Haven. 1882.

no longer take pride in house work ; hotel life has destroyed the old family life of the homestead and the manse ; and the increased ratio of divorces to marriages, coinciding with a low birth rate among Americans of English blood, seems to show that the French code of marital duties is supplanting the beliefs which came over with the *Mayflower*. These general statements are supported by a formidable array of statistics, which deserve to be carefully studied by American patriots. Much depends on the ability of the English element to assimilate the masses of German and Irish population which are constantly passing from this side the Atlantic ; and the work of assimilation cannot be performed by a people enervated by luxury, absorbed in competitive speculation, and emancipated from the strict morality which has contributed so much to the vigour of our race. Like ourselves, the Americans are too prone to glory in a great aggregate increase of wealth and numbers, without looking closely into the quality of the items of which the aggregate is composed. Dr. Allen's pamphlets supply a useful and timely correction of this dangerous tendency.

Mr. Hawley¹⁰ is one of those American economists, so puzzling to the English reader, who justify Protection out of Ricardo and Mill. His essay is not an easy piece of reading ; but it contains some very acute distinctions and criticisms. His main thesis is, that capital tends to increase faster than population, and that the over-accumulation of capital, by increasing the amount of "dead stock," tends to lower the rate of profit, and thus to discourage production and diminish the amount of the wages fund. This is especially the case with a new country ; for agriculture is an industry in which only a limited capital can be used up. The effect of Protection is to provide an agricultural country with industries in which its growing capital can be used up, so as to prevent the accumulation of "dead-stock." We think Mr. Hawley fails to take due account of the fact that Protection discourages production by increasing the cost of labour. The labourer is made to pay for providing employment for capital ; and this is a process which cannot be made profitable to the labourer. Mr. Hawley may be right in holding that a protective country, while it keeps the aggregate production of the world lower than it might be, secures to itself a larger proportion of the wealth produced. But he has not shown that this larger proportion is secured for the labourers of the protective country. This is the assertion of all American protectionists ; but it is an assertion not supported by facts. Only the other day the head of the Labour Statistics Bureau of Massachusetts published careful tables, from which it appeared that the American labourer was, on the whole, hardly so well off as his English rival : and Mr. Playfair has shown very clearly that the American tariff closes all but the coarser and simpler industries against native labour. Our space will not permit detailed criticism of Mr. Hawley's account of panics, and his

¹⁰ "Capital and Population." By F. B. Hawley. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

defence of bimetallism. We cannot admit that he has made out his case; but his arguments are worth reading.

Mr. Pollock's *Essays*¹¹ are already familiar to those who take an interest in the current literature of legal and philosophical subjects. Though not so solid as the author's more technical treatises, they have a practical value of their own. Mr. Pollock possesses considerable knowledge of the history of English law, and his studies have been directed by the spirit of scientific method. Without committing himself to any of the schools, he has assimilated much of what is best in Bentham and Maine. He appreciates fully the treasures of sound sense to be found in our law; but his special ambition is to do something to amend those faults of form and expression which obscure the merits of our legal system. It is not possible to separate the essential from the accidental in a body of law without clear conceptions of the nature of law, and of its relations with science generally and with the science of morals in particular. And therefore the *Essays* in this volume on Ethics and Morals and the Casuistry of Common Sense are in vital connection with the essays on legal subjects. Of these latter, the essay on the Defects of our Commercial Law contains some suggestions which might be useful to reformers if the present conditions of legislation allowed reformers any leisure to think. In dealing with the Law of Partnership Mr. Pollock is on ground which he has made his own. The Essay on the History of the English Law as a Branch of Politics is a good example of the author's style, a clear exposition of that view of our history which the picturesque historian is apt to neglect. We may perhaps regard this volume as a collection of *pièces justificatives* in support of Mr. Pollock's candidature for the Professorship of Jurisprudence in University College, to which he has just been elected.

Dr. Gore's treatise¹² is a manifesto in favour of the endowment of research. He pleads for the foundation of State laboratories, university and local professorships of research, and an extension of grants in aid of research; and he has much to say of the defects of our present system of education, and the waste of power occasioned by our devotion to gainful pursuits at the expense of scholarship and original inquiry. We are quite in agreement with his general argument; but we should like to see the practical part of his paper developed in somewhat closer detail.

Mr. James Stuart¹³ is an *emeritus* member of the Edinburgh Police Force, who has made use of the opportunities for quiet meditation afforded by his profession to work out a scheme of social philosophy which his well earned leisure now enables him to commit to writing. It would not be fair to criticize a book of this kind as if it were

¹¹ "Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics." By Frederick Pollock. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

¹² "The Scientific Basis of National Progress." By G. Gore, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Williams & Norgate. 1882.

¹³ "Our Social Errors and Remedies." By James Stuart. Edinburgh Publishing Company. 1882.

the production of a practised man of letters. Mr. Stuart's philosophy is sometimes obscure, and his style sometimes gets the better of him. But his descriptions are by no means wanting in point and force; and some of his observations, founded on his experience of criminal justice as it is administered in Edinburgh, are not without value. There is a strong savour of true Scotch dogmatism in his opinions, especially in those opinions which relate to the liquor traffic; but, taken as a whole, his book is a very creditable one for an almost untaught man to have written.

"Common Sense about Women"¹⁴ is perhaps not a very attractive title; but the name of the author will encourage English and American readers to take up the book without apprehension. Mr. Higginson can treat a hackneyed subject in a bright sensible style, and if his jokes are occasionally rather small, they are thrown out with a cheerful confidence that seldom fails to please. He has successfully avoided the besetting weakness of the orators of female suffrage. He is not rhetorical, and he does not overstate his case. He does not expect the millennium to arrive as soon as women bring their influence to bear on politics. A woman may be a Jingo or a Democrat, or anything that is unreasonable; her claim to vote is made, not because she is better than man, but because she is different. The wives and mothers and spinsters of the community constitute a well-defined interest; and it is almost beyond dispute that this interest has been neglected by the dominant sex. Mr. Higginson humorously exposes the current or harem theory of female morals and education, and maintains that women would gain in all womanly graces by having a wider career opened for them. Mixed schools he finds to be a decided success wherever they are tried; and wherever the freedom of American life has opened a new chance for educated women they have proved themselves quite able to hold their own, and make an honourable place for themselves in society. Mr. Higginson therefore demands for them in politics, "open instead of secret influence; the English tradition instead of the French; women as rulers, not as kings' mistresses; women as legislators, not merely as lobbyists; women employing in legitimate form that power which they will otherwise illegitimately wield."

Among the books of travel before us we naturally turn first to this description of the Egypt of to-day.¹⁵ The author belongs, as is well known, to the section of opinion represented by Sir W. Gregory and Mr. Blunt. He believes in the existence of a truly National party in Egypt, and in the genuineness of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Chamber of Notables. It is easy enough to represent Arabi and his friends as a band of fanatics, anxious to expel the foreigner from their country only that they may repudiate the Debt, and obtain unlimited freedom to tax the peasants for their own advantage. There may be an ele-

¹⁴ "Common Sense about Women." By T. W. Higginson. London: W. S. Sonnenschein & Co. 1882.

¹⁵ "The Belgium of the East." By the Author of "Egypt under Ismail Pacha." London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1882.

ment of truth in this representation. Some of the Nationalists are well known in financial circles; and it is very natural that the evil example set by the agents and syndicates who have been "developing" Egypt should incite the natives to compete with them. At the same time, there is much that deserves our sympathy and respect in the aspirations of the National party. The Anglo-French Control cannot last; it has done some useful work, but it is hampered at all points by the jealousies of the European Powers concerned in it; and it is always on the point of becoming a Protectorate which would condemn the country to an indefinite term of dependence. We may not share the author's sanguine view of the results which would be likely to follow a complete realization of the dreams of those who cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians." But we sympathize still less with the ambition of those who encourage us to seize any pretext for occupying the country in the interest of Capel Court. Such an occupation might precipitate a European war; it would in any case involve us in labours and dangers of almost indefinite extent. There is one part of this book on which, in England at least, there will be small difference of opinion—the chapter on the Slave Trade. Many facts have lately come to light which seem to prove that the work of Baker and Gordon is already undone, and that the Central African slave trade is as bad as ever. It is no longer possible to doubt that the Egyptian Government is not in earnest in this matter. Within the country we have no power to stop this accursed traffic, but English ships and English agents can do much to curtail and discourage it; and we unite with the author in hoping that every effort will be made to do something in this direction.

One of the most thorough-going supporters of the Egyptian Nationalists is Mr. Wilfrid Blunt,¹⁶ who seems to have constituted himself the representative of Arabi and his party in England. We had lately occasion to notice Mr. Blunt's views on Eastern matters in calling attention to Lady Anne Blunt's "Pilgrimage to Nejd." The essays collected in this volume appeared recently in the *Fortnightly Review*; indeed, their publication in periodical form is so recent that the publishers of the *Review* have applied for an injunction to restrain the sale of this book. Whether under these circumstances we may refer to this volume without incurring the penalties of contempt of court is a nice question. But the fact that a legal contest should have arisen over Mr. Blunt's writings seems to prove that they have an immediate value of their own. Others may write more learnedly of the historical antiquities of Islam, but we have not many European scholars who have lived with the men of the East and shared all their interests and aspirations. Mr. Blunt attaches much importance to the efforts which are being made by more than one section of the Mahommedan world to purify the morality and theology of their co-religionists; but he thinks that such movements will have no great result until the yoke of the Turkish Caliphate is thrown off. His

¹⁶ "The Future of Islam." By Wilfrid S. Blunt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

own leaning is in favour of a Mecca Caliphate; but he seems to think that recent events have greatly increased the chances of Cairo as one of the competitors for the headship of Islam. We have read with much interest Mr. Blunt's exposition of the ideas of the cultured Mahommedans of to-day; but we fear his sympathy leads him to exaggerate the effect such ideas are likely to produce on the peoples of the East. The very flexibility of Mahommedan doctrine is, like the flexibility of Catholicism, a source of weakness as well as of strength. It enables the men of culture to retain their connection with the superstitious crowd; but it prevents the culture from making aggressive attacks on the superstition. As for the union between Sunnite and Shiite which Mr. Blunt anticipates, we fear that is a "devout imagination"—likely to be realized about the time when the authors of the papers on "Christian Unity," read at Church Congresses and Dissenting Conferences, proceed to act upon their professions. But making all necessary allowance on the practical side, Mr. Blunt's book remains a valuable contribution to a discussion of wide importance.

Mr. Aubertin's¹⁷ journey in Mexico was only a two months' holiday; and his book does not profess to add much to our knowledge of the country and people. But it is pleasantly written; and the author's knowledge of the language and politics of the people enabled him to pick up a number of interesting details. That portion of his narrative which is devoted to Querétaro, the scene of the Emperor Maximilian's execution, is fascinating in the minuteness of its personal details. Maximilian was far from being a great man; but his story is a complete romance, and we welcome any authentic addition to what is known of the closing scenes. Mr. Aubertin conversed with the priest who confessed the Emperor, and with other eye-witnesses of the execution. According to their accounts, Mejia, the noble Indian who refused an offered chance of escape, died with unmoved stoicism, and Miramón with the defiant air of a man who despised his captors and betrayers. Maximilian died as became an Austrian Archduke, with the same stiff pride and cool politeness which had so often chilled the affection of his Mexican friends. He remarked on the fineness of the day and the beauty of the view; specially requested that the soldiers might be ordered not to fire at his face; insisted on yielding Miramón the place of honour in the centre; and took elaborate pains to prevent his blood from soiling his uniform. It seems there never was any strong feeling in favour of the Emperor among the people. Even when he landed at Santa Cruz, fifty men were hired at 25 cents each to cheer him, and some "took the money and did not shout." So marked was the coldness of his reception that the Empress shed tears. Besides these notes on the recent history of Mexico, Mr. Aubertin gives us some useful information on the industries of the country, and especially on the cultivation of cotton. Mr. Aubertin is

¹⁷ "A Flight to Mexico." By J. J. Aubertin. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

himself honourably connected with the origin of this industry, having been one of the advocates of the introduction of the cotton plant into Mexico at the time of the American Civil War.

"Three in Norway"¹⁸ is an account of a journey undertaken by three young gentlemen of sporting tastes in search of trout, reindeer, and the picturesque. The authors assure us that they have the works of Mark Twain by heart; and their own style reflects with tolerable fidelity the characteristic qualities of that master. There are too many jokes in this book, and many of the jokes are not good; but there is also some lively description of life in the wilds; and the illustrations are well done. If "Three in Norway" is to be read at all, it should be read as a holiday book, and taken in combination with a good deal of ozone.

Mr. Low's "Maritime Discovery"¹⁹ is a compilation from not very inaccessible sources of information. It contains in a compressed form the narratives of many important explorations and romantic adventures. But, unfortunately, it is constructed on no visible plan, and is unprovided even with an index. It looks as if the author had repaired to a reference library, diligently copied extensive extracts from the standard collections of voyages, and printed his note-books, embellished with a few poetical quotations and general reflections. The result is what many respectable people would call a "standard work," stuffed with useful facts and unimpeachable observations, but not particularly attractive to the ordinary reader.

M. Yves Guyot²⁰ is known as the author of various works on current social questions which have attained considerable popularity in France. With a view, perhaps, to gain the ear of those readers who will not face anything in the form of a treatise, M. Guyot has given expression to some of his views in a novel of modern French life. The family whose history he has chosen to narrate is put forward as a type of the labouring classes. Jérôme Pichot, the father, is a collier, a man of strength and courage, but ignorant, improvident, and easily led into mischief. His eldest son is taken by the conscription; another son is killed in the mine in which the fates of the family are centred. A worse lot is reserved for his pretty daughter Fanny, who is taken to be the mistress of M. Macreux, the chief director of the company to which the mine belongs. Out of these simple materials M. Guyot has constructed an impressive and powerful story. We are introduced to the mine and to the toiling population around it by a highly-wrought description of an accident, caused by the carelessness of the chief engineer, in which a number of men lose their lives. English readers cannot fail to be struck with the resemblance between the story of "Carboville," as here related, and the accounts of colliery accidents which we read only too often in our own newspapers. The

¹⁸ "Three in Norway." By Two of Them. London: Longmans & Co. 1882.

¹⁹ "Maritime Discovery." By C. R. Low, F.R.G.S. Two vols. London: Newman & Co. 1881.

²⁰ "Scènes de l'Enfer Social. La Famille Pichot." Par Yves Guyot. Paris: J. Rouff. 1882.

splendid courage and devotion of the men who set themselves to dig their comrades out, the overpowering excitement of the moment when only a thin wall of coal separates the rescue party from their imprisoned friends, the still more exciting watch of the women above, as they way forward to the pit-mouth to identify the bodies, dead or alive, as they are brought to the surface—all this has a deeper interest for those who know anything of the Black Country than the interest of romance. From the mine, by a sudden transition which serves to point the moral of the story, we are carried to Fanny's *hôtel* in the Rue St. Lazare, where M. Macreux spends on his own selfish pleasures the profits procured by the toils and dangers of the people of Carboville. The remaining part of the book is devoted mainly to the life of the mining village. There is a description of a truck-shop, which may be compared with the well-known chapter of "Sybil;" and a description of a strike which affords an interesting parallel to the Lancashire stories of Mrs. Burnett. Of course there are characteristic differences between the French collier and the English. Frenchmen of all ranks are much more oratorical at any sort of crisis than Englishmen. They are also much more imbued with reverence for authority, and they are accustomed to displays of force on the part of Government which would excite the profoundest surprise and indignation in this country. M. Guyot describes the suppression of the strike by the military; and the consequent State prosecutions give him an opportunity of exhibiting some of the weaknesses of French criminal procedure. Our own methods of inquiry are slow, and not very certain in their operation; but they are infinitely preferable to the secret cross-examination of the *juge d'instruction* and the unseemly contest between judge and prisoner in court, which are the worst features of the French system. M. Guyot has not set forth in full his solution—if he has a solution—of the social question with which his book is concerned. He has made it his business to give us a picture of the facts, and he has done so in an excellent spirit, and with no small graphic power.

Dr. O'Dea's Essay on Suicide²¹ forms a useful supplement to the statistical treatise of Dr. Morselli recently noticed in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. It is somewhat wider in its scope than the work of the Italian statist—embracing a review of the legal incidents of suicide in ancient and modern times. The author has collected from a great variety of sources particulars relating to suttee, "happy despatch," and other forms of legalized self-destruction: and he takes occasion to point out that the Jews, of all ancient nations, were the least inclined to those beliefs which justify and encourage such practices. He expounds the stoic theory, revived in France during the last century, that a man has a right to take away his own life—a theory which should be carefully considered by all who, like Mr. Henry George and his school, would base society on what are called the rights of man. If the right to live is to be taken as an unquestionable

²¹ "Suicide: Its Philosophy, Causes, and Prevention." By J. J. O'Dea, M.D. New York: Putnam Sons. 1882.

datum of social politics, why not the right to cease to live? Dr. O'Dea's facts are drawn from observation as well as from study of books, and he is able to give us many instances exhibiting in a typical manner the causes and the prevalent methods of suicide. In speaking of the influence of suggestion on diseased minds, he attributes most baneful effects to the descriptions of "horrible tragedies" supplied in unnecessary detail by our newspapers. It is difficult to see how this danger can be met, except by better general education. So long as there is a demand for horrors, the journals are almost compelled to supply them. All writers on this subject are agreed that education is among the predisposing causes of a high rate of suicide. What does this indicate? Not, surely, that education is in itself bad or dangerous, but only that we are not yet wise enough to be trusted with the power which our knowledge gives us. Instead of studying the conditions of our physical and moral life, so as to use our faculties to the best advantage, we plunge into fierce competition for wealth, take our pleasures without regard to the laws of Nature, and think far more of being strong and successful than of being healthy and happy. The result is a terrible waste of life, and part of this waste takes place in the form of suicide. This subject deserves more study than it generally receives; and we ought to thank Dr. O'Dea for once more calling attention to it.

The latest volume of the "English Citizen" series is an *Essay on "The National Budget,"*²² by Mr. A. J. Wilson. It is always difficult, in writing a handbook, to know how much may be taken for granted. Mr. Wilson's tendency is to take too little for granted. Nearly one half of his essay is taken up with historical matter which ought to be already known to most of his readers. He is thus compelled, when he comes to speak of the collection and expenditure of the national income, to summarize too closely. We cannot help thinking he would have done better to confine himself to the present, and to give us a more detailed account of the machinery by which money is actually brought into the exchequer, and the system of check and audit by which all spending departments are rendered financially subject to the Treasury. It is not enough, for example, to describe generally the incidence of the income tax. We ought to know something of the appointment and powers of those who assess the tax, the safeguards against over-assessment, the cost of assessment and collection; and on these points no satisfaction is obtained from the study of Mr. Wilson's pages. Subject to this general criticism, we may say that Mr. Wilson's facts are carefully and accurately stated, and that his remarks on the weaknesses of our system of taxation are of considerable value.

Mr. Hubbard²³ has reprinted in pamphlet form his articles on a Religious Census. He points out that we stand almost alone among

²² "The National Budget." By A. J. Wilson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

²³ "A Census of Religions." By the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 1882.

civilized nations in our refusal to take a census of religious professions, He has little difficulty in disposing of the stock arguments of political Nonconformists against such an inquiry.

Another pamphlet, on a question which still continues to excite a good deal of interest, is Lady Florence Dixie's defence of Cetewayo.²⁴ We have not left ourselves space to criticize her forcible pleading. Sympathizers with the captive of Oude Molen will find Lady Florence's argument an admirable compendium of all that is to be said in his favour.

Bankruptcy is a subject on which successive Ministries have shown themselves very willing to accept advice from all quarters. Mr. De Lissa's advice²⁵ comes all the way from Sydney. His essay contains some good general ideas, but his "new system" is not worked out in such a way as to enable us to judge of its merits. From the neighbouring colony of Victoria comes the statistical Year-Book for 1880-81.²⁶ We have before had occasion to speak of the merits of Mr. Hayter's work, and the present issue will maintain the reputation of its compiler. It is a mine of information on all subjects relating to Victoria, with some useful comparisons of the fiscal and educational policy of the colony with those of the other Australian colonies.

The fifth division of Spon's Encyclopædia contains an almost overwhelming mass of well-arranged facts, figures, and references in regard to the industries comprised in its scope.²⁷ We turn for example to the title Sugar, and find more than 140 pages devoted to the production and refining of all descriptions of sugar, illustrated with figures of the machinery in use, and of those analytical instruments whose names have figured so largely in recent discussions of the burning question of bounties, together with a long list of works from which further knowledge of the subject may be gained. This Encyclopædia is a monument of the enterprise and industry of all concerned in its preparation.

We have received copies of the latest edition of Mr. Dickens's Dictionaries of London and the Thames, and of the first edition of a new Dictionary of Paris on the same plan.²⁸ All three are now issued in neat bindings, which add considerably to the comfort of those who consult them. The Handbook of St. Paul's,²⁹ by Mr. Bevan and Dr. Stainer, is complete and satisfactory. Dr. Kane's Study of Opium Smoking³⁰ is founded on considerable medical experience, and

²⁴ "A Defence of Zululand and its King." By Lady Florence Dixie. London: Chatto & Windus.

²⁵ "Bankruptcy and Insolvency Law." By A. de Lissa. Sydney: G. Robertson. 1881.

²⁶ "Victorian Year-book, 1880-81." By H. H. Hayter, Government Statist. Melbourne. 1881.

²⁷ "Encyclopædia of the Industrial Arts." Div. V. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1882.

²⁸ "Dictionaries of Paris, London, and the Thames." By Charles Dickens. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

²⁹ "Handbook to the Cathedral of St. Paul." By G. P. Bevan, F.S.S., and J. Stainer, Mus.D. London: W. S. Sonnenschein & Co. 1882.

³⁰ "Opium Smoking in America and China." By H. H. Kane, M.D. New York: Putnam's. 1882.

should serve to dispel some popular errors in regard to the methods and results of this baneful indulgence. A pamphlet on Nihilism³¹ gives an account of the present state of Russia, and of the schemes of revolutionary parties in that country. Dr. Freund's Essay on current politics³² is full of knowledge, and is written in a liberal spirit, but it is too thoroughly German in style to be thoroughly appreciated by an English reader. The style is involved, and we have not been able to discover on what principle the author has attempted to arrange his information and ideas. Dr. Freund has a good deal to say against the so-called anti-Semitic movement in Germany and elsewhere. On this question Mr. Salaman³³ has published a little volume of somewhat heterogeneous contents, the most valuable part of which is an account of the present state of the Jewish Clergy in England. An article by Professor Taswell-Langmead on Parish Registers³⁴ has been republished, apparently with a view to the promotion of the Bill introduced in the present session by Mr. Borlase. There can be no doubt that the Bill is much wanted; indeed, we should like to see legislation of the same kind applied to local records of all descriptions. We have also received a handy translation of Condorcet's "Means of Learning How to Reckon,"³⁵ and a popular sixpenny issue of that delightful book, "Waterton's Wanderings in South America."³⁶ This wonderfully cheap reprint contains a biography by the Rev. J. G. Wood, and one hundred illustrations.

"Belcaro"³⁷ is a volume of Essays on various subjects connected with art, by a lady who has established her right to be heard on such matters. Her former work, "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," was full of learning and enthusiasm, but it was not equal in point of critical insight to some of the studies united in "Belcaro." Music, sculpture and painting are the arts to which the author seems to have given most careful attention. A certain unity is given to her various studies by her general conception of art. Rejecting all attempts to force moral and metaphysical meanings into works of art, she proclaims boldly that the sole and sufficient object of the artist is to please—to produce beautiful forms or beautiful arrangements of sound. With great skill and power of style she argues that the definiteness of art is fatal to the suggestiveness which is claimed for it. The supernatural or the pathetic cannot be embodied and defined; to appreciate them the mind must be in a state of changefulness, which is not produced by looking on accurate drawing or by listening to sounds linked

³¹ "Les Nihilistes." Paris: E. Leroux. 1882.

³² "Texte und Glossen." Von Leonhard Freund. Zürich. 1881.

³³ "Jews as they Are." By C. K. Salaman. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1882.

³⁴ "The Preservation of Parish Registers." By T. P. Taswell-Langmead. London. 1882.

³⁵ Condorcet's "Means of Learning How to Reckon." Translated by J. Kaines, D.Sc. London: Reeves & Turner. 1882.

³⁶ "Wanderings in South America." By Charles Waterton. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

³⁷ "Belcaro." By Vernon Lee. London: W. Satchell & Co.

together according to an intellectual design. The moral is that we are to "take art more simply," to enjoy it as healthy souls enjoy Nature, without theorizing or attempting to read more into it than is there. What pleases us most in this book is the admirable inconsistency with which the author preaches simplicity while refining on the utmost refinements of the art-critic, and throws out, with an air of childlike candour, all sorts of paradoxes which could only occur to a mind which has explored the mazes of many philosophic theories. The two best essays in the book, in our judgment, are "Faustus and Helena," an exposition of the reasons why art cannot express what is mythic and superhuman; and "Ruskinism," an attempt to account for the bewildering inconsistencies of our greatest critic by exhibiting Mr. Ruskin as a man who insists on judging artistic work by a moral standard. Without professing to share all the views in these papers, and making all allowance for the inequalities of their thought and style, we may safely pronounce them able and suggestive in a high degree.

SCIENCE.

"**M**ODERN Metrology"¹ is the title of a remarkable work of reference on the systems of measurement adopted by all nations. The information conveyed is always interesting, and indicates a good deal of research and immense labour in preparing the numerous tables in which the standards of different countries are compared. The plan of the book is first to give a history of a kind of measure—such as length, surface, cubic measure, measures of capacity, or weight—and supplement these general considerations with tables, which follow the chapter, and contrast the standards of all other countries and localities with the English commercial equivalent, and the English and French scientific equivalents. It would be difficult to convey an idea of the large amount of information thus set out, and the excellent manner in which the facts concerning different countries are contrasted together. The second part of the book, entitled "Metric Systems," follow the same plan, and has chapters on the European commercial systems, on Oriental measures, on what are termed Pagan measures, which chiefly concern India, China, and the Malay Archipelago; and chapters on medicinal systems, and scientific systems. All of these chapters are followed by elaborate tables. Finally, there is an appendix with a proposed metrical system for this country.

Professor Everett's treatise on "Vibratory Motion and Sound"² is a short and clear introduction to the subject of vibratory motion, intended for students who have mastered the elements of dynamics.

¹ "Modern Metrology: A Manual of the Metrical Units and Systems of the present Century. With an Appendix containing a proposed English System." By Louis D'A. Jackson. London: Crosby Lockwood & Co. 1882.

² "Vibratory Motion and Sound." By J. D. Everett, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Queen's College, Belfast. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

The book is divided into thirteen short chapters, which treat of simple harmonic vibration, composition of motions, waves, composition of two systems of simple harmonic waves, the propagation and reflection of sonorous undulations, the energy of vibration, simple and compound tones, and musical intervals. Some of these chapters are of a comparatively popular nature, others give mathematical investigations of the principles which are explained. An interesting chapter of illustrations of simple harmonic motion describes Donkin's harmonograph, Sir William Thomson's tide-predicting machine, and other apparatus. The book is illustrated with forty-eight woodcuts and four plates.

The second volume of the "British Navy,"³ by Sir Thomas Brassey, consists of seven essays on subjects connected with naval warfare. First, is the history of armour-plating, illustrated with a number of diagrams showing the effects produced by shot on the more important forms of target, against which modern guns have been used, concluding with an account of the celebrated experience of the Peruvian turret-ship *Huascar*, in engagements with British and Chilian ships-of-war. Then follows a chapter on guns and gunnery, in which the development of marine guns is similarly traced; first in our own country, and then in the chief works of France, Germany, America, Russia, and other countries. Some space is given to a discussion of the accident on board the *Thunderer*. The penetrating power of the different kinds of gun is illustrated, and the chapter concludes with elaborate tables, giving the characteristics of the guns of different nations, together with the nature of the projectiles, powder-charges, velocity attained, penetrating power, &c. The third chapter treats of torpedoes and torpedo-boats, and comprises an elaborate history of the use of torpedoes in war, of the various kinds of torpedoes, the boats from which they may be launched, experiments with torpedoes, and a discussion of the circumstances under which these engines of war should be used. The fourth chapter deals with the comparative strength and resources of the naval powers, and sets forth the names of the ships in the various navies, classing them into groups according to their armour and armament, and enumerates all the guns which the ships carry. This chapter concludes with a short account of the dockyards, and a statement of the *personnel* of the navies of the powers which are under consideration. The fifth chapter deals with unarmoured ships, and discusses them from many interesting points of view—such as their utility as swift cruisers, the armament they may carry, speed and coal-carrying capacity, and the use of the mercantile fleet as auxiliaries. The sixth chapter deals with harbour defences and vessels for coast service; and the short seventh chapter is a history of the growth of naval expenditure. An appendix gives in tabular form the navy estimates since 1806. The information given is throughout of a full character, and will do much to make generally

³ "The British Navy: its Strength, Resources, and Administration." By Sir Thomas Brassey, M.A., K.C.B., M.P. Volume II. Part II. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

intelligible the more important and interesting aspects of the naval strength of the nations of the world. The work is excellently illustrated by upwards of a hundred woodcuts, and deserves careful consideration, not only from sailors, but from all who are interested in national defences.

From time to time a protest comes against evolution.⁴ It seems to depend partly on want of the synthetic mental quality in the writer, and partly on want of detailed acquaintance with the structures and forms of organic beings. Mr. Bouverie-Pusey is one of those writers who would find no evidence that could be adduced in favour of evolution satisfactory to him. He appears to believe that the process of organic change went on in animal life down to the post-pliocene period, and then stopped; but only to call in question, further on, the evidences for that evolution which have been adduced. How the change in life was produced he does not inquire, believing that it was of an intermittent character, and brought about in some way of which we have no evidence. To him the variations of species, the approximation of characters between different species, the gradations in the modification of a type exhibited by its different genera, only present themselves as evidences of permanence in certain structures more or less minute or important. The changes which an animal passes through in its development tell him nothing of the past history of the type; the common plan of structure which underlies all the members of a group, and out of which the genera and species are moulded, appears to be unknown to him; and the geological history of existing families of animals is ignored, just as much as are the inferences drawn from the discovery of intermediate types in a fossil state. When the author, therefore, comes to the analysis of Mr. Charles Darwin's writings with the object of showing that the several animals which that author discussed or cited as furnishing evidence of change are really permanent in their characters, we are impressed with the feebleness of the criticism, because of the manifest want of knowledge on the part of the writer. Even if his contentions in favour of the permanence of existing species had been supported by evidence, it would still have been an onslaught which would in no way have affected the doctrine of evolution, for permanence is as characteristic of that doctrine as variation; otherwise, all the simple forms of life would long since have disappeared from the earth. Evolution alone explains the structures which animals have in common, and exemplifies order and system in what might otherwise have seemed inexplicable, if not chaotic variability. That the doctrine is not yet so fully elaborated as to account for every animal characteristic in a clear and indubitable way, few naturalists would deny. But the day for protest against it has gone by, and its own development is not less certain than the development of human faculties with maturing years. What matters it whether horses, dogs, cats, or deer have varied sufficiently for record within the periods of

⁴ "Permanence and Evolution: An Inquiry into the supposed Mutability of Animal Types." By S. E. B. Bouverie-Pusey. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

accurate history, when the geological evidence of the variation of the types in past time is beyond all question? Nor do we conceive it to be a matter for serious controversy to discuss the sufficiency of the agencies enunciated by Mr. Darwin for the elaboration of such modifications of structure. For much depends on the mental training of the thinker as to the latitude he would allow to the terms used; and for ordinary purposes Mr. Darwin's terms suffice. Mr. Bouverie-Pusey's book, therefore, will not commend itself to naturalists; and if it should seem to others worthy of serious consideration, it can only be because none but naturalists can be familiar with the facts against which it is directed, and know its futility.

The "Composition and Analysis of Foods"⁵ is essentially a treatise on the characteristics of pure foods and their adulterated varieties. The subject is grouped by Mr. Winter Blyth into sections. First comes the history of adulteration, including the detection of adulterations and the laws relating to the subject. Then the second part, termed introductory, describes the apparatus which may be used in food analysis. Part three, entitled carbo-hydrates, is devoted to sugar and similar substances, jams, starch, bread, flour, various grains, rice, millet, potato, peas, beans, and lentils. The fourth part treats of milk, cream, butter, and cheese; a subject which from its importance is examined at considerable length. The fifth part relates to tea, coffee, and cocoa. The sixth part deals with the various alcoholic drinks, fermented liquors and wine; then succeed vinegar and the condiments, such as mustard, pepper, bitter almonds, annatto, and olive oil. The ninth and last part is devoted to water. This is rather a manual for the analyst than a work of reference for the general reader, though it contains a good deal of interesting information which will repay examination. The book represents a large amount of research, and is valuable for the clearness with which the subject is subdivided and discussed. There are constant citations of authorities whose facts are embodied in the text. The circumstance that the present work appears as a second edition of the first part of the author's "Manual of Practical Chemistry," expanded to more than double its original size, may be mentioned as evidence that the writer has endeavoured to make his work worthy of the subject with which it deals.

Under the title "Notes and Jottings from Animal Life,"⁶ a collection of Frank Buckland's papers, contributed to *Land and Water*, has been brought together. Those who know the writings of the late Mr. Buckland will not need to be told that they are light amusing sketches, abounding in quaint observations of animal life, and frequently enlivened with a bright vein of humour. A good many of the papers have somewhat the character of contributions to an auto-

⁵ "Foods: their Composition and Analysis. A Manual for the Use of Analytical Chemists and Others. With an Introductory Essay on the History of Adulteration." By A. Winter Blyth, M.R.C.S., F.C.S. London: Ch. Griffin & Co., 1882.

⁶ "Notes and Jottings from Animal Life." By the late Frank Buckland, M.A., H.M. Inspector of Fisheries. With illustrations. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882.

biography, since they describe the author's daily observations on animals in his own house, and his experiences as a Fishery Commissioner. But besides such sketches there are a number of papers growing out of the exhibition in London, from time to time, of rare animals; and papers on such subjects as the "Great Sea Serpent" and the "Waxworks in Westminster Abbey." The volume will be interesting not only as a personal memorial, but for its own sake, especially as indicating to young naturalists how interesting observations may be made upon the most ordinary materials. The book is elegantly printed, contains sixteen illustrations, chiefly illustrative of the marine mammalia and the sea serpent, and is prefaced by a photographic portrait of the author in his studio.

Professor Geikie's volume of "Geological Sketches"⁷ consists of fourteen articles which have been published in various periodicals during the last twenty years. Many of them are records of geological rambles, others are lectures delivered to his class in Edinburgh and to the Royal Geographical Society. The subjects treated of are chiefly denudation and volcanic phenomena, but the treatment is always light and bright, and a good deal of information is conveyed in a form which will make its acquisition easy for the reader, literary art conspicuously predominating over the scientific materials. It is a volume well calculated to stimulate observation, and may induce many readers to visit for themselves some of the scenes in Scotland, Norway, Central France, and North America which are so well described. Without making any pretence to systematic treatment, the papers present some idea of the work of a geologist, not only in its details, but in certain of the larger questions which come under his consideration.

Miss Ormerod's valuable "Report of Observations on Injurious Insects during 1881"⁸ continues the history of insect depredations in the country, to which we have referred in former years in noticing and commending previous publications. A very large part of the volume this year is occupied with the history of the turnip-fly, which especially damaged the swedes and turnips in Scotland as well as England during last year. Its devastations were chiefly around the coast, though some inland counties, like Oxfordshire and Derbyshire, suffered; but while other districts, like West Lancashire escaped, Cumberland suffered considerably. In Durham, and some parts of Yorkshire, large districts were sown twice, and even then the crop failed. Upwards of a million acres were sown with turnips during the year, and at the smallest estimate the loss on seed alone, for a single re-sowing, would amount to about £65,000, while the outlay on the work done on the land affected would bring the loss considerably above half a million of money in England alone. All the information is briefly and clearly

⁷ "Geological Sketches at Home and Abroad." By Archibald Geikie, LL.D., F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Surveys of the United Kingdom. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

⁸ "Report of Observations of Injurious Insects during the Year 1881, with Methods of Prevention and Remedy, and Special Report on Turnip-Fly." By Eleanor A. Ormerod. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1882.

given, and excellently illustrated with Curtis's figures. Among the more destructive insects of the year were the beet or mangold fly, the onion-fly, the saw-fly, which attacked gooseberry and currant bushes, and the cuckoo-fly, which was injurious to the hops. White peas were injured by the pea-weevil, and the daddy-long-legs' grubs attacked the wheat. The injuries done by these various insects represent a money value of from £1 to about £3 an acre.

The science of agricultural practice,⁹ or, in other words, the experience of practical farmers who have availed themselves of the teachings of sciences which bear upon their daily work, has now become a necessity for all who would make the land yield a good return for labour bestowed upon it; and Professor Tanner has made a commendable effort to bring the more elementary part of his practical knowledge home to agricultural students in a school class-book extending to 300 pages and divided into sixty chapters. In the first of the three parts of the book, twelve chapters are devoted to a discussion of the nature of soils, the ways in which they are formed, their chemical composition, capacity for holding moisture and other characteristics. Then comes a discussion of the soil as a seed-bed, and the various considerations which have to be borne in mind in tillage; while this part concludes with some account of the soil in relation to the nutrition of plants. The second part discusses the ways in which plants take various substances from the soil, and the manner in which the loss may be replaced by manures, and mineral substances which are necessary to render certain soils productive. The third part deals with artificial manures, irrigation, quality of the seed, and the productiveness of crops in relation to soil, season and locality, especially illustrated by corn and root crops. This is a valuable manual, with the information clearly given, and well suited for an elementary class-book; but it would be greatly improved were there a table of contents, giving a systematical analysis of the subject, and short headings to the chapters such as might emphasize the lesson which each conveys.

The annual "Report on the Meteorology of India in 1879"¹⁰ is an excellent record of the elements of Indian climate, digested into a comparatively small space; but it is a substantial folio volume, owing to the incorporation of tables giving an abstract of the registers. The report is arranged as in preceding years. It opens with a description of the stations, and then discusses solar radiation, nocturnal radiation, temperature and pressure of the air, winds, humidity, cloud proportion and rainfall. These phenomena are examined both with regard to the successive months of the year, and the localities where the observations are made. At the end of the report is a summary in which the characteristic phenomena of the successive months are classified and

⁹ "Elementary Lessons in the Science of Agricultural Practice." By Professor Henry Tanner, M.R.A.C., F.C.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.

¹⁰ "Report on the Meteorology of India in 1879." By Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Fifth year. Calcutta: Office of Superintendent of Government Printing. 1881.

thrown into tabular form. In addition to the usual maps illustrative of temperature, pressure and direction of the wind in the months of 1879, there are pressure and wind charts for certain days in February, September and December, which indicate atmospheric conditions of more than ordinary interest. The volume is prefaced by a map of India, showing the positions of the meteorological observatories and rain-gauge stations. Mr. Blanford is to be congratulated on the publication of these valuable records, which must exercise year by year an increasing influence on the development of the resources of our Indian Empire, as well as upon its administration.

The registers of original observations in 1881 for Calcutta, Lucknow, Lahore, Nagpur, Bombay, and Madras have reached us, and give, day by day throughout the year, in tabular form, the various observations which the meteorologists at those places have recorded. It is probably an accident that our series contains no reports for June and July.

The "Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India in 1880-81,"¹¹ gives an account of the subjects which have engaged the attention of the office during the year; and in it Mr. Blanford summarizes such matters of a general character as concern the observations and instruments with which they are made, and gives an account of the conditions of the apparatus and work in the different observatories. The storm-warning system is becoming well developed in India. In Calcutta the results of the daily telegrams are printed and sent out to the authorities, merchants and newspapers, accompanied by a chart of the Bay of Bengal, at 3 P.M. every day. The charge of two rupees a month, from the non-official recipients, is found to amply cover the expense of making the information of the department available.

The last part of the first volume of "Indian Meteorological Memoirs"¹² is by Mr. S. A. Hill, and consists of an account of the meteorology of the north-west Himalaya. The article has already been printed in the *North-western Provinces Gazetteer*, and gives an admirable account of the climatic phenomena of the region to which it relates. The tables appended to the Memoir are for the year 1881. It is impossible to read these valuable works without recognizing a wisdom on the part of the Indian Government in preparing them in which our own Government is entirely deficient. In this country every one is aware of the commercial value of rain, frost and sunshine, but the farmer and others who need information on these all-important matters are left to the mercy of an *Old Moore's Almanac*. What is done in this country in the way of discussion of phenomena is the outcome of private enthusiasm and co-operation among individual observers with Mr. Symonds. But how different are these imperfect records as compared

¹¹ "Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India in 1880-81." London: Central Press.

¹² "Indian Meteorological Memoirs. Being occasional discussions and compilations of Meteorological Data relating to India and the neighbouring Countries." Published by order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, under the direction of Henry F. Blanford, F.R.S. Vol. I. Part VI. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1876-1881.

with those which the observatories and meteorological stations of India contribute! So long as the people of England are content to neglect this branch of knowledge we fear that no Government will be paternal enough to treat them to such publications as are produced in India.

M'Alpine's "Botanical Atlas,"¹³ of which a part containing four plates has reached us, appears to be well calculated to set forth the elementary facts of plant structure. The plates are well drawn, and carefully coloured; and each has about a page of explanation, describing the plants which it represents. Usually, there are two species on a plate; and the figures represent the aspect of the flower, the points to be observed in its dissection, the plan of structure of the flower, and the characters of the leaves. The plants dealt with in this part are chickweed, maiden pink, campion, fumitory, wallflower, herb-Robert, white dead nettle, and sage.

Professor Bentley's "Botany"¹⁴ has long been well known as an excellent handbook, charged with the best information; but the present edition is considerably improved by constant citations of the medicinal uses of plants, and other matter, such as the more recent physiological researches which of late years have given a distinctive tone to botanical study. The only point that seems open to criticism is placing the chapters entitled "Physiology of Plants" at the end of the book instead of at the beginning. Either as a class-book or as a work of reference the student will find it valuable; and this edition seems better suited to the requirements of medical students than its predecessors. It would be difficult to condense more information into the same space.

We are indebted to Dr. Joy Jeffries for a valuable little pamphlet respecting the perception of colours.¹⁵ He has already published an important work on a kindred subject, entitled "Colour-Blindness: its Dangers and its Detection," which, on account of the great importance of the subject it treats and of the high position of the author as an ophthalmic surgeon, has already received cordial recognition on both sides of the Atlantic. The object of the pamphlet before us is to enforce the necessity of a systematic education of the sense of colour, and of discovering those cases in which that sense is so defective as to unfit the person exhibiting the defect for certain vocations in life. Dr. Jeffries states, as an ascertained fact, that 4 per cent. of all males are more or less colour-blind, whereas not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of females are thus affected. He adds:—

¹³ "The Botanical Atlas: A Guide to the Practical Study of Plants, containing representatives of the leading forms of Plant Life." By D. M'Alpine, F.C.C. To be completed in thirteen monthly parts. Edinburgh and London: W. & A. K. Johnston. 1882.

¹⁴ "A Manual of Botany, including the Structure, Classifications, Properties, Uses, and Functions of Plants." By Robert Bentley, F.L.S., M.R.C.S. Fourth edition. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1882.

¹⁵ "Colour-Names, Colour-Blindness, and the Education of the Colour-Sense in our Schools." By B. Joy Jeffries, A.M., M.D. (Harvard). Boston (U.S.A.): L. Prang & Co. 1882.

"My own tests, up to the time of writing this, are of 19,101 males 801 were colour-blind, whilst I found but 11 females amongst 14,731 defective in their chromatic sense."

He further states :—

"Colour-blindness may be said to exist as red, green, or violet blindness; the first two including each other, and the last involving blindness to the complementary colour, viz., yellow. Violet blindness is so rare that the term colour-blindness means, now-a-days, red or green blindness. . . . Colour-blindness is a congenital defect, and, as has been said, much more frequent in the male than in the female. It is hereditary, and follows the general law of heredity. Females, though they escape it, transmit it to their male offspring. As there is no rule without an exception, so here also the defect has been found in all the females of several generations of one family, and only in them, the males, normal-eyed. It may occur congenitally in *one eye only*. Several monocular cases have been seen and carefully examined by very competent observers. Age, colour, race, civilization, or occupation do not seem to have any influence on its frequency, to judge by present statistics.

"The colour-blind who can be put into the so-called hypnotic or mesmeric condition have temporarily been able to see colours normally; also the normal-eyed who can be put into this condition, are rendered, for the time they are so, like the colour-blind as to chromatic sense. Injuries which affect the brain may cause what is practically colour-blindness, and in one eye only. Such cases are recorded. It has long been known as a symptom of certain cerebral affections, or cerebral and ocular troubles described in ophthalmic treatises."

We are rather surprised that Dr. Jeffries states so absolutely as he does that "congenital colour-blindness is *incurable*," and that "no amount of practice with colours, or familiarity, will alter the colour-sense." It seems to us that if this statement be true, the education of the colour-sense, which he strenuously advocates, would not only be useless but irrational, and that we should find it very difficult to explain the notable fact, already mentioned, that colour-blindness is much more prevalent among males than females. Is it not likely that the greater acuteness of perception of colours evinced by girls and women than by boys and men, is developed by the habit of the former to occupy themselves from childhood upwards in discriminating and combining colours in the most artistic way they can, for the purpose of producing striking and attractive effects? Dr. Jeffries observes,—that the sense of colour can be "taught and educated, there is abundant proof in the extraordinary delicacy obtained by many workmen in coloured fabrics, &c., mosaic-setters, and the like." It is well known that a sense thus heightened is transmissible, and hence we understand how it is that the colour-sense has become more highly developed in the female than in the male sex; and hence, as it seems to us, even those persons in whom the perception of colour is in a rudimentary state may, by appropriate methods, have it developed in some degree, may transmit the improved perceptibility of colour to the succeeding generation, and thus in due time the defect in question may be cured.

We commend to the consideration of smokers and imbibers of alcohol Dr. Jeffries' assertion that "a condition of chromatic defect simulating perfectly colour-blindness is produced by chronic poisoning

from alcohol and from tobacco, or both combined; not but what thousands of people abuse both these stimulants without having their chromatic sense interfered with."

We trust Dr. Jeffries' praiseworthy efforts in promoting the education of the colour-sense will be increasingly appreciated, and, especially, that all railway companies will become alive, if they are not already so, to the great importance of submitting every man who is intended for the responsible duties of pointsman to a rigorous test of the extent of his colour-sense before entrusting them to him.

In 1874 Dr. Phillips published the first volume of his "*Materia Medica and Therapeutics*." That volume was devoted to the vegetable kingdom. He has now published a second volume, which deals exclusively with *inorganic substances*.¹⁶ The work consists of 820 octavo pages. It is well printed, in good-sized readable type; contains a carefully compiled analytical table of contents, a general index, and an index of diseases, the remedies applicable to each being mentioned in connection with it. The plan of the book is admirably systematic; the order in which, as a rule, each substance is discussed will be easily appreciated by the reader if we mention the heading of any one of the sections. That dealing with *phosphorus*, for example, is subdivided as follows:—source, preparation, characters, absorption and elimination, physiological action, external and internal theory of action, antagonists, antidotes, therapeutical action, preparations and dose. A great and especial merit of the work consists in the ample discussion which it contains of the *physiological* action of the various substances treated of. This feature is especially well exhibited in the section dealing with oxygen, and still better, even, in that devoted to water.

We do not remember any book written for the medical profession in general, and, indeed, for the so-called "orthodox" part of it, in which the therapeutical processes popularized by the followers of Preissnitz are so fully described and commended as they are in the book before us. When, in the last century, the Scotch physician, James Currie (best known, by-the-by, for his edition of Burns, which contained an introductory criticism and an essay on the character and condition of the Scottish peasantry), published his "*Medical Reports on the effects of Water, cold and warm, as a remedy in Fevers and other Diseases*," those reports introduced ideas and practices too far in advance of those of his professional brethren to have a chance of the immediate recognition which they merited. They encountered the indifference, neglect, and even reprobation of his fellow-countrymen. His views obtained their first practical recognition on the Continent, and when, at length, they came to be appreciated in England, it was not by the acknowledged leaders of the profession, but partly by men who, though they might be "duly qualified" members of it, were looked askance at and discountenanced by "respectable" physicians,

¹⁶ "*Materia Medica and Therapeutics: Inorganic Substances*. By Charles D. F. Phillips, M.D. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1882.

and partly by questionable personages, whose education, whatever it might be, was very far from fitting them to practise medicine. Denied recognition as one of the chief therapeutical powers by the Royal Colleges of Physicians, water took refuge outside the precincts of the profession in "hydropathic" establishments, where it became the object of a special *culte*, counting its believers by tens of thousands, spread throughout the country. At length the profession, which discarded it, is calling it back, eager to welcome it and to assign it the high place which by virtue of its great power it ought always to have occupied as a remedial agent. We heartily congratulate Dr. Phillips in being one of the courageous and judicious promoters of this reaction. He devotes thirty-three pages to the consideration of the physiological and therapeutical effects of water, and in doing so has rendered a really important service both to the profession and the public.

We have read with much interest Dr. Phillips's observations on the physiological action of the compounds of bromine, and especially of their action on the circulatory system. In respect to the latter, the evidence of the several physicians whom he mentions is unfortunately very conflicting and confusing. In our opinion, the obscurity at present hanging over the subject will not be dispersed until we accept the hypothesis, at least until it is disproved, of the existence of trophic nerves, an hypothesis sanctioned by the high authority of Sir James Paget and many other eminent men. The application of that hypothesis would, we believe, explain and reconcile all the seeming contradictions which now greatly lessen the instructiveness and usefulness of the observations here referred to.

Dr. Dobell's book upon diet and regimen¹⁷ has now reached a seventh edition, and this affords some evidence both of its value and of the favour with which it has been received. Although by no means devoid of scientific merits, it would appear to be intended more for the general public than for the medical profession, and the information which it contains is precisely such as would be most useful to this class of readers. After some preliminary remarks, and a set of rules for the promotion and maintenance of health by hygienic means, come a succession of chapters upon food in general, and the dietaries suitable for different pathological conditions in particular. These are followed by sections upon the wholesomeness and digestibility of various articles of food; on the value of different kinds of fermented liquors; upon special restoratives, and the requirements of a sick-room. The second part of the volume treats of the interdependence of diseases; of the Protean forms of anæmia; of fatty degeneration, and similar matters. Amongst the food remedies the highest place is given to the preparation known as pancreatic emulsion. The author describes a condition of marasmus which occurs in young children, generally ending in death. "This state," he adds, "provided there is no advanced lung disease, is rapidly cured by pancreatic emulsion, given in doses of a teaspoonful every four hours, and regularly persisted in till fat and flesh are restored."

¹⁷ "On Diet and Regimen in Sickness and Health." By Horace Dobell, M.D. London: H. K. Lewis.

It is stated that milk and cream, also fatty emulsions, are useless in such cases, the efficacy of the pancreatic emulsion being found to reside in its finer degree of subdivision and in the absence of an albuminous envelope to its particles.

The greater portion of this work¹⁸ would possess but little attraction for any but medical readers. It consists of a series of chapters on the different varieties of malignant tumours, and these are filled with technical details concerning their microscopic appearance, the surgical measures required for their removal, and similar matters. In the introductory chapter the reader is warned against too ready a belief in novel cures for cancer, and an interesting account is given of some of the more famous cancer-curers of modern times. Like all orthodox surgeons, Dr. Purcell is an advocate for the removal of cancerous growths when an operation is practicable. His experience of curative medicinal treatment has not been favourable. He finds Chian turpentine, the drug which was recommended so warmly by Professor Clay, to be utterly valueless, not even relieving pain or checking hæmorrhage. As regards this particular question, we are inclined to think that the author is too sweeping in his condemnation. We are acquainted with several instances in which cancer of the uterus has been diagnosed by eminent authorities, and where the administration of Chian turpentine has been followed by a decrease in the growth. From this it would appear that, if this drug has no influence upon true cancer, there is a condition of the womb which is clinically indistinguishable from cancer which it does influence. We have seen, moreover, in other cases of the same kind, and which have not been arrested in their growth by this medicine, a very remarkable relief of pain and decrease of hæmorrhage.

In this account¹⁹ of the famine fever of Western India, Dr. Vandyke Carter furnishes a contribution to epidemiological science which will help to elucidate some of the most controverted points in the history of contagia. The epidemic in question made its appearance in the Deccan in 1876, and was mainly caused by the dearth of all kind of provisions, consequent upon the failure of crops from want of rain. In 1877 and 1878 a similar state of things obtained, and the distress of the inhabitants was great and general. Thirteen per cent. of the whole population of the afflicted districts took refuge in emigration, and a large number of those who remained were kept alive solely by the supplies they obtained at the Government Relief Works. In 1879 the famine continued, for although there was rain, it was excessive and unseasonable, and the harvest was spoilt. From the country districts of the Presidency, hosts of destitute families flocked to Bombay for food and employment, carrying with them the seeds of the disease, and helping to propagate it by the overcrowding they caused. It was estimated that the population of the capital was in-

¹⁸ "On Cancer: its Allies and other Tumours." By F. A. Purcell, M.D., M.R.C.S. London: J. & A. Churchill.

¹⁹ "Spirillum Fever." By H. Vandyke Carter. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1882.

creased in 1877 in the proportion of from 30 to 40 per cent., and that it attained a total of more than 1,000,000. The epidemic prevalent amongst the famine-stricken sufferers was considered at first to be an unusual form of remittent fever, and put down as malarious in the death registrations; but a more attentive study showed that the symptoms were different, and its identity with the disease commonly known as relapsing-fever was demonstrated by Dr. Carter. The course of a typical case of spirillum fever would seem to be sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from other febrile conditions; but when anomalous in its form, or masked by some predominating complication, it would sometimes be difficult for a diagnosis to be made, were it not for the presence in the blood of a specific micro-organism, which is never to be found under any other circumstances. The schizophyte which is pathognomonic of the disease, and to which it owes its name—spirillum—can be detected in any part of the circulatory system during the periods of pyrexia, and disappears from the blood during the intervals of remission. Whether the organism itself is the virus, or whether it is only constantly associated with the virus, is a question of secondary importance, and not peculiar to the present subject. It is extremely difficult, in fact almost impossible, although an exception may perhaps be made for the blood-poisons of anthrax and some forms of septicæmia, to isolate bacteria from the liquid in which they have been generated, and to show that these are the *veræ causæ* of infection. Dr. Carter's inoculation experiments on monkeys, and culture of the virus, taken with the results of the microscopic examination of the blood of his human and simian patients, show that the spirillum, if not the cause of the malady, is at any rate one of its most constant characteristics; and the knowledge of this fact alone is of the greatest importance. Our space will not permit us to give a more lengthened notice of this work, but to those that are desirous of mastering the subject, it may be recommended as the most exhaustive monograph in the language.

Like all Dr. Milner Fothergill's writings, the present volume²⁰ is a thoroughly useful and practical work. Explaining in a clear and easy manner the normal physiology of the stomach and liver, it is full of valuable suggestions both for the prevention and cure of digestive disorders. One of the best features of Dr. Fothergill's books is his disregard for popular prejudices, which are far too often taken into consideration by the medical adviser, and allowed to influence his action. Fifty years ago, when venesection was universal, it was the custom to bleed certain classes of persons periodically. This was an abuse, but the total neglect of blood-letting at the present day is a mistake in the opposite direction, and one which it requires no small amount of persuasion to overcome, when the operation is necessary in particular instances. As an example of this independent way of thinking, we may quote a paragraph on the use of mercurial chola-

²⁰ "Indigestion, Bilioussness, and Gout, in its Protean Aspects." By J. Milner Fothergill, M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1881.

gogues. Although somewhat long, it is full of sound sense, and gives a good idea of the author's way of thinking.

"Such means," he says, "give immediate relief. About that there can exist no question. But what was the consequence? Possessing a ready means of procuring relief, our predecessors went on their way rejoicing—ate, drank, and were merry, as in the days before the Flood, 'and knew not till the Flood came and swept them all away.' So it was with them. They set no bounds to their indulgence, and fell back on the blue-pill and black draught when inclined, until an unremediable condition was established. Instead of righting itself, the system became accustomed to this artificial means of restoring the equilibrium, until the power of self-restoration of the balance became irretrievably lost; and then a permanent cachexia settled down on the remainder of their days. So conspicuous did the evil become that the stream set in on the opposite direction so effectually that now many persons—yes, and many medical men, too—look upon a mercurial pill as if it were 'possessed of a devil.' The reaction came, and swept reason away in its current, as it often does, and one extreme begat the other. I remember well, not many months ago, reading a paper before a large suburban society, upon the desirability of sweeping the accumulated nitrogenized waste out of the blood in certain cases of dilated heart with enlarged liver; when, in the discussion which followed, several gentlemen of various ages asked if I thought a mercurial at times permissible in such cases, as timidly as if they felt themselves liable to be suspected of wishing to resuscitate the Druidical faith, or exhibiting a latent belief in the old notion that 'nine live lice upon a piece of bread-and-butter were the most appropriate and effectual treatment of an attack of jaundice.' And on assuring them that I not only thought such remedial agent permissible and lawful, but even approved thereof, they seemed immensely relieved, while several and sundry others present interchanged a significant glance, as if they thought I was the subject of incipient general paralysis; indicating, too, that my utterances would receive no regard or countenance from them."

This picture is, perhaps, a little highly coloured; but it shows, at any rate, that a dismal subject does not deprive Dr. Fothergill of any of his liveliness of style.

The first part of these "Contributions"²¹ is an essay on the effects of health and disease on military and naval operations, which obtained the Howard medal and prize of the Statistical Society. It tends to show that it is the politico-financial interest of the nation, as well as its duty, to render the soldier's life as happy and healthy as possible. The essay forms an interesting addition to the literature of Military Hygiene, and is very suitably dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Parkes. The second contribution is on the influence of drinking-water in originating or propagating enteric fever, diarrhœa, dysentery and cholera. The evidence brought forward by Mr. Martin in support of his views has led him to the following conclusions:—Drinking-water may be one of the agents of origination of nearly all forms of diarrhœa, acting by (1) mechanical irritation, (2) chemico-physiological irritation, and (3) probably other more obscure influences of the nature of which we are ignorant. It influences the propagation

²¹ "Contributions to Military and State Medicine." By James Martin, Surgeon, A.M.D. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1881.

of entozoal diarrhœa, by being a carrier of a specific modification of vitality. Drinking-water may be one of the agents of dysentery origin, but seemingly only as an excitant, when predisposing conditions exist. It sometimes influences enteric fever origination, as an excitant, and probably also the origination of cholera. It does not influence the propagation of dysentery, but sometimes does so for enteric fever and cholera. The nature of the influence is in all these cases the same as in the origination of diarrhœa. Our space prevents us giving any further extracts from these "Contributions," but we shall look forward with interest for the next volume. Mr. Martin's writing bears the impress both of a large professional experience and of high general culture.

These "Lectures"²² were delivered to the students of University College two years ago, and originally published in the *Lancet*. Having been partly copied into the *British Journal of Dental Science* and the *Missouri Dental Journal*, the author was led to think that they might fulfil a want, and has now published them in a separate form. A careful observer will obtain much information from a thorough inspection of the mouth and its vicinity, and may even be enabled to make a diagnosis, in some cases, before the patient has spoken a word. The process of "looking at the tongue" is as familiar as that of feeling the pulse. Every one knows that the tongue is the index of the condition of the stomach, and a glance at the unruly member often settles the question of a domestic dose of physic. But to the physician it gives more important indications. In certain cases of brain disease its deviation, when extended, points out the seat of mischief. A tremulousness of it may lead to an early diagnosis of general paralysis of the insane or of Cruveilhier's atrophy. And again, a great tremor occurring in the course of a typhoid fever may give warning of a most serious complication of this dangerous malady. A furring of the tongue on one side only may be caused by caries of the teeth; at other times it may indicate a diseased condition of one of the cranial nerves. An examination of the gums is sometimes sufficient to decide whether a person is suffering from saturnism. The same structures present characteristic appearances in scurvy, leucocythæmia, and under various other pathological circumstances. The odour of the breath not only betrays the votary of Bacchus, but may reveal the unsuspected existence of different diseases. Diabetes, pyæmia, and bronchiectasis have each an odour *sui generis*. During the menstrual period the expired air has an altered smell. It has even been said that sexual intercourse causes a change of this kind in the woman, but this doctrine is somewhat too dangerous to be taken absolutely. There are conditions of the nares, pharynx, tonsils and stomach which give rise to an offensive breath. Dr. Poore devotes two chapters to the study of the larynx, and the appearances which are seen in the laryngoscope. These are followed by an appendix, containing fourteen illustrative cases. It

²² "Lectures on the Physical Examination of the Mouth and Throat." By G. V. Poore, M.D., F.R.C.P. London: J. E. Adlard. 1881.

has given us much pleasure to read this little volume; although its compass is small it is literally full of information, and few will take it up without learning something from its pages.

"The Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States,"²⁸ is largely made up of statistical tables relating to the department, and reports of fatal cases observed at the different stations. But the most interesting part of the volume, from a medical point of view, is an appendix on an outbreak of beri-beri, which occurred on board a Brazilian corvette that put into the port of San Francisco. Beri-beri is an endemic disease, peculiar in its limited geographical distribution. It occurs in India, on the Malabar Coast. It is also met with in Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, and other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, as well as in parts of China and Japan. It is found on the western coast of the Red Sea, and on the western coast of Australia. It occurs also in Brazil, from Bahia southwards to Rio de Janeiro. Several varieties of the disease have been described, and it has been subdivided and classified, according to predominating symptoms. The chief of these are an anæmic condition of the blood, which ultimately leads to general anasarca, œdema of the viscera, and effusions into the serous cavities. During the progress of the malady there is noticed a variable degree of motor and sensory paralysis of the lower limbs, which produces a loss of cutaneous sensation, together with an ataxic gait. This is accompanied by paroxysmal oppression of breathing, a decrease of the urinary secretion, and various physical and constitutional expressions of the poverty of the circulating fluid. English surgeons in India have attributed the complaint in a certain measure to the quality of the drinking-water, which in districts where it is endemic contains a large quantity of chlorides, but no iron; and it is said by Aitkin, that since it has been the practice at Marsulipatam to introduce a mass of iron, which is allowed to rust, into each *chatty* of water used for drinking, beri-beri, which was formerly so rife amongst the jail prisoners during the wet season, has not occurred in a single instance. The cases reported by Dr. Hebersmith are full of interest. Of the eighteen patients suffering from beri-beri alone, who were admitted into the Marine Hospital, two were moribund at the time and died shortly after. A third was carried off in few days by uncontrollable diarrhœa. The others recovered. For the relief of the urgent symptoms pilocarpine was used empirically and found to be a most efficient agent. The microscopic examination of the blood revealed certain appearances which were not to be found in any other kinds of blood, and which ceased to exist when the patients were restored to health. These were an increase in the number of white corpuscles, a shrivelled and granular condition of the red ones, and the existence of white shining nucleoid bodies in the serum. Whether these micrococci will turn out to be the specific *contagium* of beri-

²⁸ "The Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States." Washington. 1881.

beri is for the future to decide, and Dr. Hebersmith's memoir will have contributed largely to the solution of the question.

The author of this treatise,²⁴ Mrs. Kingsford, thinks that a comparative study of the digestive organs of man and the anthropoids will show that they were destined to live upon the same kind of food. Frugivorous teeth, a similar arrangement of the temporo-maxillary articulation, and the same form of stomach, are the chief points of resemblance. This theory is supported by a number of quotations, proving that some of the finest races of mankind abstain from the use of flesh; and particular instances are related of celebrated vegetarians who have attained a ripe old age, in full enjoyment of their health and faculties. The aid of physiological chemistry is also invoked to demonstrate the superiority of vegetable over animal food, and various ethical and economical reasons are brought forward in favour of a vegetarian régime. As a matter of fact, we are quite prepared to believe that man could live on the produce of the soil, but we are afraid that the present generation is not yet ripe for the pure æsthetic joys of man in his highest development as the gardener. Notwithstanding the wastefulness, from a national point of view, of cattle-raising as compared with crop-growing, and in spite of the wickedness of the transformation of grain into beer and spirits, the world will probably remain kreophagic and zythodipsic as long as meat and ale yield a better profit to the producer than fruits and flour. Economically, the question is a very complex one of supply and demand, and its solution is not more likely to be influenced by ideal considerations than any of the other eternal social problems that periodically come up for discussion. We fear that Mrs. Kingsford's aspirations will long remain unrealized. In the meantime, she deserves the greatest credit for having made an earnest effort in the right direction, and we trust that if destined to be tinged with sadness by the obstinate kreophagy of mankind, she may find some grains of consolation in the welcome which the public will give her book.

Although much has been done of late years to better the condition of the insane, there would seem to be a growing opinion that there still exists room for improvement. Dr. Weatherly²⁵ is a strenuous advocate for domestic treatment, a method which has already been productive of good results, and sanctioned by some of the highest authorities. Private management, he says, affords a better opportunity of treating the cases individually and with regard to their several idiosyncrasies. It does away with the baneful effects of constant association with the insane, and in cases of recovery there is not the recollection of having been confined in the walls of an asylum, which often increases the unbalanced mental condition should a relapse take place. The monotonous routine of asylum life is avoided, and the patients benefit

²⁴ "The Perfect Way of Diet." By Anna Kingsford, M.D., Paris. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1881.

²⁵ "The Care and Treatment of the Insane in Private Dwellings." By Lionel A. Weatherly, M.D., C.M. London: Griffith & Farran. 1882.

by the society of sane people amidst the comforts of "household harmony." It is also probable that cases treated in this way would come under observation at an earlier period than those in the asylums, and so afford a better chance of recovery. It must not be supposed that private treatment means treatment in the patient's own house and in the family circle. It is a fundamental principle of mental medicine that the insane can be treated far better, and with a greater chance of success, away from all relatives. Setting aside the rare instances in which an exception may be made to this rule, the method recommended by Dr. Weatherly consists of residence either in the family of a medical man, or with some other family or companion, under the direct and constant supervision of a doctor. Nearly 35 per cent. of Chancery lunatics are successfully treated in private dwellings, whilst of those that are under the Lunacy Commissioners 6 per cent. only enjoy this advantage, the other 94 per cent. being in asylums. It has been objected that this method would prove too costly, and that if applied to all the harmless chronic cases, it would not pay the asylum proprietors to keep the acute. Surrounded, moreover, only by acute cases, life in an asylum would be unbearable to the sane who have their management and direction. The system would lead to increased taxation, and, possibly, bring about a return to whips and chains. Dr. Weatherly does not consider these reasons sufficiently cogent to warrant the confinement of harmless lunatics. He has but little sympathy for asylum proprietors, and is convinced that the best method will be found in the licensing of individual houses for single cases. Any neglect or improper conduct would entail a forfeiture of the license. By this means those utterly unsuitable persons who seek to obtain an insane patient only for their own pecuniary advantage would be eliminated, and a class of practitioners, giving special study and attention to mental cases, would come into existence.

These Exercises²⁶ were arranged for the use of the students in the Physiological Department of University College. They are divided into four sections. The first relates to the physiology of nerve and muscle. It enumerates the different methods of excitation, describes the construction and use of the myograph, and the influence of temperature, fatigue, electrotonus, &c., upon the contraction-curve; also the experiments necessary to demonstrate the mechanism of the heart and nervous centres. The second part contains a description of the kymograph and its application to the study of the respiratory movements, including the conditions of apnoea and dyspnoea, the instruments used in recording the circulation, and those which are required for experimenting upon the electro-motive phenomena of muscle. The third and fourth parts deal with the chemistry of the tissues and fluids. It may, perhaps, be as well to mention that with the exception of the experiments on respiration, which are made upon a rabbit

²⁶ "University College Course of Practical Exercises in Physiology." By J. Burdon Sanderson, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.; with the co-operation of F. J. Page, B.Sc., F.C.S.; W. North, B.A., F.C.S.; and Aug. Waller, M.D. London; H. K. Lewis. 1882.

under anæsthetics, the only living animals employed for this course are frogs, which are always directed to be pithed, and consequently rendered insensible. The Exercises will no doubt prove most welcome to students. They form a reliable guide to the requirements of the different examining bodies, and a useful companion to the larger text-books of physiology.

We have received a pamphlet by Dr. Pincus, of Berlin, on the treatment of the "Hair in Health and Disease."²⁷ In running through this remarkable production, we have not come across any practical information that is likely to be of much service to the reader, and have noticed but few receipts. There is the formula for a hair-dye of nitrate of silver, a wash for cases of alopecia occurring after fevers (which would probably be injurious rather than beneficial in nine cases out of ten), and a lotion of bicarbonate of soda. This is to be used in the first stage of chronic wasting, and a satisfactory result may be obtained after two years. "I have given a mode of treatment," says the writer, "for the first stage, which any one may use without medical advice. It is impossible to give similar instructions for the second, because . . . Whoever does decide to attempt a cure, even in the second stage, should carefully follow all the directions given him by the doctor and he will rejoice in the result!!!" In section nineteen he describes the most distressing symptoms of neuralgia, due to what he terms "frequent depression of the nerves of the head." "In almost all these cases a cure is possible. After a few months the patient begins to feel his head freer, the unpleasant sensations gradually depart, and the return to the normal condition shows itself in a decided feeling of well-being." The treatment which will bring about this desirable result is not given, but those who are anxious to obtain information, can of course apply to the author. The extracts which precede are sufficient to show the character of this pamphlet. Its literary demerits may be passed over without remark.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE last two volumes of Ihne's "History of Rome" come down to the death of Sulla, at which date the transition from a republican to a monarchical form of government may be considered to have commenced. As the last volume concluded with the destruction of Carthage, at which period the constitution of the republic had attained its highest development, having in fact altered in nothing material since the last secession of the plebs, and the abolition of the senatorial veto by Hortensius, an opportunity is taken here to give an account of

²⁷ "The Hair: its Treatment in Health, Weakness, and Disease." By Dr. J. Pincus, of Berlin. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

¹ "The History of Rome." By Wilhelm Ihne. Vols. IV. and V. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

the constitution and the moral and social condition of the people of Rome. A tone of impartiality, but not of indifference, characterizes the author's remarks as he traces the injurious effect of slaveholding on the morals, and of the absence of trade on the economic condition of the people. When the cultivation of large estates by gangs of slaves made honest labour unproductive to the free man, he had nothing to look to but the reward of war or extortion from conquered provinces. The inevitable result followed—the depopulation of the rural districts, and the increase of luxury in the city, brutalized by the means used in obtaining wealth. In fact, as soon as the Roman citizen outgrew his original status of peasant, through the successes of the Republic, the constitution began to wear out. The historian points out, with great clearness and force, that the morality of the Romans merely inculcated frugality of life and strict regard to the laws and to the rights of his fellow-citizens, while, both in public and private dealings with those who were not citizens, there was no restraint upon absolute selfishness, no regard to justice or humanity. The action of the Censors was mainly devoted to putting down extravagance in expenditure, and had little effect in promoting kindness and justice to dependants or domestic purity. Governed by no fixed principle, they might be alternately strict and lenient, or even use their power as a means of gratifying personal spite. The value attached by the people to the office cannot have been great, when we remember that more than once men who had been condemned for crime were elected. Nor can the censorial sentences have had much weight with the public, when persons who had been formally condemned by them were afterwards elected to high offices. The different position that religion held in the ancient world to that which it has held in modern times is often forgotten, and Ihne's chapter on this subject is well worth studying. Where religion was not connected with philosophy, as in Greece and the East, it merely consisted in the performance of certain formal and ceremonial duties, in order to propitiate the deity and obtain his protection, and had no influence in checking vice or promoting virtue. A distinguishing feature in Roman religion was the absence of power possessed by the priests. Neither intellectually nor morally do they appear to have had much influence, in spite of the organization of the College of Pontifices. The influence of the Augurs arose merely from their power of stopping public business by declaring that there were unfavourable signs in the heavens. The enthusiasm created among the people by the newly introduced worship of Bacchus, and the measures used for its repression, are discussed with a spirit of impartiality. The comparison between what we know of them and the Pagan accounts of Christianity is striking. The licentious orgies attributed to the Bacchanals are parallel to those of which the Christians in general were accused, as appears from several passages in Minucius Felix, and also to those which orthodox Christians like Epiphanius attempted to fix upon those who differed from them in what seem to us minor points. All may be alike false, and the Bacchanalia may have been,

what Christianity was, "an attempt to escape from a religion of unmeaning forms, which offered no comfort to the heart, no peace to the conscience, no scope for higher religious aspirations, no means of rising to a religious life which exalts man from the mechanical formalism of worn-out ceremonies to spiritual excitement, to a forgetfulness of self, and to a longing for union with God." Whatever it really involved, it was put down, and Roman religion continued to be a mere routine of prayers and sacrifices, more and more pompous, until their magnificence practically obscured their connection with religion. The chapters on the administration of justice and on Roman culture also deserve to be carefully studied.

The reign of William Rufus² is in most histories compressed into a few pages, mostly filled with personal anecdotes, as if the story of his oppression of the people and his quarrels with the Church were of little political moment. When worked out fully, however, the reign presents itself under a new aspect. We see how the feudal customs of the Conquest became gradually hardened into law, to be again disintegrated by the habit of letting land for money instead of service, the increase of which can be judged by comparison of Glanville with Bracton. We see how England became a European power, in consequence of her connection with Normandy, and how this connection and inclusion in the world of the Continent naturally brought about what Mr. Freeman thinks must have sounded strange either in English or in Norman ears, the principle of appeal to Rome, which was first used by William of St. Carileph, Bishop of Durham, against the court of King William, and lasted for more than four centuries, till another king abolished it for personal motives. In fact, England was brought within the Empire, as she had not been before; and her churchmen felt that they were entitled to the protection of the highest ecclesiastical court of western Christendom. Though the papal right of appeal had an injurious effect upon nationality, it distinctly aided in binding nations together as belonging to a common society. Mr. Freeman has not succeeded in satisfying himself as to the facts about Rufus's death, and he gives all the various accounts of the portents that preceded the death, and of the death itself, without attempting to determine what can never be known. The Index is formed on a principle which must be new to many readers, though, unluckily, familiar enough to those who have to consult books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After looking for Walter Tyrrell's name under every possible spelling, it was at last found under "Walter." The Giffards and others, whose surnames are equally well known, are indexed in the same way, so that there are several columns of "William," like the "Johannes" in Pitseus' "Scriptores Anglici," or Camden's "Annals;" and, to aggravate the difficulties of finding a name, even the numerous "Williams" are not arranged in any definite order.

The functions of the University of Oxford as publishers are, in the opinion of many, more legitimately exercised in bringing out books

² "The Reign of William Rufus." By E. A. Freeman. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1882.

which are of value to the student, but not likely to command a large sale, than the works of popular historians, which might be left to the ordinary course of trade. Mr. Rogers' work³ certainly belongs to the former class, and no sale which it is likely to have could possibly recompense the author for the enormous labour spent in its production. As the first two volumes treat of a period which includes the Black Death and the Peasants' War, by which the relations of capital and labour were completely altered, so those which follow show how the nation as a whole passed through the Wars of the Roses and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The first of these events hardly touched the common people, who looked on with comparative indifference while rival factions of nobility fought for their own hand, more than for constitutional principles. But at the Dissolution the transference of a large proportion of the land from corporations to individuals not only affected the farmer, who exchanged a landlord who rarely if ever raised rents, and understood to some extent the duties of property, for one who generally thought of nothing but how to screw the biggest rents possible out of his tenants, to recoup himself either for the price he had paid or for what he had spent in the King's service, if the land had been given him as a reward. The poorer classes suffered from the suffering of the farmers, as well as from the sudden cessation of hospitality and the other benefits they derived from the monasteries. Not even the extra work time afforded by the abolition of holidays enabled them to earn as much and live as comfortably as before, and the poor laws were the inevitable result. The confiscation of the property of Guilds (the Benefit Societies of the Middle Ages), on the ground of its being held for superstitious uses, was a further blow to the shopkeeper and artisan. Mr. Rogers seems to be of the opinion that the London Guilds escaped, but their survival is due to the fact that, their members being wealthy, they could afford to repurchase the confiscated lands. Some of the opponents of the London Companies altogether ignore this, and assume that their title to their property is still dependent on the conditions of the original bequests, instead of simply on a purchase from the Crown in the time of Edward VI. Besides the general view of the progress of the nation to be worked out from the tables of prices, there are numberless facts and indications which are of interest to others besides the political economist. The "Sundry Articles" include books, rat-poison, sign-boards, a pair of organs, beehives, surplices, boats, and all kinds of tools and kitchen utensils. Blotting paper was used and called by that name in 1465, though the use of sand lasted for centuries after, and still obtains in Italy. The entries about game and wild fowl may also be of some service to the naturalist. Pheasants occur first in 1467. The cheapness of wild fowl points to a time when the fens were yet undrained. That pewits were sold in 1569 for 2s. 3d. and 3s. 4d. each is impossible, and it is more likely that there is an error in the entry and that the price is per dozen, than that the birds were really bustards as Mr.

³ "A History of Agriculture and Prices in England." By JAS. E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.P. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1882.

Rogers suggests. "Puettes" were a common present from Lord Lisle, when Deputy of Calais, to his friends at the Court of Henry VIII., and from the numbers sent must have been small birds. The chapter on the price of labour is especially worth reading. Mr. Rogers hazards an opinion which will most startle readers who know least of mediæval England, that reading and writing were more widely imparted before the Reformation than they were afterwards; but the whole of his book tends to show that, in material prosperity at least, the working-man was better off in the days before machinery and progress.

Professor Willis-Bund has continued his selections from the State Trials, from the case of the Regicides down to the end of the Popish Plot, an episode which no Englishmen, whatever their religious or political opinions, can read or even think of without a sense of shame. Though the weakness of the Government, which was never free from fear of rebellion, and the sense of insecurity in the country rendered severity in the administration of justice a necessity, the population of England, as a whole, must have felt that they enjoyed more freedom than under the stricter rule of the Protector, and perhaps would not have viewed with disfavour even more arbitrary methods of keeping down sedition. Though the conduct of the judges during this period was bad enough, according to our present standard, and they constantly interposed remarks which tended seriously to prejudice the prisoner and to influence the jury, there is a distinct improvement in the sense of judicial fairness from earlier times. Before the mediæval principles about the relation of subjects to their sovereigns had been upset by the Great Rebellion, the average British jury, in a case which concerned the King, considered it their duty to find a verdict in accordance with his desire, and it is quite clear that in some instances, though perhaps more often in the cases of inquisitions *post mortem* than in trials for treason, the verdict was drawn up in London at headquarters and sent to the jury to find. It is clear also that many men thought they satisfied their consciences by finding what they were directed. This state of things had passed away at the Restoration, and, as Mr. Willis-Bund points out in his able Introduction, the chances of acquittal were much larger than they had ever been before. His defence of the character of the Stuart judges is quite convincing, until we read the reports of the trials themselves, when the disgust caused by their treatment of the prisoners overpowers the effect of Mr. Willis-Bund's logic. Not quite fairly, however, for he points out certain decisions in the trials included in the volume, which are definitely in favour of the prisoner. Among these are the dicta that prisoners are to be tried without fetters, that the King can only punish in accordance with law, that hearsay is no evidence, and others of equal importance: proving "that even Charles II.'s judges recognized that prisoners had rights, and that the judges had to administer the law, not merely to secure convictions."

Mr. Lathom Browne has treated the State trials of the nineteenth

* "A Selection of Cases from the State Trials." By J. W. Willis-Bund. Vol. II. Cambridge University Press. 1882.

century⁵ on a different principle, and narrates them in his own words instead of printing selections from the reports. This plan may have some advantages, but it considerably diminishes the interest. It is like reading "Camb's Tales from Shakespeare," instead of the plays themselves. The convenience of the book is much impaired by the fact that the heading on both pages throughout is simply "Narratives from State Trials." Some indication of the subject should have been given, either in the heading or the margin. The selection includes, not only what are usually considered as State trials, such as prosecutions for treason and sedition, but also the parliamentary inquiry into the sale of commissions through Mrs. Clarke and the claim to the Berkeley Peerage.

Last year being the bi-centenary of the annexation of Strasbourg by Louis XIV.; M. Legrelle⁶ undertook to "laver l'honneur de la France des récriminations si opiniâtrement propagée par ses ennemis." He complains that the archives of Strasbourg, which were with difficulty saved during the siege, have not been accessible to him; but he has gleaned some facts from the "Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales de Strasbourg," published a few years ago. In Paris itself, he has studied the archives of the Minister of Foreign affairs, which the Duc Decazes was the first to throw open to historical students; and the correspondence of Louvois, at the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, has supplied many details relating to the political and military events which preceded and accompanied the surrender of the town, notwithstanding that previous historians have made use of it. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the French King had certain rights, though he does not venture to say that he had the right entirely on his side. The charge of perfidy made by the Germans, he alleges, will not bear discussion now that the negotiations are brought to light, and the only fault to be found with the King's conduct is the means employed by his minister in enforcing claims, which had some value, though they were certainly not unassailable. He insists on the certainty that the freedom of Strasbourg must have fallen, to the benefit of one of the two great powers, and that the wrong done by France to the city was ratified by two centuries of reciprocal attachment, unalterable confidence, and faithful sympathy.

The Spanish archives at Simancas, which, thanks to the late Mr. Bergenroth have thrown so much light on English history, have been consulted by M. Combes,⁷ professor of history at Bordeaux, with respect to the interview between Catherine de Medicis and her daughter, the Queen of Philip II., at Bayonne in 1565. The result is conclusive proof of what has been suspected, but denied by historians for lack of evidence; that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day was virtually

⁵ "Narratives of State Trials in the Nineteenth Century." By G. Lathom Browne. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1882.

⁶ "Louis XIV. et Strasbourg." Par A. Legrelle. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1881.

⁷ "L'Entrevue de Bayonne de 1565." Par M. F. Combes, Professeur d'histoire à l'Université de Bordeaux. Paris: G. Fischbacher. 1882.

determined upon at that meeting. Mezeray says distinctly that the nightly meetings between Catherine and the Duke of Alva resulted in a secret alliance for the extirpation of the Protestants. Lingard, on the other hand, denies that there is ground even for suspicion, from the absolute silence of all the despatches about such a league. The matter is now set at rest by the letters published by M. Combes, more especially by one from Don Frances d'Alava, in which he says distinctly that the agreement made with the Queen-mother at Bayonne will result in crushing the heretics, and by a long despatch, in which Philip II. gives an account of what occurred at the interview, to Cardinal Pacheco. The language is intentionally vague, but few can doubt the meaning of the "brief remedy" which Catherine offered to apply. The letters are printed from official copies, and a French version of the Spanish is added.

Mr. Jervis has continued his history of the French Church through the crisis of the Revolution down to the Second Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.⁸ It is instructive to compare the proceedings of the States-General with those of the Reformers of our own Church. Henry VIII. saw no way of suppressing the monasteries but by inducing their heads to surrender voluntarily. Talleyrand asserts the right of the State to claim the property of such bodies as it thinks right to suppress, and even a proportion of the Church property throughout France, while Mirabeau's advocacy of confiscation is based upon abstract reasoning concerning the relations of states and corporations, and the rights of property. The imposition of the constitutional oath, and the opposition of the clergy to it, remind one of the oaths of supremacy enforced by Henry VIII., though his clergy were more subservient than the French. The differences between the Churches of the *ancien régime* in France and England were of the same kind as those which ran through all society. In England the line between commoner and noble was not impossible to pass by distinction in politics or in arms, or even wealth; and the highest posts in the Church were always open to talent or to luck, irrespective of birth. In France, on the other hand, the bishops were always selected from among the nobles, who probably had never served at all in the lower orders, and only an occasional episcopate conferred on a parish priest for the sake of appearances. The monastic orders also were in a state of lax discipline and disrepute, owing to the abuse of granting abbeys *in commendam* to unqualified persons—a practice which prevailed very extensively in Scotland, though it was extremely rare in England. These abuses materially assisted the anti-clerical party, who put forward their revolutionary proposals under the guise of bringing back the Church to primitive usages, forgetting that in the first ages of the Church it was perfectly free from the interference of the civil power, except in the way of persecution. The negotiations with Rome, in 1801, which resulted in the concordat for re-establishing the Gallican Church in connection with the Papacy, are narrated at

⁸ "The Gallican Church and the Revolution." By the Rev. W. Henley Jervis. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

great length, not omitting Napoleon's attempt to foist on Consalvi for signature a copy of the treaty containing articles which had been discussed and refused. The history is brought down to the bull of 1822, which contained the new circumscription of the dioceses in France.

So much has been written about the Waterloo campaign, that some excuse is necessary to justify the appearance of a new book on the subject, and Mr. Gardner puts forward a valid one.⁹ Previous accounts have been untrustworthy, from insufficient information, carelessness, and national prejudice, and subsequent criticisms upon them have not been embodied in the form of a narrative. This Mr. Gardner has attempted to do, and from his careful use of all previous authorities, and his plan of indicating throughout the exact time of each movement and order, he has succeeded in giving a more intelligible account than other writers, though the absence of plans and maps, such as Capt. Siborne gives in his history of the war in 1815, is rather a drawback. One point which Mr. Gardner brings forward very prominently, is the state of Napoleon's health on the day of the battle, which produced a drowsiness, and almost stupor, rendering him unfit for commanding an army at such a critical time. He shows, also, that the received opinion, that the allied commanders were taken by surprise, is unfounded, and that they had determined to make no premature change in their arrangements, till the French attack was clearly understood; though at the same time he censures Wellington for having his head-quarters so far from the front as Brussels, and for his supineness in sending forces to assist Blücher on the night of June 15. A slightly caustic tone pervades the book, and the criticism of some imaginative historians evidently afforded as much pleasure to the writer as it does to the reader. The Rev. J. S. C. Abbott's narrative of the arrival of Blücher's despatch at the Duchess of Richmond's ball proves to be merely an expansion of Byron's well-known stanzas, while many anecdotes of the battle rest merely on the authority of a peasant who asserted that he was Napoleon's guide the whole day, while in fact, he was hiding out of harm's way. He figures in Victor Hugo's account of the battle, though he cannot be made responsible for all the errors in it, such as speaking of the enormous loss suffered by regiments, of which the official returns show that only thirty or forty men were killed. The harshness of the Duke of Wellington to his subordinates and his unwillingness to recognize or reward merit are not slurred over here, as by other writers, who think he could do no wrong. It is a curious trait of English character that one of the most successful generals the country has ever known should have been a man who excited no personal affection in his soldiers, as Napoleon and Blücher did, but was rather unpopular than otherwise.

A history of the Papacy,¹⁰ written in an avowed spirit of opposi-

⁹ "Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo." By Dorsey Gardner. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

¹⁰ "Epochs of the Papacy." By the Rev. A. R. Pennington. London: George Bell & Sons. 1881.

tion to the Papal claims, and with the intention of impressing readers "with a deeper conviction of the value of the Reformation, which has been a source of blessing to our own and other countries through many generations," will only commend itself to those who are already in agreement with the author. All the best authorities have been consulted, and worked up into a readable form; but it does not contribute to historical knowledge, or to the better understanding of what is already known. The discussions on St. Peter's being at Rome and Christ's delivery of the keys to Peter are out of date, and belong rather to the first dawn of opposition to Papal authority than to the present century, when the question has taken a new phase. It is characteristic of ecclesiastical controversy to ignore the growth of the human mind, and to assume that arguments which once had weight with men will influence their descendants equally. Mr. Pennington is, however, sufficiently free from prejudice to acknowledge the corruption prevalent among the Reforming party in England in the time of Edward VI., and agrees with Professor Brewer in attributing the final victory of the Reformation to the Marian persecution.

The time spent in reading histories of literature could generally be much better employed in making a personal acquaintance with the authors themselves, except for the purpose of getting information about the facts of the writers' lives. Mrs. Oliphant's *Literary History*¹¹ must, however, be considered as a brilliant exception to this rule. She not only recalls to our minds the names of many half-forgotten authors who were important enough in their day, but what she says about those who have been criticized and written about over and over again is so fresh and sparkling, and so just withal, that her book will be read for its own sake, quite as much as for the facts to be found in it. The plan of the history is to give an account of the new departures in poetry, in history, in criticism, consequent upon the outburst of genius at the end of the last century. The epoch which culminated in Pope had come to an end—an epoch in which the style and the subjects fit for poetry had been subjected to elaborate criticism and tested by standards which were thought to be final, till the possibility of new laws and new scenes for poetry was first made manifest by Cowper and Burns, who each in his own way breaks from conventional rules and turns direct to Nature. It is these two poets whom Mrs. Oliphant considers the precursors of the new epoch of which she treats, and she traces its development further than the title-page promises, as she includes Thomas Campbell and others who lived very nearly into the middle of the present century. The criticisms will by no means meet with universal acceptance. Admirers of Byron will hardly like to be told that one of the reasons why his poems are so popular is that "there is nothing in them which reaches that region beyond sight, that darkness round us and within, which it is the highest function of the poet to divine,"

¹¹ "The Literary History of England, in the End of the Eighteenth and Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." By Mrs. Oliphant. 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

and that all the mysteries in which he deals merely afford an easy exercise for the fancy to find them out. Nor will the Shelley worshippers agree with her defence of Lord Eldon's decision, assigning the custody of the poet's children to their grandfather, and perhaps hardly with her estimate of some of his poetry. The importance of the new school of history, which depends more upon research than genius and insight, is acknowledged, but the comments on individual historians are by no means of equal value to the criticisms on the more artistic branches of literature.

The two latest additions to the series of "English Men of Letters"¹² are the biographies of two very dissimilar men, both in their title to be included in the series and in their characters—Richard Bentley and Charles Lamb. Though Lamb's writings and life are familiar to all, there was room for a new sketch of him, incorporating notices which have appeared in the memoirs and journals of his friends, published since the appearance of Talfourd's and Barry Cornwall's Memorials, and Mr. Ainger's appreciative chapters on his genius and his position as a critic give his book a special value. With Bentley it is different. That he had a paper war about the Letters of Phalaris and was Master of Trinity, is the sum of the popular knowledge about him. Professor Jebb has given an account of the celebrated controversy, which differs in some points from the version in Monk's Life. He shows how Boyle took offence at Bentley's justifiable refusal to allow a royal manuscript to be out of custody during his absence from town, and then refused to withdraw words written in a moment of irritation, and perhaps suggested by the excuses made by the bookseller to whom he had entrusted the collation, to hide his own carelessness. He discusses with great discrimination the publications on both sides, and shows how the result was the commencement of a new epoch in criticism. In treating of a later period of Bentley's career, his sketch of University life at Cambridge is most interesting. It was a period when many colleges were involved in litigation; but in most cases it arose from the attempt of the heads to enforce statutes which were becoming obsolete, while at Trinity it was the just resistance of the Fellows to the tyranny of their Master. The execution of this sentence was delayed by the refusal of the Vice-master to execute it in accordance with the statutes; but it turned out afterwards that *vice-magistrum* was a clerical error in the copy of the statutes referred to for *visitatorem*. It appears great negligence that the original copy should not have been referred to on such an important occasion; but perhaps the Master kept the key of the Muniment room, so that it was not accessible without his permission. Professor Jebb has also given a very fair estimate of the value of Bentley's work, and his place in scholarship, based on a careful review of his writings and editions. In one of his letters in 1698 he writes "that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself;" a saying that is popularly attributed to a more recent author.

¹² "English Men of Letters. Charles Lamb." By Alfred Ainger. "Richard Bentley." By R. C. Jebb. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

The Hon. Albert Canning has given to the world his ideas about Macaulay, as he has previously about Dickens and Scott. His criticism chiefly consists in showing the historian's partiality in blaming severely in one man what he passes over without censure in another, and in drawing comparisons between the tone in which he narrates such incidents as the execution of Monmouth by James II. and of Sir John Fenwick by William III. Most readers of Macaulay's History have probably already done this for themselves; but there may be some persons who will be led by it to take a juster view of history, and of the duties of a historian.¹³

As English journalism has always been conducted on anonymous principles, a history of the rise and progress of newspapers has for the public an interest like that of secret memoirs, for they like to know something of the working of the machine of which in general they see nothing but the results. Though Mr. Pebody does not pass over without due notice the news-letters of the Elizabethan period, nor Nathaniel Butter's *Weekly Newes* of 1622, the first English newspaper, the chief portion of the book is occupied with the history of existing journals, and descriptions of their editors and contributors. He tells us how Mr. Walter and his staff succeeded in making the *Times* a national newspaper; how the *Morning Herald*, owing to a quarrel among its proprietors, was for a time at the head of the newspaper press; how the *Daily News* and the *Telegraph* established their position; and many other little bits of history and gossip about the weekly as well as the daily papers.

Every scrap of information about the obscurer races of the world is valuable, as customs are gradually, but certainly, being broken down and modified by the contact of civilization. Not much is known of the wild tribes in the interior of India,¹⁴ the descendants of the Dasyas, who retreated before the invading Aryans. Many of them live in such unhealthy places that even the traders who visit them periodically suffer in health, though they themselves possess immunity from the effects of the malaria which surrounds them. What is known has been collected by Mr. Rowney, who gives some particulars about nearly eighty different tribes, in the interior and on the frontiers. Some of the customs described, as the human sacrifices of the Khonds, are already generally known, but others will be new to many readers. Marriage by capture, or ceremonies which imply it, are common to nearly all, though after marriage the wives in most tribes take the upper hand and domineer over their husbands. Among the Koles it is etiquette for a bride to run away home after three days' marriage, and then the husband recaptures her. Among the Garos, the selection is made by the woman, who with her friends carries off and marries

¹³ "Lord Macaulay: Essayist and Historian." By the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning. Smith, Elder & Co: 1882.

¹⁴ "English Journalism and the Men who made it." By Chas. Pebody. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1882.

¹⁵ "The Wild Tribes of India." By H. B. Rowney. London: De La Rue & Co. 1882.

the reluctant bridegroom. Among minor customs, the Naga method of cooking rice, chillies, and meat in bamboo joints, and the ingenious way of stealing camels practised by the Rebarris, are worthy of notice. The chief points in which all the aborigines differ from the Hindoos are, the absence of caste, eating beef and drinking spirits, the marriage of widows, the burying of the dead, and the practice of shedding blood in religious ceremonies. One tribe, the Koches, in Bengal, have a fair chance of improvement, for it numbers among its people the Rajah of Cooch Behar, who has seen something of western civilization in England, and has married the daughter of Keshub Chunder Sen, the apostle of the Brahma Somaj. Now that their thieving propensities are kept in check, and that most of them are either in the agricultural or nomadic stage of wild life, they render some service by keeping down the wild beasts, and bringing some portion of the hills and jungles under cultivation. They all agree in retaining the love of freedom which drove them to their present dwelling-places.

Books on China may be generally divided into two classes: one being the hasty impressions of a passing traveller, and the other the work of an old resident who has made the history, habits, and customs of the people amongst whom he lives, his special study—the latter being, as a rule, of so stupendous and deep a character that only those who take particular interest in the country have the time or inclination to read them. Mr. Giles has, however, in his “*Historic China*,”¹⁶ succeeded in getting together a vast amount of most interesting information in a very condensed and readable form. The dynastic sketches are necessarily very slight, but, nevertheless, sufficient to give considerable insight into the history of the country. It is amusing to note with reference to the present agitation for the political rights of women, that in A.D. 684, the Empress Wu instituted examinations for women with a view to their filling official posts formerly only held by men. The plan does not seem to have succeeded. The judicial sketches are translations of the reports of actual cases tried about one hundred and fifty years ago, since when, Mr. Giles informs us, no alteration has taken place in the procedure of Chinese Courts. This may be the case in outlying districts in criminal cases, but it seems hardly possible to imagine that the wealthy Chinese merchants of to-day, in constant intercourse with foreigners and fully alive to the beauties of their method of settling civil disputes, in the Shanghai Courts and elsewhere, would put up, in a quarrel with one of their countrymen, with the extremely primitive justice meted out to the “*Quarrelling Brothers*,” who were chained together until they could decide who was the rightful owner of a plot of land. Mr. Giles brings out the fact that the hideous punishments which so often take place are not so much due to the individual cruelty of the presiding mandarin, but are rendered possible by the people, who appear to sympathize with the torturers rather than the tortured, perhaps from the

¹⁶ “*Historic China, and other Sketches.*” By Herbert A. Giles, H.B.M. Consular Service. De La Rue & Co. 1882.

knowledge that the officials themselves are shown no mercy by their superiors.

This life of Thomas à Kempis¹⁷ is a fitting sequel and companion to Mr. Kettlewell's previous work on the authorship of the "De Imitatione Christ," in which he has urged the claims of à Kempis against those of Abbot Gersen, of Verceil, and John Gersen, Chancellor of the University of Paris. The motive for the work has been a longing to know something definite of the writer of a book to which the biographer feels much indebted, in company with so many people of all shades of religious thought. There have even been translations published in England, where the phraseology is sufficiently altered to remove all expressions and ideas offensive to the most Protestant conscience. The life of à Kempis may be summed up in a few words: That he was born at Kempen, in the diocese of Cologne, in 1379 or 1380, Haemmerlein or Hemerken being his surname, that he was educated at Deventer, joined the order of Canons Regular, established by Gerard Groote in connection with the "Brothers of Common Life," became sub-prior and procurator of the Monastery of St. Agnes, near Zwolle, and died in 1471. The chief interest in the book lies in the account of the Brotherhood of Common Life, an institution differing in many respects from other Orders. In the first place they had no professed rule, or solemn vow, and could leave the Brotherhood at will, and therefore distinctly disclaimed the name of "*religiosi*." The house at Deventer consisted of twenty brothers, the head being called the rector or prior, the other officers being the procurator, the cook, and the tailor. The principal work done by the Brethren was copying, though all took a share in household work. Their schools at Deventer, Groningen, and Zwolle not only raised the tone of culture in the towns where they were situated, but had the glory of training the most eminent of the leaders of the revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their care in collecting and collating Biblical MSS. and their endeavours to promote the reading of the Bible in the vernacular by the laity rendered them conspicuous among the more strictly religious bodies. A translation of the Bible in German was printed nine years before à Kempis' death, and may have been used many years previously by the Brethren in manuscript. Even more interesting than the immediate subject of the biography is the account of Gerard Groote, the founder of the Brotherhood, in the first volume, who was by turns a fashionable worldly minded priest, a learned professor and a popular preacher.

The most remarkable point in Bain's criticism and personal recollections of John Stuart Mill¹⁸ is the manner in which it illustrates the freshness and the vigour of Mill's influence. Much of the ground that it covers has been the subject of careful examination by many minds, and of general discussion and criticism; but still it appeals to the interest and arouses the sympathy of the reader. This

¹⁷ "Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life." By the Rev. S. Kettlewell. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

¹⁸ "John Stuart Mill, a criticism." By Alex. Bain. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

is no small testimony to the vitality of Mill's influence. The tone of the criticism is in general unbiassed and just; and there is a fine appreciation of Mill's peculiar position and circumstances as a child and youth. A calm judicial spirit is shown, but by no means maintained, in Bain's treatment of opinions from which he differs. Mill's manner of introducing Carlyle's "French Revolution" to the readers of *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW* is noticed in a clever and neat paragraph. It was a critical moment for Carlyle, and Mill rendered him no small service by his judicious advocacy. It is surprising that the testimony of Mill to the superior administrative capacity of women, as shown in some of the Independent States of India, is objected to. The fact has been generally received, and if incorrect, would have been corrected long since. Mill's opinion that the power of administration is a characteristic of women, has received very startling confirmation from the pen of Mr. Kinglake, in his "History of the Crimean War," where he contrasts the work of Miss Nightingale and her nurses in this respect, with the previous management by men, to the disadvantage of the latter. On the question of the equality of the sexes, Mr. Bain states that he urged Mill not to bring forward this view more strongly than people generally would be willing to accept. If he were speaking as a political agitator, the advice would be intelligible, but as an objection against a philosophical work, which is "a complete exposition of the abuses of power," it is not justifiable. There is a want of generosity in Mr. Bain's treatment of the relations between Mill and Mrs. Taylor, both before and after marriage. The word "connexion," as applied to their friendship, sounds like an innuendo, and indeed no opportunity is lost, while some opportunities seem to be sought, for detracting in every possible way, from Mrs. Taylor's character and merits.

Though Mr. Jerrold has a great and sincere admiration for Cruikshank's genius,¹⁹ he has not attempted to hide his weaknesses and failings, and laughs in a kindly way at his exaggerated opinion of the public effect of his work: as, for example, his attributing the abolition of capital punishment for forgery to his plate of "The One Pound Note." The illustrations include many of his most characteristic drawings, but omit some of the best specimens, such as the illustrations to "Tom and Jerry," and "Falstaff's Life," in which his bad drawing of the figure, and the unsightly exaggeration of the extremities, are not so apparent. These faults are intensified in his illustrations to Dickens, and there are not so much out of place, as they coincide with the author's trick of dwelling upon the purely external and trivial peculiarities of his characters, the accidents rather than the properties.

The life of Victor Hugo²⁰ is presented to the public in an English translation by Miss Frewer. It is handsomely printed, and enriched

¹⁹ "Life of George Cruikshank." By Blanchard Jerrold. 2 vols. Chatto & Windus. 1882.

²⁰ "Victor Hugo and His Time." By Alfred Barbou. Translated by Ellen K. Frewer. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1882.

with numerous engravings by French artists, some by Hugo himself, illustrating scenes in his life, and passages from his works. It is much pleasanter to read than most translations from the French, very much more so than the English translation of his novels, but the poetical quotations ought to have been given throughout in the original, as well as in English.

From the other side of the Atlantic comes a memorial of President Garfield,²¹ valuable chiefly from the extracts of his speeches, which show not only a directness of moral purpose, but a knowledge of the problems of government, and a power of language, which are remarkable in a man who did not even learn to read until he was thirteen years of age. While men like Garfield become President, and are appreciated, the United States may hope to keep free from the danger which attends a method of election such as obtains in America—the danger of opposing parties agreeing to put forward an incompetent man—which has so often happened in the case of another elective sovereignty, the Papacy.

Il faut laver sa lingesale en famille. Nonconformists will hardly thank one of their number for an unsparing exposure of some of the evils incident to the system.²² Whether the writer is really narrating his own experiences, or drawing an imaginative picture of Independent Church life, his story of his troubles with his deacons and his Church, will be recognized by many dissenting ministers as bearing the stamp of truth. "Resist a deacon, and he will fly at you," is a saying attributed to an eminent preacher, and "Mr. Wilkinson's" account of his final victory may supply useful hints to some who have to contend against the forces that he was able to overcome. He tells also, of his own temporary loss of faith in the truths he was preaching, and of his recovery, but the causes and the mental processes which led him back to his former opinions are not described or explained with sufficient precision to be of any value. Some of the characters appear to be portraits, slightly exaggerated; and the picture of a dissenting college, the life of the students, the narrowness of their interests, and their strange experiences when preaching trial sermons, are evidently founded on fact. The book is written with a mixture of real earnestness and flippancy. There is a good deal of humour here and there, but rather of a cheap kind. The outlines of sermons will amuse some people and shock others.

Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, has reprinted three essays, which appeared in the *Bristol Times*, in justification of the common use of the words, "Metropolis," and "Anglo-Saxon,"²³ and an argument for the Roman occupation of the site of Taunton, based on the researches of Dr. Pring, and defending his deductions.

²¹ "Garfield's Place in History." By H. C. Pedder. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1882.

²² "Chapters from the Autobiography of an Independent Minister." Williams & Norgate. 1882.

²³ "The Word 'Metropolis,' The Ancient Word 'Anglo-Saxon,' 'Anglo-Saxon Bristol, and Fossil Taunton.'" Bristol: J. Fawn & Sons. 1880.

BELLES LETTRES.

WHEN this volume¹ was published some few weeks ago its author was living. When it became our task to read and to review it he was dead. His sweet and thoughtful life had come to an end in the city which he loved so well and of which he was one of the brightest ornaments. His death lends a pathetic and a mournful interest to this volume. It is the last we shall have from the hand of the author of "Rab and his Friends," the last of the beautiful, easy, delicate prose which was so much his own. These papers are all reprints, for, in the last few years of his life, fading health and fading faculties prevented Dr. John Brown from writing more. But they are of that class of fugitive pieces which are well worth preserving, which are fitly rescued from the common *fosse* of serial publications, and preserved in the special separate monument of a volume. Now that Dr. John Brown is himself dead, there are two papers in the book which appeal most directly to us,—that written after the death of John Leech, which gives its name to the volume, and that written after the death of Leech's greatest friend and England's greatest novelist, Thackeray. These are both beautifully tender chapters, eloquent threnodies of regret for the departed friends, eloquent recognitions of immortal genius. Whoever reads the paper on Leech will feel that he has gained a truer and tenderer appreciation of his wonderful humour, his great kindliness, and his strong pity; and the same sense of closer acquaintance is brought out in the chapter on Thackeray's death. Dr. John Brown was one of those men who seem to be specially sent into the world to appreciate the good qualities of men of genius which might be overshadowed and forgotten in the splendour of that very genius. He has shown us, and we are very grateful for it, that Leech and Thackeray were in their lives what they seemed to be, the one with his pencil, the other with his pen. Here we have no such heart-breaking disappointment as that which came on us so lately when we learnt how unlike his own life and his own lessons and his great philosophy was the man whose teachings had stamped themselves so strongly upon the world; how different was the life of Thomas Carlyle from that of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh. There is one thing in the paper on Thackeray's death for which we should be exceptionally grateful, if for nothing else; for the present Dr. Brown made us of the original draft of those last beautiful lines in the last of the "Roundabout Papers." Everyone knows, or can know, how that last paragraph reads. This is how it was at first to have read:—

"Another finis, another slice of life which *tempus edax* has devoured! And I may have to write the word once or twice perhaps, and then an end of ends. Finite is over and infinite beginning. Oh, the troubles, the cares, the *ennui*, the complications, the repetitions, the old conversations over and over again, and here and there and oh, the delightful passages, the dear, the brief, the forever remembered! and then a few chapters more, and then the last, and then behold finis itself coming to an end and the infinite beginning!"

¹ "John Leech, and Other Papers." By John Brown, M.D. Edinburgh David Douglas. 1882.

We agree with Dr. Brown that Thackeray's fear of enthusiastic writing had led him to sacrifice something of the power of his first words. There are other charming people in this volume. There is pleasing, clever Miss Stirling, with her mystifications; there is the sweet precocious child who died too early, Marjorie Fleming; there is a strange mysterious paper on his friend, the dreamer; there is an essay on Sir Henry Raeburn, and several others, all attractive. The prose is always good, the art always excellent. If he describes the Elgin Marbles, "the riders on the frieze so comely in their going, so lissome; their skin slipping sweetly over their muscles; their modestly representing not of what they know, but of what they see;" or treats of Mr. Briggs, "excellent soul, when returning home, gently and copiously ebriose from Epsom;" the language is always fine, the words felicitous, the thoughts expressive. It is truly a delightful volume.

Mr. Stevenson is beginning to write too much. He has made some very bright and pleasant books, and unfortunately he seems to have become convinced that it is his duty to keep on making bright and pleasant books indefinitely. He has been overpraised by enthusiastic friends and reviewers; he deserved, and still deserves, great praise for his easy literary style and his fresh quaint fancy; but he is young enough to take advice, and let us hope not young enough to consider that he is quite infallible. He has brought together now some nine essays² that have already appeared in magazines. In the pages of such serial publications these papers had their fitting place. They were better by a good deal than the ordinary run of magazine articles. They were refreshing, for they had ideas, and they were well written; but there was little or no reason, beyond the mere pitiful reason of book-making, for binding them together and sending them out into the world to sham at being an honest contribution to literature. A volume of essays may be very delightful reading, much for example as Mr. Stevenson's "*Virginibus Puerisque*" was very delightful reading. But this is not quite a volume of essays. It is a volume of magazine articles, each of which is good enough by itself, while the whole set taken together are not particularly valuable. Mr. Stevenson seems to suffer in three ways: First, because he appears to consider that his judgment of most men and most matters is final; secondly, because he entertains the impression that his style is akin to that of Thackeray; thirdly, because he conceives it as his duty to regard everything from some new and startling point of view; to take up one side of every question simply because the other is the more generally accepted. There is an unpleasant affectation of laying down the law running through all these pages, which would make not a few readers inclined to quarrel with him out of sheer weariness at his eternal swagger. When he writes of Robert Burns and Robert Burns's faults, Mr. Stevenson affects a cheap tone of superiority towards the Ayrshire singer which is rather absurd. Mr. Stevenson is quite right when he points out that "Marcus Aurelius found time to study virtue,

² "*Familiar Studies of Men and Books.*" By Robert Louis Stevenson. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

and between-whiles to conduct the Imperial affairs of Rome" while Thoreau "was so busy improving himself that he must think twice about a morning call," and he does well to censure him for venturing in his theory of life "not one word about pleasure, or laughter, or kisses, or any quality of flesh and blood." But we should like also some readier, or at least some more obvious, acceptance of the greatness that was in Thoreau. Mr. Stevenson undoubtedly admires him, but it is his trick to dwell more on those points wherein he depreciates than those wherein he appreciates his subject. The article on François Villon does not greatly please its author, because he considers it to be "too picturesque." It does not greatly please us, but for a different reason. We find no fault with it for being too picturesque. This is its most agreeable quality. In the pathetic, melancholy, poetically fanciful paper on Master Samuel Pepys, we have Mr. Stevenson, if not at his best, at least in very good form indeed, and we are glad of it, and wish the volume had been all of a piece with this. But we must pronounce the volume, as a whole, tiresome and lengthy. Expectations which were inspired by any book bearing the name of the author of the story of "The Pavilion on the Links" have not been gratified here, and we close the book with some pleasure at its being finished, and some regret to find we think so.

Mr. Nadal is an American with a certain easy capacity for expressing intelligent thoughts. Whether he writes about the old Boston Road, or about the Southern States of America, or about Artemus Ward, or Byron, or Thackeray, he evidently wishes to write as well as he can, and to express his own ideas as clearly and as fairly as possible; and in this laudable endeavour he usually succeeds. He may be unable to appreciate Byron. He may perhaps be a little inclined to over-estimate the poetry of William Cullen Bryant. But the essay^s on Byron and Bryant are both interesting enough in their way, and their way is that of the respectable fifth-rate essay. In the essay on Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Nadal is vigorously and determinedly critical with the peculiar form of somewhat spiteful peevishness common to men who, having at one time greatly admired a work of art, come in latter days to depreciate it. The criticism is narrow and formal. The fault-finding is unimportant, and occasionally unfair. Mr. Nadal is happier when he treats upon American themes, specially happy in such passages as those in which he tells how Fifth Avenue looked in the days just before the civil war.

"A golden, sultry afternoon, like that which enveloped the Rome of the early Emperors, descended upon us. It seemed a very late age of the world. The smart young men drove their waggons to the park; the prettily dressed women tripped briskly along the pavement. The sunlight in the long street was as bright as ever. But it all seemed to no purpose. Our ambitions and intentions were at an end. The young continent, but yesterday discovered, with the grizzly, the wolf, and the Red Man, not yet driven from its forests, with its brand-new street cars and arctic soda fountains, seemed as old as Rome, or Corinth, or the ancient cities of the East."

³ "Essays at Home and Elsewhere." By E. S. Nadal. London: Macmillan. 1882.

If Mr. Nadal had given us more essays upon social topics of America, either before or after the civil war, they might have been more valuable than the collection of papers he has here strung together into a volume.

It has been said by an unkindly critic that Mr. Swinburne has for the first time accomplished what no one ever accomplished before him—he has made Mary Stuart⁴ tiresome and her story dull. The charge is sweeping, but it is not without some measure of justice. When Mr. Swinburne wrote "Chastelard" he had formed a distinct conception of the character of Mary Stuart, based almost entirely upon Mr. Froude, and he made a really powerful and poetic play, with the queen for the central figure. But in "Bothwell" a great falling off was apparent. It was much too long. It was undoubtedly heavy. The interest lagged and flagged, and few persons, excepting the warmest admirers of the poet, could be at the pains to get through the whole of it. "Mary Stuart" is not so long, but it is still less attractive even than "Bothwell." The conspiracy of Anthony Babington and his companions is told with a tediousness of detail which in the end becomes quite insupportable. It is not a play we are reading, but a *procès-verbal*, and we weary of it long before the finish. Mr. Swinburne is gifted with a fatal facility for writing sonorous verse, and he has hitherto unhappily put no bridle to his skill. "Bothwell" was a failure "Mary Stuart" is a still greater failure. Both are absolutely and utterly unworthy of the bright promise and fine performance of "Chastelard." As we read we are forced to think of Schiller's great play, and the comparison is most unfortunate for our English poet. His work is not a drama at all. It can hardly be called a dramatic poem. It is a chapter of history put into verse, a political tract cut into measured lengths. Even the tragic purpose of Mary Beaton's determination for revenge is dwarfed and overshadowed by the monotony of the play. It is a striking situation where the woman who loved Chastelard sings the soft French song to the woman who was loved by Chastelard, and the queen carelessly asks her woman if the verses were not written by Remy Belleau, and so determines Mary Beaton to send Elizabeth the fatal letter which brings Mary Stuart to the block. At such a point as this we see indeed some connection with the early "Chastelard" play, we are reminded of what a drama Mr. Swinburne might have written if he had treated Queen Mary's career in five acts instead of in three volumes; if the limits which were not too narrow for Shakespeare had not been found too confined and cramped for the genius of Mr. Swinburne.

Mr. Buchanan's literary career has been marked by many changes of fortune. When he first appeared before the public he was very well received, and seemed secure of popularity. Then he wrote too much, and depreciated his own success only to recreate it again by his anonymous publications, "White Rose and Red" and "St. Abe and his Seven Wives." Since then he has devoted himself more to

⁴ "Mary Stuart: a Tragedy." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

prose than to poetry, and his novels have received no slight praise for their curious power of treating strange subjects and for a certain strength of weird description. Mr. Buchanan, however, did much to injure himself early in his career by his famous attack upon the fleshly school. The poets he attacked, and attacked in some measure unfairly, had at that time no little influence in the London press, and all the legion of their followers were turned on at once, and for long after, to make incessant attacks, in and out of season, upon Mr. Robert Buchanan, which were kept up long after the article and its accusations were quite forgotten. The "fleshly school," to adopt the Buchanan phraseology, itself has passed away. Its influence is not very great on any one now, and we can regard Mr. Buchanan with a critical spirit untroubled by the passions of that stormy and foolish controversy. To our mind, Mr. Buchanan has written better poems than any that are to be found in this volume.⁵ We miss with great regret his "Artist and Model," and indeed many of the poems in the "London Idylls," which was perhaps the best volume Mr. Buchanan ever wrote. The dramatic ballads and romances which make up the greater part of this volume belong to a kind of poetry which it is not very difficult to do fairly well, and exceedingly difficult to do perfectly. The poem, "Phil Blood's Leap," is interesting, as showing how fairly well the American manner of Mr. Bret Harte and of Colonel John Hay can be assumed by an English writer; and there is a weird attractiveness about "The Devil's Peepshow." But as a whole the volume is disappointing, not so much as a volume of poems, but as a representation of Mr. Buchanan's work.

Miss Toru Dutt was a young Hindoo girl who obtained a marvellous command over the English language and over English verse. Some years ago she published, in India, a volume of translations from the French, of which Mr. Gosse was fortunate enough to be the first among English critics to recognize the exceeding merit. Shortly after the gifted girl died, leaving behind her several unpublished poems and a novel in French, which she knew as well as English. The unpublished poems have now been collected and published,⁶ with a preface by her first English critic, Mr. Gosse. These original poems, treating of old Hindustani legends, are beautifully written. The language is sweet, and the verse soft and melodious. But they are not on the whole, we think, nearly so remarkable as her translations. It is by them chiefly that Toru Dutt will be remembered. There are two sonnets, however, in this volume which we must quote for their great grace and descriptive power:—

"BAUGMABEE.

"A sea of foliage girds our garden round,
But not a sea of dull unvaried green.
Sharp contrasts of all colours here are seen;
The light-green graceful tamarinds abound

⁵ "Ballads of Life, Love, and Humour." By Robert Buchanan. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

⁶ "Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan." By Toru Dutt. London: Kegan Paul. 1882.

Amid the mango clumps of green profound,
 And palms arise, like pillars grey, between ;
 And o'er the quiet pools the seemuls lean,
 Red—red, and startling like a trumpet's sound.
 But nothing can be lovelier than the ranges'
 Of bamboos to the eastward, when the moon
 Looks through their gaps, and the white lotus changes
 Into a cup of silver. One might swoon
 Drunken with beauty then, or gaze and gaze
 On a primeval Eden, in amaze."

"THE LOTUS

"Love came to Flora asking for a flower
 That would of flowers be undisputed queen.
 The lily and the rose long, long had been
 Rivals for that high honour. Bards of power
 Had sung their claims. 'The rose can never tower
 Like the pale lily with her Juno mien.'
 'But is the lily lovelier?' Thus between
 Flower-factions rang the strife in Psyche's bower.
 'Give me a flower delicious as the rose
 And stately as the lily in her pride—
 'But of what colour?'—'Rose-red,' love first chose,
 Then prayed, 'No, lily-white,—or both provide ;'
 And Flora gave the lotus, 'rose-red' dyed,
 And 'lily-white,'—the queenliest flower that blows."

When we remember that these sonnets were written by a Hindoo girl, we may well be lost in marvel at the wonderful command of the English language which they evidence.

There are many pleasant things in Mr. Armstrong's new volume.⁷ He has been to Greece, and Greece has taken hold of him, as it must take hold of all the poets who visit the mother-land of poetry, and he has recorded his delight and his admiration in many melodious verses. Some of his poems belong to old Greece, some to that new Hellas which fought the Turk at Missolonghi, and blew up his ships at Navarino, and lately raised a national monument over the grave of Byron. There is much quiet beauty in the poem called "Epicurus," with its smooth expression of the Gargettian's philosophy. It might perhaps be questioned by students of what little all-devouring time has left us of the very words of Epicurus, whether Mr. Armstrong has quite understood the Master of the Garden when he makes him assure his disciples that

"Highest pleasure doth include
 No sensual joy."

In "The Closing of the Oracle" Mr. Armstrong sings—

"The doom of that strange faith that moulded Greece,
 And leaves her names as nectar on the lips"

and contrives to find something fresh in reflecting over the Greek

⁷ "A Garland from Greece." By George F. Armstrong, M.A. London : Longmans. 1882.

gods whom Schiller, and many a singer since Schiller, have so bitterly regretted.

Three modern writers have chosen to tell again in their own form and fashion the immortal Ovidian story of the sculptor and his statue. Mr. Gilbert has written a play in which he has handled the beautiful old legend in his own peculiar way, making it into a somewhat unattractive story with a very modern meaning. Mr. William Morris has devoted his exquisite verse to telling the story more closely in accordance with the spirit of the fable from the "Metamorphoses;" though even he suffers in comparison with the great Latin poet, when he passes beyond the direct limits of the story, and allows us to listen to a conversation between Pygmalion and the image come to life. Mr. Woolner now has taken up the theme,⁸ and it might well be imagined that a poet who was himself a sculptor was well qualified to tell the tale of the Cyprian sculptor who became possessed with a passion for his own handiwork. It is many, many years now since Mr. Woolner first established his right to be considered a poet as well as a worker in marble, by the fragment called "My Beautiful Lady," which appeared in the short-lived historic "Germ." This fragment, enlarged and added to, was afterwards published as a volume, and there for a time Mr. Woolner's efforts at poetry seemed to have come to an end. Now, however, after the flight of many lustres, he again has tried his hand at verse. The poem is certainly a remarkable one, with much beauty in it both of thought and language. If it does not seem to us to quite fulfil the promise of that first version of "My Beautiful Lady," it must be remembered that it is given to few men to attain supremacy in more than one art. Mr. Woolner has attained supremacy in the sculptor's art, and he is not to be blamed if he is less supreme in that other art of song in which in his youth he promised to excel. We do not like the way in which Mr. Woolner has attempted to rationalize the old Greek legend. We love no such attempts as this to make the story seem more probable, and we venture to think for all true lovers of the Hellenic myth the image will remain an image brought to life by the sanction of Aphrodite. But when all this is said, the poem still remains a very charming tale in verse, an interesting example of an artist's relaxation. The passage which describes Cytherea may well be quoted as a specimen of Mr. Woolner's command of musical verse:—

"Uprisen from the sea when Cytherea,
Shining in primal beauty, paled the day,
The wondering waters hushed. They yearned in sighs
That shook the world; tumultuously heaved
To a great throne of azure laced with light
And canopied in foam to grace their queen.
Shrieking for joy came Oceanides,
And swift Nereides rushed from afar
Or clove the waters by. Came eager-eyed
Even shy Naiades from inland streams.

⁸ "Pygmalion." By Thomas Woolner. London: Macmillan. 1881.

With wild cries headlong darting thro' the waves,
 And Dryads from the shore stretched their lorn arms.
 While hoarsely sounding heard was Triton's shell;
 Shoutings uncouth; bewildered sounds;
 And the innumerable splashing feet
 Of monsters gambolling around their god,
 Forth shining on a sea-horse, fierce, and finned.
 Some bestrode fishes glinting dusky gold,
 Or angry crimson, or chill silver bright;
 Others jerked fast on their own scanty tails;
 And seabirds, screaming upwards either side,
 Wove a vast arch above the Queen of Love,
 Who, gazing on this multitudinous
 Homaging to her beauty, laughed.

"She laughed
 The soft delicious laughter that makes mad;
 Low warbling in the throat that clench man's life
 Tighter than prison bars."

This is a fine example of descriptive verse.

Miss Bevington's new volume⁹ contains interesting and thoughtful poems. The doubts and difficulties of existence are treated of in philosophic verse, but its philosophy is not allowed to interfere with or to injure its smooth and melodious qualities. We venture to quote "The Poet's Tear" as an example of the reflective mood which Miss Bevington's measures so well express:—

"THE POET'S TEAR.

"A tear welled up from a poet heart
 And fell on a rose;
 Lay there, bitter, and made it smart,—
 The red, red rose!
 Oh, the grief that wept it was full and pent,
 And the sobbing pain-blood came and went
 As song arose;
 When the tear shall dry then shall song be spent;
 O tear, lie still in thy bloomy tent,
 And cherish thy pain in petal and scent,
 Red, tear-filled rose.

"The tear-drop hides in the rose's breast
 For fear of a ray,—
 For fear it should rise in the sunlit air
 And perish of glory and gladness there;—
 O worst! O best!
 So it quivers to music from day to day,
 Hidden in scent and crimson away
 For fear of a ray in a rosy nest;—
 O curst! O blest!
 Shall the rose smile up in the eager sky
 That the sun may give?
 Or shall grief be hidden, and passion shy,
 That a song may live?"

⁹ "Poems, Lyrics, and Sonnets." By L. S. Bevington. London: Elliot Stock. 1882.

When the petals yield then the tear shall dry ;
 If the heart be healed, so its song shall die ;
 As the poet grieves, so his music grows ;—
 O tear ! O rose !
 Shall song be sweet ? or shall love be dear ?
 O tear-filled rose ! and O poet's tear !
 Who knows ? Who knows ?”

Miss Bevington's readers will find many poems in the volume as thoughtful and as musical as this.

An American writer who has tried his hand at translations¹⁰ from a great many poets. Since Villon became the fashion, his "Ballade of Ladies of Old Time" has been translated very often. It was first done by the late Mr. Dante G. Rossetti, who abandoned the complicated rhyme laws of the original and produced a very beautiful and poetic rendering. His translation of the famous refrain, "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan ?"—"Where are the snows of yester-year?"—was an example of one of those felicitous chances of interpretation which are only possible when a poet undertakes to translate a poet. But other writers besides have translated it, most notably and lately Mr. John Payne, who certainly did not make much of his version, his translation of the last line by "What has become of last year's snow?" being singularly unhappy and commonplace. But it certainly was reserved for our Transatlantic versifier to accomplish the very worst translation of this ballad on record, and his rendering of the last line by "But where, too, is last winter's snow?" may fairly bear off the palm for clumsy incapacity. Turning over Mr. Lea's pages we come to a translation of one of the poems in the Greek Anthology, that one in which Agathias complains of the swallows whose twittering keeps him awake. This is by no means bad, but we remember a rendering of the same epigram into sonnet form by Mr. E. W. Gosse, with which it cannot be for a moment compared. Mr. Lea has also been tempted by that despair of poets, the Address of the dying Adrian to his soul, and he has failed, as probably every one must fail. Mr. Lea has made the mistake all through of translating pieces that are already too well known, and have been too often done. He has not the command of verse which entitles him to attempt to deal with the vast range of authors whom he has tried to translate, from Ronsard to Goethe, from Tibullus to Walter Mapes, from Petrarch to Henri Murger, and from Alcaeus to Heine. Many of the renderings are, however, pretty enough.

A lot of little volumes lie before us which may be rapidly dismissed. Mr. J. C. Grant prefaces his "Songs from the Sunny South"¹¹ by observing, "There is much perhaps in this volume that may seem out of place in publicity." We cannot quite endorse this statement. We should prefer it amplified. We think everything in this volume is out of place in publicity. He has tried his hand at several of the old

¹⁰ "Translations and Other Rhymes." By Henry C. Lea. Philadelphia. 1882.

¹¹ "Songs from the Sunny South." By John C. Grant. London: Macmillan. 1882.

French forms of verse—the ballads, the rondeaux and chants royaux, of which we are so heartily tired—and he has not succeeded with them.

Canon Jenkins has tried his hand at a five-act poetic drama:¹² when Canon Jenkins can write blank verse he may possibly be justified in trying again.

Mr. Carruthers has written a volume of mildly religious verse¹³—which calls for no sort of comment.

Mr. Sharp has gone in vigorously for the portentously philosophic, and succeeded in being tiresome.¹⁴

The contributors to the *Journal of Education* have produced a little volume of some of their efforts at translation from French or German prose or verse, with one or two renderings from the Greek and Latin.¹⁵ Some of these renderings are decidedly good, those of Professor Jebb exceedingly so.

It is difficult to say anything new about Ouida's novels, for the very reason that they are never new themselves. She has but few ideas, and she dwells on them again and again; the order of her beads is sometimes changed, but there are always the same beads, and never a new one on the chaplet. Roughly speaking "In Maremma"¹⁶ is only "Two Little Wooden Shoes" over again. The variations are unimportant. She is the daughter of an Italian brigand, instead of a Flemish peasant girl; and she lives a wild lonely life in an old Etruscan town, instead of a cottage with a flower garden; and the lover for whom she gives up everything is not a painter in a velvet coat, but an Italian nobleman who has been sent to the galleys for murder, and who escapes and is cherished by the girl in her Etruscan tomb. Of course, in the end he abandons her, but she comes to Rome as the little Flemish girl came to Paris, and equally, of course, finds her faithless lover in the arms of one of those soulless courtizans, those servants of Venus Pandemos whom Ouida always works in somewhere or other. Then she goes back to her Etruscan tomb and kills herself. There is the usual display of somewhat desultory erudition, the usual chatter about the Greek gods and the vices of old Rome and Petronius, and all the rest of it, just enlivened this time, for a change, with a sprinkling of allusions to Lucumos and Lares and Tages, and the *Dii Involuti* and the old Etruscan faith. Of course there are passages of bright writing and bits of showy clever description. It is a tiresome book.

Berthold Auerbach's last novel¹⁷ will probably prove more attractive to the student and the admirers of the great pantheistic philosopher

¹² "Alfonso Petrucci." By Robert C. Jenkins. London: Kegan Paul. 1882.

¹³ "Poems." By A. Carruthers. Glasgow: Porteus Brothers. 1882.

¹⁴ "The Human Inheritance." By William Sharp. London: Elliot Stock. 1892.

¹⁵ "Prizes and Proximes." By Contributors to the *Journal of Education*. London: John Walker & Co. 1882.

¹⁶ "In Maremma." By Ouida. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

¹⁷ "Spinoza:" a Novel. By Berthold Auerbach. Two vols. From the German, by E. Nicholson. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1882.

than to ordinary novel readers. It is essentially a novel with a purpose, and that purpose is the setting forth of the life, the character, and the teachings of Spinoza. It would be difficult indeed for such a work to be popular in the sense in which romance writers aim at popularity. But to the ever-widening circle of students of Spinoza, and to the large class who like to leaven their light reading with instruction, the book will appeal directly. In Goethe's biography, he tells us of the distrust which Bayle's article on Spinoza inspired in him. "In the first place," says Goethe, "the man was represented as an atheist, and his opinions as most abominable; but immediately after it was confessed that he was a calm, reflective, diligent scholar; a good citizen, a sympathizing neighbour, and a peaceable domestic man." In Auerbach's last novel we are shown Spinoza from both these points of view, regarded with hatred and with horror by his enemies, with admiration by his friends. It is in no small degree to Goethe's admiration for him that Spinoza finds the widespread admiration which his writings and his teachings receive in the present day. The "great disinterestedness" which Goethe finds in every sentence—the "all-composing calmness" which made the great German poet his most devoted worshipper—these qualities have been appreciated and accepted by not a few who first learned to look for them through the teachings of Goethe. They may be found again in Auerbach's story. "No figure," says Auerbach, "risen since Spinoza has lived so much in the eternal as he did." The fine study of the great Jewish philosopher is sure to lead many of its readers to seek a closer acquaintance with his own direct utterances.

The author of "The Revolt of Man,"¹⁸ has added one more to the many books which take their readers into an as yet unknown future, and has swelled the section of literature which has been given over to making fun of the assertors of woman's rights. Aristophanes laughed broad Attic laughter at the business many years ago, and Paul de Kock made fun of it in his "Madame Pantalon," and Tennyson has satirized it with a quiet courtly wit becoming to a laureate. The author of "The Revolt of Man" comes into good company by the theme he has chosen. He pictures a time when all the government of England has passed into the hands of women, when women rule the State, command the army and the navy—in fact, in every way reverse the positions they at present hold. In the end, as is not unnatural, the men revolt, and the government of women is overthrown, and with it the new religion of the ideal woman, and man reasserts his old supremacy, and woman is very glad of it, after all. The story is brightly and cleverly told, and has the great advantage of not being too long. Its authorship has been attributed to Mr. Anthony Trollope and to Sir Charles Dilke.

Whether Mr. Trollope be the author of "The Revolt of Man" or not, he is the acknowledged author of "The Fixed Period,"¹⁹ another

¹⁸ "The Revolt of Man." London: Blackwood. 1882.

¹⁹ "The Fixed Period." By Anthony Trollope. Two vols. London: Blackwood. 1882.

story dealing with a future epoch, and scarcely less improbable than the one we have just been dealing with. The president of the colony of Brittanula in the Australasian seas starts a theory of a fixed period after which all good citizens should be ready to accept painless death and relieve themselves of the care of living, and the world of the care of supporting them. This law is passed by the people of Brittanula at a time when every member is too young to regard his legal doom with serious apprehension. But when the time comes for it to be first put into practice the natural horror it excites arouses general indignation. England interferes to prevent the law being put into force, and the inventor of the law is carried off to England to employ himself peacefully in writing the story of his scheme and of its failure. The notion is fantastic enough, and Mr. Trollope has treated it with skill and brightness, and not at too great length. It is a capital companion to the story of "The Revolt of Man," and both might very well be the work of the same author.

The initials "M.P." which stand in representation of the authorship of "More than Kin,"²⁰ would imply that the writer of that volume was a member of the House of Commons. In that case it may be charitably assumed of him that the weariness of attending upon incessant Irish debates, enlivened occasionally by all-night sittings and casual expulsions, may be said in some measure to account for and excuse the dulness of the volume. It is a tiresome story, tediously told. Perhaps it was scratched off from night to night in the tea-room between the intervals of incessant divisions. Perhaps it was furtively written on the backs of notice-papers during the lengthy orations which have become so much the fashion of late at St. Stephen's. Under such circumstances it certainly would be difficult to write a good book, and "M.P." has written a very poor book which there was no need whatever for publishing.

"Love the Debt,"²¹ is a fairly told story of a somewhat commonplace kind. The heroine is in love with a clergyman, who leaves his church and goes to Australia, leaving his sweetheart in the care of his dearest friend, who also falls in love with her, and who nobly conceals his love until news arrives from Australia that the respectable clergyman has been murdered. The bosom friend then unbosoms himself, and is accepted by the heroine. Then of course the news comes that the clergyman was not murdered at all, but is never better. So the bosom friend gets finally killed at the right moment by a colliery accident, and the clergyman comes back and marries his true love. The girl herself is fairly interesting. The two heroes make no impression at all upon the reader. There are one or two clever Irish characters, and a couple of old maids of different types who are rather well done. There is a nobleman also, whom the heroine is made somewhat absurdly to address always as "my lord."

²⁰ "More than Kin." By "M.P." London: Blackwood. 1882.

²¹ "Love the Debt." By Basil. Three vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1882.

Miss Tytler has published a collection of short stories,²² in three volumes, which are perhaps of the same level of merit as her "Bride's Pass," which we reviewed last quarter, but they do not rank with Miss Tytler's best work. They are gracefully written, but are not very interesting.

"Schloss and Town"²³ is a pleasantly told story of German life of no very novel kind. The authoress is too fond of introducing scraps of German phrases to give local colour to the book, which wholly fail to produce the desired effect.

Mrs. Lovett Cameron's "Worth Winning,"²⁴ may be found worth reading by those whose principles of novel reading lead them to the study of every new novel, just because it is new. It has the merit of being short, for it is only in one volume. It is agreeably written and fairly interesting.

Holme Lee's new novel²⁵ is a pleasant story of a somewhat quiet old-fashioned kind, with agreeable country pictures in it, and gentle interesting studies of character, and an agreeable ending. Quite a pleasant book, with some passages on politics and the question of atheism in it which seem somewhat out of place.

Mrs. Molesworth has earned for herself quite a little reputation for writing pretty and pleasant books for children. Her new volume, called "Summer Stories,"²⁶ will no doubt be widely welcomed. We are not, however, very much gratified by the incessant production of this kind of literature for children. We should rather have such classics as Grimm's fairy stories and Andersen's tales read by children again and again until they ceased to be children, and could make their choices in literature for themselves. The incessant manufacture of books written only for children and about children, is not likely to have a healthy effect upon young minds. But if we must have this sort of thing, it is very well that it should be written by some one who, like Mrs. Molesworth, has ideas and originality, and a good style. One of the stories in this volume, called "Not exactly a Ghost Story," deserves some special notice. We should like very much to know if this tale has any foundation in fact, or is merely a specimen of Mrs. Molesworth's inventive powers. If it is a true story, it is certainly exceedingly curious. If it is not, it scarcely seems to us worth while writing, as it is not remarkable enough to be presented to the reader as a specimen of ghostly fiction.

The second part of Jules Verne's fascinating story of "The Giant

²² "Scotch Marriages." By Sarah Tytler. Three vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1882.

²³ "Schloss and Town." By Frances Mary Peard. Three vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1882.

²⁴ "Worth Winning." By Mrs. H. Lovett Cameron. London: Roworth & Co. 1882.

²⁵ "A Poor Squire." By Holme Lee. Two vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1882.

²⁶ "Summer Stories." For Boys and Girls. By Mrs. Molesworth. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Raft,"²⁷ is sufficiently complete to be attractive to those who have not been fortunate enough to read the preceding volume. Cryptograms have played an important part in fiction, and even become almost as hackneyed as "The Lost Will," or, "The Child Changed at Birth," or "The Rescue of the Heroine in her Night Dress from the Fire." But M. Jules Verne has wonderful faculty of investing the stalest subjects with an appearance of freshness, and under his able hands the mysterious cipher plays a wonderful part in the interest of the story. To boys especially, this ought to be a delightful book, for every chapter contains the most thrilling events, and the excitement is kept up to the very last with the final decipherment of the cryptogram.

Messrs. Macmillan's last edition of "Tom Brown's Schooldays"²⁸ is a remarkable example of modern cheap literature. It is published at sixpence. The print is fairly good, and on almost every page there are one or more illustrations by Mr. Arthur Hughes and Mr. Sidney Prior Hall. It would be marvellously cheap if there were no pictures in the book. The pictures alone would be absurdly cheap at the price. The combination of story and pictures is something marvellous.

Messrs. Church and Brodribb have added to Messrs. Macmillan's series of classical writers a volume on Tacitus²⁹ which deserves far greater consideration than its small size and primer-like appearance would seem at first to warrant. It would hardly be too high praise to say of this *libellus* that it is the best book of its kind in existence. The authors have had a certain task to execute, and they have executed it in the most successful manner. Their task was to tell in the limited space allowed to them as much as possible about Tacitus and his writings. Keeping this end steadily in view, they have given us more of their author and less of themselves than we ever remember to have been the case in any of the numerous little volumes on classic authors now before the public. There are no haverings, no disquisitions, no specimens of the magazine essay, but instead a clear, complete, exhaustive analysis of the writings of Tacitus, going directly on the lines, and often in the very words, of the historian. It is the very model of what such a book should be, and the highest praise that good work, well done, deserves is due to its joint authors. It may be fairly said that any one wholly unfamiliar with Tacitus would be so no longer after reading this study,—would indeed know him far better than if he had puzzled and stumbled his way through the Latin text. He might claim to have a real acquaintance with Tacitus, and this is more than can be said in the case of any other volume we remember of the kind on a Greek or Roman writer.

A translation of "Juvenal," which leaves out the second, sixth, and ninth satires, seems on the face of it a rather meaningless production.

²⁷ "The Giant Raft." Part II. The Cryptogram. By Jules Verne. Translated by W. J. Gordon. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1882.

²⁸ "Tom Brown's School Days." By an Old Boy. London: Macmillan. 1882.

²⁹ "Tacitus." By A. J. Church, M.A., and W. J. Brodribb, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1882.

But this version³⁰ aims at translating the thirteen satires usually read in schools and colleges, or, in other words, at being a crib to them. The authors claim for it that it combines "accuracy, with some elegance of style." That its accuracy is more obvious than its elegance of style, may be seen by its rendering of the beautiful lines in the third satire: "Well, down we went into Egeria's valley and the grottoes so different from Nature's handiwork. How much better would the spirit of the stream make his presence felt if turf but fringed the waters with a marge of green, and if no marble profaned the native tufa." There is no elegance of style about this.

A very different kind of translation is Prof. Conington's "Virgil."³¹ The test proof of its felicity is afforded by quoting his rendering of the lovely passage in the fourth Georgic, one of the loveliest passages in all Virgil:—

"Aye, and for myself—were I not now at the very end of my enterprise furling my sails, and hastening to bring my prow to land, it may be that I should extend my song to the luxuriant garden. What care of husbandry decks it with flowers, and the rosaries of twice-bearing Paestum: and what is the joy that the endive feels in the stream which it drinks, and the green banks in the parsley that fringes them, and how the cucumber winds along the grass and swells into a belly; nor had I passed in silence the late-flowering narcissus, or the acanthus bending stem, or pale yellow ivy, or the myrtle that loves the coast. For I remember how once, under the shadow of Oebalia's lofty towers, where dark Galaeus bathes the yellow fields, I saw an old man of Corycus who had a few acres of unappropriated land, soil with no productiveness for bullocks, no fitness for cattle, no friendliness for the wine god. Yet he, while planting pot-herbs thinly among the boskage, and round them white lilies and vervain and scant poppies, had a heart that matched the wealth of kings and often as he came home at night he would pile his table high with unbought viands. None so early as he to pluck the rose in spring, the apple in autumn; and when winter in its bitterest mood was still splitting the very rocks with the frost and bridling with ice the rush of the water, there was he already gathering the hyacinth's delicate flower, with many a gibe at that late summer and those loitering zephyrs. Thus he was the first to swarm with mother-bees and their plenteous young, and to collect the honey as it frothed out from the squeezed comb; for he had limes and pines in luxuriant plenty; and all the fruit with which each prolific tree had clad itself in its early bloom it retained undiminished in the ripeness of autumn. He, too, had been known to plant out in rows, elms well on in life, and pears grown hard as iron, and thorns which had begun to bear plums, and plane-trees already tendering to drinkers the service of their shade. All this, however, I must pass by for myself, precluded as I am by my ungracious limits, and leave to others to record when my work is over.

This is really beautiful prose, scarcely less musical than verse.

Mr. Ashton has compiled a curious and interesting volume of the "Chap-Books of the Last Century,"³² for which all students of the

³⁰ "Thirteen Satires of Juvenal." Translated by H. A. Strong, M.A., and Alex. Leeper, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1882.

³¹ "The Poems of Virgil." Translated into English Prose by John Conington, M.A. London: Longmans. 1882.

³² "Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century." By John Ashton. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

period should be grateful to him. These relics of what their editor truly calls "a happily past age," embrace an extraordinary variety of subjects from the "History of Joseph and his Brethren," in which Joseph appears in the familiar coat and knee-breeches of the last century, and Pharaoh is similarly attired with the addition of a crown upon his head, down to a sort of political skit upon the marriage of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon, whom the pamphleteer somewhat ungraciously describes as "his late hackney of state." The woodcuts which illustrate these Chap-books reflect very little credit upon the popular art of the periods, and will hardly be held as admirable specimens of wood engraving, even by the most devoted enthusiasts of everything that belong to the age of Anne and of the Georges. The style of illustration is almost always the same. Whether the artist had to represent Guy, Earl of Warwick, or Dr. Faustus, or Jack the Giant-killer, or the Marquis of Salus, the hero of Boccaccio's story of Patient Grizel, he invariably represents them in the costume he was familiar with, following out here at least the tradition of the early Italian painters. Mr. Ashton deserves the gratitude of students for affording them the means of becoming acquainted with some curious specimens of old literature that are now obsolete, and in their original form almost impossible to obtain.

Mr. Findlater has edited a new edition of "Chambers' Etymological Dictionary,"²³ which is certainly one of the best small dictionaries of the English language we have ever seen. There is a small English dictionary published by a well-known firm which, by way of close and happy definition, explains "abstract" as "not concrete," and when we turn to "concrete," explains that it is "not abstract." No such fault has to be found with Messrs. Chambers' volume. The definitions are clear, concise, and on the whole fairly accurate, though in many cases the meanings of the words are neither sufficiently full nor varied. Thus, for example, to say that a "bit" is "the part of the bridle which the horse holds in his mouth," is a distinctly inaccurate and loose way of describing it; and to give "blackleg" as "a low gambling fellow," is as grotesquely wrong. A man might be "a low gambling fellow," and yet not at all a blackleg. The word blackleg implies somebody whose taste for gambling is coupled with a capacity for cheating, and a man might be low enough and fond enough of gambling without grafting an additional vice upon his character. These are instances taken at random, but they serve to show how difficult it is to make a really admirable small dictionary. On the whole, it may be said that this volume has succeeded very well. Besides the dictionary itself, there are several appendices that are very valuable. There is a supplementary glossary of obsolete and rare words and meanings in Milton; there is a table of the divisions of the Aryan languages; a brief and clear exposition of Grimm's famous law of the interchange of consonant sounds; there is a long list of passages from the Latin and

²³ "Chambers' Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." Edited by Andrew Findlater, M.A., LL.B. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1882.

Greek and modern foreign languages; there is a vocabulary of Scripture names; a brief classical dictionary; and an exposition of the metric system. All this in one well-bound volume of 600 pages makes the book about as useful a dictionary as any ordinary person could wish to have. The list of words and phrases from the Latin and Greek and modern foreign languages we should especially commend to young journalists and writers generally. When they are very much inclined to use a foreign quotation or a familiar French phrase, or one of those nice trite time-honoured Latin tags that come so trippingly from the tongue, let them turn to this part of the dictionary, and if they find their phrase or quotation stand there, let them unhesitatingly strike it out of their paper, and be thankful to have escaped one of the worst offences a literary man can commit.

A dictionary of miscellaneous information about celebrated statues, paintings, palaces, country seats, ruins, churches, ships, streets, clubs, natural curiosities, and the like, offers comprehensive attractions to those who share Théophile Gautier's taste for studying dictionaries, and ought certainly to be useful as a work of reference. One or two errors have struck us in casually glancing over these pages³⁴ of scattered erudition. The volume is published lately enough to have allowed an addition to the paragraph about the bears of Berne, stating that bears no longer inhabit the famous bear-pit. The note on the famous picture of Beatrice Cenci in the Barberini Palace at Rome, ought to have mentioned the grave doubts that exist as to whether this picture is really a portrait of Beatrice Cenci at all; and in the section of Sappho's Leap, something should certainly have been said about the arguments that have been adduced to prove that Sappho was never at Leucadia in her life, and therefore never met her death there.

Professor Henry Morley has written a kind of companion volume to the world famous Tauchnitz series of British authors, cast in the form of a sketch of English literature. The sketch³⁵ is well written, fairly comprehensive, and generally accurate, though in one instance at least Professor Morley confuses two writers of the same names in a somewhat amusing manner. To many persons not the least attractive part of the volume will be the prefatory pages which contain, with a very few unavoidable exceptions, facsimile reproductions of the signatures of all the contemporary authors who have contributed to the Tauchnitz edition.

It is difficult to see the reason for a new translation of Machiavelli's "Prince"³⁶ into English. Most persons who are anxious to study the famous essay, which some scholars consider to be a satire upon princely government, and others to be a serious defence of the same, would, we

³⁴ "Familiar Allusions. A Handbook of Miscellaneous Information." Begun by W. A. Wheeler; completed and edited by C. G. Wheeler. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

³⁵ "Of English Literature, in the Reign of Victoria, with a Glance at the Past." By Henry Morley. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. 1881.

³⁶ "The Prince." By Niccolò Machiavelli. Translated by N. H. T. London: Kegan Paul. 1882.

should imagine, be able to read it in its original Italian, or in one of the French translations, in preference to an English rendering. This edition, however, is exceedingly handsomely brought out on the thick paper with the wide margins and rough edges so dear to the book lover. The type, however, is rather small.

Those persons who still have any kind of belief in what is called spiritualism, will not be either alarmed or discouraged by such a book as these "Confessions of a Medium."³⁷ Those who do not believe in it will learn little or nothing that is strange to them in these pages. The author puts himself forward as having been the ally and the accomplice of several so-called mediums, in imposing their jugglery upon a credulous public. He explains at considerable length the various mysteries and the method of their execution, and it may be found interesting by the most fanatic among the anti-spiritualists.

We have also received a pleasing translation of Von Scheffel's "Mountain Psalms," by Mrs. Frances Brünnow;³⁸ and an idiotic volume of mingled prose and verse, called "Peace Triumphant;"³⁹ a volume of verse called "Bits of Life,"⁴⁰ which is a little tiresome, but has some good things in it, notably among certain of the sonnets, which, though faulty in form, are not without some pretty thoughts and bright ideas; and a somewhat tedious specimen of book-making in the form of a collection of anecdotes of law and lawyers;⁴¹ a translation of the "Acharnians of Aristophanes,"⁴² which successfully fails to convey any idea of the beauty or the humour of its original; an addition to Messrs. Macmillan's admirable primers in the form of a volume of Grammatical Exercises;⁴³ a new volume of the original glossaries of the English Dialect Society;⁴⁴ an edition of the second and third books of Livy in Messrs. Macmillan's series of school books.⁴⁵ A second volume of Messrs. Blackie's "Imperial English Dictionary," which brings it down to the letter K, and promises to be a very handsome and useful work.⁴⁶ Herr Jordan's translation of the old German epic, "Hildebrant's Heimkehr," which forms the second of the

³⁷ "The Confessions of a Medium." London: Griffith & Farran. 1882.

³⁸ "Mountain Psalms." By Joseph Victor von Scheffel. Translated from the German by Mrs. Frances Brünnow. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

³⁹ "Peace Triumphant, and other Poems." By T. N. Millar. Glasgow: Dunn & Wright. 1882.

⁴⁰ "Bits of Life." London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

⁴¹ "Forensic Anecdotes." By Jacob Larwood. London: Chatto & Windus. 1882.

⁴² "The Acharnians of Aristophanes." By C. J. Billson, B. A. London: Kegan Paul. 1882.

⁴³ "Exercises on Morris' Grammar." By John Wetherell. London: Macmillan. 1882.

⁴⁴ "Original Glossaries: Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire, Cumberland, North Lincolnshire, and Radnorshire words." London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

⁴⁵ "Livy." Books II. and III. By the Rev. H. M. Stephenson, M. A. London: Macmillan. 1882.

⁴⁶ "Imperial Dictionary of the English Language." By John Ogilvie, LL.D. New edition, edited by Charles Annandale, M. A. Vol. II. London: Blackie & Son. 1882.

Nibelunge Series.⁴⁷ M. Eugène Fasnacht has added a useful little edition of what is perhaps Molière's greatest play.⁴⁸ Mr. Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Primer,"⁴⁹ and Mr. Morris's "Specimens of Early English,"⁵⁰ will be eagerly welcomed by the rapidly increasing number of students of the earlier forms of our language.

Mr. Halsey supports the character of America for classical learning by a profound philological study of the "Etymology of Latin and Greek,"⁵¹ which may be of great service to those to whom the larger German works of the same kind are, either from their price or language, inaccessible.

Mr. Skeat has completed his "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language,"⁵² and he confers a still greater service by the publication of a "Concise Etymological Dictionary."⁵³ It "is not," he says, "a mere abridgment of my larger Etymological Dictionary, such as might have been compiled by a diligent book-maker, but has been entirely rewritten by myself." Its size and cheapness bring it more within the means of a large mass of students than the bigger work.

The author of the singularly bad translation of "Athanaus," which is unfortunately the only translation of that delightful author in English, has employed himself agreeably enough in making a selection of "Goldsmith's Essays,"⁵⁴ which may be appropriately used in schools.

The English Dialect Society⁵⁵ has just published two exceedingly interesting works. The first is a short paper on George Eliot's use of dialect, which should be read with interest by all students of the great novelist's artistic method. The other is a reprint of a most delightful sixteenth-century book on the names of herbs,⁵⁶ full of a fresh quaintness which is intensely attractive.

⁴⁷ "Hildebrant's Heimkehr." By W. Jordan. Leipzig : J. Boldmar. 1881.

⁴⁸ "Le Misanthrope." By G. Eugène Fasnacht. London : Macmillan. 1882.

⁴⁹ "Anglo-Saxon Primer." By Henry Sweet, M.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

⁵⁰ "Specimens of Early English." New edition. By Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D. Oxford ; Clarendon Press. 1882.

⁵¹ "An Etymology of Latin and Greek." By Charles S. Halsey. Boston : Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

⁵² "Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." By Rev. Walter Skeat, M.A. Part IV. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1882.

⁵³ "Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." By Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1882.

⁵⁴ "Essays of Oliver Goldsmith." Edited by C. D. Yonge, M.A. London : Macmillan. 1882.

⁵⁵ "Publications of the English Dialect Society. George Eliot's Use of Dialect." By William E. A. Axon. London : Trübner & Co. 1882.

⁵⁶ "The Names of Herbs." By William Turner. Edited by Jas. Britten, F.L.S. London : Trübner & Co. 1881.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA.—The past three months have been productive of great measures in India. As the last number of *THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW* went to press the telegraphic summary of the Indian Budget reached England. It was only possible for us to allude to it in our concluding paragraph, and we now propose to deal with it at more adequate length. An Indian Budget is not only a financial review, extending over three years, but it forms the most important declaration of general policy which the Government makes in the course of each twelve months. In some respects it combines the interest which attaches to the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament, with that which belongs to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the middle of the Session. Major Baring's financial exposition is by far the most important Indian Budget which has been delivered since Mr. Wilson's great measures twenty-two years ago. Almost a whole generation of Indian officials have come and gone since the Right Honourable James Wilson was sent out to retrieve the finances of India, when that country passed to the Crown. Mr. Wilson had to deal with a bitter legacy of debt and deficit left by the Mutiny of 1857, and he had to lay the foundation of a new structure of Government. Major Baring has been more fortunate. During the twenty-one years which have elapsed since Mr. Wilson's untimely death, the material fabric of the Indian Government has been reconstructed; court-houses, jails, schools, barracks, and hospitals have been built; a network of railways has been spread over each of the presidencies, and enormous irrigation works have been created. Mr. Wilson had to effect his reforms by two most unpopular measures—by the introduction of direct taxation, and by wholesale retrenchments.

Major Baring has achieved a great financial reputation by his Budget, without arraying any local feeling against him. Two years of good harvests, a run of almost unexampled fertility in certain provinces, the revival of trade, and the stable peace which Lord Ripon has again established throughout the empire, have given Major Baring an opportunity such as has happened to no Finance Minister of India since the days of Akbar the Great. Major Baring has used that opportunity in an enlightened spirit. While insisting upon a severe economy in every department, he has taken advantage of the tide of prosperity to raise each department to the maximum of efficiency. His difficulty has not been to devise new taxes, but to decide which of the old taxes he should take off. He had practically to choose between the partial Income Tax—which survives in India under the name of the License Tax—and a reduction of the Salt Duty. If he had taken off the License Tax, he would have won the applause of the Anglo-Indian press and of the local interests which it represents, even if his Budget had been in all other respects unscientific and un-

sound. For the License Tax affects the claimant classes who can always make themselves very distinctly heard in the Indian journals. Major Baring has chosen to confer a benefit upon the poor and unre-presented peasantry of India, rather than to win the *euge et belle* of the presidency towns. He has left the License Tax as it was, and he has made a large remission in the Salt Duty in most of the provinces, and thus brought down the rate to one uniform level throughout all India.

In this matter Major Baring used his discretion and made his choice. But in another and a more conspicuous feature of his Budget—namely, the abolition of the Customs Duties, he practically had no alternative. During several years the Conservative and the Liberal Governments have been equally pledged to take off the Cotton Impost duties as soon as their abolition became compatible with the solvency of the Indian finances. The matter had passed beyond argument, but it had left behind a feeling of great soreness towards England in the native mind. India, like other countries, has to choose between direct and indirect taxation. There is no country in the world in which direct taxation is so deservedly unpopular. For there is probably no country under a civilized government in which the average income of the people is so small, and in which an Income Tax, if it has to yield any adequate returns, has to press so heavily upon the petty earnings of the respectable poor. This is a perfectly sound argument in India against any form of Income Tax. But there is also another sound argument. It is based upon the fact that the army of lower officials, through whom direct taxation has to be worked, are still tainted with the Asiatic vices of venality and extortion. We must remember that under the native governments to which we succeeded in the administration of India, the officials were paid by gratifications, which may be called either fees or bribes, according to the benevolence of the historian. A hundred years of British rule have just sufficed to extirpate this practice among the higher native officials. But the lower classes of them are still tainted with the vice; and, until within a very few years, no policeman or bailiff, or pettiest hanger-on about a court, ever entered a hamlet without carrying away "a present" from it. Whether the village shopkeeper or the prosperous husbandman is assessed to the Government or not may be doubtful; but the Income Tax emissaries make it a matter of certainty that village shopkeeper and husbandman alike shall pay something to them. Direct taxation, therefore, means in India the opening of the flood-gates for an inundation of chicanery and rapacity, which spreads its foul waters over the length and breadth of the land, and soaks through the walls of every peasant household.

For many years the natives of India have had to choose between indirect taxation in the form of Cotton Duties, and fresh direct taxation in some variety or another of an Income Tax. They have wisely preferred the Cotton Duties. They have looked upon the demand of Manchester for the abolition of those imposts as a selfish agitation to benefit a powerful Parliamentary interest in England at the cost of the Indian people. On the other hand, the position of the Manchester

school was, according to the doctrines of political economy, a sound one. India could plead her special case; Manchester could assert her general principles; and, between the two, the English Government could only say that as soon as India could afford to do without the Cotton Duties they would be taken off. Until last March, these pledges were always regarded as merely civil answers from hard-pressed Ministers to the Manchester men. Major Baring has had the good fortune to be able to convert these polite promises into accomplished facts. He has done so without exciting any opposition among the natives, and without laying on a penny of taxation to take the place of the duties thus remitted.

He has accomplished this feat of financiership partly by good luck and partly by good judgment. Good luck put such a surplus at his disposal that he was not only able to remit the Cotton Duties without imposing new taxation, but also at the same time to reduce the Salt Duty, and to abolish a rural cess or *patwári* impost in Northern India. His good judgment came into play by treating the Cotton Duties, not alone, but as part of a general repeal of the customs. Had he taken off the Cotton Duties and imposed fresh taxation in their place, he would at this moment have been the most unpopular man in India. Had he taken off the Cotton Duties alone, and left the other articles in the Indian Customs List subject to the tariff, he would have been accused by every native association and newspaper of having sacrificed Indian to English interests. But by dealing with the subject in a large spirit, and treating the Cotton Duties on a level of perfect equality with all other dutiable articles, he has averted an outburst of popular feeling, procured a settlement of an irritating question which has long been pending between England and India, and disclosed a tact and statesmanship of the highest order.

The objections which have been raised to the Budget are twofold. In the first place, it is said that the Salt Duty presses so lightly on the people that a remission in its rates gives no perceptible relief. The answer to this is, that although the Salt Duty presses very lightly indeed upon the wealthier classes, it amounts to a real, although not an excessive, burden upon the poor. Moreover, no tax can be so easily increased in time of financial pressure as the Salt Duty. Its increase requires no additional mechanism of administration; it involves no inquisition into the earnings of the people; and the revenue results of such an increase are not only certain in themselves but can be calculated without difficulty. In reducing the Salt Tax, Major Baring has allowed the people to share with the Government in the fiscal prosperity produced by several good seasons. But he has also created a reserve upon which the Government can fall back, if financial exigencies call for a sudden increase of revenue. It would have been difficult for the Indian Government to have raised the Salt Tax above the rates levied last year. It will be much easier for the Government to increase the tax again to the rates levied last year, should the necessity hereafter arise.

The other objection which has been raised in India to the Budget

may be stated as follows:—A surplus enabled Major Baring to do without the unpopular License Tax—that is to say, the tax upon incomes derived from trade. But instead of relieving India from this unpopular tax, he has disposed of his surplus by a reduction of the Salt Duty, which cannot be said to be unpopular or to excite any feelings of opposition among those who pay it. This objection raises the old question of direct and indirect taxation. But any one who has studied the history of modern finance must be aware that, in giving up the Import Duties, which form one of the principal branches of indirect taxation, India must be prepared, sooner or later, to face direct taxation. It would therefore have been unwise to abolish the only direct Imperial tax to which the people have grown accustomed, and which may form, as it were, the nest-egg of a larger system of direct taxation hereafter. The difficulties of direct taxation in India are, unquestionably, very great. But the unpopularity of direct taxation in India chiefly arises from the vexatious inquisition into the earnings of the people which has preceded each new form of Income Tax, and from the corruption or rapacity of the lower executive officers by whom each new Income Tax has been administered. Major Baring has done much to render direct taxation possible by a statesmanlike measure for improving the position of the native executive services. This improvement forms one of the most conspicuous features of the Budget, and it has earned for the Finance Minister the gratitude of a large body of poorly remunerated public servants.

But the historical aspect of the Budget is that it completes the fabric of Free Trade in India. The Indian trade was for long a monopoly, first in the hands of the East India Company, and afterwards in those of a few powerful firms. As lately as 1867, almost every article of merchandize was taxed before it could either enter or leave an Indian harbour. The rule was that all exports and imports paid duty, unless specifically exempted. In 1867 this rule was technically reversed; a long list of dutiable articles was drawn up, and non-specified articles went free. The past fourteen years have seen the gradual reduction of that list, and the present Budget effects its final abolition, except on arms and intoxicating liquors. During recent years the question of the Indian tariff has been complicated by the special claims of the English manufacturers of piece goods. In treating piece goods on a perfect equality with all other articles, Major Baring has accepted the principles of political economy laid down by the English Government. But he has interpreted these principles neither in favour of England nor of India, but in the common interests of both. India now enters the list of countries which have absolutely accepted the principles of Free Trade, and its harbours are now more free to the commerce of the world than those of England herself.

The importance of the Budget overshadows all other Indian measures during the past three months. But two reforms of the first rank have also been introduced. One of them deals

with the reorganization of the army; the other with the introduction of Local Government. In 1879, an Army Commission assembled in Simla. It was composed of some of the most distinguished officers, civil and military, that India could furnish. It was directed to make an exhaustive inquiry into the whole military system, with a view to the reduction of military expenditure, and its report dealt with the entire subject of military organization in India. That report, after being carefully considered, both by the Government in India and by her Majesty's Ministry at home, is now in process of being carried out. It proceeds on the principle that the aggregate strength of the Native army must be maintained undiminished, and that the strength of the individual Native regiments must be raised. The result is to decrease the number of separate regiments, and to augment the strength of each. The Native army is accordingly being reorganized into a smaller number of regimental units, each one of which will be more complete and efficient than on the old scale. There will be an immediate reduction of 22 regiments—namely, 4 of cavalry and 18 of infantry. This reduction is considerable, but it falls short of what was recommended by the Army Commission, which proposed a reduction of 40 regiments—10 of cavalry and 30 of infantry. The present reduction will fall upon the three armies of India as follows—in the Bengal army, 3 regiments of Native cavalry, 6 of Native infantry; in the Bombay Army, 1 regiment of Native cavalry and 4 of Native infantry. In the Madras Army, there will be no change in the number of Native cavalry regiments, but there will be a reduction of 8 regiments of Native infantry. These reductions in the number of Native regiments do not reduce the aggregate strength of the Native army. The cavalry regiments in Bengal and Bombay will be raised from 457 and 487 respectively to 550 Natives of all ranks, while the strength of the Madras cavalry remains unchanged. The strength of the infantry regiments is raised from 712 to 832 of all ranks. The total strength of the three Native armies in India will be increased by 31 men. Its present strength is 110,964, and, after the changes to be made, its future strength will be 110,995. There will be a small increase in the Bengal, and a small decrease in the Bombay cavalry; that of Madras remaining as at present. While there will be an increase of 1,362 infantry in Bengal and of 272 in Bombay, there will be a decrease of 1,896 infantry in the Madras army. These are the chief changes affecting the Native officers, non-commissioned officers and sepoy. With regard to the European officers in the Native army, it is not intended that their strength shall be diminished; they remain, as nearly as possible, on the same strength as now. This is effected by adding an officer to each regiment of Native cavalry and infantry, in addition to those already maintained. The position of these officers will be that of "squadron" and "wing" officers, and they will receive the rates of pay and allowances now granted to those holding similar appointments.

Extensive reforms in a large army cannot be carried out without causing a certain amount of inconvenience to some of those concerned. But the disadvantages are mitigated and relieved by extremely liberal

concessions, to all who may be affected. In the face of these liberal concessions, the Government has not considered it desirable to make any reductions in the army budget estimates for the ensuing year; for, as in the previous reforms of 1869, the reductions ordered in one year are not fully realized till the following twelve months.

Meanwhile, the efforts of Lord Ripon towards the extension of local self-government are beginning to bear fruit. The governors of Bengal, the North-west, and other Provinces, have published their working plans for giving effect to the reform. The consensus of opinion shows that India is not yet ripe for elective institutions. The elective principle will be extended from the great towns to some other municipalities, and to certain selected districts of the most advanced type. In other districts local boards will be nominated by the Government, care being taken that these boards fairly represent the several local interests and classes. A very large amount of administrative power will be vested in the boards thus constituted, but their functions will be exercised under the surveillance and, to a certain degree, under the control of the chief executive officers of the district. A careful inquiry has led most of the provincial governments to the conclusion that the time has not yet come for self-government to walk alone. In many parts of India the class of natives who would really interest themselves in local administration has yet to be developed. But, as a whole, the country seems ripe for a much wider and more serious effort towards self-government than has ever yet been attempted. In Lower Bengal, for example, the education of the masses will practically pass into the hands of the local boards. Public works of local utility, roads, ferries, sanitary measures, and a large number of other details affecting the welfare of each district, will come, more or less, completely within the jurisdiction of the rural governing bodies.

Each of the schemes of the provincial governments covers many pages. But the foregoing paragraph may fairly be said to summarize the general results. The circumstances of each part of India differ so widely that generalization is always a dangerous experiment. One thing is clear, however. Lord Ripon has given a real impulse to local self-government, and the provincial administrations are, each in its own way, making a genuine effort to give local government a fair trial. Some of them consider that a more effective degree of check and control is necessary for the safe working of the scheme than others deem needful. The most skilful of the reports are those which give the largest amount of executive authority to the local boards so long as they use it well, while reserving an effective check upon the abuse of the new powers thus entrusted to the people.

Two most gratifying pictures of the progress and development of Indian provinces are derivable from the recently published Administration Reports for British Burma and Assam. In both cases this success is the more surprising considering the constitutional antipathy to labour possessed by the natives of both provinces. This has occasioned so serious an obstacle in the way of cultivation in Assam that the difficulty has had to be met by the importation of labour, a condition

of things which has given rise to not a few pressing problems of legislation. Owing partly to the depression in the tea trade during the official year 1880-81, and partly to the prevalence of better harvests in the recruiting districts, the numbers of immigrant coolies have decreased considerably; but it is gratifying to observe that, thanks to the unceasing care of Government, the desertion rate and mortality have sensibly diminished, and that there has been a general improvement in the health of the labourers. On the whole, the year was a prosperous one for them; food was extraordinarily cheap, and the improvements which are every year being made on tea plantations, in the water-supply, the housing of the immigrants and their families, the provision of better accommodation for the sick and the like, have generally raised the standard of comfort in a marked degree. But, in spite of a partial depression in the tea trade, this important industry maintains a steady progress. There is no doubt that the tea plant is indigenous to a region abutting on the border-land of Assam, Tibet and Western China, and in Assam the plant has thriven so well that the trade has now assumed the dimensions of a national industry, the export of which to Bengal was valued at upwards of £2,828,600 for the year 1880-81, amounting to not less than 78 per cent. of the total exports. The general condition of the Assamese may be fairly realized when it is remarked that their wants are few and easily met. They are a contented people, lightly assessed, and rarely suffering from bad harvests. There is no difficulty in obtaining as much land as they require, and the soil yields, as it has always yielded, a handsome return to any one who can find a plough and a pair of bullocks wherewith to till it. The difficulty experienced in finding labour is a sure sign of the people's prosperity, while another proof is the large sums which are expended on marriage expenses. The only drawback to all this is to be found in the want of enterprise and energy which characterizes the Assamese who, under a combination of adverse circumstances such as recently befel Behar and parts of Madras, might be found ill-fitted to cope with misfortune. In the Brahmaputra valley especially, backwardness in culture, and in all the arts of life in which skill is fostered by the pressure of necessity, is the most marked feature of the people. Still it is rare to find a cultivator who has not laid up in his granary food sufficient for two or three years' consumption; and should he have any difficulty in selling enough of the hoarded grain to pay rent or revenue, a few days' labour on a tea plantation or the roads will place him in possession of a sufficient sum.

In British Burma a special point of interest is the result of the census of last year, which has been elaborated, and shows a total of nearly 3,737,000, or an increase of 36 per cent. over the figures obtained by the census eight and a half years ago. Some part of this wonderful increase is no doubt due to immigration from India and from Upper Burma, whence people are attracted by the fertile soil, the higher wages, the favourable land laws, and greater security of life and property enjoyed in British Burma. But the main causes are undoubtedly the fertility and—in spite of the inundations so prevalent in

a country where the rainfall ranges up to 220 inches per annum—the general healthiness of the population. Early marriages are more frequent in Burma than in England, but there are no child-marriages or child-widowhoods, such as are the bane of domestic life in India. The women, too, occupy a much freer and happier position than they do in Indian social life; they go about, do the shopping, both buying and selling, manage the household, and in every respect take an active part in domestic affairs. An honourable spirit of independence is fostered by the custom whereby most girls, even in well-to-do families, work looms, or keep stalls in a bazaar till they get married; and amongst the indirect benefits arising from this may be seen the fact that the ratio of women to men prisoners in Burmese jails is less than half what it is in Indian jails.

The proportion of the Burmese population living by agriculture is about $68\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. All over the face of the country a vast deal of petty trading goes on; the amount of goods and produce that moves about in boats, in steamers, on the railway, in carts, on pack bullocks, and on pedlars' backs is surprising for so small a population. Besides the trade with the kingdom of Ava and Western China, British Burma exported to the value of £8,525,000, imported £6,983,000 worth of goods during the past year, and received £780,000 treasure more than she sent away. This absorption of treasure is a normal feature well known to students of Indian statistics, the explanation here being found in the fact that the greater part of the silver and gold is converted into ornaments by the Burmese and Karens. It would actually seem that, on an average, every household of six persons in British Burma must have spent about £12 during the year 1880-81 on imported articles and jewellery. These figures indicate surely a high standard of comfort among Burman families. Wages run far higher than they do in India, the average for unskilled labour being 7s. 6d. a week as compared with 2s. 3d. a week in the rest of India. The earnings of ordinary cultivators are proportionately higher. The great majority of the people are comfortably off, but there are but few rich people, for the typical Burman, as a rule, does not save money. He is open-handed and lavish in his expenditure; he gives away much in charity to monasteries and other pious institutions, and he and his family spend freely on dress, jewels, and entertainments. Thus there are few Burmans outside the four seaport towns who could raise £500 at a fortnight's notice. On the other hand, there is a very general absence from debt, a fact borne out unmistakably both by special inquiries and by the judicial statistics. It is noticeable that the trade, the cultivated area, the revenues, and the means of communication have increased even more rapidly than the population. Litigation, on the other hand, has not kept pace with the increase in the numbers of the people, while in the record of crimes of violence there is a satisfactory decrease. On the whole, British Burma appears to have increased rapidly in civilization, prosperity and productiveness during the past ten years, and there is no present sign of the rate of progress being arrested, for the improvement has been at

least as great during the latter as during the earlier parts of the decade. There is still room for great extensions of cultivation, if only immigrants would come to take up the land; barely 5,600 square miles are cultivated out of a total of 87,220 square miles, and vast areas of fertile soil within easy reach of railways or navigable rivers are available for the plough.

An important class of operations connected with Indian administration is now drawing to a close—viz., the principal triangulation which, dating from the beginning of the century, and devised, elaborated and brought to perfection through the successive instrumentality of Lambton, Everest, Waugh and Walker, now forms the basis on which the greatest survey of the world has been gradually built up. This triangulation has been spread after a fashion not inaptly termed “gridiron-wise,” over the whole of India proper, and the entire fabric is now being completed by the extension of an auxiliary series down the Tenasserim coast to Mergui, where operations will be brought to a close by the measurement of a base of verification. Upon this skeleton are being laid the detailed surveys of the topographers and revenue surveyors—a laborious and slow process which is still far from attaining its completion. Owing partly to local causes in the initiation of the surveys, and partly to the far greater accuracy now insisted on in the prosecution of these operations, the first survey of all India is of very unequal value in different parts of that vast Empire. But roughly, it may be said that portions of the North-west Provinces, of Guzerat, Rajputana, and the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, represent the unsurveyed tracts. The rapid extension of cultivation, however, throughout India, apart from the general enhancement of the value of land, is ever and anon necessitating the institution of larger and more detailed surveys, so that the completion of this most necessary work is still far distant.

A new process has been patented for the manufacture of indigo, which may prove to be fraught with large economic results. Every one admits the superior beauty and durability of indigo blue to the aniline dyes. But the higher cost of the natural drug has given to the artificial colours the command of the market as regards cheap fabrics. It seems to have struck Dr. George Rankin, surgeon, of Her Majesty's 6th Bengal Cavalry, that chemistry might be applied to the manufacture of indigo, as well as to the production of the aniline bases. He has patented a process for oxydizing the indigo in the vats by chemical instead of, as at present, by mechanical means. He adds to the indigo liquor a small proportion of nitrate of potash (saltpetre) and hydrate of potash. He states that the process is simple, inexpensive, easily worked, and certain in its results. These results he enumerates as follows:—First, an increase of produce varying from 25 to 60 per cent., with varying conditions of soil, water, &c. Second, an improvement of colour and paste. Third, a diminution of the time, labour, and consequent cost of beating. Fourth, an advance in the dyeing quality of the indigo.

Afghanistan still continues in its normal state of unrest. On the whole, the Amír has more than held his own, and appears to be slowly consolidating his authority. But rumours reach India of the rise of local centres of disaffection, and the clouds still hang heavy over the western province of Herat. The native envoy which the British Government had agreed, under certain circumstances, to send to the court of the Amír, left Simla at the end of April. All that can be safely hazarded about the state of Afghanistan is that no serious effort has been made during the past three months to shake the present rule.

THE COLONIES.

The visit of the Premier of New South Wales to Europe, has been at once a sign of, and an opportunity for recognizing, the recent rapid growth of the Australian Colonies. His reception has been most cordial and most general; and his visit has done much to clear the atmosphere of any ignorance or doubt that blurred the right view of Australian progress. It may, however, be well to remind the European public that Sir H. Parkes' visit is emblematic rather of a new future than of an actual present. At the banquet given to him in Willis's Rooms, Sir Henry Parkes spoke with pardonable pride of his Colony; but he was not well advised in travelling so far as the extreme statement that New South Wales had now nothing further to learn from the Old Country. Unfortunately this type of remark has led the English public rather to smile at what they regard as closely allied to a mere boast than to consider such remarks as well founded, or even serious in character. New South Wales, it is of course known, is at the present, in population, wealth, or trade, about the average importance of one of the fifty English counties. Sir Henry spoke as though his Colony were already the equal, and destined to become the superior of the Old Country. And English public opinion was compelled to smile, for it could not agree.

The Royal Colonial Institute has closed its annual session with one of the most successful and important meetings it has ever held. The paper for the evening was by Mr. Baden Powell, and dealt with the organization of Imperial Defences. Several members of the Royal Commission on Colonial Defences were present, by special invitation. Mr. Baden Powell gave a thorough and comprehensive view of the whole question. He summed up his paper in the following nine suggestions:—

"(1) The development of hosts of good rifle-shots all over the Empire.

"(2) The organization of local artillery and torpedo corps, kept up to the standard of progressive military science by officers trained in the big establishments of the Imperial forces, and sent out on five-year appointments.

"(3) The establishing a series of six or seven arsenals, commanding

the various positions of the Empire, as the bases of the fleet and centre of defence.

"(4) The posting at these arsenals of powerful ironclads, specially those that become out of date in European waters, though remaining amply strong enough to demolish all *cruisers* that can be brought against them in distant seas.

"(5) The establishing fifteen or twenty garrisoned stations to supply coal and refuge, and munitions of war, to English ships in time of war.

"(6) The organization of a special Imperial force to garrison these arsenals and stations, and to supply trained direction, and the best materials and ammunition for local artillery and torpedo defence.

"(7) Provision for local defence by localities.

"(8) Contribution of all, Mother-country and Colonies, to the support of the general defence of the communications, or on some such proportionate basis as trade or wealth.

"(9) Some application of the principle of delegation to the control of this Imperial force, and of the policy of which it would be the strong arm. Colonies might for the present delegate such control to the English Parliament, in the confident trust that that Parliament will see to it that Colonial interests do not suffer."

Never before has this large and important question been put before the public in its entirety. Mr. Baden Powell's paper gives a complete view of it in all its aspects—the historical, the technical, and the constitutional. We doubt not the paper will be much commented upon by the Colonial Press; and from these criticisms much good may be expected to result. The Report of Lord Carnarvon's Commission is now awaited with great interest.

The prospective completion of the Canada Pacific Railroad, an achievement which will do more than anything else to open up the whole *Canadian Dominion*, a work which will prove the backbone of Canadian development, has incidentally, even if only temporarily, altered the character of the population of British Columbia. So vast has been the influx of Chinese labour for the purposes of this railway, that the "Anglo-Saxon" population is already reported to be outnumbered by immigrants of Celestial origin. When we consider the virulent opposition to such immigration further south in San Francisco, we are inclined to ask why similar opposition has not declared itself in British Columbia. The real answer is probably to be found in the fact that the invasion is regarded as essentially temporary, and that it is also recognized that the Anglo-Saxon population itself is altogether unable to supply sufficient labour to bring the railway across the continent with the rapidity so earnestly desired by all residents in British Columbia.

The prorogation of the Canadian Parliament in the end of May was the occasion of a retrospective "Speech from the Throne," which was, most naturally, of a highly congratulatory order. The Governor-General did, however, point out that the one obstacle to industrial growth was the prevailing uncertainty as to whether the present fiscal

policy would be rigidly maintained or no: and his ministers have advised an early dissolution, in order to test the opinion of the country on these points. It has, however, been found desirable, as well as useful, to reduce or abolish many customs duties—especially those affecting foods and raw materials. Canadians will not, however, forget that their present prosperous growth is by no manner of means due to any mere Custom-House arrangements. Indeed, they will observe that the reverse is the case; for, in spite of the artificial obstruction of a high tariff, they continue to import more and more; and this means not that the Protective policy is making them more self-contained or self-supporting, but that, on the contrary, they are making wealth so rapidly from industries and enterprises with which protection has no connection, that they are enabled to buy more and more, and this in spite of the fact that their fiscal policy tends to raise prices all round. They are observing, too, the curious development an obstructive tariff is creating in the United States. The employers have endeavoured to stop all imports except those of labour; and now the wage-earners are beginning to object to the free importation of labour, while all other imports are obstructed. If both classes have their way, not only would the import trade be destroyed, but the export as well, and to their ruin would the people discover that it does not pay to burn the candle at both ends. Canadians will, we hope, be wiser in their generation. They will observe that in Australia the two neighbouring colonies of Victoria and New South Wales have for some years been “running” the rival policies of high and low tariffs, and that now the *low* tariff colony has won the race, not only in general prosperity, but in the important detail of starting and keeping going manufactures.

Agricultural authorities, both in Canada and in Europe, have read and noted the severe floods in the North-west; and they remember, from the Red River and other records, that these floods are periodical in their recurrence. All is not plain sailing for the prairie farmer. Weather is no less capricious in its kindness in the “granary of the world” than in “worked-out old countries.” In short, it appears as if wheat, even in the more fertile northerly belt, will in years to come, when all the land is taken up, cost so much in production and transfer, that it will be only sold at a profit in the markets of great centres of population at a price which will be amply sufficient to render wheat growing remunerative even in England.

In *Newfoundland*, a valuable application of science in the shape of telegraphy for fishery purposes, bids fair to assist most beneficially the great local industry. It is taking a leaf out of the book of successful experience in Norway. Large shoals of fish visit the coast, but it is never known for certain when and where. Fishermen lose invaluable time, and often hopelessly miss splendid opportunities by not discovering till too late the place and the time of the arrival of some shoal. A coast telegraph, working a system of signals, will, it is hoped, prove of the highest value in this respect. And in addition to this mere information about fish, the telegraph can also report and

describe the whereabouts and other details of the ice—intelligence of the first importance to all local sea-going concerns, including the great industry of seal-fishing.

There is much need for inquiry and reform in regard to the condition of this Newfoundland fishing industry. The fishermen themselves are more and more lapsing into a state of bondage, as it were, to those who have advanced them capital, and who are now appropriating all the results of their industry and exposure. In many districts, just now, the fishermen are helplessly receiving all their share of reward in "kind," and the goods they have to take, at prices that include the profits, often remarkably great, of those who supply the goods, and who are at the same time the purchasers of their fish. This is a matter which requires looking into, and more especially so when it is remembered that Newfoundland is not a Crown Colony, but that those residents who obtain most influence, manage its corporate affairs and its legislation; and it is a well-known maxim that when the supreme power falls into the hands of any one class, the right interests of the other classes do not receive that consideration which is equitably their due.

A conference at Barbados to deal with matters of telegraphic communication has reported in favour of an independent system connecting the West Indies with England *via* Bermuda. In the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for April, 1881, we wrote, "The West Indies, for their own sakes, as well as for that of the Telegraph Company that is eventually to supply their wants, should take a leaf from the business experience on all other lines in tropical seas, and insist, first and foremost, on a duplicate line. Moreover, in reference to certainty of transit and of price, there is very much to be said in favour of an independent cable which shall connect the West Indies with Bermuda, to which place there will soon be a cable laid from Halifax." It seems that this view has been adopted by the conference that has just met at Barbados.

Jamaica is busy with the expansion of its means of communication. The railway works that are now being pushed forward energetically, will connect the healthy fruitful interior directly with the capacious port of Kingston. This must improve matters greatly, and facilitate all business transactions. These increased means of communication are specially necessary in view of the opening up of Jamaica as an orchard for fresh fruit. Such produce necessitates easy, cheap, and certain means of transference to the steamers. And the new railway extensions will go far to secure these.

The cloud at the present above the horizon in Jamaica has gathered round the unfortunate "Florence" case. It will be remembered that the Governor, acting strictly in his capacity as an Imperial officer, and in the general interests of the Empire, detained an arm-laden ship. For this act he was sued, and cast in damages assessed at £8,000. The Home Government seems to have determined that this sum should properly be paid by the Colony. There is, of course, much to be said for the reluctance with which the Colonists face

this liability; they feel that after all they had no voice whatever in the act of which it is the result. But the indirect consequences threaten to be greater than the direct, for there exists the danger that they will open up the sore question of the abolition of responsible government in the island after the Morant Bay troubles. Already in Jamaica there has ensued bitter discussion on the subject. The Governor has pointed out firmly that there is no alternative for the island between "Government by the Crown and government by the people"—and that "neither the British Parliament nor the British people will ever again permit the government of this community by an oligarchy." On the other hand, a party of leading planters and others are developing the idea of a return to something approaching the old system; to an enlargement of the council in every direction, and to the exclusion of the Governor from its councils. As we have previously said, the most expedient solution appears to be the utilization of local talent in the administration of affairs, provided no return whatever be countenanced towards the old oligarchic lines. Social and administrative conditions in Jamaica will not admit of entrusting government to any parliamentary form based on anything approaching a general suffrage; and, on the other hand, it is contrary to the traditions and best principles of parliamentary government to entrust the administration to the hands of a few, especially in a country where the great bulk of the population, in race, ability, intellect, and economic standing, is vastly inferior to the comparatively small section of the community from which the administration would infallibly be chosen. It would be well to promote and raise in any possible way the dignity and responsibility of the local authorities as represented, for instance, by the custos of the parish. It would be well to provide seats on the council sufficient to absorb such political talent as would willingly enter upon the most useful work of assisting in the Crown government. But to think of popular parliamentary government, is to dream a vain dream; and to speak of an administration, partially representative and independent of the direct control and guidance of the Crown, is to speak of a backsliding into a system of government which has proved itself altogether insufficient to manage the affairs of such a community, in accordance not only with the best interests of the community, but with all the best traditions of English rule.

The creation of an Administrator-General's office for Jamaica gives to the recent investigation in *British Guiana* an importance extending outside the limits of that colony. The Special Commissioners sent from England to investigate the very serious charges brought against the late Administrator-General, Mr. Watson, have now issued their report. They come to the conclusion that Mr. Watson ignored or violated all the more important rules of his office, and they are of opinion that other superior officials should have been aware of what was going on and have interfered. The term or title of Administrator-General is an unfortunate term, as it leads many to compare with the officer administering the government this entirely different functionary. The Administrator-General in British Guiana is a leading member of the

judicial establishment, having to deal with insolvent estates and other equitable trusts—a post of much importance.

The demands of the United States market is having a curious effect on Demerara sugars; and it is an effect by no means altogether beneficial to Demerara planters. The tariff in the United States has been arranged to foster refining, and therefore to exclude all sugars that need no refining, and that can go straight from the ship to the table. The speciality of Demerara has long been “crystals,” centrifugal sugar that needed no refining; and this product had a great and firm hold on the English market. But the tariff of the United States fostered the introduction of a sugar not fit for immediate consumption, and British Guiana planters have exhibited a tendency to supply raw instead of finished sugar. This does not appear to be quite wise, inasmuch as it is deserting a good sound trade for one that is at best but problematical in results, and that may not endure for long. And the worst of this experimental change is the fact that the other islands of the West Indies are more and more making centrifugal sugars, and so invading the field in England occupied from the first by the well-made grocery sugars of Demerara.

In *Ceylon* matters are considerably mended, and chiefly owing to the subsidence of the coffee-growing mania. All enterprise had become absorbed in this one product; and when the “*Hemeliya vastatrix*” attacked the leaf of the coffee-plant and dealt a ruinous blow at this great industry, in which every one was embarked, gloomy forebodings naturally and speedily developed into a genuine panic. However, the buoyant energy of the planter in time rose to the occasion, and is now triumphing by the substitution and addition of other crops. Chinchona and tea, spices and other tropical products, have profitably absorbed much of the enterprise and capital that has found coffee, as an exclusive crop, to be a most untrustworthy investment.

Coffee-planters are, however, to be congratulated on the recent move in England against substitutes and adulterations sold openly under the title “coffee.” The *Pall Mall Gazette* had a timely and capital leader on the subject which it will be well to quote. After pointing out in detail the evil of the substitutes and adulterations, the article proceeded:—

“In the long list of the curiosities of commerce there occurs nothing more startling than the fact that the English Government, from time to time, not only connived at, but positively assisted, this strange widening of the denotation of the term ‘coffee.’ At first, in somewhat pious horror, Treasury orders prohibited the sale even of chicory mixed with coffee. But in 1853 we find Government allowing of this mixture being sold, provided only it were so labelled. Ten years later a Treasury order was issued rescinding even this labelling proviso, and allowing any mixture of any ingredients to be sold as coffee. In short, the term coffee was made to include powders, more or less soluble, made up of such widely differing materials as beans, malt, roasted grain, dried carrots, acorns, sawdust, and cunningly treated cabbage-stalks.”

The article then points out that in the new Customs Revenue Bill the importation is prohibited of any substance whatever prepared in imitation of coffee or chicory, or called by their names or mixed with

them. And there are heavy penalties against all who sell, or attempt to sell, under the name of coffee, anything resembling and intended as a substitute for coffee. And the article concludes by alluding to the beneficial effect of this much-needed legislation on the industry of coffee-growing:—

“Such a prospect justifies hope in regard to revenue, and both the trader and the planter will welcome the relief afforded. Both suffered sadly when the term ‘coffee’ came to be used for articles far less costly in production than genuine coffee, and totally different in character. . . . One of the most valuable effects of this new order will be to restore to coffee its true market-price. This will greatly relieve commerce generally; but it will above all relieve the planter of a serious burden. In India, in Ceylon, and in the West Indies millions of pounds sterling are invested in the industry of coffee-growing, and profitable employment is afforded for hundreds of thousands of English citizens. To free such an industry from the trammels of most unfair competition, is only to perform a neglected duty towards a large and enterprising class of industrial workers.”

The planters in Ceylon will welcome this just and well-informed sympathy of a leading London newspaper.

The most remarkable item of news from *Australia* is, that so severe and widespread have been the droughts that there will be little, if any, increase in the amount of wool grown this year as compared with last year. It is also becoming recognized that at no distant date the end will be visible to the possible increase of sheep in *Australia*. The eastern half of the continent is now occupied, and when once the rapid opening up of Western *Australia* is concluded, and that vast district “stocked up,” *Australia*, so far as squatting is concerned, will be fully developed, and we shall know for a certainty the full limit of the amount of wool and meat that can there be grown at present prices.

In *South Australia* great progress is being made with railway extension, and it seems not unlikely that with the success of the new squatting operations proceeding along the telegraph route, a line of railway will, at no distant date, be laid, connecting *Adelaide* with the northern parts, and reducing very considerably the time for passengers and mails and light merchandize, in transference between *Europe* and *Australia*. It seems probable that it will be possible by the year 1890 to transfer a man from *England* to *Australia* in less than twenty days—an operation which in 1870 could not be performed in less than forty days, and which in 1850 occupied at least eighty days. These are strides in rapidity of transference that remind one rather of the *Arabian Nights* than of actual fact.

Victoria is doing fairly well under the sobering régime of Sir Bryan O’Loghlen. Happily, the colony is for the time repudiating her evil political traditions, and declining to be led astray by the violence and useless antagonisms of extreme ideas. Mr. Berry attempted to rouse the working men in favour of Protection by a “want of confidence” motion, chiefly based on the complaint that the Government had ordered from *England* some water-pipes and railway-carriages,

which might have been manufactured in the colony. Mr. Berry failed to see that this was done because it was cheaper, because it was a more economical method of using public money. But the general public in Victoria, as well as Mr. Berry's immediate political opponents, did not ignore this obvious fact.

The recent droughts have brought forward a most useful Act—"The Water Conservancy Act"—under which many districts are now endeavouring to raise money for extensive schemes of water-storage and irrigation. Such measures, if energetically made use of, will eventually relieve Australia of its one serious drawback—droughts.

The Government has also been taking fresh steps towards the organization of its local defence forces. The permanent artillery force is re-established for the reason that the batteries, year by year increasing in strength, cannot be properly manned except by well-trained forces. In addition to this, two gun-boats and some torpedo-boats have also been ordered. But in the manning of these the lack of duly qualified and properly trained crews will be severely felt; and it will be well if the Victorian and other Australian Governments see their way to some arrangement with the Imperial authorities for the supply from the Imperial army and navy of relays of men to form the nucleus of local defence, and be able to instruct the local forces in all the latest scientific developments. Such contingents could be changed from time to time, so as to ensure the application to these local defences of technical knowledge constantly up to the latest developments in the elaborate science of modern warfare.

New South Wales is exhibiting continued signs of most rapid growth. The new loan has done deservedly well in the home market. Sound reason has been afforded for this in the fact that already the New South Wales Railways—in which has been invested most of the wrongly called Public Debt—pay already net dividends of 5 per cent. Such a state of things is eminently satisfactory, seeing that these railways are avowedly before their time, and distinctly in advance of the population and trade that is some day to occupy the districts to and through which they have been made. The latest extensions proposed are one connecting Sydney with the existing northern system, and so bridging over the gap that at present exists, and which is now "bridged" by a short sea voyage to Newcastle; and another, the pushing on the great Southern Railway to and across the Murray by a new bridge.

In *Queensland* there is for the moment a check to the development of railways, as the Premier has declared against the making lines into the interior on the land grant system. The outside critic places this declaration side by side with the new reports from the Government geologist as to the discovery of "numerous and thick seams of coal" near Palmersville. If Queenslanders are wise they will overcome these scruples of their Premier.

In *New Zealand* a considerable impetus to growth has been given by the rapid "taking up" of land in the north island by immigrants

from England, most of them possessed of a certain amount of capital. This agricultural rush tends, however, to exceed the limits prudence would assign; for at the present no arrangements are contemplated or made to secure access to *sufficient* markets. Much produce can no doubt be grown, but that it should have any value depends on the existence of a market capable of absorbing it.

Hopes for these farmers and fears for their brethren in England have been engendered during the past quarter by the arrival in England of a cargo of 7,000 "frozen sheep" from New Zealand. The cargo has disappeared into the London market with strange ease. This has been taken, on the one hand, as proof that the meat is equal to the best, and on the other, that there is a large demand for meat, no matter how inferior in quality. Accurate calculations, however, prove that there will be little, if any, permanent lowering in the wholesale prices of meat caused by these importations. The great benefit of these possible supplies will be the prevention of any serious rise in the price of meat in the London market. The actual price of really prime mutton in the colonies, the necessary costs of freezing and transit, and the further costs of thawing and distribution, all mitigate against the expectation that there can be any lowering of wholesale prices. Moreover, there is certain to be an abiding objection to pay as much for "frozen" as for "fresh" meat: and this objection, be it reasonable or unreasonable, will none the less have a very tangible effect on prices.

The vigour of the recent debates in the *Cape Colony* Parliament on the Basutoland affairs, marks the dread responsibility in which the Cape Colony is involved by having to control and administer large native districts. General Gordon is, however, at work, and no doubt at no distant date he will report on some detailed scheme. In the meantime the chiefs and the native powers are gradually gaining ascendancy in Basutoland. It really looks as if the native mind had an idea that the days of white supremacy were numbered; and there can be no greater danger for South Africa than the spread of this idea. Unless something is done, and that soon, to show that the South African European communities are backed up by the force of an irresistible Empire, there will be sad risk of very serious trouble. For this reason it is to be regretted that that shrewd observer, Cetshwayo, was not brought to England this spring. To have impressed him with a vivid personal knowledge of the overwhelming strength of England, would have impressed the whole native mind in South Africa.

The *Times* recently published a telegram:—"The first speech in the Dutch language has been delivered in the Cape Parliament by a member who warmly thanked his colleagues for the privilege; but said he should speak English in future, in order to secure harmony." This telegram will illustrate the mixed ideas prevalent even in South Africa. Even the introduction of the Dutch language into the local Parliament cannot quench the strong fact that it is by intimate connection with England that the South African colonies can exist at all in face of the swarming native population.

The Cape Colony, with Basutoland still on its hands, naturally shrinks from interfering in the very serious troubles brewing on the frontier of Griqualand West. Boers are actively assisting a chief within their border, to attack a chief (a great friend to the English) outside their border; and they are already demanding a "rectification" of frontier in their own favour. Our Resident at Pretoria has been instructed to protest. And elsewhere within the Transvaal there are troubles with the natives. Each day it becomes more desirable, more urgently desirable, that Parliament should make up its mind either finally to leave the Transvaal to fight it out to the bitter end with the native races, or else more actively to control Boer action in accordance with some one definite and abiding policy. Some distinct declaration of policy is now necessary, or the British taxpayer will wake one morning to find himself once more mulcted of several millions sterling, solely and simply because of the want of a fixed determinate policy in South African affairs.

There are signs all round of grave disquiet in the native mind. In Zululand there have been actual disturbances that threaten worse complications in the near future. The Zulus have now no one head of their own to look to; and over their border they seem to be unable to determine whether Bishop Colenso or the Queen or the Governor of Natal is really the ruler of English policy. The postponement of Cetshwayo's visit to England is a yielding to local clamour which is fresh evidence of the uselessness of continuing the present system. Nothing disturbs and upsets native confidence so much as change or vacillation. When it does not completely puzzle it is simply taken as evidence of weakness. There is more necessity than ever that some supreme consistent policy should prevail, and that permanently. This must either be a free, responsible, local opinion, or that peculiar form of government from home known as "Crown Colony" government, pure and simple. This has succeeded in Ceylon and Singapore, and would succeed in South-Eastern Africa if once definitely instituted.

Natal has wisely adopted the line of policy we advocated last quarter. The general election has resulted in a verdict altogether adverse to the colony's taking up the duties and responsibilities of responsible government. This verdict is wise and timely, and it was well that the question should have been thus authoritatively decided one way or the other. Now, it is to be hoped, some definite action will be taken to make matters secure for the future. Zululand cannot be left as it is. One of two courses must be followed. Either the country must be allowed to rule itself, native fashion, under some strong native—impressed, and thoroughly impressed, with the greatness and the friendliness of England; or the country must be actually—and not merely nominally—governed by England. Any other course, any half-and-half measures, can only lead, as we have always held, to uncertainty and trouble in the present, and disaster and loss in the future.

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1. *Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts on National Water Supply, Sewage, and Health.* May, 1879.
2. *Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts on the Progress of Public Health.* June, 1880.
3. *Report of the Salmon Disease Commission for 1880.*
4. *The Twentieth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries for England and Wales.* 1881.
5. *The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries for England and Wales.* 1880.
6. *Report of Evidence given before the Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board.*
7. *Report of the Thames Conservators.* Presented July, 1881.

THE fact that the Woolwich Local Board of Health and the Port of London Sanitary Authority had an interview with the Home Secretary some three months ago respecting the pollution of the Thames, probably excited but little general interest at the time, and is now altogether forgotten, though to those whom it directly concerns the matter seems one of vital importance. Three years ago an able advocate of sanitary [Vol. CXVIII. No. CCXXXIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXII. No. II. X

reform* stated that there are daily discharged into the river, in the immediate neighbourhood of Woolwich, "120,000,000 gallons of diluted filth."

"The condition of the river," he continues, "below Barking Creek, in the heat of a summer's morning, at mid-ebb, beggars all description. The mariner, fog-bound and becalmed, as each turn of the screw stirs up the film and slime floating on the surface, can appreciate at his leisure the well-remembered words of the late Mr. Newton, Chairman of the Committee of the Metropolitan Board of Works: 'We have got rid of our sewage' (he is reported to have said, in January, 1873), 'and with the sanitary aspect we have nothing to do.'"

It is perhaps, therefore, only natural that the inhabitants of Woolwich, and other places situated near the sewage outfalls of the Metropolitan Board of Works, should feel alarmed that the latter body appears to contemplate taking further powers, and spending money on increased reservoir accommodation for Barking and Crossness. It is also probable that the members of the Woolwich deputation were not altogether reassured by the reply of Sir William Harcourt, that the Corporation of London had, as stated above, already applied to him against the present manner of the disposal of the drainage, and that "when they got two such bodies as the Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works in conflict, they might be pretty certain that there would be a very careful consideration of the question, and therefore they might be quite certain that nothing would be done in the way of extension of this matter, at all events without full inquiry." It may have occurred to some among them, that, though there was also "a very careful consideration of this question" in 1877, consequent on the inquiries, correspondence, and subsequent arbitration between the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Thames Conservators, which arose out of Captain Calver's well-known report on the state of the river, it eventually left things exactly as they were, and the recollection may have damped their hopes of benefits to be derived from the present conflict of authorities. Shortly afterwards, indeed, the *Gazette*, of June 23, announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the "Pollution of the River Thames;" but river pollution has survived so many Commissions and Parliamentary Committees that people may be excused from entertaining any very sanguine expectations as to the results to be anticipated from the labours of the present one.

To most of the world, "*pollution*" is still merely a crotchet

* See a paper by C. N. Cresswell, of the Inner Temple, read at the Annual Conference on National Water Supply, Sewage, and Health, of the Society of Arts, May, 1879. See Proceedings, pp. 129, 130.

of scientific men, which can well be left to them to discuss and write about at their leisure, and with which ordinary mortals are but little concerned. It is, perhaps, natural that this should be the case. In the first place, as was pointed out by the Chairman* at the opening of the "Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts, on the Progress of Public Health," in June, 1880, there still exists, to some extent, that difficulty which has continually met the Society in the course of the valuable discussions which, since 1876, they have held on the subject,—“the difficulty of enforcing the existing sanitary laws, on account of the apathy or ignorance of local bodies, and the anything but disinterested opposition of the owners of property, and of the non-inhabitants of the localities to be affected.” Secondly, so far as the prevention of pollution is concerned, it must be observed that the “existing sanitary laws” are by no means of a satisfactory nature.

In “The Night Scene,” a dramatic fragment by Coleridge, *Earl Henry*, one of the characters, remarks:—

“Oh! there is a joy above the name of pleasure,
Deep self-possession, an intense repose.”

To which *Sanlovul*, his companion, replies sarcastically:—

“No other than as Eastern sages paint,
The god, who floats upon a lotus leaf,
Dreams for a thousand ages; then awaking,
Creates a world, and smiling at the bubble,
Relapses into bliss.”

There are certain questions lying out of the range of party politics which, owing either to the “deep self-possession” created by the joy of holding office, or to the want of time to deal with any subject which cannot be turned to good account in party warfare, are treated by the Legislature much after the manner of the Eastern deity above described. When popular feeling has made it necessary to do something, Parliament blows its bubble in the shape of a carelessly drawn and hurriedly discussed measure. Perchance it appears but to float through the session, and to burst into thin air when the approach of the grouse season warns Ministers that it is time to scatter half their projected schemes to the winds. Perchance it lives to glide down the mighty and ever-growing stream of the statutes at large, till it finds rest in the peaceful backwater of the dusty top shelves of the libraries of the Inns of Court. Whichever be its fate, the legislative divinity, well satisfied with the world he has

* The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P. See the Report of the Proceedings of the Society for 1880, p. 9.

called into existence, relapses into blissful unconsciousness on the subject till the public voice once more awakes him, and, with a smile at his former work, he proceeds to create a fresh one on diametrically opposite principles. It is to be presumed that most of those who have given any attention to the general course of legislation can point to specimens of this class of questions. It is certain that one of the most striking among them is river pollution, which, though an unlawful act in itself by its infringement of the common law right of every riparian owner to receive the stream flowing through his land in its natural state, has nevertheless received encouragement from the law in two ways.

The first of these is by the recognition of the easement of pollution which can be acquired at common law by the continuance of a perceptible amount of fouling the water of a stream for twenty years, and which is not destroyed by a mere change in the quality of the pollution. Its existence implies the tacit consent of other riparian owners, who have it in their power to prevent it by an action for damages or restrain it by injunction; and it may therefore be attributed to that "apathy" or "ignorance," or "anything but disinterested opposition," on the part of the public which has been above alluded to. Mining and manufacturing pollutions can, for the most part, be ranged under this head; and though it cannot be admitted for a moment that these are justifiable, it must be owned that they are more excusable than a class of pollutions to be noticed later on. It has been well shown by a leading authority on the subject,* that the difficulties of keeping a river pure increase with the increase of population and the altered conditions of society. Even agricultural science contributes its quota of pollution by the artificial manures used to fertilize land, the drainage from which, in addition to heightening the floods and reducing the dry weather flow of rivers, is, there seems reason to think, not promotive of fish life; while such a necessary process as sheep washing is still more injurious, on account of the arsenical mixtures in which sheep are dipped, "which undoubtedly sicken, and perhaps destroy, fish; and are probably even more destructive to the ephemera on which the fish feed." Much more baleful, therefore, must be the continuous flow of refuse from mines and manufactories, so that "improved trade, under the existing law, means an increase of river pollution."†

* See Mr. Walpole's Report in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries. Parliamentary Papers, vol. xiv. pp. 461 *et seq.*

† See Mr. Walpole's Report, referred to above. "It does not require any very large addition to the poisonous refuse which is poured into some rivers to make them uninhabitable by salmon."

The second mode of legal encouragement to pollution does not, however, admit of the plea of its being necessary to the maintenance of commercial prosperity. It is the system of creating the easement of pollution by express enactment, in some cases at the instance, but in many against the will, of the polluters, and has reference almost entirely to sewage pollution which, to a great extent, may be said to have been called into existence by Parliament.

Whether sanitary matters would ever have attracted the attention of the Legislature but for the terrible visitation of cholera to this country in 1847 it is hard to say, but it is from the following year that the long series of Public Health Acts date. These statutes number some seven, which deal with the metropolis and its suburbs, and nearly a dozen which relate to the country at large exclusive of London. The later ones attempt to mitigate some of the evils caused by the former, but the principal point to be noted with regard to them is that the Act of 1848,* "for *improving*" the sanitary condition of towns," substituted for the system of cesspools that of sewer drainage, and inaugurated a new form of river pollution. The metropolis set the example, and under eight Acts relating to main drainage, established the works at Barking and Crossness, which are causing such discomfort and alarm to the people of Woolwich. There were towns, such as Richmond in Surrey, which would fain have kept their sewage out of the Thames,† but the Metropolitan Commissioners, in whose district they were, ruled otherwise. With their approval a system of sewers was constructed, at a cost of £20,000, to pour it into the river, and this laudable example was followed by Twickenham, Isleworth, Kew, and other suburbs, till in a short time all towns situated on the banks of "the most loved of Ocean's sons"‡ began to make a similar use of the grand natural drain which Nature had placed near their doors, and the principle that rivers were made to be the depositories of human filth was welcomed and acted on throughout the land.§ The country appears now to be awaking to consciousness of the evil of this system of pollution as by law established; but, before examining the inadequate means hitherto taken to amend them, it will be worth while to try and estimate some of the effects of

* 11 & 12 Vict. c. 112.

† Mr. Donaldson, who held a local inquiry on the subject, advised and designed a plan for carrying the sewage on to the old Deer Park, but the Crown, to whom it belongs, objected. See Mr. Cresswell's paper, referred to above.

‡ Sir John Denham's "Cowper's Hill."

§ See a paper by Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B., in Proceedings of the Society of Arts, 1879, above referred to.

combined mining, manufacturing, and sewage pollutions. The state of the Thames at Barking has already been alluded to, and though Richmond, Kingston, and other towns below the intake of the Water Companies, still drain into it, it presents, as will be shown, the one successful instance of attempts to check pollution. It has, moreover, no mines, and few, if any, manufactories on its banks, and we must therefore turn to other rivers to find our examples.

The late Mr. Frank Buckland, who, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, was one of the earliest as well as most zealous and able of the advocates for restoring our rivers to their former purity, writes in the last Report presented by him :*—

“ Rivers are used as sewers by towns. Their head waters, rising often in springs of great purity, are rendered thick, muddy, and in some cases poisonous to man and beast, by refuse from mines, which not only makes the water poisonous, but, by covering the gravel beds with mud and small stones, prevents the fish from spawning. This pollution also has a most serious effect in covering up the vegetation and weeds which breed the insect food on which fish subsist.”

In a paper published in the *Sanitary Record* for July, 1878,† the same authority showed in detail how chemical works, mines, factories, and sewage were destroying the fish in upwards of thirty salmon rivers, and drew attention to the dangers to public health caused by sewage pollutions, such as those of the Severn at Newton, the Thames at Datchet, the Medway at Maidstone, and the Ribble at Preston. The list of various river pollutions there given is so startling, and withal so concise and complete, that it is worth reproducing for the consideration of the reader:—

“ The great salmon fish-farms are divided into forty-one districts. The following is a list of the various pollutions from which these rivers unfortunately suffer :—

“ *Aze* : sewage. *Camel* : china clay, mines. *Dart* : chemicals, mines, paper works, wool washings. *Dee* : oil and alkali works, petroleum; paper works, wool washings. *Dorey* : mines. *Ellen* : coal washings, tan, mines. *Eden* : sewage, tan, mines. *Eze* : sewage, paper works. *Fowey* : china clay works, mines. *Kent* : manufactures. *Lune* : paper works. *Medway* : manufactures. *Ogmore* : coal, tan, sewage. *Ribble* : sewage, factories, chemicals. *Rhymney* : ruined by pollutions. *Severn* : sewage, mines, tan, dye works. *Stour* (Canterbury) : sewage. *Tamar* and *Plym* : mines and clay works. *Taw* and *Torridge* : sewage. *Tees* : mines, sewage. *Teify* : débris from slate

* The Nineteenth Annual Report (for 1879) of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries. See Parliamentary Papers, vol. xiv. p. 395 *et seq.*

† On “The Pollution of Rivers and its effects upon the Fisheries and the Supply of Water to Towns and Villages,” an Address delivered before the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, July 3, 1879.

quarries, mines. *Teign*: mines. *Towy*: mines, chemicals. *Trent*: sewage, factories. *Tyne*: chemicals, mines, coal washings. *Usk*: tin-plate works, ironworks, lime, ashes, coal washings, sewage. *Wear*: ruined by mines. *Yorkshire rivers*: tan, lime, factories, sewage.”*

It may, however, be urged that this statement, conclusive as it is of the deplorable condition of our rivers, was made nearly four years ago, and, though the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act had then been in force nearly a year,† those who are unaware that that Act is practically a dead letter may imagine that some change for the better has been produced by it. It will be advisable, therefore, to give in confirmation of the above details some of the latest evidence which can be gathered from trustworthy sources as to particular cases.

In the evidence given before the Salmon Disease Commission, 1880,‡ in the month of August, we read as respects the Tweed:—“The Tweed is much polluted. All the refuse from Galashiels and Hawick comes down the river. Much pollution comes from Kelso. The water is also affected by the pollutions of the Gala and Ettrick. It is offensive to the smell in summer.” “On Sunday and Monday,” says another witness, “the water is quite clean and pure. On Monday, after five o’clock, and all the week, it is like ink; it is a bluish black.” Again: “The water is not at all pure now. The pollution is both chemical and vegetable—chiefly indigo.” Again: “Wool-scouring sends turpentine, sulphur, arsenic, spirits of tar, and black soap into the river. This comes from the wool in the wool works. The fish get unhealthy through pollutions. *The pollution is double what it was in 1874.*” Once more: “Innerleithen has turned its town sewage into the Tweed within the last two years.” In his latest Report,§ above referred to, Mr. Buckland, when alluding to the necessity of keeping our rivers and watercourses free of all sorts of pollution, expresses his opinion that this will never be done till the question of water supply, “as affecting the health and well-being of Her Majesty’s subjects, attracts public attention.” As he further remarks|| that he was “surprised” to find “during our recent inquiry into the salmon disease on the Tweed, and that the authorities of important towns situated on the banks of the river remained content to drink” its waters, it

* He further says that Mr. Walpole states that out of sixteen rivers flowing from the Pennine Alps, in the Welsh Hills, and in Dartmoor, twelve are polluted by lead mines.

† 39 & 40 Vict. c. 75. The Act, though known as the Pollution Act of 1876, did not take effect as to sewage and manufacturing and mining pollutions till August, 1877 (see sect. 13).

‡ See Parliamentary Papers, vol. xiv. p. 254.

§ *Ibid.* p. 395 *et seq.*

|| *Ibid.* p. 396 (note).

is much to be feared (though after reading the above description we may share his surprise) that no amount of pollution will ever attract public attention until some terrible epidemic is caused by it.

We also learn from the Report of the Salmon Disease Commission that the Eden is not much polluted in its upper waters, but that the sewage of Carlisle in the lower waters is very bad ; and that on the Calder, a tributary joining the Eden near its estuary (and therefore not much affecting the main river), there are dye, tan, print, and brewing works. It is, however, satisfactory to read Mr. Buckland's statement that "the cause of salmon disease would appear from the above (evidence) to be unconnected with pollution,"* and also to find that a few pure rivers exist in the country. Thus the *Nith* (Dumfries), the *Annan*, the *Kirkcudbright Dee*, the *Girvan*, the *Bladenoch*, the *Upper Lune*, and the *Dee*† are pure ; while the *Doon*, which was formerly polluted from the Carnochan coal mines, is now freed from pollution. The *Cumberland Derwent* is a little polluted by collieries and the débris of lead mines and tinplate works, but is comparatively pure on the whole. It is nevertheless to be feared that these are exceptions to the general rule, and owe their immunity to flowing through uninhabited districts. Later evidence of the condition of our rivers of a very unsatisfactory nature is furnished in the last Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries for England and Wales.‡

In Appendix III. of the Report (p. 60 *et seq.*) will be found twelve questions (with the replies thereto), relative to the administration of the Salmon Fisheries Acts, which are contained in a circular addressed to the Boards of Conservators in the forty-four fishery districts into which England and Wales is divided. Two of these questions relate to the subject of the present paper, and are as follows :—

* Pollution, however, admittedly poisons the fish, and Mr. Buckland hints that the numbers of dead fish may be an accessory cause of the disease. It appears also to be considered by some that overcrowding may also further the spread of the evil, and pollution undoubtedly helps to produce this by excluding salmon, which Mr. Buckland says have been known to turn suddenly back and make for the sea on meeting pollution, from many of their spawning grounds (See Nineteenth Annual Report, p. 23). In the Twenty-first Annual Report the Inspectors observe that though "there is not the slightest ground for regarding pollutions," whether they arise from "agricultural or from manufacturing industries, as primary causes of salmon disease, they may have a most important secondary influence ; they may, in fact, determine whether, in any river, the disease shall be sporadic or epidemic" (p. 27).

† The Report does not specify which *Dee* is referred to.

‡ The Twentieth Annual Report, for 1880. Mr. Walpole alone reported, Mr. Huxley, the successor to Mr. Frank Buckland, sending in no report that year.

Question 5. "Have any new mines, or factories, using substances deleterious to fish, been opened in your district in 1880, or has any substance poisonous or deleterious to fish been allowed to flow into your rivers?"

Q. 6. "What steps were taken in 1880 to prevent pollution from mines and factories, or sewage from towns, from entering your rivers? Have such steps proved successful?"

Replies are made to one or the other, or in some cases to both these inquiries, by twenty-one out of the forty-four districts, so that it is to be presumed that the remainder have neither been injured by fresh sources of pollution, nor taken any means to remedy those already in existence, and as to these the statement of Mr. Buckland in 1878, which was given above, appears the best available evidence. The fresh pollutions are, in some cases, of a trifling nature, and the remedies seem for the most part to consist in correspondence and remonstrances, only three actions (one in the Ribble and two in the Severn districts) being reported, and one inquiry under the Rivers Pollution Act, 1876, which was adjourned *sine die*. It will be best, however, to extract from the Report such cases as seem most striking, and let the reader judge for himself:—

Eden District.—Q. 6.* "There has been some correspondence between the Board and the authorities of the city of Carlisle, and the Local Government Board as to the sewage of Carlisle entering the river Eden, but nothing has been done."

It will be remembered that in 1880 the Salmon Disease Commission described the sewage pollution from Carlisle "as very bad," and that in 1878 it was also suffering from pollution from tan and mines.

Ribble District.—Q. 5. "No such mines or factories have been opened, but near Wigan the refuse from chemical works has been put into the Douglas, a tributary of the Ribble."

Q. 6. "No such steps have been taken by the Board, but an action has been tried between a riparian owner and the owners of paper works at Clitheroe, and an injunction obtained."

As the Ribble is described in 1878 as polluted by sewage

* The districts of the Salmon Fisheries Commissioners are very extensive, comprising in some cases two or three rivers and portions of the sea. Thus, the Avon and Stour district comprises the Avon and Stour and their tributaries in Hants, Dorset and Wilts; their estuaries, and all rivers between the west boundary of Hants and Hurst Castle Lighthouse—a great part of the seaboard of Hampshire. The Trent district comprises the sea for three miles seawards between Ingoldnells Point and the Humber; the Lincolnshire, half of the Humber east of Trent Falls; the Trent and its tributaries, and all rivers between these points; which must embrace a seaboard of between twenty and thirty miles.

chemicals and factories, it is to be feared this solitary action will not much contribute to its purification.

Towy District.—Q. 6. “The proprietors of Kidwelly Tin Works have been repeatedly remonstrated with. Water bailiffs have been constantly on the alert, with a hope of obtaining sufficient evidence to enable the Board to proceed under the Act of 1861,* but they have entirely failed, *every living thing having been killed between the works and the sea.* At the next quarterly meeting the Board will be recommended to apply to the Local Government Board, with a view to putting the Rivers Pollution Act into operation.”

It is to be regretted that the Act could not have been put into operation while “some living thing” inhabited the waters.

Taff and Ely District.—Q. 6. “The matter has been on several occasions before the Sanitary Authorities, and Dr. Angus Smith has visited the district during the past year, and notified that certain cases of pollution must be remedied before the 31st December, 1880. The Board instructed their inspector to make periodical visits to the works causing pollution.”

Perhaps the result of these notifications and visits may be guessed at from the report that follows.

Rhymney District.—Q. 6. *It is impossible to obtain any convictions under the present Act, in consequence of which this once productive river is now ruined.*”

This district includes all rivers and their estuaries and tributaries between the east end of Bute Dock and Ty-ton-y-Pill; and the northern half of the Bristol Channel between these points.

Ush District.—Q. 6. “Mr. Walpole and Dr. Angus Smith have visited various works on the Elbwartom Llwyd, and they have promised an improvement. The establishment of new tinsplate works near the mouth of the Clydoch has occasioned general alarm, and for about a month the waste vitriol was discharged into the river. The proprietors undertook to prevent this, but as the works have since been temporarily suspended, the result has not been tested. The Corporation of Brecon have completed their sewage tanks, but it is not yet known if they are fully successful. The Town Council of Abergavenny promise to commence their sewage works shortly.”

Awe District.—Q. 5. “Carbolic acid, used in deodorization of sewage at Seaton, flows into the river near its mouth.”

Mr. Walpole, in his Report for 1879, above referred to, says: “I have on previous occasions endeavoured to explain that pollutions in the tideway may be more serious to our salmon fisheries than any others, since every fish is bound in its passage

* 24 & 25 Vict. c. 109 (Salmon Fisheries).

to and from the sea to pass through the tideway." Though it is not stated to be due to the carbolic acid, it is noteworthy that the Conservancy Board of the Axe report in 1880 that the take of the fish in the district has diminished.

Stour (Canterbury) District.—"No reply is made to *Question 5*, which is evidently accounted for by the reply to *Question 1*: Whether the take of fish in the district has diminished?" The Board state that "the cultivation of salmon in this river has virtually been abandoned for several years, and the river below Fordwich has not been fished for a long time. During alterations in the Canterbury sewage works, in October last, the sewage of Canterbury was turned bodily into the river just above Sturry for several days together; this act both proved and *determined* the existence of a quantity of fine fish in the river, the keeper having taken out in two days fifty-six fish, varying from 1½ lbs. to 16 lbs. in weight, all suffocated by sewage."

It is gratifying, therefore, to read the answer to *Question 6*.

Q. 6. "The Canterbury Urban Sanitary Authority have now *nearly* (?) completed the new sewage filtering works, with a view to purifying the effluent sewage water passing into the river."

Camel District.—*Q. 6.* "The river had become so hard and tight from the clay-work refuse that fish could not move the gravel to spawn. Some spawning beds have been made, and the fish have been working in them."

As to this mode of pollution, Mr. Cresswell, speaking of the uselessness of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, at the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts on Public Health in 1880, remarked: "In fact, you never could deal with the pollution of the rivers in Devon, because the only way you polluted them was by turning in matter in suspension, and that was not within the Act."

Tamar and Plym District.—*Q. 5.* "New mines are being put to work throughout the district."

Q. 6. "Notices are served on the owners, which have proved *partly* successful."

Avon and Erme District.—*Q. 5.* "In the Avon no new factories have been opened, but the old ones at South Brent have been extending their operations, which is considered to be more injurious to fish. In the Erme none but the old nuisances remain."

Question 6 is unanswered, so it is to be supposed that the Board are resigned to their fate.

Tees District.—*Q. 6.* "A committee of the Board visited the various lead mines in the upper reaches of the river in October, 1879, but no further steps have been taken, *it being unpracticable for any remedy to be effected* by proceedings by the Board."

Tyne District.—*Q. 5.* "A great quantity of poisonous substance still continues to flow into the river Tyne from the different chemical factories, such substances being very deleterious to fish. Also from

the silting ponds of the lead mine at Chesterton, on South Tyne, which are inadequate in number for their purpose."

Q. 6. "None, except by writing by the chairman to the wrong-doers."

At the risk of being tedious to the reader, one more case must be given—that of the river Severn, which receives "the town sewage from Llanidloes, Newton, Welshpool, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, &c.; also the pollutions from Gloucester, Worcester, &c.)* The following are the replies of the Board:—

Severn District.—Q. 5. "This is a very extensive question to answer in a district like the Severn. However, it may be safely answered in the affirmative."

Q. 6. "One person was prosecuted and convicted by justices for causing liquid matter to pass from tar distillery works into a tributary of the Severn to such an extent as to cause the waters to kill fish. Another case was prosecuted in the Newton Court for depositing a quantity of tan and other solid matter into the Severn, contrary to the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, and was in part heard and adjourned, but subsequently compromised on the tan being removed, and an undertaking being given to abstain from placing it there in future, and the payment of a sum being made for costs. An inquiry has been applied for under the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, to declare the river Severn at Gloucester to be a stream within the meaning of that Act, and has been adjourned SINE DIE."

A good commentary on the result of these vigorous legal proceedings is supplied by an extract from the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, given in the *Field* some few months since.

"The continued impregnation of the Severn," says the writer, "with the refuse of the lead mines about Llanidloes, is an evil which must be speedily remedied unless the total destruction of the stream as a fishing river is to be allowed. As the matter now stands, fishing is almost abandoned in the upper reaches, the proverbial uncertainty of success having degenerated into certain failure. We remember the time when it was by no means an unusual thing to take a good dish of trout in any fair length of the river between Newtown and Welshpool; but we question now if there is a dish of trout in the river, much more to be got out of it. The present season will probably see more salmon in the upper waters than there have been for many years, but that will be due entirely to the damage done by the floods to the weir at Pool Quay. There would not be a better fishing river in the United Kingdom than the Severn if it were free from the lead poisoning which is so destructive to fish life."†

* See Mr. Buckland's paper above referred to, page 3. The pollutions there given are sewage, mines, tan, dye works.

† Since this paper was written the Inspectors of Fisheries for England and Wales have published their Twenty-first Annual Report for the year 1881, and

Though facts such as the above may seem tedious reading to many, they must be admitted by the impartial to be tolerably convincing as to the nature and extent of an evil which is not only injuring our fisheries but damaging public health, not to mention the mere sentimental argument against it of converting some of the noblest works of Nature to the basest uses. Only 33,900 out of the 58,000 square miles which England and Wales contain can be made available for salmon cultivation,* owing to pollutions; and when it is considered how important the supply of food is to the 25,968,286 inhabitants of those two countries, and how valuable the produce of the fish-farms, has proved, this fact is one by no means to be disregarded. While under the able administration of the Inspectors the produce of the Salmon Fisheries of England and Wales has increased from £18,000 in 1863 (two years after the first passing of the Salmon Acts) to £100,000, we are told that this increase "would have been much greater if the drainage of land and the increase of pollution had not made improvement in many cases impossible, or had not actually reversed the progress which in other cases had been made."† Now that the subject of fishery is attracting the notice of great people, and a fishery exhibition looms in the future, the public will probably learn more of the value of the important gift of Nature which they now regard so lightly. It is not perhaps surprising that they should, however, be callous on the subject, when they are equally indifferent to the still more important one of health. Yet the evils arising from pollution in this respect are so well known that it seems almost an insult to the intelligence of the reader to do more than refer to them.

the remarks therein made respecting pollution so strongly confirm what has already been stated that it is worth while to give them verbatim:—

"In the first place, it is our duty to point out that the multiplication of salmon is seriously affected by the increase of pollution. Into the particulars of these pollutions it is not necessary for us to enter. A reference to the Appendix will show the many cases in which new pollutions have arisen, or old sources of pollution have done fresh damage during the last twelve months, and the few cases in which steps have been taken to render pollution harmless. We may say generally that the multiplication of fish is made more difficult in this way, and that some of the rivers which have hitherto been most productive are in perhaps the greatest danger from this cause. It is for Her Majesty's Government, rather than ourselves, to consider whether, under these circumstances, any steps are desirable for the purpose of remedying these pollutions. It is merely our duty to point out the danger which arises from them" (p. 10).

* Eighteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries for England and Wales. There are 153 miles of breeding-ground in the Upper Severn, of which about 60 only are available for fish.—Mr. Buckland, in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors (p. 43).

† Twentieth Annual Report of the Inspectors, p. 1.—Mr. Walpole.

No less than 6,979 entirely preventible deaths occurred in 1877 in England and Wales from enteric fever alone, the chief causes of which are known to be excremental pollutions of the air, or the water, or both. Cholera (the visitations of which in 1849, 1854, and 1856 can hardly be forgotten yet) and typhoid, are acknowledged by most of the leading medical authorities to be largely disseminated by impure water; and diarrhœa, goitre, malarious fevers and dyspepsia are, in many cases, induced by it.* It has been stated that from 70,000 to 100,000 cases of preventible disease have year by year been caused by polluted water;† and though there will always be found people who would fain make light of its bad effects, medical science, from the time when it first recorded its opinions in writing, appears to have been universally agreed as to the influence of the condition of water on the health of those who use it.‡ Lastly, the Government of the land, by numerous sanitary enactments, and by the system of inspection through officers appointed by the Privy Council and Local Government Board, has publicly shown the importance it attaches to the subject, and thus rendered its acquiescence in the present condition of things all the more astonishing and unaccountable. This fact naturally suggests a consideration of the legal machinery which is supposed to provide safeguards for the public health, so far as river pollution is concerned; that other world which the Legislature has called into being to redress the balance of the old world in which pollution as by law established was a recognized fact.

The statutory provisions respecting pollution are numerous, but with two important exceptions, to be presently noticed, they are either local, or deal with the pollution of water used for special purposes. The Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847, the Nuisances Removal Act, 1855, the Gasworks Clauses Act, 1847, the Lee Conservancy Act, 1868, the Salmon Fisheries Acts, 1861 and 1873, the Malicious Injuries to Property Act, 1861, and the Public Health Act, 1875, together with others which it would be out

* See a paper by Mr. Ernest Hart on the Epidemics produced by Water Supply in the Proceedings of the Annual Conference on Water Supply, Sewage, and Health, of the Society of Arts, 1879, p. 119. Also papers in the same publication by Messrs. Brown and Thorne, pp. 116, 117 *et seq.*

† See the remarks and paper of Dr. Thorne, *ibid.* p. 117, and also at p. 172.

‡ *Ibid.* Mr. Hart's paper, p. 119. "The Reports of Public Health," published under the direction of Mr. Simon, and referred to in this paper, seems to yield abundant information on this point. In the Fifth Report is given an abstract of the history of no less than 146 epidemics of typhoid fever investigated by his department during the four years, 1870-3, in all of which cases great excremental pollution of air or of water—generally of both—was found. Since then some very remarkable outbreaks of the same kind have been investigated by the Local Government Board with the same result.

of place to enumerate, all contain clauses more or less stringent on the subject. Their inefficiency is sufficiently proved by the present condition of our rivers, and they may therefore be passed over, save so far as they illustrate the bubble method of legislation, of which, as has been stated, they furnish examples worth noting. Two or three instances will suffice in proof. In 1847 the Waterworks Clauses Act was passed, which subjected to a penalty of £5 (with 20s. *per diem*, in addition, for every day the offence was committed), "Every person throwing rubbish, &c., into any stream, reservoir, or other works . . . or causing the *water of any sink, sewer, drain, steam-engine, boiler, or other filthy water, into any stream or reservoir belonging to the undertakers under the Act.*" The Gasworks Clauses Act of the same year contains a similar and still severer enactment against pollution by washings, and refuse from gas-factories; yet, in the very next year, the Legislature, by the Act of 1848, practically compelled all local authorities to pour filth far worse than any amount of gas washings into any stream which chanced to be near them. It has, indeed, been decided in numerous cases* that the Public Health Acts, which are now superseded by the Public Health Act of 1875, do not *authorize* local authorities to send sewage into a river to the prejudice of parties having established interests in the water; and the section of the latter statute which chiefly governs the matter (sec. 332) requires such local authorities to obtain, first, "the *consent* in writing of the 'body of persons' or 'person' entitled by law" to be defended against such pollution; while another section (sec. 69) actually authorizes local authorities to take proceedings by action or indictment to restrain pollution. But apart from the fact that these two sections virtually contradict each other, both the decisions and the statute are utterly defeated, because these local authorities are the very persons whose interest it is, and who were minutely directed, by the legislation of 1848, how to pollute rivers; while the "body of persons" or "person" whose consent they are required to obtain in writing have in most cases elected them to their office, and have the same interests as themselves in encouraging pollution. Hence it comes that sanitary authorities are the chief offenders against the law they are called on to enforce. A similar example of useless legislation is supplied by the Salmon Fisheries Acts, 1861 and 1873. Section 5 of the former statute enacts penalties

* *Oldaker v. Hunt*, 6 De G. M. & G., 376; *Bidder v. Croydon*, 6 L. T., N.S., 778; *A.-G. v. Luton Board of Health*, 2 Jur., N.S., 180; *A.-G. v. Basingstoke*, 45 L. J. Ch. D. 726; *St. Helens' Chemical Works v. St. Helens*, 1 Ex. D. 196.

of £5 for the first, £10 and £2 a day for the second, and £20 a day for the third offence, against any one putting "into any water containing salmon, or into any tributary thereof, any liquid or solid matter to such an extent as to cause the water to poison or kill fish;" while the Act of 1873, sec. 13, makes it "a misdemeanour punishable with penal servitude for any term not exceeding seven years, and not less than three years, or to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour," &c., to put 'unlawfully or maliciously lime or other noxious material into salmon rivers.' The effect, however, of these stringent provisions is rendered totally useless by the fact that they "cannot be enforced unless the fish are poisoned or killed in the water in which salmon or young salmon actually are;"* and the Act of 1861 carefully frustrates its first enactment by a further one that if the offender has used all means to render the obnoxious matter harmless he will not be liable, and that *nothing is to prevent any person from acquiring a legal right in cases where he would have acquired it if the Act had not passed.* Can it be wondered at that the Board of the Rhymney District, as mentioned above, "find it impossible to obtain any conviction under the present Act," in consequence of which their river has been ruined?† Once more, the Conservators of the Lee, which supplies the East London Waterworks Company with water, have under their Act full powers to check the pollution of their river. They have, however, no power over its tributaries; hence, the authorities of Stevenage, which is situated on one of them, were enabled in 1877 to discharge the sewage of 2,500 people into the stream, which afterwards, of course, found its way into the Lee, and thence into the stomachs of the population of the eastern part of the metropolis.‡

Did space permit, it would not be hard to give further examples of the utter failure of such enactments as the above to check an evil which flourishes under legal sanction, and which the Legislature only attempts to meet by throwing the onus of proceedings on solitary individuals or bodies, whose purses always, and whose interests in nine cases out of ten, prevent them from moving in the matter. It is necessary now, however, briefly to consider the two exceptions which were mentioned above—the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, and the Thames Conser-

* Mr. Walpole, in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Salmon Fisheries, p. 461 *et seq.*

† See *ante*, p. 322.

‡ See Mr. Bailey Denton's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on River Conservancy, 1877. Report, p. 237.

vancy Acts, the former of which is the only general enactment on the subject, and the latter of which presents the only case in which statutory provisions have proved successful in diminishing pollution.

The Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, resembles the celebrated picture told of in the "Vicar of Wakefield," which, though it pleased Dr. Primrose and his family highly, was rendered worse than useless by the fact that it was of such a great size that it could never be got out of the kitchen where, for convenience sake, it had been painted. It is admitted to be an admirable statute save for one fact—it cannot be put into operation. It applies to England, Scotland, and Ireland; it, for the first time in the history of legislation, recognizes pollution as an offence,* and punishes it by a fine of £50 a day; and it prohibits the putting of solid matter, sewage pollutions, and mining and manufacturing pollutions, into 'rivers, streams, canals, lakes and watercourses, other than watercourses at the passing of this Act mainly used as sewers, and emptying directly into the sea, or tidal waters which have not been determined to be streams within the meaning of this Act by order of the Local Government Board.' Yet, in spite of all these merits, the few instances in which it has been attempted to enforce it since it came into force in August, 1877, have entirely failed. The reasons of this failure were made clearly manifest by Mr. Cresswell in his speech on the necessity of amending the Act, at the Conference of the Society of Arts on Public Health in 1880.† It is due, in the first instance, to the fact that it makes no satisfactory provision for the payment of costs, and hence the expenses of bringing it to bear on offenders have been so heavy as to be almost prohibitive. Secondly, like all similar enactments on the subject, it throws the onus of beginning to institute proceedings on individuals who feel themselves aggrieved by pollutions, and further requires them to act only through the local sanitary authorities who, as has been so frequently pointed out, are the chief offenders. Hence, both the odium of being the first to interfere with a neighbour's proceedings, as well as the fact that a cheaper mode of doing so is given by the old law in the shape of an action at common law, or an injunction in Chancery, successfully prevent the coming forward of the courageous individual who

* See the remarks of Mr. Cresswell at the Annual Conference of the Society of Arts on the Progress of Public Health, held 1880, pp. 16 *et seq.* and 36 *et seq.* The Act was thoroughly discussed at the Conference, and the amendments, hereafter to be noticed, were proposed by Mr. Cresswell and carried unanimously.

† *Ibid.* pp. 16 and 36.

shall set the cumbrous machinery in motion.* Lastly, however, supposing the champion to have been found who, from philanthropic and patriotic motives, is willing to risk losing his money, and incurring the enmity of those around him, the Legislature has provided two weapons in the shape of verbal quibbles whereby a clever counsel can easily defeat him on the points of law which they raise. The first of these relates to the interpretation of the word "*knowingly*." In sections 2, 3, 4, and 5, which deal respectively with solid, sewage, and mining and manufacturing pollutions, the provision is worded as regards solids, "every person who puts, or causes to be put, or to fall, or *knowingly permits to be put* or to fall, or to be carried into any stream;" and as regards sewage, and mining, or manufacturing pollutions, "every person who causes to fall or flow or *knowingly permits to fall or flow* or to be carried into any stream." This has been used by counsel, Mr. Cresswell states, as follows:—They say you must prove a *guilty knowledge* on the part of the proprietor, manufacturer, or occupier, who pollutes, and this, on account of the strict construction put upon the Act on account of its being penal, it is almost impossible to do. In almost all cases the offender comes forward and states that he has given the strictest orders to his employés not to pollute the stream, and under such circumstances the court would always decline to find him guilty, even though it could be proved that he had taken no pains to ascertain whether his orders had been carried out. The second point turns on the construction of the words "*solid*" and "*liquid*." "Solid matter" is defined by sec. 20 "not to include particles of matter in suspension in water," thus placing outside the Act all the large class of pollutions which are going on entirely by means of matter in suspension in fluids. Hence, if pollution be attempted to be dealt with as a solid it can be met by the objection that it is not solid but only matter in suspension; while if it be proposed to deal with it as a liquid, the same answer, that it is matter in suspension and not in solution, is equally available to frustrate further inquiry. It will be remembered that the Conservancy Board of the Camel District report that the bed of their river has become so hard and tight from claywork refuse as to prevent fish from spawning,† and it appears, according to Mr. Cresswell, that all the Devonshire rivers are thus polluted by "*matter in suspension*." Thus the Act, apart from the other

* See remarks of Mr. Owen, *ibid.* p. 32. On a river polluted by chemicals and gasworks, where the refuse not only destroyed the fish by bushels, but poisoned the sheep and cattle who drank the water, no one could be found who dared to "bell the cat."

† See *ante*, p. 323.

defects noticed above, contains in itself the means of defeating its operations, and must be set down as useless. It will remain in the statute book, like the picture in the kitchen, to be admired by those who care to examine it, but so far as pollution is concerned it is like the fly on the wheel in the fable. The Society of Arts, at the instance of Mr. Cresswell, passed a resolution* expressing their opinion that it should be amended by the striking out of sections 2, 3, 4, and 5, the word "knowingly" as superfluous and embarrassing, and substituting the word "matter" for the words "solid" and "liquid" respectively in sections 3 and 4, thus leaving it to the court or jury to decide whether the matter pollutes the river or not. Whether these useful suggestions will ever be adopted it is impossible to say, but even if they be, the difficulty of putting the Act into operation would still remain, and render it like some of those things which, as children, we are permitted to look at but not touch.

It remains to consider the provisions of the Thames Navigation Acts as to pollution. The powers of the Conservators were at first confined to the actual river by the Acts of 1857 and 1864, but have been gradually extended to three miles on each side of it by the Acts of 1867, to five miles by the Act of 1870, and by the Act of 1878 to ten miles. Hence the Thames, which, perhaps happily for itself, is excepted from the operation of the Rivers Pollution Act, enjoys the advantage of having not only its main stream but most of its tributaries watched over by one powerful and energetic authority armed with sufficient powers to carry out the purposes for which it is created. In their last Report† the Conservators state that

"the sewage works at various places above the intakes of the water companies having been completed, the sewage formerly discharged directly into the river has been diverted. Occasionally some defect in the action of these works is discovered, when steps are immediately taken, by legal proceedings, if necessary, to cause the defect to be remedied," while "on the tributaries many offensive and injurious discharges have been stopped, and several local authorities, and other persons, are now under the notices required to be given by the Conservancy Acts to discontinue the flow of sewage and of offensive and injurious matter into the affluents of the Thames."

Partly, therefore, owing to the heavy penalty with which the offence is visited, £100 with a further penalty not exceeding £50 for every day during which the offence is subsequently committed, but more especially from the fact that a strong governing body is

* See p. 58 of the Proceedings of the Conference on Public Health, 1860.

† Report of the Thames Conservators to the end of 1880, presented July, 1881, p. 2.

charged by the Legislature with the especial duty of enforcing it, the Thames presents a happy contrast, in the greater part at least of its course, to the other rivers of England, and suggests the idea that, could similar powers be entrusted to bodies having a like control over the latter, much might be done towards remedying the evils of pollution. But this idea is at once banished from the realm of practicable theories by the fact that nearly every river in England is under the governance of not one but many conflicting authorities; and, moreover, if we look a little more closely into the case of the Thames, we shall see that, satisfactory as it appears in some respects, there are evils existing with regard to it which it would seem almost impossible to remedy. More than this, we see, too, in it a most striking illustration of the false principles on which the Legislature has dealt with the much-vexed question of sewage pollution.

The two concluding paragraphs of the Thames Conservators' Report above alluded to are as follows:—

“During hot weather, when there has been little rainfall, complaints of the pollution of the river within and below the metropolitan district frequently reach the Conservators. The pollution thus complained of is indicated by the offensive odour and highly discoloured state of the water. It must be remembered that Kingston, and Richmond, and other places below the intakes of the water companies, still pass their sewage into the river, the penalties for their doing so having been suspended by the Legislature to give time for overcoming the difficulties of carrying out a complete sewage system for this district.

“Although the discharges from these places may in some degree affect the purity of the river near the metropolis, it can hardly be doubted that the chief cause of the state of the river within and below the metropolis arises from the discharge at the outfalls and storm outlets of the Metropolitan Board of Works, in whose district ordinary sewage is exempted from the provisions of the purification sections in the Conservancy Acts.”*

This is a plain official statement of fact, which those who live in the suburban districts on the banks of the Thames could endorse in somewhat stronger terms, and which the inhabitants of Woolwich have confirmed very recently by the deputation to the Home Secretary referred to at the beginning of this article. The explanation of the facts is, as is well known, to be found in the course adopted by the Legislature to stop pollution.

The necessity of preserving the purity of the water supply of the metropolis, which the Legislature first took under its protection by the Act of 1852,† led probably to the enactment of

* Report of the Thames Conservators for 1880, presented, July 1881.

† 15 & 16 Vict. c. 84, amended by the Act of 1871.

the provisions against pollution in the Conservancy Act of 1859, which empowered the Conservators to "cleanse and scour the River Thames . . . and abate, remove . . . all annoyances, nuisances, and abuses which may be injurious to the River Thames." This, too, coupled with the Report of the Royal Commission of 1861, that river pollution had become a "national evil," may be assumed to have led to the passing of the more stringent and extended provisions above noticed contained in the Act of 1866,* and subsequent statutes. Though, like the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works above referred to,† they would have been well content to rest on the fact "that they had got rid of their sewage," it was forced on the Government of the country by public opinion that they *had* something to do "with the sanitary aspect" of the question. A simple and satisfactory method of dealing with it at once occurred to them. They would punish by heavy fines the local authorities who, in obedience to their own commands, were polluting the Thames, and send them to study sanitary science till they learnt how to deal in some other way with their sewage. No time was lost in carrying out the admirable scheme. The Conservators began serving their notices as soon as the Act empowering them to do so was passed, the various towns on the river-banks became at once liable to the heavy penalties of their obedience to the imperial mandates, and at once began to try and discriminate between the comparative merits of "*precipitation*," "*sewage farms*," "*burning sludge into cement*," and other mysteries of sanitary science. The fines are still accumulating, the sanitary studies are still being pursued,—and the pollution still continues. "In one case," said Mr. Michael, counsel for the Lower Thames Valley Sewerage Board, at the local inquiry, when dwelling on the enormous amount due under the Thames Conservancy Acts, "In one case these amount to £100,000, in another to £80,000, and I know with respect to many of these districts the penalties incurred by breaking the provisions of the Thames Conservancy Acts amounted to absolutely more than the whole rateable value of the district itself."‡ In the meantime, the unfortunate debtors discuss, with a regardlessness of expense which excites admiration for their patient obedience, and respect for their wealth, all the methods open to them for averting this sword of Damocles, ever pending over their devoted heads. At last some scheme is decided on and referred to the

* See sec. 63, which prohibits all drainage of sewage into the Thames.

† Mr. Newton, see p. 314, *ante*.

‡ See evidence given before the Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board. This occupies three bulky quarto volumes, without a single note or explanatory remark.

Local Government Board, which, in accordance with the duties laid on it by Parliament, wisely abstains from interference and advice till a plan is prepared and a loan is required. Then begins the process of legal inquiry, and when that is over the submission of the results, in the form of a Bill to Parliament. Often, of course, an enactment embodying in some shape the views of some of the ratepayers is passed, but as often the fate which befell the Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Scheme is the only end arrived at after all the spending of money, discussion, and squabbling between hostile theorists. In that case, as is well known, Richmond, Kingston, and other riverside towns, after the rejection of many local schemes, and much discussion, combined to form a United Drainage Board, the members of which were nominated by the Local Government Board, and which was invested with very extensive powers. The Board spent over £20,000 in a local inquiry lasting forty-five days, and asked some 70,000 questions to ascertain whether Moulsey was a fitting site to receive the sewage of the 110,000 persons with which the Board proposed to deal. Bitter was the opposition, and fierce were the denunciations, with which the enemies of the scheme saw it submitted to the collective wisdom of the nation; and when the Bill was rejected on the second reading by Parliament, as the scheme of Heston and Isleworth had been previously rejected in 1876, the satisfaction of the ratepayers seems to have been considerable.* The Board, which was established first in 1877, is still sitting, and has just rejected two other schemes,—that of the West Kent Board, and that of Mr. Hawksley,—and Richmond alone has contributed £2,657 odd to its expenses. What will be the end of its deliberations, or when that will be arrived at, it would be rash to attempt to predict.

The reader will ask, perhaps, with some interest, what remedy is possible to meet the evil which has been so strongly denounced in this paper, and whether after all has been said the attitude of acquiescence of the inhabitants of the Lower Thames Valley is not the only course which can be adopted with regard to the matter. With this view the writer, however, can by no means agree. The evil must be put an end to, and the remedy must and can be found. The writer of an able article on the subject in the *Field* of February 25, 1882, suggested that provisions such as those in the Thames Conservancy Acts should be inserted in the

* See the evidence before the Thames Valley Sewerage Board, above referred to. Also the paper by Mr. Cresswell in the Proceedings of the Society of Arts for 1879, p. 128 *et seq.*, above referred to. Also the remarks of Mr. Gould (Kingston) at the Conference of the Society of Arts on the Progress of Public Health for 1880, p. 21 *et seq.*

Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, and that the Local Government Board should be empowered to enforce them. The suggestion seems worthy of careful consideration, but to make it workable that Act must be greatly amended, and it would still be open to the same objections as those which have just been urged with regard to the Thames—namely, that it would throw an altogether unfair amount of expense and labour on local authorities. Government has, it appears to us, begun altogether at the wrong end of the question. When, by the Public Health Act, it established the system of sewer drainage, it prescribed, down to the minutest details as to sewers, traps, flushing sewers, &c., all that it required local authorities to do in order to carry it out. Now that that system, after great expense and labour, has been perfected and found to be unworkable, it, without help or warning of any kind, calls on these same authorities to find out some other mode of dealing with the question.

Sanitary science, more than all other sciences, is one which requires to be dealt with by experts, and which it is dangerous to trifle with; yet, since the vexed question of the disposal of sewage arose, no attempt has ever been made by the Legislature to help towns to deal with the difficult problem thus thrust upon them, and it is due, in a great measure, to this, as it seems to us, that the present highly unsatisfactory state of things exists. Our leading scientific men, and the members of the medical and engineering professions, not to mention the experienced officials appointed by Government to deal with sanitary matters, have accumulated a vast amount of practical knowledge on this subject, while every day makes it more evident that not only sewage, but all kinds of chemical and manufacturing refuse, are in truth not refuse at all, but capable of being converted into valuable substances and sources of wealth.* Why is no effort made to utilize all this knowledge and experience, and reduce it into a practical system?

The true remedy for pollution seems to us to be that Government should endeavour, by means of a Commission of Inquiry, to arrive at such a result, and, having ascertained the best methods of dealing with the conversion of waste into valuable matter, should lay down definite rules for carrying out its decisions as it has done in the case of drainage.

Perhaps it is Utopian to dream that this will ever be done. The praiseworthy efforts, however, of the Royal Society of Arts,—to which the nation owes a debt of gratitude for its labours,—to try and stimulate public interest in the matter, and at the same

* For example, "shale" and "pyrites." See Mr. Cresswell's remarks, Society of Arts Proceedings, 1880, p. 37.

time arrive at the solution of some of the problems it suggests, show that some of the most able and philanthropic among us are striving towards such a goal. Had these efforts met with the success they deserve we should probably before this have heard the last of "River Pollution."

URQUHART A. FORBES.

ART. II.—COUNT STRUENSEE AND QUEEN CAROLINE
MATHILDE.

1. *Die Verschwörung gegen die Königin Caroline Mathilde und die Grafen Struensee und Brandt.* Von G. F. VON JENSSEN-TUSCH. Leipzig, 1864.
2. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Keith, K.B.* Colburn. London, 1849.
3. *Horace Walpole's Letters.*
4. *Struensee.* Trauerspiel in 5 Acten. Von HEINRICH LAUBE.
5. *Hoest—Struensee und sein Ministerium.* 1824.
6. *Sir N. Wraxall. Posthumous Memoirs of his own Time.* London, 1836.

THE system of royal marriages which prevailed pretty generally throughout Europe up to the close of the last century, however admirable politically that system might be, did not in all cases restrain the impulses of human frailty, or entirely secure royal domestic felicity. Monarchs were not proof against temptation; nor did the morals and manners which then generally obtained remain without influence upon the occupants of thrones. Royal husbands were often grossly unfaithful: royal wives were occasionally—for femininely meaneth furiously—tempestuously untrue to marriage vows. History and romance record and depict two special cases which afford terrible illustrations of the tragedies to which such royal marriages sometimes led.

The first of these cases is historical. It is that of George Louis, Electoral Prince of Hanover (afterwards our George I. of England) and his princess, Sophia Dorothea. Mated with a dull, and coarsely unfaithful husband, poor Sophia Dorothea conceived an infatuated passion for that handsome, dissolute scamp, Philip of Königsmarck. With an insane fidelity, exhibited

through most reckless imprudence, the demented princess abandoned herself to her mad, perverse attachment to her worthless lover; and made, defiantly, the scandal of her sin a public notoriety. On the night of Sunday, 1st July, 1694, Königsmarck (the Prince being then absent) left the apartments of the princess after having arranged with her the details of their joint flight from Hanover. As Philip quitted the palace of Herrenhausen, he was set upon by four armed men, and, after making some ineffectual resistance, was slaughtered. While the unhappy gallant was dying, that jealous old harridan, the Countess Platen—who also had loved *par amours* the bewitching Philip—stamped upon his mouth in order to tread out his dying curses. His body was burnt next day; and it was fondly hoped that secrecy would, in that way, be secured. Sophia Dorothea, then twenty-eight years of age, was immured for thirty-two long years in the castle of Ahlden; and when she died there, the tragedy was complete. In travelling over the dreary sand-wastes of the Lüneburger Heide, I have often thought of the long martyrdom of the guilty, but sorely tempted and heavily punished, woman—a woman once so witty, bright, imperious—I have tried to fancy the lonely imprisonment of a princess whose heart was full of such memories and sorrows, while her equally guilty husband was reigning phlegmatically as a king, and was solaced by the society of many mistresses.

The other case—and for this we must turn to romance—is the Princess's tragedy recounted by Thackeray in "Barry Lyndon." If the case be not an actual fact, it is yet a truth; and is based upon the necessary result of those inhuman royal marriage customs of old Europe. The Princess Olivia, following in the steps of Sophia Dorothea, falls madly in love with a certain young De Magny, who, like Philip, is worthless and is dissolute. She wrongs her husband, Prince Victor, who, when her frantic guilt is made clear, procures De Magny to be poisoned in prison: and, in prison also, causes the mysterious *Monsieur de Strasbourg* to behead, at a quite private execution, the demented, guilty Princess. "It had best be done now that she has fainted," said the masked Prince Victor to the headsman, in that dark, vaulted room in the Owl tower. This royal tragedy occurred in 1769.

The scope and object of the present essay is to depict that other royal marriage tragedy—prefigured by the two parallel cases just recited—of the hapless Queen of Denmark, Caroline Mathilde, and of the adventurer Struensee.

Three persons, two of them royal, one of lowly birth, born respectively in England, in Germany, in Denmark, gravitated together under the decree of an inexorable Fate, and became

involved in a most tragic drama of sin, of love, of intrigue, of misery—of death.

Christian VII., King of Denmark, was born in Copenhagen, Jan. 29, 1749. He was the son of King Friedrich V., and of Louise, daughter of George II. of England. His mother died 1751, and his father then married Juliane Marie, Princess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; who became the mother of Prince Friedrich, and was the stepmother of Christian VII. Friedrich V. died Jan. 14, 1766.

Caroline Mathilde, was born in London, July 22, 1751. She was the daughter of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, who was the son of George II., and her mother was Auguste of Sachsen-Coburg.

Johann Friedrich Struensee was born August 5, 1737, in Halle. His father, Adam Struensee, an obscure clergyman and a preacher in the St. Ulrichskirche, was the son of a cloth-worker in Neu Ruppin. His mother was Maria Dorothea, the daughter of a Dr. Carl.

The mother of Christian, and the father of Caroline Mathilde, were children of George II.; and the Prince and Princess were therefore first cousins.

In 1757, Struensee removed to Altona, where he practised with some success as a physician. His characteristics were an esurient vanity, a restless ambition, and a love of pleasure. At one time, he contemplated emigration to the East Indies. An ardent disciple of Rousseau and of Voltaire, he became a Free-thinker and Materialist, and was of opinion that *wenn der Mensch stirbe, Nichts weiter zu hoffen oder zu fürchten sey—i.e.*, that after death nothing was to be hoped, or feared, for man. He had a talent for self-assertion, and for pushing himself into notice. He was fond of "heroic cures," which, when successful, brought him into notice, and acquired for him reputation. His manners were insinuating and his personality was imposing. His eyes were blue and penetrating; his hair was light-brown; he inclined to stoutness, but was well-built and of a striking figure. He was full of energy and tact, and succeeded in making friends and in extending influence. On April 5, 1768, he reached the turning-point in his career, and obtained the post of *Leibarzt*, or "body physician," to Christian VII.; though this appointment was only to be given to him during the extent of a journey of some months, which the young king proposed to make.

Christian himself was badly brought up, and badly educated. His father seems to have taken no care for the young Prince; and his stepmother preferred her own son, Prince Friedrich.

Christian was placed under governors, by one of whom, the Kammerherr Detlev von Reventlow, he was treated with extraordinary severity. When, in 1766, he succeeded to the government, he was but ill-fitted for the cares and the duties of his rank. As a young lad, he was full of boyish pranks, and of wanton mischief. The over-strictness of his early training disposed him to excesses of all kinds, so soon as he became free from all restraint.

Caroline Mathilde was well brought up by a tender mother, and was an accomplished princess. She might be called beautiful, and was sprightly, bright witted, and charming. When a proposal of marriage—a proposal dictated by political expediency—came from Denmark to England, Caroline Mathilde, then only fifteen years old, fell into a melancholy at the prospect of exchanging the happy home of her youth for a cold and far-off northern throne to be shared with a stranger. However, the marriage was determined upon without much regard for the young girl's natural feelings; and on Oct. 1, 1766, Caroline Mathilde was married by proxy, at St. James's, to Christian VII. Her elder brother, afterwards George III., represented the absent bridegroom.

The day before her departure from the England which she loved, and which loved her, the young bride was plunged in sorrowful thought. Her mother gave the girl, as a talisman, a ring with the motto:—"Bring me happiness!"—and the unhappy Princess, for whom we can yet deeply feel, left her country and her home, her mother, and her brothers and sisters, for a new life and a foreign throne, for an unseen husband—and for a most tragic future fate.

She had a stormy voyage, and was fifteen days at sea. At Roskilde she first met the king, who seemed charmed, as well he might be, with the grace and beauty of his gentle, brilliant, but modest consort.

For a short time, everything seemed to promise happiness to the young married couple; but very soon a rift within the lute began to mar the music of their wedded life. The young Queen soon showed coldness—why we can easily guess—to her husband; and he widened the breach between them by the crassest and the coarsest infidelities. The Queen was at this time just over fifteen, and the King a little more than seventeen years of age. Christian, when plunging into his course of debauchery, took a line which was, for a king, almost original. He did not devote himself to intrigues with the fine ladies, with the frail fair ones of the Court, but he, under the guidance of Count Holck, found his delight among the Hetairæ. His first mistress was a wanton

known by the piquante name of *Stiefelettkathrine*,* his second was one renowned under the title of *Myladi*. The King's brother-in-law, the Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel, who married Christian's youngest sister, Louise, was well acquainted with all that happened at the Court of his brother-in-law, and has left a valuable record of his knowledge in his "Memoires de mon temps," tells us, "Il (Christian) fit la connaissance de la plus renommée à Copenhague. On la nommait Myladi. Il courait avec elle la nuit sur les rues, brisait des lanternes, cassait des vitres, enfin, menait une vie terrible."

This most scandalous conduct of a young married king, wedded to a wife pure, beautiful, and amiable, led, of course, to domestic unhappiness, and soon became matter of public notoriety.

On the 28th of January, 1768, a prince (afterwards Frederick VI. of Denmark) was born to the King and Queen. The Queen was not yet seventeen.

His Majesty then determined to make a tour in other States of Europe, and decided that the Queen should *not* accompany him. Caroline Mathilde was left in solitary state in Copenhagen, and had her infant for her only solace. The young Queen must have been very lonely in that Court of Denmark. She was deeply attached to her child; but she cannot have liked the absence on such a tour of such a husband.

The Landgraf Karl thus paints Christian at the period of this journey:—"Il (le roi) manquait entièrement d'application, mais avait beaucoup d'esprit, qui était très-vif même, avait la répartie extrêmement prompte, très-gaie, fort bonne mémoire, en un mot un jeune homme charmant, qu'on ne put qu'aimer. Il avait une passion démesurée de connaître des femmes," &c. The tour lasted for seven months. It was a triumph of sensual pleasure and of social success. On such visits to foreign Courts the young King showed to great advantage. He was pleased, and was anxious to please. He was naturally most delighted with London and with Paris. In London he lodged in St. James's Palace, and was treated with great distinction. Frequent festivities were given in his honour. His stepmother, the widowed Princess of Wales, annoyed him terribly by her persistent inquiries after the health and happiness of Caroline Mathilde. *Cette chère maman n'enbête terriblement*, confessed the King, who was not just then devoted to conjugal duty. He discovered a peculiar liking for the beautiful Countess Talbot. Christian endeavoured to return the hospitali-

* When Christian was away on his tour, Stiefelettkathrine (who was daughter of under-officer Benthaken) was exported to Hamburg, and was then incarcerated in the *Zuchthaus*, or House of Correction. When Struensee attained to power, he procured her release, and the renowned *Hetaira* married an advocate, one Maes.

ties of London by a grand masked ball, to which three thousand persons of rank and distinction were invited. He also visited Garrick in the retired actor's country-house on the Thames.

He saw the Paris of Louis XV., and was charmed with the gay, wicked Court and city. "Mais vous, Chrétien, vous êtes adoré," Paris told him, and the handsome, pleasure-loving young king heard gladly the flattering compliment. He met d'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Marmontel, and was kissed by the *dames de la halle*. Madame de Flavécourt excited Christian's particular admiration. His stay in Paris was one round of brilliant and depraved pleasure.

But below all royal honours and public festivities, there was another and more secret source of pleasure for the amorous king. Graf Holck was Christian's *Grand-Maître des plaisirs*, and assisted his monarch to continual orgies of the wildest and most sensual debauchery. The young husband was devoted to sexual delights, and wallowed in unrestrained voluptuousness, to the great injury of his health. Struensee was his travelling physician, and may have had enough to do to repair the waste of pleasure; but there is no record of any protest on the part of the doctor against the soul and body-destroying courses of the wanton king. It was not usual for a highwayman to adopt a white horse for professional purposes; and the wily Struensee had no conscience which would impel him to advise, to warn, to deter. He had no desire to disgust Christian by playing the part of mentor. He did not pose as a councillor against evil. He sought to gain the king's favour by pandering to the king's worst excesses; and exerted himself to be the sympathetic physician of a boundless voluptuary. Holck was an entire favourite of the dissolute Christian; and to Holck the astute doctor attached himself.

Struensee returned with Christian to Copenhagen, and on the stage of that city the three persons who were to have so terrible an influence, each on the others, met together. Struensee was presented to the Queen.

When Christian returned to Denmark he was a changed man, and the change was for the worse. His Majesty had

"Overmuch consumed his royal person."

His health was undermined, his nerves were shattered, his temper was uncertain. Contrasted with the joys of Paris and of London, he did not find Denmark or the Queen desirable. He had become the servant of sin, and, with a weakened will and failing powers, he yet lived chiefly for "pleasure." It was, however, noticed that the King's manners had become finer and more quiet since his return from travel.

Caroline Mathilde, as was natural, detested Holck. She knew

the services which the favourite rendered to his master ; and she had a shrewd idea of what a travelling physician to her husband meant. Hence she at first distrusted Struensee. Holck was overwhelmed with kingly favours ; and the doctor began to climb. Holck little suspected that the obscure and complaisant medical man would soon supersede him as first favourite at Court.

Struensee was appointed *Leibarzt* to the King in Denmark. His salary was to be 1,000 dollars, and he received a gift of 500 to pay his debts. On May 12, 1769, Struensee was appointed *Etatsrath*, or Councillor of State, and had the right of attending the Court. When the King and Queen, in the summer of 1769, were residing at Friedrichsberg, Struensee lived in the castle. On January 17, 1770, he was called upon to dwell in the royal palace of Christiansburg in Copenhagen. His position was still so uncertain that he tried, but in vain, to reconcile the Queen to Holck. Struensee had taken warily the first steps on the steep and slippery path of Court favour ; but he possessed all the cunning and the skill which were necessary to render his foothold secure. There was a wisdom in him which guided his ambition to act in safety.

On May 2, 1770, he successfully inoculated the Crown Prince, and the child was saved from small-pox. This service won for Struensee the full favour of the Queen, and he was appointed reader to the King, and Cabinet-Secretary to the Queen, with a yearly salary of 1500 thalers. On May 4, a year only after having been appointed *Etatsrath*, he was made *Conferenz-Rath*.

This rapid rise of a foreigner, who was not even noble, excited great surprise. The listless King, weary and exhausted from satiety of sensuality, was guided in all his actions by the Queen and by Struensee ; and Holck began to feel a just apprehension of the progress of the new favourite.

Their Majesties made a short tour in their own dominions. On this occasion, the Queen, who was still bent upon getting rid of Graf Holck, went with the lethargic King. On June 13, the royal travellers arrived at Gottorp Castle, which was the residence of the Landgraf Karl, and of the King's sister, Louise. Struensee was now helping the Queen to depose Holck, and, as a counterpoise to the falling favourite, the Kammerjunker Enevold Brandt, Holck's greatest enemy, was recalled from banishment, and was appointed chamberlain to the King. Brandt waited upon the surprised Holck. "I think, Monsieur le Comte," said Brandt, "that you are not afraid of ghosts?" To which Holck replied, bitterly, "Oh, non, Monsieur le Chambellan, je ne crains pas les spectres, mais les revenants." The Landgraf Karl records of this royal visit to his castle, speaking of the Queen :

“ Elle était toujours embarrassée avec moi dès que Struensee était présent. On dînait avec gêne à la table du Roi. La reine jouait alors au quinze : j'étais placé à sa droite, Struensee à sa gauche, puis Brandt, nouvellement arrivé, et Warnstedt, page de la chambre finit la partie. Je n'aime pas à me retracer les façons et les propos que Struensee se permettait publiquement d'adresser à la Reine, appuyant son coude sur la table à celui de la Reine. J'avoue que mon cœur était brisé de voir cette Princesse, douée de tant d'esprit et d'agrément, tomber à ce point et en de si mauvaises mains. Le Roi et la Reine allaient à Traventhal avec toute la cour qui les avait suivis à Gottorp. Nous ne fûmes point du voyage, ma femme et moi. On ne nous le proposa point, et avec raison, car Traventhal était choisi pour les orgies les moins décentes.”

The Landgraf was sharp-sighted enough to detect the relations which already subsisted between the Queen and Struensee.

Holck's influence with the King was on the wane, partly because it was no longer easy to amuse His Majesty after the old fashion; and a cabal, composed of Struensee, Brandt, and Graf Rantzau-Ascheberg—with the Queen behind the three—succeeded in procuring the dismissal of Graf Holck; who was allowed a pension of 2,000 thalers. The Queen had triumphed over one of her enemies; but she had allied herself with an even more dangerous foe.

Brandt was commencing that splendid Court career, as assistant to Struensee, which in a short time was to conduct him to the same scaffold on which his master was to perish. The third ally in the new combination, Graf Rantzau-Ascheberg, was the man destined, a little later on, to bring his former colleagues to ruin and to death.

Schack zu Rantzau-Ascheberg was descended from one of the most ancient noble families of Holstein. Born in 1717, he was Major-General at thirty-five, and was then suddenly dismissed. He took refuge in Russia. Winning the confidence of the Empress Catharine, and of Count Orloff, he took an active part in the conspiracy against Peter III. Returning to Denmark, he found favour from Christian VII., but was again suddenly dismissed in consequence of a Court intrigue. He was separated from his wife, who, in consequence, fell into melancholy madness. The Count was a man of his day, and led a life of dissolute gallantry. He had been involved in many duels, and in one of a specially tragic character. Having seduced a young lady, he had to meet her father; and the father fell. Rantzau was inconsolable. He provided liberally for all the family, and did all in his power to remedy the irrevocable ill. He married his lady victim with the left hand. Rantzau was a man of distinctive ability. Struensee rejoiced with reason at obtaining so able

an ally ; but he learned too late that Rantzau was far too able for his purposes.

Brandt was born in 1738, in Copenhagen. In 1755 he became *Hofjunker*. He had studied law, and rose to be assessor of the highest court of law. He was of good family, and had both will and talent. Attaching himself to Court life, he was appointed *Kammerjunker*, and joined his fortunes to those of the splendid Struensee, who was then far-shining, "like a blazing tar-barrel." Struensee, in his capacity of physician, undertook the training of the little Crown Prince, and subjected the unfortunate child to a most Spartan regimen. He was afterwards accused of having designed to put an end to the life of the Heir to the Crown. The child was three years old, and was of weak constitution. He was subjected to a cold diet only, consisting of vegetables, rice, and milk ; he was lightly clothed, was allowed no fire in winter, and went about with bare feet. At length Berger, another Court physician, interfered strongly, and introduced such ameliorations in the child's treatment as might be consistent with the prolongation of his existence. Friedrich VI. died ultimately of physical exhaustion.

It is a proof of the influence which Struensee had acquired over the Queen that she should allow such unnatural treatment of the boy who, though he was Christian's son, was also her own child. The King was supine in the matter.

At this period her Majesty excited some scandal and offence in Copenhagen by frequently appearing in public on horseback, in masculine costume. The attention which this conduct excited is proved by the number of pictures still to be seen in the Royal Library, in Copenhagen, of the fair young Queen in this dashing and piquant attire. May it not be that Caroline Mathilde was then losing something of her delicacy, was deteriorating in modesty and self-respect, in consequence of her defiant life and coarsening manners ?

The King himself was the true ally of any lover of the Queen. Outraged as a woman, insulted as a wife ; with a husband who could leave a celestial bed to prey on garbage, her woman's joy in revenge led her to lend an ear to the suit of the unscrupulous man whose power could yield her support, whose love could afford her the means of vengeance. Caroline Mathilde, not lofty enough for patience, was woman enough to repay conjugal wrong with connubial infidelity. Her long revolt of indignation broke forth in a *liaison* which yielded her a feeling of triumph, a sense of requital. The volcano of her excited feeling had to be snowed over by the forms and ceremonies of her high station, by external duties performed in the fierce light that beats upon a throne. Whatever sense of wrong might exasperate her heart,

she had to be careful of appearances. What hypocrite like lawless love? Emboldened by time, and by the blindness of the besotted king, she gradually forgot her caution; and all Denmark, except its monarch, became cognizant of her guilty amour. Christian VII., with a heart hardened, a soul coarsened, the will weakened, and the mind confused by excess in riotous debauchery, was wholly blind to the conduct of his fair young wife. He had become a puppet and a tool, and was glad to be relieved by clearer wills of the burden of State affairs. He lived languidly for pleasure, and the Landgraf Karl records that his physician injured the King's health yet further by giving him stimulants to increase his amatory enjoyments. Christian had never been taught, and had never wished to learn, the duties of an absolute monarch. His life-theorem was indulgence in sensuality. It was over an unfenced precipice that Caroline Mathilde, pushed by a vicious and worthless husband, fell into the abyss of crime. She had no standard by which, in her debauched Court, she could judge of nobleness in man. But, whatever excuse there may be for her guilt, there can be none for the conduct of the base and underbred man, who, for his own vanity and interest, could employ all his influence and all his arts to make a victim of the wronged and angry Queen. She sinned; but she was more sinned against than sinning.

Struensee, a true beggar on horseback, took an ever more active and audacious part in public affairs. He became insolent to opponents; arrogant to dependents; despotic to the Crown. Bernsdorff, and other high functionaries, were dismissed in disgrace. The Kammerjunker v. Köppern, the Kammerherr v. Warnstedt, were both deprived of all offices and position, merely for having spoken against the favourite. A successful courtier may be a gross failure as a statesman; but no favourite failed more completely than did Struensee. "*Das Regierungsgeschäft ist ein sehr grosses Metier*—the business of government is a very great undertaking," says Goethe. Not many men, trained only to medicine, could develop in two years into successful, absolute, irresponsible rulers of the State; and Struensee, who was a mere windbag, possessed none of the great qualities necessary for his high office. His reforms were not successes. Good was to be done in order that good might be done to Struensee; but he had not the capacity for State reforms.

He expedited the administration of law, and, in so far, did good. He instituted a Foundling Hospital and gambling halls. He introduced freedom of the press. This step was taken with a view of popularity; but as Struensee's unpopularity was growing at the time, the freedom was "abused," and had to be

withdrawn. One result was the growth of *Schmutzblättern*; surely then, as now, an undesirable thing. A Copenhagen journal asked the pregnant question—"Can the paramour of a married woman be the sincere friend and true adviser of that woman's husband?" Nor was the Queen spared. The most shameless reports about her unlawful relations with Struensee were circulated; until the "excesses" of the press were bridled.

Beyond his general condition of weak understanding, the King had occasional attacks of positive insanity; but His Majesty, who could speak Danish, rose in the love of the Danes, because they believed him to be the puppet and the prisoner of the Minister. Struensee *gab sich alle ersinnliche Mühe dem König das Leben unangenehm zu machen*—gave himself all conceivable trouble to render the King's life pleasant; nor was he neglectful of the favour of the Queen.

On July 7, 1771, the Queen was delivered of a daughter, christened Louise Auguste. Concerning the paternity of this child history has its perplexities. It is improbable that Christian was its father. Horace Walpole, writing to Sir H. Mann, says, that the amour of the Queen with her "medical Prime Minister" was a theme of current gossip in London; and he expresses, in his light way, his doubts about the paternity of this infant—doubts which were, as it would seem, generally entertained in England and in Denmark.

The Queen cared nothing for political reforms; but her woman's heart, empty and sore, did need passionate personal devotion; and he who would give her even the show of love might take the reality of power as his payment. Struensee could not give her love; but he could and did dishonour her with a simulacrum of love, disguised in base passion; and he took advantage of his opportunities to profit by her weakness and her desolate position. Struensee said afterwards of himself that his demon was sensuality; but one devil seldom reigns alone. He makes place for others, and Struensee did not reckon the demons of vanity, of self-seeking, of ambition that knows no touch of greatness or of conscience. Whirled aloft by singular circumstances, he was yet in very essence vulgar of soul; was not equal to his fortune, and remained always a coward and an upstart. In the day, in the society, and in the Court of Caroline Mathilde, the tie of wedlock was but a slip-knot; and she had example, as well as provocation, to lead her into sin and shame.

Struensee's reforms, even when they contained some good, did yet more evil than good; they were the offspring of his own caprice, and were carried out without consideration as they were devised without wisdom. He knew nothing of Denmark, of

men, of laws, of institutions, of government. Sudden changes, violently introduced, and carried into effect with high-handed despotism, are not true organisms. A defiant Freethinker, with power to make his meaning law, Struensee deeply outraged the religious feeling of the nation; nor could the spectacle of such a man, in possession of despotic power, conciliate any genuine reformers.

One of his early steps was to do away with the Council of State. Henceforth the King was to rule alone and absolutely; but everyone knew that that meant only the absolute rule of the Queen and Struensee. The King was to be his own Foreign Minister. Russia so strongly resented the new *régime* in Denmark that she threatened to send a fleet to bombard Copenhagen. The English ambassador was rudely treated by the insolent favourite, and kept aloof from the Court. A "Mathilde Order" was created, with which the Queen's partisans and friends were to be decorated; and, of course, Struensee was one of the first recipients. The Queen-Mother and Prince Friedrich were driven from Court. A *cordon* was drawn round His Majesty, and his nobles and officers were excluded from his presence. Brandt, in the absence of Struensee, was always near the person of the monarch, and kept all others from access to Christian. It was generally considered that the *Mathilden-Orden* was intended to lower the value of the old Dannebrog and Elephant Orders. The dismissals of objectionable officials continued. The order for dismissal was, during the sway of Struensee, carried to the victim by a royal groom mounted on a cream-coloured horse; and it became a standing inquiry in Copenhagen, "With whom has the cream been last?" His army changes and reductions were grossly unwise and greatly unpopular. He dissolved the King's Life Guards. This *corps d'élite* consisted of picked men, and the officers were all nobles. It would seem that the Royal Guards were much loved by the Copenhageners, and the public indignation at this step was extreme. Struensee's real object was—and there was no object to which he clung more tenaciously—to humiliate the nobility; but the dissolution of the body-guards was looked upon by the public as a slight to the King. The Queen loyally supported her paramour in all his measures, and shared his ever-growing unpopularity.

When the order was read to the Guards which commanded their dissolution, they rode into their barracks to deliver up their horses and then to disperse. Struensee happened to meet them when they were so engaged. Probably the corps was in no very pleasant mood, and men and officers may have looked threateningly upon the hated favourite. Struensee's craven heart took fright. He dreaded some strong expression of their discontent

and dislike to him—and fairly ran away; but when he ceased running, he tore a leaf out of his pocket-book and wrote on it with pencil a hurried order for the dismissal of Count Ahlefeldt, the King's Cabinet Secretary, whom he connected with the conduct of the Guard. In his day of highest power, when supreme over State and King, Otto von Falkenskjold, perhaps the noblest and ablest of Struensee's adherents, ventured to warn the despot of the fickleness of fortune and of the dangers that he was incurring—without effect. The besotted adventurer believed that he had chained Fortune to his car.

And he seemed at the time to have judged rightly. To superficial appearance his position was secure and his power increasing. In 1771, he was promoted by the King to be *Kabinetminister*, with absolute power; the orders and the signature of the Minister to have the same force and validity as those of the King himself.

This was indeed *Ego et Rex Meus*. Such an appointment was unknown in Denmark; such power had never been conferred upon a subject. The Queen was delighted; but many of Struensee's friends fell from him, partly terrified by the unheard of audacity of the measure; while national indignation grew deep and dangerous.

In 1771 also, Struensee and his chief adherent, Brandt, were raised to the nobility, each with the title of Count. No such power and position had ever been attained by any man in the Kingdom. Struensee was literally all-powerful. Internal affairs and foreign relations were administered solely according to his will and pleasure. All titles, honours, degrees, and offices were held only by his favour. He invented for himself an ornate and boastful coat of arms. All the world wondered at the upstart's success. With Struensee, as with other men of his class, lowliness had been his young ambition's ladder; but that ladder was kicked down so soon as he achieved success.

The King made presents of 10,000 thalers to the Queen, and of 6,000 thalers each to Struensee and Brandt. At his trial it was one of the charges against Struensee that he had altered the figures on the warrant from 6,000 to 60,000. It was improbable that the King should give larger sums to Struensee and Brandt than he did to the Queen. Jenssen-Tusch estimates that Struensee, during his two years of power, obtained quite enormous sums from the Treasury, though it is impossible to ascertain accurately the monies that he received for himself and for his adherents. He had imported into Denmark his brother, who was made *Justiz-rath*, and afterwards became the controller of the national finances. After this appointment had been made, Struensee, when he found it right to reward himself by grants of

Crown money, could bestow upon himself, without troubling any one—even the King—such sums as he might think a fitting recompense for his own merits and services.

Heartless and haughty, Struensee, in dealing with his own supporters, used tools rather than loved friends. Graf Rantzau Ascheberg became embittered against the too insolent favourite, and began to coalesce with Colonels von Köller and von Sames, and other friends, in opposition to the Minister. Brandt, warned by anonymous letters, and terrified by the evidences of national disaffection, wrote to Struensee, expressing a wish to retire to Paris, and requesting a yearly allowance of 120,000 francs. Brandt, in his letter, uses the memorable expression—*Kein Despot hat sich jemals eine solche Gewalt angemasst oder auf solche Weise sie geübt wie Sie.* “No despot has ever acquired such power, or has used it in such a way as you have.” He adds, *Sie haben jedermann Schrecken eingejagt: alle zittern vor Ihnen . . . von Schrecken sind Alle ergriffen; man spricht, man trinkt, man isst—alles mit Beben.* “You have infused terror into every one: all tremble before you . . . every one is seized with fear; men speak, drink, eat—always in trembling.” “Even the Queen,” says Brandt, “has no longer a will of her own.”

Struensee replied in writing, and at some length. He will not allow Brandt to fly. He says, “as regards my conduct towards Her Majesty, I do not permit you to judge it:” and adds with almost a touch of pathos: “You are the only person who is in possession of all my secrets; and to whom I have, on all occasions, unfolded myself without any reserve.”

So Brandt stayed and waited—for death.

Meanwhile, the air was becoming electrical, and there was danger in it for Struensee. The patriotism of the nation was revolted by the spectacle of a Court favourite—“a man without experience, without honour, without religion, without truth or honesty, or knowledge of the laws”—who was the lord of all, the lover of the Queen; and who was supposed to have designs upon the King’s life. Struensee himself became afraid of “meeting with Concini’s fate.” He received threatening letters, and the streets were placarded with denunciations of him. Furious attacks upon him were thrown into the king’s carriage. There was a mutiny among the sailors, who brought their grievances to the castle at Hirschholm. The Court fled. Struensee showed his usual cowardice, and yielded to the malcontents. The Minister of Marine, von Rumohr, was, however, summarily dismissed. Next came an uprising of the silk-workers; and they carried their point. Then Struensee surrounded the palace with a cordon of guards; and he appointed at a high rate of pay his

own special body-guard. Keith, the English ambassador, offered Struensee a large sum of money if he would take himself off, and trouble the Commonwealth no longer. Such an offer could only have been made to a man whose character and principles were thoroughly despised and despicable. Supported as he was by King and Queen, Struensee could only be dethroned by something in the nature of a plot; though, if his guards were not trustworthy, he might easily fall a victim to popular fury. The nation was resolved upon his destruction, and it only remained to find the persons who were able to carry the national will into effect.

In such cases, the needful persons are seldom wanting.

The conspirators—if they may be so called—at last obtained the co-operation of the Queen-Mother and of her son; and the following persons became leagued together to effect the fall, and even the death, by law, of the arrogant and unprincipled Minister.

The Queen-Mother, Juliane Marie; her son, the Hereditary Prince Friedrich; Graf Rantzau-Ascheberg; Ove Horg Guldberg; Colonel von Eichstedt; Colonel von Köller and Kammerjunker Magnus Beringskjold.

The two Colonels answered for the troops; Guldberg, a patriotic Dane, was secretary to Prince Friedrich; Köller, was a strong, determined soldier. Whatever other motives may have played a part, it is certain that all the plotters were indignant at the reign of Struensee, and were revolted by the Queen's illicit relations towards him. No one had any purpose to injure the King.

With such plots speedy action is indispensable. Left to ripe and ripe, they rot and rot. The conspirators, who were risking their heads, lost no time.

On the night of Jan. 16-17, 1772, there was a *bal paré en Domino* in the palace. The Queen was radiant: unusually gay and full of coquetry. Struensee was present; he continually danced with Caroline Mathilde, and the brilliant Court festivity lasted until two in the morning.

Two hours later, when tired revelry had sunk into deep repose, four of the conspirators, headed by the Queen-Mother, stole through the hushed passages of the sleeping castle, and stood round the King's bed. Their object was they told him "to free land and king."

The King's terror lent him temporary lucidity. He, at first, refused to believe anything that could touch the honour of the Queen; but Juliane Marie and Guldberg soon carried conviction to the mind of the husband and the King.

His Majesty wrote a short note to the Queen: "Comme vous

n'avez pas voulu suivre les bons conseils, ce n'est pas ma faute, si je me trouve obligé de vous faire conduire à Kronembourg." He then signed a warrant, authorizing Eichstedt and Köller to take the measures necessary to save the King and the Fatherland; and he further signed warrants for the arrest of Struensee, Brandt, and the rest of that faction. These warrants were countersigned by the Prince.

The arrest of Struensee was effected by v. Köller. The great Minister submitted patiently, and with a trembling depression, to his fate. He tried to seize a small *étui*, but v. Köller snatched it from him, and it was found to contain poison. Bound hand and foot, the man, so recently all-powerful, was hurried into a carriage, and driven to the citadel, in which he was incarcerated.

Col. v. Sames undertook the more dangerous task of seizing Graf Brandt, who met the colonel and the guard with a drawn sword, a weapon which Brandt well knew how to use. Disarmed by the soldiers, he also was securely bound. He then said, "Eh bien, Monsieur, je vous suivrai tranquillement." Brandt also was carried in a coach to the citadel, and there imprisoned. His courage and cheerful fortitude contrasted strongly with Struensee's abject cowardice.

A more delicate task was entrusted to Graf Rantzau-Ascheberg, who undertook the arrest of the Queen. Told by her women that the Count wished to see her by order of the King, the terrified Caroline Mathilde cried out, "Hasten to send for Struensee. Let him come to me directly!" She was told that Struensee was already in confinement, and she exclaimed, "*Verrathen! Verloren! Ewig verloren!*" "Betrayed, lost! For ever lost!" The Count and three officers were then admitted, and he presented to the Queen the King's letter, adding his advice to her to submit to the commands of His Majesty. "The King's commands!" she said bitterly, "commands of which he understands nothing; commands extorted from his imbecility by shameful treachery! A queen does not obey such commands." Rantzau urged that his orders admitted of no delay in their execution. "I will obey no order until I shall have seen the King," replied the passionate Queen; "let me go to him; I must—I will speak to him!" This could not be permitted, and Caroline Mathilde gave way to a paroxysm of wild despair. She shrieked for help, until she was told that none could hear her. Then she tried to throw herself out of the window, but one of the officers seized and restrained her. She tore his hair, and struggled with her captors in a desperate fury, until she fainted from exhaustion. Dressed by her women, she melted into tears. "Je n'ai rien fait; le roi sera juste." Then she declared that she would not leave without her children. It was explained that she could not be

allowed to take the Crown Prince, but that her infant daughter might accompany her. Rantzau offered her his hand to conduct her to the carriage, but she repulsed him with, "Loin avec vous traître! je vous déteste!" The Hofdame von Mösting, and a lady of the bedchamber, accompanied Caroline Mathilde in the carriage, and opposite to the Queen sat Major v. Castenskjold. Surrounded by thirty dragoons, the carriage moved off, and bore the Queen from the palace which she was never to see again.

After a drive of about four hours, she reached Kronenburg. Alighting in the courtyard, she exclaimed, "God! I am lost for ever! the King has given me up!" Presently she said, "Away, away from here! For me there can be no peace more!" Then she burst into tears, and clasped the little child to her bosom. Two days elapsed before the unhappy Queen would consent to go to bed, or to take nourishment. And so we leave her, for the present, imprisoned in the Kronenburg.

The minor adherents of Struensee were easily arrested by the inferior officers of the new Government. The success of the plot was complete. Denmark was saved from anarchy and ruin; and the capital was in an ecstasy of joy.

On the following morning the excited people assembled in masses before the palace, and the King came out to them, and shouted with them, "Hurrah!" He drove through Copenhagen in a State carriage, and the people took out the horses and themselves drew the coach. Prince Friedrich rode with him, and was well received. The enthusiasm of the people was real and was great. "Man feuerte mit Gewehren Freudenschüsse ab, warf Raketen in die Luft, sang und schrie und geberdete sich vor Freude wie betrunken."

The whole country was in a ferment of exultation at the fall of the godless cabal which had for so long weighed upon the land. The whole literature of Denmark triumphed in the fall of Struensee; nor was the Queen spared. All the pulpits of the capital thanked Heaven for the downfall of those who had injured and disgraced the Fatherland. The mob wrecked the house of the father of Esther Gabel because she had been the mistress of Struensee; and then, actuated by a singular inspiration of revenge, they pulled down the brothels. The city was illuminated. The King, the Queen-Mother, and Prince Friedrich, appeared in the royal box in the *Hoftheater*, and were received with enthusiasm, the audience shouting, "Long live King Christian VII!"

Graf zu Rantzau-Ascheberg, von Eichstedt, von Köller, Beringskjold received honours and rewards. Guldberg alone refused all recompense. This sturdy Dane had done what he did

for the sake of the Fatherland and the common weal; and, as he had acted from no base motive, he despised all reward.

Struensee, meanwhile, as cowardly in adversity as he had been presumptuous in prosperity, fell into a condition of abject despondency. For some time he refused food, and then he attempted suicide. He tried to dash out his brains against the walls of the prison; and he sought to put an end to his life by swallowing some horn buttons. Brandt displayed an equable and cheerful fortitude. The echoes of the popular rapture at his fall penetrated into the dungeon of Struensee.

Juliane Marie and her son were well liked by a grateful press and people. "Her fame," it was said, "would outshine that of Semiramis."

It was felt in Denmark that the country which could allow the despotism of a Struensee must be held in contempt by other nations; and there was strong national pride in throwing off such a yoke. The next step to be taken was to bring to trial the Queen, Struensee, and Brandt; and commissions were appointed for this purpose.

The men chosen for this purpose were *einsichtsvolle und rechtschaffene Beamte*—officials of insight and of character. Before the trials there were interrogatories addressed to the prisoners. Struensee was too cowed to think clearly; too ignoble to feel rightly; and he hoped probably to save his worthless life by connecting himself with Her Majesty. He had no chivalry toward the Queen; no honour which could try to shield the fame of the woman who had been led by his arts into sin.

He confessed with tears *ein unerlaubtes Verhältniss* between the Queen and himself; and, under a second examination, he gave ample details. He signed a protocol which recorded a full confession of the adultery.

Counsel were assigned to the accused, and both advocates and judges were released from their oaths as subjects, in order that they might freely discharge their duties. Kammeradvocat Bang represented the King, and the Queen was defended by the *Höchstengerichtsadvokat* Uldall. Generalfiskal Wiwet conducted the prosecution against Struensee and Brandt, who were defended respectively by Uldall and by Bang. It may fairly be said that the counsel for the accused discharged their duties to their clients with, at least, average advocate ability.

The counsel for the prosecution of the Queen had an easy task. Her Majesty had admitted to the Commissioners who interrogated her that she had broken her marriage-vow. The confession of Struensee himself was full and was explicit; and his statement of details accorded fully with the evidence of the Queen's ladies-in-attendance and of her female servants. These ladies had re-

monstrated with Her Majesty about her conduct with Struensee. For a short time his nightly visits ceased, but were soon resumed with defiant frequency. To the Kammerfräulein v. Eyben the Queen had admitted that "the thing was unfortunately true;" and had said that there was nothing wrong in a wife being unfaithful to a husband who was old, or who had been forced upon her. The Queen added that she knew what reports were circulated, but that she should not alter her course on that account. The evidence of the ladies and of the female domestics was very full and conclusive. The advocate prayed for a dissolution of the royal marriage, on the ground of adultery, with a divorce which would set the King free to marry again. All punishment rested with His Majesty.

The sentence of the High Court was, that the divorce, as prayed for by the King's advocate, be fully granted; and this decision was communicated to the ex-Queen.

Meanwhile, Sir Robert Keith was not idle. He sent off a courier to George III., and protested energetically against any sentence of death, or of perpetual imprisonment in Denmark. George III. responded by sending to the ambassador the Order of the Bath, and by threatening that, if the Queen's life were endangered, an English fleet should sail at once (it was in readiness) to bombard Copenhagen. With the matter of the divorce, or with the Decision of the Court of Law, George III. would not in any way interfere. Twelve days after the news of the divorce reached London, the mother of Caroline Mathilde, the Princess of Wales, died, her end hastened by the afflicting intelligence of such a decision against her daughter.

It was on March 8th, 1772, that the Royal Commission presented itself at Kronenburg to examine Caroline Mathilde. They began by informing her of the confession of Struensee. Flushed with indignation, the unfortunate woman exclaimed that it was impossible that Struensee could have compromised her in such a manner. For answer they placed in her hands the protocol which Struensee had signed. When she saw the well-known signature at the foot of such a damning statement, she was seized with horror and with terror. Shack-Rathlau remarked:—"Si l'aveu de M. Struensee n'est point vrai, Madame la Reine, alors il n'y a pas de mort assez cruelle pour ce monstre qui a encore osé vous compromettre à ce point."

The struggle in the poor Queen's breast must have been terrible. Changing from white to red, she thought long; and then asked, with a true woman's consideration, even in such an hour, for a base and perfidious lover:—"Mais si j'avouais les mots de Struensee, pourrais-je sauver sa vie par-là? Shack-Rathlau answered:—"Surement, Madame, cela pourrait adoucir

son sort de toute manière." He then presented to the Queen a paper which contained an admission of the truth of Struensee's confession. "Eh bien, je signerai!" cried the Queen, and, taking a pen, she signed the document which admitted her guilt and blasted her reputation. So soon as her signature was attached, she realized the consequences of her admission, and, in a paroxysm of despair, the unhappy Queen sank back fainting on the sofa. The Commission returned to Copenhagen with the two fatal confessions duly signed and witnessed.

The indictment against Struensee was a terrible impeachment. All the forms in which he had committed high-treason were set forth at length. Wiwet terms Struensee *die allerclumndreisteste Person die man sich imaginiren kann*; and a patriotic indignation against the unworthy man who had degraded Queen and country glows through the advocate's address. The crimes and offences of Struensee are in essence known to us. Suffice it to say, that the prosecuting counsel summed them up in nine heads, each one of which covered a charge of high treason.

Through the mouth of his advocate, Struensee repeats a full admission of his guilty relations with the Queen, expresses the deepest contrition, and prays the King to forgive his offence. He also pleads that the influence of the Queen was the only support upon which he could rely. Generally, he asserts purity of motive in all that he did.

Brandt's case came next. He was charged with being the assistant and accomplice of Struensee in all the Minister's misdeeds; and Brandt knew fully the footing on which Struensee stood with the Queen. Brandt was further accused of having subjected His Majesty's royal person to indignities and even to violence.

On April 27th, 1772, sentence was pronounced and was signed by the King. Both culprits had been declared guilty of the highest kind, known to the law, of *crimen læsæ Majestatis*; and the sentences on both ran—that they should be degraded from all rank and office; their coats of arms broken by the hangman; that their right hands, and then their heads, should be struck off; the bodies quartered and extended upon the wheel; and the heads and hands exposed upon poles.

So much grace was extended to them that they were not to be broken alive upon the wheel. Both criminals appealed to the mercy of the King; and Owe Guldberg tried passionately to save the lives of both, but specially of Brandt, who was the lesser criminal; and to whom mercy might have been extended. Guldberg's humane efforts remained, however, without result.

After signing the sentences, the King went to the opera; and on April 26th a masquerade was given in the castle.

On the morning of April 28th, 1772, the two ex-Ministers, Struensee and Brandt, were executed in pursuance of their sentences. While in prison, both had become converts to religion. Dr. Münter had attended Struensee, and accompanied him to the scaffold; Probst Hee was Brandt's chaplain. At 8.30 A.M., the fatal procession started from the citadel. The two State-criminals rode in carriages, that which contained Brandt going first. Both were gaily dressed in court costumes, and wore fur coats. The huge scaffold, 18 feet in height, had been erected in a field used as a military exercise-ground, to the east of the city. The scaffold was surrounded by soldiers, and the immense mob of people that gathered to see the Ministers die was kept at some distance from the scaffold itself. The carriages stopped at length, and Brandt descended. The carriage which contained Struensee was humanely so turned that the occupants could not see the scaffold. Brandt was serenely brave. Without bravado he was thoroughly calm and composed.

When he had reached the high platform, his sentence was read out, and then the executioner saying, "Dies geschieht nicht umsonst, sondern nach Verdienst," "this is not done without cause, but has been deserved," broke and defaced the Count's coat of-arms. Hee demanded his profession of faith, and asked if Brandt repented of his treason. The Count professed regret, and asked pardon of the King and the country. He declared his lively faith in the blood of Jesus Christ; and the pastor replied: "Be of good cheer, for thy sins are forgiven thee!"

The headsman approached. Brandt himself, his courage remaining unshaken, took off his coat and waistcoat. He laid his neck upon one block, and extended his right hand upon another. A single blow upon each, and head and hand were severed from the body.

Struensee's turn came next. In that dread hour his courage forsook him, and it was with difficulty that he ascended the steps of the scaffold. Again the sentence was read out, and again, with the words, "Dies geschieht nicht umsonst, sondern nach Verdienst," a coat of arms was broken and defaced. His confession of faith and forgiveness of enemies were satisfactory to Münter.

Here the unhappy man's forces failed him; he could not remove his own clothes, and this had to be done by the hangman's assistants. He tottered a few steps towards the block, but could not reach it, or without assistance assume the necessary position. As the right hand was struck off, the whole body of the condemned was seized with strong convulsions. The first blow upon the neck was a failure. Struensee sprang up to his full height, and the assistants had to use force to replace him on

the block. A second blow was not sufficient, and it required a third stroke to sever the head from the body.

The bodies were then quartered, and duly exposed; and the heads and hands were carried to the *Rabenstein*, there to be set upon poles. And so the sentences were fulfilled.

The other members of the Struensee faction were treated with remarkable mildness. The Council of State (which had been recalled to existence by Juliane Marie and Prince Friedrich), simply ordered these persons to leave the capital. In some cases pensions were allowed when offices had been confiscated. Struensee's brother, the Finance Minister, was allowed to leave the country after taking an oath not to divulge any State secrets that he might have learned in the Danish service.

It was at first proposed to immure Caroline Mathilde in Aalborg in Jütland; but the energetic Keith obtained as a concession—a concession which the Government was probably not very unwilling to grant—that the ex-Queen should be given up to her brother, George III.

It was impossible to have Caroline Mathilde at the Court of Queen Charlotte, or even at the court of Hanover; and George III. determined to assign to his younger sister his castle at Celle, as a place of honourable captivity. Celle had been the residence of the Dukes of Lüneburg, and was still a fortified castle with moat and walls.

The ex-Queen had an allowance of 30,000 thalers a year, with a sufficient household, and every comfort. Of course she was separated from her children; but she must have been of an elastic temperament, as she soon had companies of comedians in the castle, and began to enjoy herself.

Her elder sister, the Erbprinzessin Auguste von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, exercised a kind of control over Celle and its royal inmate, and was regarded by Caroline Mathilde as a spy. Auguste would seem to have been convinced of her sister's guilt.

Presently the ex-Queen began to intrigue, taking care to keep the thing a secret from her sister Auguste. Some adherents proposed to make her Regent in Denmark until her son should attain his majority. Caroline Mathilde listened gladly, but she could do nothing without George III., and Sir N. Wraxall became the go-between. He made several journeys between Celle and London. George III. seems to have given a provisional assent, expressing readiness to recognize the step if it should succeed, but declining to take himself any active part in it. The King of England stipulated that no revenge should be used against Juliane Marie and Friedrich. However a few partisans might flatter her, it seems unlikely that Denmark would have

received as Regent a Queen divorced, convicted of adultery, and once leagued with the hated Struensee. However, all such projects came to an untimely end, by the death, May 1, 1775, at Celle, of Caroline Mathilde. She had reached the age of twenty-three years and nine months.

The cause of death was scarlet fever. A portrait of Caroline Mathilde is now lying before me. She has not the receding forehead of George III., but is otherwise a very handsome feminine likeness of her royal brother. The figure inclines to a voluptuous *embonpoint*. The lips are full and pouting; the eyes languishing and large. The nose is rather thickly modelled. The face expresses gaiety, good humour, obstinacy, sensuality. She must have been vivacious and pleasure-loving; passionate and light. Altogether a woman of an attractive sexual presence: and essentially a woman of the morals and manners of her place and time. Some of the light conversation recorded by her ladies-in-waiting suggests rather the placid laxity of Emilia than the steadfast purity of Desdemona.

Juliane Marie has been violently attacked by the defenders of Caroline Mathilde, but we cannot find that the Queen-Mother deserved the opprobrium with which she has been assailed. She was no doubt fond of power, and capable of intrigue. Her own son was only about three years younger than Christian VII.; and during the childhood and early youth of the latter, she acquired a love of rule. During the sway of Struensee she was rudely pushed on one side. Speaking to Dr. Münter about Struensee she said, "I am truly sorry for the unfortunate man. I have examined myself to ascertain whether I have acted out of personal enmity; but my conscience acquits me of the charge." A Danish Queen might well feel a righteous indignation against such an unprincipled and insolent upstart; nor could Juliane Marie have regarded with indifference Struensee's disgraceful relations with Caroline Mathilde. When, after the fall of the lackey-Minister, the Queen-Mother returned to power, she at once restored the old Council of State. She was kind to the two children of Caroline Mathilde, and resisted the desire of the Council to treat the little girl as if the child were not legitimate. When Friedrich VI. had arrived at a proper age (his father being still alive) she made no difficulty in resigning the Regency to him, and retired with her son into private life; abdicating, practically, a throne without any attempt to retain her splendid position. The Queen-Mother must have been a woman of ability and of some force of character.

Germans love Germans, but do not love Danes. Struensee was a German, and has, even yet, German admirers. Jeussen-

Tusch admires him; and as a necessary consequence defends Caroline Mathilde.

Anne Boleyn has doubtful defenders; Katherine Howard has hardly any; but Mary Queen of Scots has still champions of her chastity; and has not a book been written to prove the platonic character of Frau v. Stein's relations to Goethe? Truly, historical sentimentalism is still an active power.

It is one thing to urge for Caroline Mathilde all the excuses which justice and mercy can fairly plead; but it is another thing to deny facts. There is excuse for the fair Queen's sin; but sin there was. Her husband could only inspire in her breast loathing, contempt, anger. The times were dissolute, and temptation was at hand; but those who feel impelled to pity frailty take a wholly wrong line of argument when they ignore or deny facts.

Friedrich VI. applied to George III. for an English princess to wife, but was sternly refused. He married his cousin, the daughter of the Landgraf Karl von Hessen, and of Louise, the youngest sister of Christian VII. The refusal of the English Monarch embittered the King of Denmark, and threw the country into the arms of Napoleon. Hence the bombardment of Copenhagen, and its capitulation to Nelson in 1801, and the capture of the Danish fleet in 1807 by Gambier.

Of Christian VII., when in London, Horace Walpole writes:—

“He is as diminutive as if he came out of a kernel in the fairy tales—he is not ill made, nor weakly made, though so small; and though his face is pale and delicate, it is not at all ugly. . . . Well, then, this great king is a very little one. He has the sublime strut of his grandfather (or a cock-sparrow), and the divine white eyes of all his family on the mother's side. . . . His Court is extremely well ordered, for they bow as low to him at every word as if his name were Sultan Amurath. . . . The very citizens of both sexes, who resorted daily to his apartments at St. James' to see him dine in public with his favourites, mistook him more than once for a young girl dressed in man's clothes, whose conversation and deportment commanded neither respect nor attention. His confidants were of the same stamp.”

Sir Robert Murray Keith records that Christian VII. was, at the age of seventeen, of a figure light and compact, under middle height, but well proportioned. His features, if not handsome, were regular; he had a good forehead and aquiline nose, a handsome mouth, and fine set of teeth. He was fair, with blue eyes, and very light hair. Altogether a slight, but not unattractive figure.

Headstrong and shallow, Struensee had but little of the wisdom of the statesman, or of the patience of the reformer. Reform, in his eyes, was to be a popular drama in which he was to play a

showy part. He was unable to estimate the complexities of correlated existing institutions, or to comprehend the forces arrayed against him. Nor was Struensee

“A moral child without the craft to rule.”

He relied upon craft when violence was dangerous, and he should have commenced his career as a moralist by reforming himself. For a time his success, not as a reformer, but as a courtier, was supreme; but that success was based upon the favour of a morbid Monarch and a wanton Queen. The essence of Struensee's reform meant, in reality, place, power, pleasure for Struensee himself. He had not the single eye. There was, no doubt, much that was rotten in the state of Denmark; but a man vain, restless, personally ambitious, is naturally more attracted by gain than revolted by evil. He cannot serve liberty who cannot rule himself; and Struensee, without self-restraint or modesty, was not master of his own passions, or capable of serving humanity. He was neither patient to understand or wise to improve; but he took a masterful delight in the exercise of absolute power, and joyed in subjugating the wills of others to his own.

Struensee had, unquestionably, a power in his personality. He was, when he chose to be so, sympathetic in a high degree; he was fluent, plausible; supple in intrigue, and had the magic of fervent will and strong determination. It would be unfair to assume that he had not some tendency—even, if that tendency were a sham, or sentimental one—to reform abuses; and he ardently desired popularity and applause. But he was as selfish as showy, as greedy as insincere. A great man, with great plans, must be greater even than his plans. Struensee, whose glaring path was darkened by self-seeking and self-love, was not capable of following out abstract ideas in purity of aim. Unlike noble, if deeply erring, Launcelot, Struensee *was* the sleeker for

“The great and guilty love he bare the Queen;”

though his love for her, guilty certainly, was doubtful in its greatness. His plans for reform, his schemes for popularity, all failed; but he remained the despot of a nation, the dictator of a King, the lover of a Queen—and became, at last, the victim of a headsman. His career was successful so long only as it was supported by the imbecility of a King, by the passion of a Queen. With a power based upon hallucination and adultery, Struensee, as a reformer, or would be great man, remains a solecism incarnate.

An upstart and a *parvenu*, Struensee naturally found the Danish nobility in strong opposition to him and to his plans. He separated the nobility from the throne; he degraded the order, and exasperated its members. Struensee's hatred of aristocracy

was not an abstract feeling; for he desired for himself titles, riches, position, and power. It was the feeling of a coarse plebeian, filled with envious hatred of a class which combined the heritage of command with fine manners and with long traditions. It was a joy to him to injure and to humiliate such a body. In order to counterpoise the nobles, he favoured the *bourgeoisie*; but, even towards this class he was arrogant and capricious, and from it he won but little gratitude. His attempts to introduce his ill-judged reforms among the sailors led to the revolt at Hirschholm; his efforts to remodel the army resulted in disaffection and disgust. The nobles and the nation—every one, indeed, except the Monarch—knew of his relations to the Queen; and she became involved in the hatred with which the foreign adventurer was regarded in Denmark. Struensee was bent upon outraging the Danish nationality, and he filled all high offices with creatures of his own, imported from Germany. He also displaced the Danish, in favour of the German tongue. Danish he never learned. For a time his position must have been intoxicating in its splendour and success. He could oppress foes, and could exalt friends. His will was law; and his pleasure government. He was absolute, and the throne itself was only his first subject. The King was subject to the Queen, and she was slave to Struensee. He was long held up on his dazzling eminence by the fair small hand of a devoted and infatuated woman; and he repaid her boundless devotion by dragging the Queen down with him in his fall, and by involving her in the tragedy of her divorce—while he brought about his own death by the headsman's axe.

But, during the seeming security of Struensee's day of unlimited power, there was maturing, silently, a stealthy and a deadly revolt against him, his rule, and his life. Everything depended at last upon the King. When Christian should realize Struensee's relation to the Queen, all would be lost—for both the lovers; but who, during a long period, who should dare to tell the truth to the King? Blind, easy, sickly as he was, Christian was yet known to be sensitive on the point of his conjugal honour; and the revelation of the truth became the signal for an inexorable revenge.

Heinrich Laube has based a tragedy upon the subject; and the dramatist has chosen well. The story itself, which we have just essayed to tell—with all its dramatic incidents, with its contrasts of character, with its baseness, its weakness and its sorrow, with that full revolution of Fortune's wheel which leads to such a terrible catastrophe—is, indeed, a striking drama of history.

ART. III.—SOCIALISM.

Communism and Socialism in their History and Theory. A Sketch, by THEODORE D. WOOLSEY. New York: Scribner, 1880.

SOcialism is not, and never has been, a political force; and it may therefore seem vain to attempt to assert that it has any power for good or for evil at the present day. But the truth is not reached by shirking the duty and labour of looking for it; and though Socialism can hardly count a score of representatives among the popular assemblies of Europe, yet it lives, and grows at a pace which is only not astonishing because people have become accustomed of seeing things move quickly, but which must before long make its influence felt on the course of legislation if not through some more drastic means. Its strength lies in the fact that it fills a gap which the present constitution of society left yawning, but to which society has of late years awoke to the necessity of paying some attention. Socialism is in fact the only organized scheme which takes as its basis the welfare and the wants of labour that is either unenfranchised, or that fails, owing to the hostile influence of capital, to make itself heard in the so-called popular assemblies. And though something has been done, especially in England and Germany, in the direction indicated, yet Socialism still advances, and gathers each year a steadily increasing number of adherents.

Professor Woolsey's work is the only book that has reached our hands from which anything approaching to a definite idea can be gained of the reality of modern Socialism; and yet even the glimpse which the learned professor's sketch has afforded, is somewhat narrow in its scope, and unsatisfactory in its detail. Nevertheless, being the only book of its kind, it is of necessity the best, and as such we make use of it for our present purposes. Much of it, however, is entirely unconnected with our object, such as the chapter relative to the Essenes, the Therapeutæ, the Anabaptists of Münster, and other small communistic societies; nor will it be necessary to make much reference to communistic theories and Utopias in general. Our purpose in this paper is to regard Socialism from the standpoint of comparative history; and having this in view, it is evident that the facts connected with Socialism only concern us so far as they serve to delineate Socialism in any form that appears capable of future development, what in fact may be called practical Socialism. .

Let us assume then that Socialism is a movement which is capable of historical comparison with such European upheavals as the Renaissance and the Revolution; the object of this paper will then be twofold—to show that Socialism is a movement of such a kind as justifies the comparison, and, secondly, to institute the comparison itself. As a matter of fact, however, little will be gained by keeping these two objects distinct in the pages that follow. From this point of view, therefore, Socialism will be looked on as the future Revolution—a movement which may be as plainly connected with the great revolution that began in 1789, as that revolution is with the Reformation and the Renaissance. But between these and it, there is a distinction which should be clearly marked as showing one of the essential characteristics of Socialism as a revolutionary movement; the movement that first actively showed itself in 1789, and the Reformation, were primarily either political or religious. They did affect the constitution of society, but not expressly; the social revolutions which they worked were bye-products of another process. But with Socialism it is otherwise; for as far as modern society has its basis on the present relationship of Labour and Capital, so far does the field of Socialism as a revolutionary movement extend. No doubt that here also a political reconstruction is involved, but this political change will be rather in the nature of a necessary precedent than a contemporary movement.

But we are anticipating. The Socialism of which so much is heard to-day, may be said to have its origin in the philosophy of the last century; it did not indeed form any part of Rousseau's plans, for that most practically-minded man confined his attention or his remarks to what was then feasible; and the only appearance of Socialism during the Revolution took the form of what is known as Babœuf's Conspiracy (otherwise called the Conspiracy of the Equals); and even this abortive movement owed more than half its force to the fact that the Jacobins, after Robespierre's death in 1794, used it as a last resort. It was suppressed by force, and Babœuf and Darthé were put to death. Of their theories, it is enough to say, that the means by which they sought to gain the approval of the people were nearly similar to the scheme embodied in what is now known as the Nationalization of Land. For the next half century practical Socialism had a very obscure existence. Buonarotti, the organizer of the Carbonari, who had been exiled for participation in Babœuf's conspiracy, was its only exponent in political life. He was, however, the first who endeavoured to state the transitional steps between the present and the Socialistic State. Nor is it necessary to make any other than an incidental reference to St. Simon and Fourier, as their position in regard to the practical

Socialism* of to-day is of very little account. Of St. Simon, however, it may be said in the words of a French writer—he first pronounced the separation of the two great classes of industrial society, employers and employed, and he first set forth, although obscurely, the question concerning inheritance.

In the French Revolution of 1848, Socialism assumed a position for which its previous history had given little warrant. Writing in the year previous, Mazzini had said (and on this point no one knew better than he):—"The Democratic party is perhaps the only one in Europe which is without a government, which has no directors, and no moral centre in Europe to represent it;" and yet in 1848 Louis Blanc's conception of Socialism was to a certain extent realized in the establishment of his national ateliers; but an excuse was soon found for suppressing these. Socialism, nevertheless, had scored a point. Some one's idea of it had been momentarily embodied.

One of the most remarkable features in the history of the nineteenth century is the extraordinary reaction that followed on the European revolutions of 1848. On the Continent, Liberalism was energetically and successfully stamped out, and absolutism became generally predominant. How long this would have continued but for the reviving influence of Socialism, it is impossible to say; Germany was its hot-bed; Lassalle and Marx were its cultivators. Of these two remarkable men it will be necessary to give some account. Contrasted, it appears that Lassalle was like Mazzini, essentially a Nationalist; he was a German, and a leader of the German people. Marx, on the other hand, is a cosmopolitan, more gifted as a philosopher and a teacher of the popular leaders, than as an orator. In their different efforts Lassalle will be found to have been guided by the soundest principles that historical and juristic science can teach; while Marx appears to incline somewhat to the Positivist school in his principles. Indeed, it may be affirmed generally that it is in their use of historical principles that the great distinction between them appears; for the guidance of history is to a very small extent relied on by the more successful of these two men.

Personally, Lassalle was a Breslauer, the son of a Jewish merchant. He, in early life, abandoned his father's pursuits for the study of philosophy and law, and his later literary works show him to be a profound scholar and historian; his talents secured him the admiration of von Humboldt, and the friendship of Heine (his senior), and of Bismarck (his contemporary).

* The word Socialist was invented by Louis Reybaud in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in 1843.

When he was twenty years old, he made the acquaintance of the Countess von Hatzfeldt, and wasted the next eight years of his life in exerting himself as counsel to procure her divorce. His later relations to the lady gave his opponents a useful handle against him. By the year 1857, however, he was working hard as a Socialist in conjunction with Marx and Engels—"men" it has been said, "whose equals would take a lead in any party to which they attached themselves." He had indeed been already arrested for complicity in the German revolution of 1848, but had escaped with impunity; and von Humboldt, or the Countess, secured him a pardon which enabled him to return to Berlin. Between the years 1857 and 1862 he also published those works which have chiefly distinguished him among his literary contemporaries. In the last mentioned year he published "The Philosophy of Fichte, and the Meaning of the Spirit of the German People." Here he states the true historic foundation of Socialism in saying, that property and inheritance are historical and not jurial or natural rights; and that if circumstances justified their recognition, circumstances will also justify their abolition. But his power over the German working-man was mainly exercised and maintained by his extraordinary eloquence and the charm of his presence, and the Socialists consider that they owe to these his success in separating the working-men from the Progressist or Liberal party. But, besides making Socialism a reality in Germany, Lassalle was one of its first organizers. In 1862 he founded the German Working-men's Union, the year before Marx created the International; and, in so doing, Lassalle rendered the reunion of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie impossible. What St. Simon had stated, Lassalle enforced; and henceforth these two classes remain in a state of hostility. The object, however, which was set before the Union as its goal, was the political enfranchisement of the class it represented, and this was not obtained until 1867, when universal (*i.e.*, manhood) suffrage was introduced into the North German Federation; though this was not till some years after Lassalle's death, which occurred in 1864. Lassalle died from the bullet of an inexperienced duellist, over a love affair at Munich. This part of his history has been recently told by Mr. George Meredith in the novel entitled the "Tragic Comedians."

Karl Marx's history is a very different one. His distinctive characteristic is his Internationality, as compared with Lassalle's National or German character. So early as 1840 he is found prominently employed in uniting the sympathetic elements of Socialism in France and Germany; he was banished from France in 1844, and from Belgium, whither he had fled, shortly

after ; in 1848 he was at Koln editing a journal which was suppressed in the next year. Since that time Marx has lived almost up to the present moment in England, generally in London, working hard. Together with Lassalle, Marx has the credit of exciting that agitation which dragged Europe out of the reactionary abyss into which it had fallen in 1850. But it was not for some years that the results of his exertions were seen ; it was not till 1864 that the International Working-men's Society was launched, and it is with that institution and its labours that Karl Marx's name will be long known.

The immediate impulse given to the foundation of his famous society, was the arrival in London of a number of skilled French workmen, who had been sent over by the Imperial Government to gather what information they could, respecting the progress of the arts from the Exhibition of the year 1862. At this time, too, Odger, the representative of English Socialism, had had some success with the workmen of London ; and a general agreement was arrived at to hold a Congress on the first available occasion. The first Congress of the International was accordingly held in London towards the end of September, 1864. Mazzini, whose sympathies were not very international, made the opening address ; Marx, who spoke next, proposed a series of statutes constituting the society ; but these were expressed in very general terms. It is, however, reported that his speech suggested the necessity of securing political power as a preliminary to vesting the means of production in the hands of workmen ; and this shows the probable plan of operations that were then intended.

But Marx's exertions were by no means confined to the mere labour of organizing the International. One of the distinctive features of Socialism, after the Revolution of 1848, is to be found in the fact that it thenceforth took up the field of political economy as its battle-ground ; and it was by his writings on this subject that Marx eventually gained that control over German Socialism that was so essential to the existence of the International. In 1867 he published, "Capital : a Critique on Political Economy." The basis of his argument (in which he goes behind the premises of our reigning school of political economists) lies in the principle he there enunciates that value is created by labour alone ; which he follows by the statement that the compensation paid to the labourer under the name of wages, inadequately represents the work done by him. To take an instance. Let us suppose a certain number of yards of cloth, when sold, pay the labourer's wages and leave a surplus : part of that surplus, it is contended, is improperly appropriated by the employer ; or, in another form, suppose six hours' work produce enough stuff, which, when sold, will support the workman and

rear an average family ; he at present works ten hours, and part of the surplus is so much slavery for the master. This may be looked on in another light : A slave receives from his master what, for want of a better name, may be called board and lodging—the equivalent, perhaps, of one hour's work a day ; there is no freedom of contract between them. Under the present relations of capital and labour, the wages of the latter are perhaps the equivalent of not more than two-thirds of the work done ; there is but a limited amount of freedom of contract here. The Socialists assert that the labourer ought to have more, and would get more, if capital was not the monopoly which they seek to destroy.

The remedy for what is called the injustice of these facts, is, says Marx, to be found by preventing private property from being used as capital ; or more clearly, by the substitution of the State or a public body for private persons, as owners of capital employed in production. Similarly, the whole process of distribution would be amended by the abolition of all trading on value differences, implied in buying cheap and selling dear. It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to discuss these points ; it suffices here to say that the whole edifice of Socialism stands on the assumed fundamental truth that labour is the cause of wealth, and ought to be recompensed as such ; on the truth or by the falsehood of this, it must sooner or later be established or overthrown. So also as to the question whether Socialism will remedy the alleged want of freedom of contract that exists between a rich employer and a penniless employé, it is impossible on this occasion to do more than point out that Socialism is assumed by some to be capable of supplying a remedy.

One of the greatest of Karl Marx's services to Socialism has been the very clever manner by which he gradually gained over Germany to the International after Lassalle's death, in 1864. On the loss of their leader, the German Socialists split up into two sections by the secession of Liebknecht and a large following. These founded the Social Democratic Working-men's Union ; with the keenest perception of the respective values of this and the older organization of Lassalle, Marx set himself to gain over the Social Democrats, and in this he succeeded at their Congress of Eisenach, in 1869. The history of the past twelve years has entirely justified him, for German Socialism is now practically represented by the Social Democrats, while the more direct descendants of Lassalle have gradually disappeared. At the Eisenach Congress it was resolved that the freedom of work is neither a local or national, but a social, problem, which embraces all lands where modern society exists ; and, having this in view, the Social Democratic Working-men's Union considers itself a

branch of the International. With this grand stroke of policy, Marx was feign to be content for some years. Events precipitated a reaction from Socialism from which it has only lately recovered.

Up to 1870, the International held an Annual Congress. In that year a meeting was agreed on for September, to be held in Paris; but the outbreak of the Franco-German War prevented it. But the conclusion of that international duel showed Socialism in a new light, for the Commune of Paris, if not the Socialistic ideal, was at all events its creator. We have noticed how it was exhibited in 1796 and 1848; but now in 1871 we have a much clearer definition of its actuality. The representative body or Commune of Paris was elected towards the end of March, 1871, and was designed to consist of eighty delegates of the arrondissements; but by no means all these representatives were members of the International. As a matter of fact, only a minority could be properly so designated; yet this section included in it all the brains and talents of the assembly, and played the least violent rôle in that sanguinary drama. Indeed, they had among their numbers all the administrative ability of the Convention, and it was very vigorously exerted during the short time at their command. There were among them Theisz, who was Administrator of the Posts; Frankel, of the Department of Industry; Vaillant, of Public Instruction; Beslay of the Bank. Vésinier edited the *Officiel*; and all these are found exerting themselves against Pyat Rigault, and others, who formed the more murderous and incendiary party. The short history of the Commune may in fact be analysed thus: it passed through three phases. First, from the signing of the preliminary peace with the Germans towards the end of February, until the end of March, during which time the Republic, pure and simple, existed. This, secondly, the International converted to its own purposes, and organized. Thirdly, the extreme sections overruled the others, and unfortunately brought about those events by which the spring of 1871 will be for ever remembered. During these three periods the executive was successively vested in the Central Committee of the National Guard, in the Commune of Paris, and in the Committee of Public Safety. It is with the second of these only that the International is to be identified.

From this state of ebullition Socialism passed rapidly into a condition of silence. It is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to trace the revival, but this may be taken to have begun previous to the Social Democratic Congress of Gotha in 1875, at which the ultimate aims and theoretic principles of Socialism were stated with something approaching to precision. It was agreed (*inter alia*) that since in the society of the present time the

instruments of work are the monopoly of capitalists, and since the dependence of the working-class is the cause of misery and servitude in all its forms, these means of production must be made the common property of society. This is the first occasion on which any Socialist Congress has enunciated its aims with such clearness; and from this time to the present the exertions of the Socialists have been very active. Of the details of these labours it is difficult to give reliable information; but it should here be clearly stated that there is absolutely no evidence to show that the International has any control over those who plan and carry out the various murderous attempts on crowned heads and high officials, of which so much has been heard in the last few years. History is more likely, if it acts impartially, to identify Socialism as a revolutionary movement with the International, and not with secret societies of bloodthirsty tendencies. It has been said, that to be a member of a secret society disqualifies a man for the International; and the following facts seem to bear out this view. In the course of the year 1872 a new section of the International was formed at Geneva by a man named Michael Bakunin, a Russian Nihilist and fugitive from his country, who had been condemned to death in the Saxon and Austrian courts, and then handed over to the Russian authorities. Sent to Siberia, he had escaped, and then reappeared in Western Europe, where he for some time figured as the most extreme of Socialists. In April, 1871, he and his friends applied for admission into the "Romand," or Swiss Federation, and was received by twenty-one votes to eighteen, and the non-contents thereupon withdrew from the Local Congress. But in the General Congress which was that year held at The Hague, the question of receiving Bakunin's alliance as part of the International was discussed and ultimately negatived, on the ground that Bakunin* had made it a secret society. But the Swiss Federation supported their man; consequently the executive in London suspended the sections, and the next Congress confirmed its action. Still, on the general question, as to whether the International does favour the doings of the extremists, there is something to be said in favour of their doing so. Probably, however, the true view is that the International, though it endeavours to prevent atrocious acts from being committed, is not strong enough to break fearlessly and openly with their originators; and as in the case of the burning of Paris after the Commune, and the murder of the priests and hostages, it endeavours to palliate or excuse them after the event.

There are at the present day two remarkable movements in progress which claim some mention here, as they are understood

* It is stated that Bakunin died in June, 1876.

to bear a more or less intimate connection with Socialism. One of these is the so-called Anti-Rent League in America, where, owing to the abuses to which the accumulation of enormous capital in a few hands has given rise, Socialistic doctrines have taken a firm root under the guidance of the International. The other movement is more purely English and local ; it consists in an endeavour on the part of Mr. Cowen, Professor Beesley, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, and others, to unite the various working-men's societies in England in support of a certain programme of reforms, which, though in some degree political, appears to aim at the social questions involved in a reform of the present relations of capital and labour ; and the acquisition of political power is apparently regarded as a necessary precedent to a solution of the difficulties, in a way satisfactory to the labouring classes. The connection between this movement (which is sometimes called the Democratic Federation) and the Socialism of the International, is in no way more strongly shown than in the general similarity of their respective programmes. A particular instance of this similarity is worth pointing out for the sake of example. It lies in the efforts now being made in England, as well as in Central and Western Europe, to discredit the system of trades-unions ; the argument against them is, that though in some instances higher wages may have been secured, yet the workmen themselves are only made thereby more content with the present relations of capital and labour, which it is the aim of the Socialists to change. Whether or no recent events in Ireland can be referred to the same fountain head as the Democratic Federation, is a question that can be hardly answered yet ; the principles of the anti-rent agitation had certainly been previously worked out into practice in America, and the methods of working adopted by the Fenians can easily be traced to their usual method of procedure and the example of the Nihilists. The utmost that can now be said with certainty, is that Socialism cannot dispense with the nominal alliance of the extreme sections, while it is very willing to profit by the teaching of so many lessons in the art of organizing the masses. Those who are well acquainted with the recent history of Socialism will notice that no mention has been made (among other things) of the Katheder-Socialisten, or the Socialists of the Chair, which is the collective name given to a few German professors who have theorized on the subject. Of these, probably Schaeffle is the most distinguished ; but his fancifully constructed ideal State bears as much resemblance to practical Socialism as Sir Thomas More's or any other Utopia. For at the present time, though worked out in some important details, the Socialist programme is still incomplete ; its present efforts

are, where they are well directed, aimed at closer organization, and the acquisition of political power, with a view to the ultimate adjustment of the rights of labour and capital. On the present principles of political economy this would be logically impossible. But Marx and his followers argue that, though these principles may justly apply to the condition of society in which the relations of labour and capital exist as they now are, yet these relations and that condition must and will be altered; that then the reigning principles of political economy will be no longer true, and that the Socialistic doctrines will be strictly applicable to the altered circumstances. So that it may be said that the social economists and the political economists fail to meet on the same ground. Perhaps no one has so lucidly set out the reasons for denying that the school of Mill and Fawcett can maintain their present principles in any state but that which now exists, as Mr. Henry George in his well-known work entitled "Progress and Poverty;" and Karl Marx's work on "Capital," goes even further in the same direction. The only eminent English thinker, who can be in any way said to represent these views, is, as far as we know, Mr. Cliffe Leslie, but in a paper more concerned with the history than the theory of Socialism, this matter cannot be pursued further. Suffice it here to say that the main points on which a new departure is taken are these:— Firstly, the Malthusian theories are rejected as incapable of historical or logical demonstration; and secondly, the theory of wages, as stated by Mill, is similarly denied; in substitution we have the doctrine that labour is the sole element of wealth.

A sketch of the history of Socialism would perhaps draw nearer to completeness, if some idea was conveyed of the possible effects of these opinions on the social constitution that now obtains among us; and this can be effected to a certain extent by answering the question, To what classes is Socialism more immediately dangerous? Firstly, then, it may be said to threaten two classes, who are only very remotely connected with each other, the one being landowners on a large scale, and the other that section of the class of retailers who make a livelihood from the distribution of articles of human necessity. The landowners are attacked for their possession of a monopoly, which monopoly, it is conceived by our social economists, is the prime cause that tends to reduce wages to a fraction above the cost of living; but this theory involves a process of logical argument that has little to attract the multitudes whom it is intended to benefit. On the other hand, the argument against the retailers of bread, meat, and cheap clothing is much more patent and capable of easy and general appreciation; for it strikes the mind as a very reasonable proposition that there is a serious injustice in

allowing the necessities of life to be subject to a profit which comes equally from the purses of rich and poor alike. And besides these, it can hardly be disguised that capitalists, whether they be individuals or joint-stock companies, would be very materially affected if the alteration in the relations of capital and labour were to become probable in the immediate future. Still, judging as best we may, from the past history of Socialism, the danger (if any) to the capitalists is much more remote than to the retailers of necessities and the landowners; and as to the latter, it may be mentioned that Lange, a writer of repute among the Socialists, has expressed his opinion that there is nowhere such an opportunity for Socialism to display itself as in England and Ireland; for there, he says, the Latifundia have become a serious and increasing evil.

To sum up then:—We have seen Latter-day Socialism in its incipience as a mere conspiracy as was Babœuf's. We have traced it into momentary ebullition, such as it was under the guidance of Louis Blanc. We have then seen it reconstituted and organized by the genius and exertions of Lassalle, and, still more, of Marx. Under the guidance of the latter, up to his retirement from its directorate at a recent date, we have seen it working and extending—not gradually, with the consistent progress of a healthily constituted association, but with a sudden outburst, such as was seen during the spring of 1871, followed by a depressing reaction. We have seen something of the outward management, the quarrels, and the difficulties of Socialism. To its theories there has been, however, as little reference as appeared compatible with the display of a clear idea of its reality. And after all this, what is the historical position of Socialism so far as it can be determined by the facts? Assuming that we have the data on which to found an opinion, it may be concluded that the essence of Socialism lies in this:—It is an attempt to organize those elements of society which, in the natural order of progression, are apparently destined to supersede the middle classes in the government of nationalities; it is, in fact, intended to be the rudder, if not the engines as well as the rudder, of the great vessel Democracy.

ART. IV.—THE POETRY OF MRS. E. B. BROWNING.

MORE than twenty years ago died the first great poetess whom England has produced. Whether it be that within this last century what she called

“the pressures of an alien tyranny
With its dynastic reasons of larger bones
And stronger sinews,”

have relaxed a little, and given more opportunity of development and more freedom of action to women, or whether it be from some other cause, it is certain that women have begun to take a place among writers of the first rank in more than one department of literature.

Two years ago George Eliot had no living equal among novelists; and still to-day she has no successor, no one to take a place so high as hers, in whatever different school. Novelists of the first rank are as rare as poets; in our own time, perhaps, they are even rarer. A novelist differs from a poet in the fact that his books should be impersonal; his experiences should not reach us in their crude form, nor his thoughts simply as thoughts. His functions verge on those of the judge on the one hand, and on those of the artist—the painter of pictures—on the other. But a lyric poet resembles rather a prophet; he gives forth the words of inspiration in his own voice, he speaks of human life as he has found it himself, he teaches us by his own experience openly, he pours the vials of his own indignation into his denunciations of wrong, and he brings the tenderness of his own affections into his appeals for universal pity and love. We may therefore expect to find in lyrical poetry written by a woman more distinctly feminine gifts than can be revealed in a high-class novel. We suppose that a lyric poet, who is also a woman, will tell us things that a man could not have known, will appeal to feelings of which he is hardly conscious, will suggest ideals beyond his imagination, or at least give us the inner working of those ideals, instead of merely the outside view. And this is what Mrs. Browning does. At last, after so many ages, in her writings a woman speaks to women as no man could have spoken.

The poetesses who preceded Mrs. Browning, and who enjoyed a general popularity which she will perhaps never attain, were essentially feminine in their effusions. The conception of their subjects, the monotonous sweetness of their verse, the blameless

insipidity of their ideas, marked them out for multitudinous approbation, and also for swift oblivion. Mrs. Browning's poetry boasts none of the feminine prettiness of theirs: the vigour of her style and the range of her views are masculine enough; it is only in the depth of her tenderness and the passion of her sympathy that her womanhood is revealed. Withal, she is not sentimental, while Mrs. Hemans and Miss Landon overflow with sentiment. This *sentiment*, at which so many would-be poets stop half-way, never getting to that which lies beyond, is to true passion what moonlight is to sunlight, what reflections in a mirror are to a boundless landscape under open sky. It is the *studio-light* of poetry, or something worse. It is a feeling about a feeling, rather than the feeling itself; it is an emotion excited at the idea of emotion; something melancholy, something pleasing, and also something which is necessarily shallow. The muse of sentiment is no passion-fraught being indifferent to her attitudes; she is but the representation of a muse, conscientiously posing before a mirror of consciousness. And this quality of consciousness or unconsciousness makes the difference between sentiment and passion. Sentiment explains, but passion speaks; sentiment reflects, but passion is. The highest intensity of passionate unconsciousness is what constitutes true tragedy—that, and not the heaping together of terrible circumstances. Death and disaster touch the lives of all of us, more or less, without giving to them any tragic dignity. We can find greater horrors in many a modern newspaper than those of which Macbeth supped full, but they are only horrors; and our lives for the most part, though linked with all wonderful changes of death and life, are commonplace enough. We are instruments too poor for the divinest melodies to echo from divinely, except when now and then a master-hand touches the chords, and a poet shows us how many poetic possibilities lie dormant in our prosaic existences.

But the first requisition for such a result is simplicity—a simplicity which includes unconsciousness: and sentiment is never unconscious; it admires itself; it pities itself; it tries to speak prettily always, whereas passion has nothing to do with prettiness. The great tragic feature of Schiller's "Maid of Orleans" is discovered in Joan's unconsciousness of her own greatness. She has been absorbed in her work and not in herself; her whole soul is devoured by the desire of saving France, to the exclusion of all selfish considerations. She has never thought that the reflection of her act on her own life may be glory or humiliation; she has not even traced the act to its source, and discovered her own noble devotion. She is so free from ideas of personal greatness that, the act being done and her mind left open to thoughts of self, she is easily persuaded that she has been prompted by un-

worthy motives, that she has been deceived and deceiving, that she is an impostor after all. The conviction of inspiration, to which she clung firmly when it might save France, slips from her grasp when it can only justify herself. While her country is in danger she has no doubts; the call to help it is Divine; she would receive any suggestion of mistake as a temptation from the evil spirit: but when there merely remains a question of explaining her own motives, there is nothing Divine in such a need: she cannot appeal to inspiration to meet it; she is perplexed, troubled, and lost by her own humility. This sort of tragedy has been repeated over and over again in great lives; it is a sublimity of despair which has been reached many times in the history of the human race, but only by those who have given us the grandest examples of effort and self-abnegation. When there is work to be done for others, how strong the best souls are to do it! How certain they feel that God is behind them in the battle! But when the work is finished, or their part in it, and they are set to search out motives, to justify action instead of producing it, they are lost; they cannot explain; they did their work, they cannot tell how they came to do it; and so the last faltering doubts of some true martyrs and noble men are made comprehensible to us. Is there not a touch of this sublime despair in the supreme tragedy of the world, when the one whom proud kings have since been proud to call Master was dying a criminal's death, after being betrayed, denied, and forsaken by His followers? The bitter cry from Calvary was not, "Why have these forsaken me?" but "My God, my God, why hast *Thou* forsaken me?" so giving the completing touch to this picture of sublimely human weakness and suffering.

Schiller's tragedy failed to end as nobly as it had begun, because he was not content to work out this splendid despair in conformity with the facts of history as well as the laws of human nature. He must bring in the vulgar expedient of miraculous interference to justify and to save his heroine. This leaves us to ask, wondering, "Was she lost then, *without* a miracle?" because many great souls like hers have found themselves in some similar position, and will so find themselves again and again; yet no miracles will disperse their doubts, and come forward as their credentials before a scoffing world. Schiller's play might have closed at a more tragic height if he had permitted his heroine to follow an example which she would have acknowledged as all-sufficient, and, leaving herself unjustified, be content to die saying, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

If passion differs from sentiment so widely in its action, it is not less distinct in its utterance. Although possessing its own eloquence, it inclines to no mere sweetness of sound. **The dying**

Desdemona awakens the heart-broken pity of the whole world by no prettily turned speech. She says, "Nobody, I myself," and—adding only a message to her "kind lord"—leaves us to make what we can of these three disjointed words. Something, indeed, we make of them far different from the significance of the golden-coloured reiterating syllables in which much modern poetry chooses to disguise itself.

Again, passion does not stay to explain itself; it is as careless of our comprehension as it is indifferent to its own smoothness of expression, and as it is unconscious of its own justifications. When Juliet has heard the perfidious advice of her nurse to give up Romeo for Paris, she does not trouble us with any confidential "asides;" she does not express any veiled indignation, that we may see, and the nurse may ignore.

"Well, thou hast comforted me marvellous much," is her quiet answer; and its quietness stirs us with the knowledge of her despair and utter desolateness more than any explanation could have done; it stirs us so deeply that we can hardly read farther for trouble and compassion.

This capability of *expressing* passion in the very language of passion itself, and without self-conscious analysis or extraneous hints to the audience, is one of the rarest of poetic gifts; being almost a necessity in every fine tragedy, it is what renders this literary production so uncommon. Mrs. Browning hardly attempted to deal with tragedy in its most impersonal and unconscious form. The dramatic faculty was by no means denied to her. We have only to read "the Drama of Exile," "Aurora Leigh," and some of her ballads, to recognize this; but her sympathies were too continuously strong with the suffering and oppressed for her ever to get free from their influence, and so to bask in that calm heaven of observation whence Shakespeare spoke. Thunderstorms are oftenest woven out of sunny skies, and in summer weather, and true tragedy cannot be created out of melancholy thought. Mrs. Browning's life-experiences had been too sad; her heart was, perhaps, always too tender, to permit her to stand aloof from the passions of the world and to paint them passionlessly. What she lost thereby in one quality, she, however, gained in another, and that other was precisely the one in which the world of poetry had been hitherto most barren, and at the same time the one in which all things about her life, both inward and outward, combined to make her excel. This distinguishing characteristic of her poetry is its passionate pathos.

It is the quality of suffering transformed into comprehensive, far-sighted compassion, in which Mrs. Browning surpasses other poets. Into the profoundest depths of human sorrow, into the

utmost tenderness of human pity, into the closest closeness of human sympathy, she brings the inspiring light of poetry. At last she gives voice to the inarticulate yearnings of many generations of loving hearts, whose divinest feelings had never before found full expression.

We have had for hundreds of years a variety of lyrical revelations of all the deeper sentiments and higher aspirations of half the human race, but the other half has been silent; it has spoken by no representative voice in poetic literature any more than it has been permitted a representative voice in government; and there can hardly be any doubt that, as intelligence grows with the growth of language, so also all noble emotion is fostered by the worthy expression of it. Has it not then been a loss to all the generations of women in the past that no poet has spoken from their ranks, putting into words their secret longings after high ideals, and finding fit expression for all those finer feelings which are apt to float hazily above the loudly vocal commoner cares and thoughts of life. These unembodied aspirations are too often dispersed when the first emotional enthusiasm of youth is over; and to be consolidated into definite form gives them a greater chance of survival amid the more tangible things by which they are surrounded.

But Mrs. Browning has done more than this for her fellow-women; besides giving lyrical expression to all noble womanly emotion—from the child's simple delight in a sunny garden, or a loving voice, to the sacred sorrow of a mother who has given her sons to die for their country—she has also put into their hands what might be called a perfect decalogue of womanly virtue, a treasury of precepts which have the plastic nature of fine poetry, and are therefore applicable to every circumstance and to all time; so that it is hardly too much to say that a woman who studies with love and constancy the teachings of this true and pure woman, is secured against all the meanest mistakes and temptations of her age, and cannot—so long as the constancy lasts—lead an ignoble life under any conditions.

It is sometimes said, not untruly, that we find what we seek in all earthly things, even in poetry; it may also be said that in the best poetry, as in the other best gifts of life, we find what we need. It is certain that we cannot receive anything, however abundant the thing may be, without some receptive or assimilating power in ourselves. It is possible, therefore, that men do not perceive, and never can perceive, the whole excellence of Mrs. Browning's poetry; they do not want, they have no need of, that sort of help and that power of expression which are her especial gifts, being those which she holds beyond and above the general gifts which must make all true poetry applicable and beautiful to

the whole intelligent world. It is possible even that had she been less perfect in her own department she would have appeared more perfect in the eyes of the majority of these her critics. However that may be, she stands alone as a pure and lofty exponent of all the deeper sympathetic emotions. Her lyrics are unlike most lyrics in their absence of egoism. Her "I" is no plaintive isolated being complaining to the universe; it is only a medium for the comprehension of other beings to whom is denied, for the most part, the gift of utterance. Her sadness is almost pity; her mourning is akin to comfort; her tenderness is self-abnegation. Out of the depths of her own griefs she digs consolation for others, from the fulness of her own losses she finds hope for those who have suffered likewise.

And for this reason the pervading spirit of her writings may be said to be hope; not the joyful anticipation which is born out of high spirits and cheerful circumstances, but a hope which has sprung from bitter knowledge and been nourished by mournful experiences. She seems to tell us that if we drink deeply enough of the divine cup of sorrow, we shall find a sweetness at the end never guessed at by those who only sip and turn away. She will not have it that the case of Romney Leigh is hopeless because he has met with disappointment, failure, and the maiming blow of blindness.

"From his personal loss
He has come to hope for others when they lose,
And wear a gladder faith in what we gain
Through bitter experience, compensation sweet."

Her hero wins for himself, as Buddha is said to have done, peace in a suffering world by going deep down into suffering himself, and bringing from the ocean depths of it patience and hope. The one good thing which she teaches us to cling to in a life where few of us can at the same time live nobly and live at ease, is a tenderness allied to constancy. We are always to love, help, and forgive each other. To women especially she offers no ideal of self-indulgence and physical enjoyment when she bids them

"Be satisfied:
Something thou hast to bear through womanhood,
Some pang paid down for each new human life,
Some weariness in guarding such a life,
Some coldness from the guarded, some mistrust
From those thou hast too well served, from those beloved
Too loyally some treason; feebleness
Within thy heart, and cruelty without."

"But," she adds for consolation—

“ Thy love
 Shall chant itself its own beautitudes
 After its own life-working. A child's kiss
 Set on thy sighing lips, shall make thee glad ;
 A poor man served by thee, shall make thee rich ;
 A sick man helped by thee, shall make thee strong ;
 Thou shalt be served thyself by every sense
 Of service which thou renderest.”

It is evident that no woman who adopts sincerely Eve's reply to these words—

“ Noble work
 Shall hold me in the place of garden-rest,
 And in the place of Eden's lost delight
 Worthy endurance of permitted pain,”

can lead a life of trifling vanity, of selfish extravagance, or egoistical ease. And worse sins than these are common enough in society, sins which degrade many lives into festering sores, and taint what might otherwise be a healthy community. Mrs. Browning's ideal, though approached only by a few, must have the opposite tendency ; the world must become, under its influence, a better and happier place for this and for future generations ; for she puts heroism before us as preferable to escape ; she teaches us that if we forbear to shirk the difficulties of life they shall become our servants, training in us high qualities and lifting us to greater moral heights.

Mrs. Browning has been accused of too much indifference to the form in which she expressed her thoughts ; certainly she cared less for the form than for the substance : she would use a poor rhyme if no good one suited her purpose, and her ideas sometimes tossed themselves out ruggedly, her sentences heaving tumultuously with eager thoughts which she was not careful to render smooth and tame. In the “ Drama of Exile,” however, which abounds with fine and vigorous thought, we find also much blank verse in which the loftiness of conception does not surpass the beauty of expression. We might take for example more than one speech of the “ lost Angel,” Lucifer, whom Gabriel calls

“ A monumental melancholy gloom
 Seen down all ages, whence to mark despair
 And measure out the distances from good,”

and who speaks to his old comrade with defiant scorn :—

“ Good Gabriel,
 (Ye like that word in heaven) *I* too have strength—
 Strength to behold Him and not worship Him,
 Strength to fall from Him and not cry on Him,

Strength to be in the universe and yet
 Neither God nor His servant. The red sign
 Burnt on my forehead, which you taunt me with,
 Is God's sign that it bows not unto God,
 The potter's mark upon his work, to show
 It rings well to the striker. I and the earth
 Can bear more curse."

Milton's Satan is a King of Darkness, a Spirit of Rebellion struggling against Divine power; this Lucifer is a Fallen Angel who still, in spite of his protestations, carries about him the badge of former service, in the involuntary thrills of recognition with which he answers appeals to old obedience. He is what Gabriel calls him, "Spirit of Scorn," and therefore "of unreason;" a rebel against Divine love rather than Divine power; he would work the ruin of the world rather than its conquest, and he frets against the smallness of the creatures he has injured, which limits its capacity of loss to so much less than his own.

" Pass along
 Your wilderness, vain mortals! Puny griefs
 In transitory shapes, be henceforth dwarfed
 To your own conscience, by the dread extremes
 Of what I am and have been. If ye have fallen
 It is but a step's fall,—the whole ground beneath
 Strewn woolly soft with promise! if ye have sinned,
 Your prayers tread high as angels! if ye have grieved,
 Ye are too mortal to be pitiable,
 The power to die disproves the right to grieve.
 Go to! ye call this ruin? I half scorn
 The ill I did you! Were ye wronged by me,
 Hated and tempted and undone of me,
 Still, what's your hurt to mine of doing hurt,
 Of hating, tempting, and so ruining?
 This sword's *hilt* is the sharpest, and cuts through
 The hand that wields it."

A fine moral image, which strikes hard at some modern doctrines professing to teach the advance of the human race.

In the dialogue between Gabriel and Lucifer at the gate of Eden we find in significant contrast the interpretation put by a good and an evil angel upon the same act of Divine severity:—

Lucifer. " Verily,
 I and my demons, who are spirits of scorn,
 Might hold this charge of standing with a sword
 'Twixt man and his inheritance, as well
 As the benigntest angel of you all."

Gabriel. Thou speakest in the shadow of thy change.
If thou hadst gazed upon the face of God
This morning for a moment, thou hadst known
That only pity fitly can chastise.
Hate but avenges."

Further on, in Eve's appeal for mercy to the accusing Spirits of Earth, there is a very beautiful picture of a thing difficult to conceive—a mingling of earthly and heavenly life.

"For was I not
At that last sunset seen in Paradise,
When all the westering clouds flashed out in throngs
Of sudden angel-faces, face by face,
All hushed and solemn, as a thought of God
Held them suspended,—was I not, that hour,
The lady of the world, princess of life,
Mistress of feast and favour? Could I touch
A rose with my white hand, but it became
Redder at once? Could I walk leisurely
Along our swarded garden, but the grass
Tracked me with greenness? Could I stand aside
A moment underneath a cornel-tree,
But all the leaves did tremble as alive
With songs of fifty birds who were made glad
Because I stood there?"

A great step downwards was it from this Queen of the World and Companion of Angels, to the heart-broken woman who beseeches Adam—

"Hold
My right hand strongly! It is Lucifer—
And we have love to lose."

Only love, nothing else; not even life, for that has lost all savour of joy and hope. And yet we are made to feel that this step is not *only* downwards; love grows larger as life gets sadder; devotion takes the place of pleasure, and fortitude of happiness.

The sublimity of the angelic picture does not strike with any sense of insufficiency ears trained to the magnificence of Milton's treatment of this theme; and there are beautiful and poetic touches of earthly beauty in this description which have no place in the stern Puritan's vision of the Paradise which Adam lost by his wife's fault, and where Eve ministered to the angel in somewhat too housewifely a fashion. Her preparations to receive "the glorious shape" which approached like—

"Another morn
Risen on mid-noon,"

were too much in the style of Martha's hospitality, to which a

later and loftier guest, as Milton might have remembered, did not accord unqualified approbation. Indeed, Milton's own picture of Eve paints her as worthy of nobler offices than any he gives to her in Paradise.

“Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love.

.
So absolute she seems,
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best ;
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
Loses, discountenanced, and like folly shows ;
Authority and reason on her wait.”

Such qualities merit a worthier setting of duty and companionship in Eden life : a creature possessing them might have taken a higher part in the intercourse between Adam and the angel than was implied in preparing fruits, waiting at table, and being permitted to listen, “attentive,” but altogether silent, to the discourse of her husband and their guest.

Among the many beautiful lyrics in “A Drama of Exile,” is the farewell of the Eden Spirits to Adam and Eve, containing the often-quoted lines :—

“The yearning to a beautiful denied you,
Shall strain your powers.
Ideal sweetnesses shall over-glide you,
Resumed from ours.
In all your music, our pathetic minor
Your ears shall cross ;
And all good gifts shall mind you of diviner,
With sense of loss.”

Mrs. Browning's muse soared high enough, in this “Drama of Exile,” to chant unjarringly of heaven, of angels, of spiritual mysteries, and of supernatural visions ; but it can also stoop low enough to grasp earth's smallest beauties, sing softly of earth's simplest sorrows. We know that Mrs. Browning's deliberate choice was not to separate poetry from common life, but to regard the one as the soul of the other, and therefore to look upon both as indissolubly united. She bids true poets—

“Never flinch,
But still, unscrupulously epic, catch
Upon the burning lava of a song
The full-veined, heaving, double-breasted age.”

She tells us that—

“The man most man with tenderest human hands
Works best for man, as God in Nazareth;”

and also that—

“No perfect artist is developed here
From any imperfect woman. Flower from root,
And spiritual from natural, grade by grade,
In all our life.”

Therefore she only works out her own ideal in touching with a poetic finger lowliest as well as loftiest things; and, just as in her hands the sublimest visions of the imagination seem linked with tender human interest, so do the simplest childish experiences become fraught with profoundest meanings. In her “Romance of the Swan’s Nest” she gives us what at first appears only a charming picture of a child’s joy in a discovered plaything, and sorrow over its loss; in the last lines, however, we find an interest deeper than this:—

“Ellie went home sad and slow.
If she found the lover ever,
With his red-roan steed of steeds,
Sooth I know not; but I know
She could never show him—never—
That swan’s nest among the reeds!”

The sadness of human life is in this concluding stanza. To so many come the best gifts they longed for, when the real reason of their longing—a much smaller thing, perhaps—is lost to them altogether. In our youth we desire all good gifts that the world holds, but it is only that we may apply them to the small needs of our own life. When that life is altered in some trifling condition, the offerings of the universe seem no longer to be of any use to us. In our moments of success we are too often like a thirsty man standing beside a great river which flows between steep banks beyond the reach of his lips. The water is abundant, but where is the little cup with which he may stoop down and gather some? Better were the earlier days when water was very scarce, but the little cup was still there, so that he could collect a few drops and drink at every scanty rivulet as he passed by. In some such reason as this lies the source of the disappointment of many eminently successful men, men who have achieved their most ambitious desires, and who tell us that they were happier in the days of poverty and struggle.

The “Lay of the Brown Rosary” is tinged with the mysticism and mediævalism which is so popular now; it makes, however, no distinct attempt to imitate the old ballad form, which is not fitted to convey the thoughts of the nineteenth century. The mixture

of reality and mysticism is borrowed, and therewith a certain simplicity which appeals to our emotion rather than our reason; but this is all: and Mrs. Browning's peculiar poetic spirit never worked more freely in any form than in this one. We can perceive that the details of it are not invented, but spontaneous. When the five-lined narrative stanzas of the first part are abruptly changed to the varying rhythm and dramatic form of the second part, we feel that it is not because Mrs. Browning thought she could secure a certain effect by the change, it is not that she made any deliberate choice in the matter, but rather that this second scene rose before her mental vision in that dialogue shape in which we have it, just as the first part rang in her ears in those five-lined verses, with their chanting rhythm, in which it is embodied. The words of address to the vision of her father, into which the sleeping Onora breaks suddenly from her lesson with the Fiend, are as characteristic as they are touching.

“Have patience, O dead father mine! I did not fear to die—
 I wish I were a young dead child and had thy company!
 I wish I lay beside thy feet, a buried three-year child,
 And wearing only a kiss of thine upon my lips that smiled!
 The linden-tree that covers thee might so have shadowed twain,
 For death itself I did not fear—'tis love that makes the pain:
 Love feareth death. I was no child, I was betrothed that day;
 I wore a troth-kiss on my lips I could not give away.
 How could I bear to lie content and still beneath a stone,
 And feel mine own betrothed go by—alas! no more mine own—
 Go leading by in wedding pomp some lovely lady brave,
 With cheeks that blushed as red as rose, while mine were white in
 grave?
 How could I bear to sit in heaven, on e'er so high a throne,
 And hear him say to her—to *her!* that else he loveth none?
 Though e'er so high I sate above, though e'er so low he spake,
 As clear as thunder I should hear the new oath he might take,
 That hers, forsooth, were heavenly eyes—ah me, while very dim,
 Some heavenly eyes (indeed of heaven!) would darken down to
 him.”

We may contrast the concluding thought with the expression of the same reluctance conquered, the same selfishness of passionate love subdued, in “Catarina to Camoens.”

“Eyes of mine, what are ye doing?
 Faithless, faithless,—praised amiss
 If a tear be of your showing,
 Dropt for any hope of *his!*
 Death has boldness
 Besides coldness,
 If unworthy tears demean
 Sweetest eyes, were ever seen?”

• “ I will look out to his future ;
I will bless it till it shine.
Should he ever be a suitor
Unto sweeter eyes than mine,
Sunshine gild them,
Angels shield them,
Whatsoever eyes terrene
Be the sweetest HIS have seen !”

and again, in the “ Sonnets from the Portuguese.”

“ And love, be false ! if he, to keep one oath
Must lose one joy, by his life’s star foretold.”

It is not wonderful that Mrs. Browning excelled in the combination of the marvellous with the commonplace, the unreal with the actual ; her habitual thoughts dwelt in the spiritual as much as the physical world ; her angels, therefore, could fold their wings and stoop to the commonest offices of life when these were “ informed” with love ; her thoughts, therefore, could fly high as Gabriel’s words.

“ I charge thee by the choral song we sang,
When up against the white shore of our feet
The depths of the creation swelled and brake,—
And the new worlds, the beaded foam and flower
Of all that coil, roared outward into space
On thunder-edges,—leave the earth to God !”

and bend low as her own declaration, to quote again from the “ Sonnets from the Portuguese,”

“ I love thee to the level of every day’s
Most quiet need, by sun and candle-light.”

The “ Sonnets from the Portuguese ” have been much praised, but certainly not beyond their merits. There is no other such sonnet-sequence in the English language, none in which each poem stands apart so satisfactorily, and yet the entire number can be read through from first to last as a harmonious whole. The sonnets of Shakespeare are less perfect in form, and not so readily comprehensible as a series ; the sonnets of Wordsworth on the Duddon are less even in execution and less interesting in subject. Mr. Rossetti lately gave us in completed form his sonnet-sequence called “ The House of Life ; ” but this is wanting in that unity of aim and that ascending scale of feeling which is both spontaneous and excellently artistic in the “ Sonnets from the Portuguese.” Each stone of that work of art is exquisitely chiselled, and yet each is but part of one symmetrical building.

This is precisely what Mr. Rossetti failed to achieve in his “ House of Life.” Possibly he never attempted it, and gave to

his sonnet-sequence this somewhat ambitious and misleading title for the same reason which presumably caused Mrs. Browning to throw over *her* sonnet-sequence the thin veil of disguise afforded by the description, "from the Portuguese." Lyrical poetry is always suggestive of personal experience, and an impertinent public is ever ready to seek behind the literary result for the private origin. Such seeking discovers some truth, and causes a great deal of error. The very fact that the tone of a poet's productions flows generally in somewhat parallel lines with the circumstances of his life is apt to lead the hasty critic astray, because, although the spirit of the poet's emotion may be identical with the spirit of his utterance, he throws its expression into some impersonal form; it is probable that very rarely—it is certain that less often than is generally supposed—does he describe his own position and descant on his own troubles; more usually he idealizes both. The dramatic instinct which belongs ever to the lyrical poet causes him to put forth feelings which in themselves are real enough, in an imaginative guise, and the very resemblance of mood to his own mood, the shadow of his own circumstances on his artistic creation, awakens comparisons which are altogether untrue, because they are applied to detail and not to spirit.

For example, the inspiration of a poet's love-effusions may very easily be traced to the secrets of his own heart; but his artistic instinct causes him to render the passion of love typically, and to strip it of that narrow garb of circumstance which might impair its usefulness to the world while increasing its interest for the curious. When, therefore, we endeavour to work out the history of a poet from his lyrical productions we invite mistake and are guilty of intrusion. No poet is altogether worthy of his high office, who wishes to put his personal life openly before the world in his writings; what revelation is inevitable in the working out of his inspiration he does not shrink from; but in return for this noble candour he has a right to demand that we should abstain from all ugly spying into his privacy, and insolent solving of self-suggested riddles. If he gives us incomplete fragments of story, we must not conclude that of necessity the story is his own any more than when he gives a name to it, and provides it with an orthodox beginning and conclusion. It is one of the gifts of a lyrical poet to behold fragmentary visions, half the beauty of which lies in that vagueness which enables us to fit them into our own life, or into any life. Notwithstanding this fact, an idle and Athenian-like portion of the public is ever ready to weave a thread of biography out of a series of poems; we can therefore well understand how a poet may endeavour to defend himself against such a proceeding by giving a generalizing title to his productions; this must be received as a protest against curiosity,

even when it does not succeed in baffling it. In reading Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese," it is evident to all of us that only a noble woman could have written them, and that they form an ideal and complete picture of a woman's love from its small beginnings to its perfect development; and there is no need for any one to ask more than this.

The sonnet is a favourite form of verse at the present moment; we may study it as produced by nearly sixty living writers. There is a tendency almost to make a plaything of it, and to strip it of the noble simplicity which characterized it in the hands of Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth. Mrs. Browning belongs, however, to the older school of sonneteers, with whom thought was supreme, and did not yield its dominion to "jewel-coloured words." No "affluence of images" confuses the ideas enshrined by her in this form of verse, which, being itself somewhat involved and brief, demands lucidity of treatment and centralization of fancy. It should resemble a shrine devoted to one sacred thought rather than a cabinet full of articles of vertu. A great tendency of the sonnet form is to render the play of fancy subservient to the exigencies of rhyme and metre, and very rarely does Mrs. Browning fall into this temptation. One image proves generally sufficient for the illustration of her thought. Remembering that she has but what Wordsworth calls "the sonnet's scanty plot of ground" to work upon, she does not crowd it with a confusing succession of word-pictures, which can only leave us at the end of the sestet dazzled and uninformed, profanely wondering how many of the similes owe their place to the natural flow of thought, and how many were called there by the arbitrary demands of rhyme. It seems possible that, in Sonnet XL., "Polypheme's white tooth" might not have had a share in the sequence of ideas if the language had offered a greater choice of words to rhyme with "youth;" but seldom indeed in Mrs. Browning's sonnets does such a probability as this suggest itself to us.

In many of the sonnets which are most popular to-day we look in vain for the quality of lucidity. It may be described as belonging to a sonnet shape which is informed with meaning in contrast to a meaning which is beaten out into sonnet shape and patched at the corners to make it fit—sometimes with very heterogeneous materials.

If we take, for example, the sonnet entitled "The One Hope"—the work of a poet who has been called the greatest master among our contemporaries of this form of verse—we do not find either simplicity of thought or lucidity of treatment.

"When vain desire at last and vain regret
Go hand in hand to death, and all is vain,
What shall assuage the unforgotten pain
And teach the forgetful to forget?"

Shall Peace be still a sunk stream long unmet,—
 Or may the soul at once in a green plain
 Stoop through the spray of some sweet life-fountain
 And cull the dew-drenched flowering amulet ?

“ Ah ! when the wan soul in that golden air
 Between the scripted petals softly blown
 Peers breathless for the gift of grace unknown,—
 Ah ! let none other alien spell soe'er
 But only the one Hope's one name be there,—
 Not less nor more, but even that word alone.”

Where is the sequence of fancy here ? Is there not more than once a painful “ catch ” in the thought, which compels the mind to turn back and start afresh, instead of being carried on, as by the motion of a stately river, into the haven of satisfied intelligence at the end ?

We begin with two images, “ vain desire ” and “ vain regret,” proceeding “ hand-in-hand ” to death. Afterwards “ the soul ” takes the place of these images, and seeks the “ sunk stream ” of “ Peace,” but wonders if it may find instead “ some sweet life-fountain.” Here—from sunk stream to life-fountain—is the first actual sequence of thought in the collected images, and it is at once abandoned for a “ dew-drenched flowering amulet.” Then the “ wan soul ” in “ that golden air,” which has not been suggested to us before as having any special quality, golden or otherwise, “ peers breathless for the gift of grace unknown,” the magic letters on the “ scripted petals ” of the “ flowering amulet ” presumably : and the sonnet concludes by an aspiration that only one name of the one Hope may be found written as a spell thereon : but what the spell will achieve, and whether it will have any influence on “ vain desire ” and “ vain regret ” is not unfolded to us ; nor is it explained how an amulet, although dew-drenched, will satisfy a soul seeking a lost stream. It is also to be remarked that the petals are “ softly blown,” although “ golden air ” is unsuggestive of wind, and the wan soul is described as breathless : and it is not very clear whether the “ green plain ” is meant to signify that the soul has reached a place of rest, or merely to serve as a rhyme to “ pain ” and “ vain.” Doubtless any one of these changes and ambiguities may be justified ; but the combination produces perplexity, and the least phrases of a sonnet should be significant, fitted to prepare the mind for those which are to follow.

In contrast, we may take this simple old-fashioned sonnet of Mrs. Browning, in which one image is found sufficient for development of thought and exigencies of rhyme.

“I think of thee!—my thoughts do twine and bud
About thee, as wild vines, about a tree,
Put out broad leaves, and soon there’s nought to see
Except the straggling green which hides the wood.
Yet, O my palm tree, be it understood
I will not have my thoughts instead of thee
Who art dearer, better! Rather, instantly
Renew thy presence; as a strong tree should,
Rustle thy boughs and set thy trunk all bare,
And let those bands of greenery which insphere thee,
Drop heavily down,—burst, shattered, everywhere!
Because in this deep joy to see and hear thee
And breathe within thy shadow a new air.
I do not think of thee—I am too near thee.”

or, again, the sonnet beginning—

“I lift my heavy heart up solemnly,
As once Electra her sepulchral urn;”

in which the fine and fitting image illustrates the beauty of the one generously sad thought from the first foreboding line to the last impassioned warning:—

“Stand further off then! Go.”

The last of the three sonnets on the subject, “The Lord turned, and looked upon Peter”—a widely different theme—is unsustained by any flight of fancy at all, undecorated by any image: it finds sufficient beauty to justify its existence in the keen light which it sheds on a simply significant record.

These poems by no means meet the definition of a sonnet recently published by Mr. Rossetti. Each one is not a “monument” with “flowering crest imperaled and orient.” Rather is it like a Greek statue carved in marble, clear-limbed, luminous, clothed in its own beauty, the simple and perfect outline unbroken by ornament; so does it remain a mental image enshrined in its own sacred niche in our thoughts, to gleam out always amid the shadows of memory. So indeed, in spite of his questionable theory, are many of Mr. Rossetti’s sonnets, especially those lately published, such as “Soul-light,” and “Her Gifts.”

The “Cry of the Children,” is too well-known to need comment. Mrs. Browning threw into this appeal for the little ones all her unique powers of impassioned sympathy. It forms in itself a noble monument of what the union of a poetic intellect and a woman’s tender heart can achieve. A certain dramatic instinct of realization runs through the lyrical form of it, giving to it the same unusual power of rousing a compassionate emotion which belongs to “The Lay of the Brown Rosary.” This pecu-

liar quality, which is not possessed in the same degree by any other poet, is revealed here and there throughout Mrs. Browning's lyrics, sometimes in altogether unexpected places.

In the strange poem of "Confessions" we find a powerful picture of woman's strength, weakness and suffering. After acknowledgments of sin and short-comings we meet the declaration—

" 'I have loved,' she said
(Words bowing her head
As the wind the wet acacia-trees),
'I saw God sitting above me, but I I sat among men,
And I have loved these?'

" 'If I angered any among them, from henceforth my own life was
sore;
If I fell by chance from their presence, I clung to their memory
more:
Their tender I often felt holy, their bitter I sometimes called sweet;
And whenever their heart has refused me, I fell down straight at
their feet.

'I have loved,' she said,—
'Man is weak, God is dread,
Yet the weak man dies with his spirit at ease,
Having poured such an unguent of love but once on the Saviour's
feet,

As I lavished on these.'

" 'Go,' I cried, 'thou hast chosen the Human, and left the Divine!
Then, at least, have the Human shared with thee their wild berry-
wine?
Have they loved back thy love, and when strangers approached
thee with blame,
Have they covered thy fault with their kisses, and loved thee the
same?'

But she shrunk and said,
'God, over my head,
Must sweep in the wrath of His judgment—seas,
If *He* deal with me sinning, but only the same
And no gentler than these.'"

This woman's sins have apparently been more of omission than commission. She has forsaken the higher for the lower standard of life, but she has been true to her comrades in wrong-doing. She forms a striking contrast therefore to some later sinners in the realms of poetry—to those strange heroines whom one of our greatest living poets, one also who could find a slighting word to say of the moral tone of the portrayer of *Enid* and *Elaine*—calls, with his supremely musical utterance—

“Those daughters of dreams and of stories
That life is not wearied of yet,
Faustine, Fragoletta, Dolores,
Félice and Yolande and Juliette.”

Would she not, if brought face to face with these darlings of a later lyric fancy, look like a repentant Magdalen before so many painted Jezebels? Some modern teachers of morals would, no doubt, prefer a Jezebel to a Magdalen: “better paint than tears,” they would say, “and any false and perfidious joy rather than sadness.”

“Lo, she was thus,”

Mr. Swinburne sings regretfully in “*Laus Veneris*”—

“Lo, she was thus when her clear limbs enticed
All lips that now grow sad with kissing Christ.”

But the lover of theories such as these will find no satisfaction in the ethics of the author of “*Aurora Leigh*.”

Mrs. Browning brings into her poetry more direct religious utterance than is usual with poets of her rank; nevertheless, there is no dogmatic intolerance to be found in her writings, nothing which lies beyond the sphere of legitimate poetic speech. Her intensely real religious feeling was too broadly human to repel even those who did not share her beliefs; she found lessons of Divine love and forgiveness where others have discovered only harsh sectarian limitations; and she gives us glimpses of her faith which must remain full of beauty even for those who deny the truth of the sources which inspired it.

In her longest poem, “*Aurora Leigh*,” we have many such glimpses; and we find there more of the passion of love and less of the passion of sadness than in her other works; more, too, of character-study and of satire on human society. In this book we have an interesting picture of the hopes and doubts and fears of a poet-aspirant. Is it not also unique as distinguished from the claims of a poet-unrecognized?

“My own best poets, am I one with you,
That thus I love you,—or but one through love?
Does all this smell of thyme about my feet
Conclude my visit to your holy hill
In personal presence, or but testify
The rustling of your vesture through my dreams
With influent odours?”

With doubting humility she asks—

“Am I such indeed? The name
Is royal, and to sign it like a queen,
Is what I dare not.

'tis too easy to go mad,
 And ape a Bourbon in a crown of shams ;
 The thing's too common."

From this commonness she was altogether safe ; she did her work, and was content to make no claims ; she achieved the royalty, and left the crown to follow as it might. She put into action her own true thought, so nobly uttered in "Aurora Leigh."

" By speaking we prove only we can speak,
 Which he, the man here, never doubted. What
 He doubts is, whether we can *do* the thing
 With decent grace we've not yet done at all.
 Now, do it : bring your statue,—you have room !
 He'll see it even by the starlight here ;
 And if 'tis e'er so little like the god
 Who looks out from the marble silently
 Along the track of his own shining dart
 Through the dusk of ages, there's no need to speak ;
 The universe shall henceforth speak for you,
 And witness, ' She who did this thing, was born
 To do it,—claims her license in her work.'
 And so with more works. Whoso cures the plague,
 Though twice a woman, shall be called a leech ;
 Who rights a land's finances, is excused
 For touching coppers, though her hands be white."

And so indeed, although in her humility she has called herself—

" A poor, tired, wandering singer, singing through
 The dark, and leaning up a cypress tree ;"

and although we listen now to singers standing in the sunlight who make their verses sweet with music and gay with bright images, none shall take from our great woman-poet her place in this and in future ages. She has brought her statue out and set it in the light, where it stands for the whole world to look at ; a thing of beauty to all ; to some a help, a comfort, and an inspiration.



ART. V.—FRANCE: THE CHAMBER, THE GAMBETTA
MINISTRY, AND ITS SUCCESSORS.

Un Programme de Gouvernement. Ou sommes-nous? Et ce qu'il y aurait à faire. Par M. LE COMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE.
Paris: 1882.

INNUMERABLE attempts have been made to account for the instability which, since the fall of the old Monarchy, has invariably accompanied every successive French Government. No matter what its form—Royal, Republican, Imperial—the forces of political agitation, sometimes overtly, sometimes insidiously, have been ceaselessly on the watch to hurry it by any available means, fair or foul, to destruction. But even in presence of such palpable and enduring mutability, it is surely unjust to regard the French nation as the sole or even chief representative of political inconstancy. It is acknowledged, and is indeed evident, that there prevails generally among the peasantry—who constitute the great mass of the French people—a spirit of political indifference, if not a tendency to eschew altogether the intricate and disquieting consideration of political questions. The marked inattention thus shown to all subjects of national importance is apparently the offspring of an undue and unwise contraction of the attention within the narrow limits of personal interests; and is unquestionably the parent of numberless evils. In this impassive attitude of the peasantry may probably be detected a sufficient cause for the instability which seems inveterately to haunt the French Government. The great centres of population are ardently and actively political. Extreme opinions prevail there, and the political course of France is often influenced and even decided by the accidental supremacy of some unscrupulous political faction. The peasantry, on the other hand, are mostly Conservative, and it is therefore fairly presumable that, if their sympathies were less sordidly narrow, they might present a counteracting front to the Radicalism so rampant among their urban brethren. The co-existence of such short-sighted apathy and such unbridled excitement invites a crowd of political evils, two of which are prominently and aggressively conspicuous:—In the foreground, Democracy, with its revolutionary excesses, and its wild Utopian Socialistic tendencies; and, following it as its shadow, an ultimate outline of its own multiform personality,—Autocracy, armed with its bayonets and its intellectual fetters. The Third Republic, though hitherto marvellously fortunate, has

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not yet definitively vanquished those uncompromising enemies to every species of Constitutional Government.* Within the short space of twelve years, ten Premiers and seven Ministers of Foreign Affairs have attempted, often with marked ability, to fulfil the duties assigned to them. Among the chief causes which conspired to bring their official existence to a speedy end was notably the wise reluctance they showed to keep pace with the "advanced" demands of a politically intemperate and exclusive party—a party which would assuredly have hurried them, through numberless humiliating conflicts and social upheavals, into the presence of France offended and dismayed, and, not improbably, into the presence of another Revolution.

Any attempt to trace, with due firmness and precision, the chief political characteristics and tendencies of the present Chamber of Deputies, and to forecast, with the surest and most available data, the influence that Assembly may have upon the future course of the Republic, must, for effective support, rest upon the manifold nature of the elections—upon the guiding influences which wrought their way into the minds of those through whom the character of the Chamber was to be evolved.

Freedom from all undue or sinister influence was a prominent, if not the most striking, characteristic of the elections. No doubt the clear and perfect presence of this liberty of choice accorded to the electors was the more remarkable from its total absence, or, at best, timid presence, on all former similar occasions. For the first time in the annals of France under a Constitutional *régime*, the Government wisely, fearlessly, and peremptorily, even somewhat ostentatiously, enjoined upon its officials perfect impartiality in their bearing towards contending political principles or candidates. It must indeed be admitted that such abstinence and reticence on the part of the Government were to some extent referrible to the fact that a vast majority of the electors were known to favour the Republic. But the mere forbearance from a habit, hitherto regarded as inveterately haunting the French Ministerial mind, claims at least a passing recognition, and is assuredly a most important element in any estimate of

* It is to be hoped that the following words, addressed to M. de Beaumont in 1852 by that profound and sagacious student of French history and politics, Alexis de Tocqueville, were not so prophetic as were many of his political utterances:—"Is the cause of regular liberty lost beyond recovery? I feared it was so in 1848; I fear it still more now, though I am not convinced that this country is not destined again to see constitutional institutions. But will it see them last—these or any others? 'Tis sand. It is in vain to ask whether it will abide, but what are the winds that will displace it?"

the character and products of the elections. Perfectly satisfied with the Republic as at present constituted, and assured of its safety, the Republican elector recorded his vote with unusual equanimity. Rarely did a spark of political excitement relieve the dull monotony of placid satisfaction. At times this indifference was contagious even to positive inaction. There are, in round numbers, 10,000,000 electors on the register: of these, 7,000,000 went to the poll, leaving 3,000,000 abstentions; whereas, at the elections in 1877, the abstentions numbered only 1,800,000.* All shades of Republicanism, from the conservative Centre to the revolutionary Extreme Left, were too often regarded by constituencies with equal complacency. Vigour of speech and extent of promise, therefore, generally influenced, if they did not positively determine, the issue of an election. It thus happened that victory fell, in most cases, to the lot of those candidates who paraded a shade of Republicanism more pronounced than that presented by their rivals; for it is a fact far from creditable to the Moderate party, that in any political contest or crisis their ardour is very tepid indeed, when compared with the fiery energy generally displayed by all sections of the so-called "advanced" Republicans.

The culpable optimism that everywhere prevailed during the elections among the advocates of a temperately inspired form of Republicanism—an optimism which, in a more or less near future, may be expected to rise up in judgment against them—was, to a great extent, occasioned, or at all events rendered heedlessly buoyant, by the generally depressed aspect of the Monarchical enemies of the Republic. These formerly redoubtable antagonists, conscious of waning influence, sounded a retreat at numerous points of the great electoral contest. Instead of invariably opposing their forces to those of the Republicans, as in 1877, they left 220 seats uncontested; and even when they did present themselves in the lists, their opposition in most cases resolved itself into a mere protest. This spirit of despondency, so prevalent among the advocates of "Divine right," is succinctly formulated by an ultra-clerical journal in the following words:—
"The Republican party, divided in itself, but united against any Monarchical or Conservative candidate, will carry off the victory

* On the authority of the *St. James's Gazette*, we cite the following extreme instance of this unwise apathy. "In the Commune of St. Martin des Lais, in the Allier, where there are fifty-seven registered electors, only one took the trouble of recording his vote; and he might as well have spared himself the labour, for when his ballot paper was solemnly opened in the presence of the Electoral Bureau, composed of three officials and two clerks, it was found to be void by reason of its informality."

with a high hand. The coming elections will ensure its complete triumph." The victory was achieved, and the Bonapartist *Ordre* acknowledged it with unqualified emphasis:—"The elections have been for Conservatives of all shades a defeat from which they will not for a long time recover." With merited scorn, *La Patrie* upbraids the Conservatives for unskilfulness and want of patriotism. "They left the field free to the enemy; they abandoned all the strongholds to him, and then finally deserted, awaiting the Messiah!" The besetting sin of the Conservative party, ever narrowly exclusive, was at that crisis, as aforetime, to stand forward first, and very far ahead, as Legitimists or Imperialists, and afterwards, in a very lagging, formal mood, as Conservatives. Combined against the Republic, though impotent to replace it, they wilfully placed themselves in a position where failure in its fullest proportions was sure to confront them. Had they presented themselves to the electors with a political programme honestly conservative, their defeat would have been far less decisive. They chose another course, and, as champions of *régimes* that France at the present time repudiates, they have virtually banished themselves from all useful political action.

Nearly everywhere defeated at the elections, Legitimacy nevertheless retains in the country a certain area of sure ground, or, at all events, of ground that will be slow to wear away. Though for half a century in the "cold shade," it clings persistently to hope, and its prestige, though visibly dimmed and fading, yet survives. It remains the acknowledged representative of the past, which still whispers through the unsilenced lips of tradition. It stands forth the champion of the orthodox religion, and generally holds its court in the heart of the *élite* of the faithful. In 1873 it was brightened by a gleam of hope which revealed unexpected promise; but it possessed no statesman capable of profiting by the occasion, and the propitious ray was speedily quenched by folly too eager to snatch success, and by prejudices rendered inveterate by long association with the dead political forms of the last century. "Divine right," with its White Flag, appears destined to a long if not perpetual eclipse. As to Orleanism, it accepts the position which adverse fortune has assigned to it with a resignation which would be laudable were it not somewhat obtrusive. The greater part of what little strength the Legitimists can now marshal in the Chamber of Deputies is derived from the north-west of France. To that quarter, for the most part agricultural, they are indebted for thirty representatives, whilst throughout the whole east, in which nearly the entire commercial and manufacturing industry of France is situated, they retain only six seats. In the old

Chamber, were they numbered sixty-one Deputies, they were still a power; in the present Chamber they have but forty-two members, who represent little more than a feeble protest.

The Bonapartists were more roughly handled at the elections than the Legitimists. Unlike the latter, they can boast of no historical lineage, of no romance stretching back through many eventful centuries, and imparting at least a venerable aspect to traditions and claims. They have no such far-reaching hold upon the memory and the imagination of the people. Their legend is of yesterday, and, in spite of the morbid interest which its sanguinary spirit excites among the unthinking populace, it has resolved itself in these latter days into a mere record of vulgar and degrading despotism. That the Imperialists, therefore, were defeated is by no means surprising. The only wonder is that—with their hollow pretence of being in harmony with the spirit of modern Democracy, with their clamorous appeal to a *Plébiscite*, which, in their case, is known to be a colossal political juggle, with their hypocritical despotism, and their tarnished “glory”—they should have been able to induce any moderately enlightened constituency to tolerate even the appearance of their candidates. Of what avail were the imposing words “authority,” “democracy,” “universal suffrage,” in the manifestoes of the representative of Imperialism? The cunningly devised but empty sounds merely elicited a few echoes from derision; and France, as if to give practical utterance to her supreme contempt, returned *seven* Jérômists to the Chamber! So much for the “unemployed Cæsar,” as Edmond About, in a moment of fulsome adulation, or, it may have been, in a fit of fantastic humour, called Jérôme Bonaparte. The chief strength—if such a term be applicable at all—of Imperialism is in the south-west of France, which returns more than half its adherents; whilst throughout the south-east only one of its candidates was successful. In fine, Bonapartism can count only forty-seven members in the present Chamber, whereas in the last it numbered eighty-one supporters. As an independent party, the Right Centre has ceased to exist.

All shades of Republicanism benefited by the signal defeat of the Reactionaries, except the Left Centre, which, numerically, remains about what it was in the last Assembly—between thirty and forty,—but in influence it has very appreciably diminished. This is a fact which appears of evil augury for the political future of France. It looks as though prudence were gradually deserting the council-chambers of the Republic; at all events, its salutary influence is far less visible at present than it was when those distinguished members of the Left Centre—M. Thiers and M. Dufaure—held sway: men who founded the Republic, and suc-

cessfully defended it during the feebleness and precariousness of its early years. Even the Pure Left—especially where it borders on the Left Centre—did not, to any great extent, increase its strength. The groups composing this section of the Chamber number about 170. It was when the line which separates the Pure Left from what is called the Republican Union was passed, that, in the hasty party classification made just after the elections, the chief gains derived from the losses of the Monarchical parties were supposed to be found. In the old Chamber the latter party comprised 142 members. The elections were supposed to have added greatly to this number, and general opinion gave to the Republican Union a strength equal to 200 deputies. More careful estimation and sifting, however, have since reduced this strength to about 138; the remainder of the 200 forming, in great part, a group called the Radical Left, and taking a position between the Republican Union and the Extremists.

At this point, Republican ardour, in its generally highest state of effervescence, began to hesitate; for any further advance would have brought it to the verge of countless innovations, of illimitable changes, probably of revolution. Here there was a pause: discretion resumed her sway, for to the French peasant tranquillity and security—indispensable to material prosperity—are more valuable possessions than liberty or fraternity, or even than equality itself. Mainly for this reason, the Extreme Left, which represents Republicanism in its most speculative, and therefore unstable, phases, added little to its number, which now amounts to about fifty, and nothing to its influence.

Whatever other conclusions may be adduced from the composition of the present Chamber of Deputies, the relative strength of the parties composing that Assembly shows at least that France is disposed to give an ungrudging, nay, a hearty, support to the Republic. It may indeed be assumed that a further diminution of the already greatly diminished forces of the Monarchists would have been effected, if the Ferry Ministry had given a less obtrusive colour to its reform of clerical abuses. In needlessly irritating religious susceptibilities, it displayed, to say the least, a great lack of judgment; for the Church still exercises a broad, and often a very controlling, ascendancy over the mental attitude and determination of an influential, if not a directly political, part of the French peasantry. But though the party complexion of the Chamber shows that France is decidedly Republican, it seems somewhat misleading as to the special colour or phase of her Republicanism. It was said by the Radical *Mot d'Ordre*, on the eve of the election, "that if the French nation is not always the wittiest, it is, on the other hand, the most Conservative in the world." No doubt this was written in a moment of

anticipated defeat ; but there must have pre-existed in the mind of the writer a certain unwilling admission of its truth. Surely there hardly needs further proof, than such a concession wrung from such a quarter, that in politics France, in the main, is Conservative. How, then, are we to reconcile with such an inherent spirit of moderation the stationary position of the Left Centre,—the very heart of Conservatism,—the slight augmentation of the Pure Left, and the apparently large increase of the Republican Union, a group which borders on the Extreme Left ? The reason is not far to seek. The vast majority of French electors in the rural districts know little concerning the differentia of Republican sects. Of course they have heard of the Extreme Left,—of “Intransigentism,”—and they turn from it with dislike and fear ; but with the political subtleties which determine the clustering of certain Republicans into distinct groups—Left Centre, Pure Left, Republican Union—they have but a very hazy conception. If they can be induced to direct a thought towards politics or politicians, it is usually bestowed with much satisfaction, not upon a Republic affording any decidedly definite form or principles, but upon *the* Republic, such as, in a vague, general way, it has hitherto presented itself to them. With the Republic, thus broadly and indefinitely recognized, they associate M. Gambetta, the only living politician who holds a conspicuously high place in their estimation, and whose name has won a lasting place in their memory. No doubt it is to the patriotic fervour which he so lavishly exhibited in 1871 that M. Gambetta is indebted for a recognition, the limits of which are not often, it is to be feared, very judiciously marked. He it was who, when the Empire fell—crushed under the weight of its corruptions and its follies—most effectually contributed to determine the proclamation of the Third Republic ; and to him the thanks of the Republic, for services and defence—perhaps of vital import—during the days of her weakness and sore trials, are largely due. All this has a striking and comprehensible aspect ; whilst the Radicalism, which inspired certain political reforms composing the clauses of an electioneering address in 1869, is probably forgotten, or, if remembered at all, has resolved itself into the weak form of a mere tradition, or is overlooked in consideration of political recantations or modifications which the Radical of that epoch has made in more recent times. Thus it came to pass that the mass of electors, reposing an unsophisticated and unbounded reliance upon M. Gambetta’s attachment to the Republic as it is, and upon his supposed political omniscience and honesty of purpose, often gave an unquestioning, or, at all events, a not too scrupulous, support to candidates presenting themselves under his auspices. In taking this unworthy and

perilous mode of evading the trouble of reflection, they rarely knew or even suspected that they were aiding the Republican Union, and therefore the partisans of a Republicanism presenting a distinctive colour not, at a superficial glance, very remote in appearance from the staring and scaring red of "Intransigentism." It needs but little penetration, indeed, to perceive that from among the many causes which contributed to influence the character of the present, Chamber of Deputies there stand out conspicuously those which derived their existence from the profound indifference shown by most of the rural electors to their political duty, and the profound confidence many of them reposed in M. Gambetta—that is to say, from a very culpable exhibition of short-sighted negligence, and an egregious reliance on the supposed prudence and wisdom of an individual. It is not, however, very illogical, probably not very far removed from the truth, to assume that the Chamber represents the broad political aspirations of a majority of the French people, not indeed in their most congenially conservative aspect, but in their extreme or most inflated form. It is, in truth, an exaggerated expression of the feelings and the will of France. The divergence towards a speculative political course was not, however, so marked as many were led to suppose. Subsequent deliberate and practically tested classification has amply proved that the amount of success which was then attributed to the Republican Union was greatly overrated.

The only marked difference between the present Chamber and its predecessor is the attenuated and generally resigned aspect of the Opposition. As yet no abatement appears in the exacting and innovating tendencies of the more fervid Republicans: there exists, as heretofore, the same dangerously reckless spirit ever hankering after change. The old Chamber was little scrupulous in the trenchant tone and wide scope of its legislation. It laid its hand imperiously, somewhat rudely, and with dangerous precipitation, upon laws and institutions which, though sorely needing reformation, might fairly claim to be treated with due caution, if not with consideration. It paid no heed, however, to the monitions of prudence, still less to considerations of mere sentiment, but strove abruptly to twist its measures into rigid conformity to forms and rules supposed to be in harmony with the true spirit of Republicanism. To this end its principal energies were directed. Every alteration in, or institution of, a law was based on the imagined interests of the Republic, to which its most obtrusive but least prudent partisans sought to impart a thoroughly logical appearance and character. No proposition, however innovating or crudely designed, was denied at least a formal recognition if it seemed to embody this primary condi-

tion. In thus attempting precipitately to shape all its multitudinous parts into logical unison, the Republic follows, with impolitic steps, and with strange infatuation, the example set by its predecessors, and, in fact, by every French Government since the fall of the old Monarchy. The lessons of history, and countless disastrous experiences, have been incapable of sowing any fructifying seed of wise concession in the political mind of French statesmen. It must be admitted, however, that the feverish anxiety to rebuild the whole edifice of the State on a plan strictly conforming to Republican taste, is largely due to the radical divergencies which characterize political parties. Such absolute differences furnish perpetual hostile appearances, which create and magnify fears and jealousies. The most pernicious consequences of this co-existence in the same community of the partisans of at least three sharply defined political systems are, an ineradicable disaffection among the vanquished towards existing institutions, and ever present weakness and danger to the Government; perils which authority hopes to exorcise by imposing an outward appearance of conformity on all parties, and by a strict uniformity in all the complicated machinery of the State.

In venturing upon hazardous courses of legislation mainly to realize this much coveted Republican uniformity, M. Ferry, who was President of the Council during the twelve months immediately preceding the dissolution of the late Chamber, may be credited with having wielded that perilous species of courage from which discretion, though not entirely banished, is often incautiously suffered on momentous occasions to be absent. Possessing a rare amount of energy and perseverance, he is deficient in that winning flexibility of spirit and that charm of manner which, without yielding essentials, soothe the rancour of opponents and, without loss of dignity, create and retain partisans. In political warfare his decision and dash are conspicuous, but his deficiency in tactical dexterity is no less striking; he can storm a fortress, or head a forlorn hope, but to discipline and skilfully manœuvre a numerous force are qualities with which he has repeatedly shown himself to be very imperfectly endowed. Daring and adventurous, as evidenced by his Bill upon Superior Education, and by the light-hearted, dashing plunge into that dangerous ocean of troubles, the Tunis imbroglio, M. Ferry has nevertheless always affected to be guided by moderation. In a speech he made at Epinal shortly before the elections, he eulogized in glowing terms all that is implied in the expression "politique modérée," and claimed the honour of resisting Radical impatience! At St. Die, he asserted that "a great democracy cannot be a series of theatrical shocks; it must be

content with modest progress." Where are we to find a key to such remarkable inconsistency between Conservative professions and Radical deeds? It may be sought, with no far-fetched probability, in the virtual co-existence of two antagonistic Republics : one, represented by Radicalism, which is mainly confined to large towns, where it is strong in numbers, and yet more formidable from its restlessly active and daring character—ever wielding, with an indomitable energy, inspired partly by precision of purpose, and partly by a logical method so fascinating to the young and to untrained political minds, a species of terror over the quiet, often timid, followers of political moderation, a terror which haunts at times even the well-seasoned and generally unimpressionable minds of Ministers themselves ; the other, by that broad and nearly all embracing Conservatism which forms the basis of the French political character.

But the attempts of M. Ferry to entrap the support of the Radicals by a course of halting compliance in legislative measures, and the Conservative Republicans by sententious and lightly assumed platitudes commending moderation, brought him no effective support : distrust had gradually elbowed him into an untenable position. It had become evident, even if there had existed no independent disturbing cause deliberately and with cynical precision arranging his downfall, that he would be incapable of guiding the new Chamber. So the Ferry Ministry departed, followed neither by regrets nor objurgations. Its exit, being a foregone conclusion, was regarded with profound indifference : its good and evil deeds were for the moment dismissed to make room for more promising performances. No accents, however energetic or dulcet, from M. Ferry could be expected to attract ears fully absorbed in the exciting prelude to that long anticipated drama which was to reveal the acts and marvels of a *Grand Ministère*. It is abundantly evident, indeed, that, though M. Ferry by the doubtful quality of his political conduct richly deserved his fate, no manifestation of consistency on his part, even if associated with other high statesmanlike qualities, could have saved him, for he was ever dominated and enthralled by an influence before which, during the last four years, Ministers in quick succession have succumbed.

This irresistible and unconstitutional influence, widely acknowledged, pressing upon all, spreading over the broad surface of French politics, affixing a stamp of instability upon every successive Ministry, creating hesitation and confusion in the ranks of those who are officially amenable for their acts to public opinion, emerged at last from its latent position, placed itself in the van of political responsibility, and threw down the gauntlet to Fortune. It was time. And yet to M. Gambetta, in the depths of his own

imagined interest, the change was premature. He would fain have skipped Ministerial responsibility, and, at a single bound, reached the highest official position in the State. This was not to be: the call of France was too imperative to be evaded. It is to M. Gambetta's credit that, once resolved, he stepped forth boldly and confronted the full mid-day light of criticism. He was not contented, indeed, with a due amount of Ministerial responsibility, but gratuitously burthened himself with an official weight which represented, and pertained to, the entire Cabinet. No little praise was awarded him for making what was regarded as a laudable attempt to secure the co-operation of M. de Freycinet, M. Léon Say, and M. Ferry. But how could he expect statesmen whose fall he had successively planned to co-operate cordially with him in a Ministry of which he would be the chief? In no case, indeed, could they have been more than Under-Secretaries of State. There is, moreover, a suspicion, not perhaps wholly unfounded, that the failure to realize the public expectation of witnessing the advent of a *Grand Ministère*,—a Ministry of "All the Talents,"—which might have given strength and stability to the Republic, was, more or less, the result of premeditated calculation.

"*On ne voit que moi.*" This involuntary exclamation—for involuntary it certainly was—escaped from Gambetta whilst addressing an audience in Normandy. This is the inspiring thought; this is the ever present and influential counsellor that gives a bias and often a determining voice to the deliberations of the statesman who aspires to dominate the national will. "*On ne voit que moi.*" Could that "flattering unction," so efficacious in its soothing effects upon the mind of M. Gambetta, even in moments the most laborious and onerous, have been so readily available, if Statesmen of established reputation had figured in the Ministry? Such men would have shared responsibility: they would have been ministers with, not of, M. Gambetta. "*On ne voit que moi.*" For the perfect and continuous realization of this all-absorbing presence, it was necessary that M. Gambetta should form his Cabinet chiefly of new men—new at least to Ministerial life. Of this he was fully aware, as the result amply testified. The magnitude of the self-imposed charge had few terrors for him, and he boldly stood forth as the sole representative of responsibility. "The Ministry as it is constituted," says the *National*, "has one great merit—that of placing the ideas and acts of the President of the Council exclusively in front." The Gambetta Cabinet was, indeed, composed of men having few political antecedents, and with no retrospective policy to confront them. Its capabilities and the various traits of its political character could only be guessed. The designation *Petit Minis-*

tère affixed to it was therefore without warrant or even plausible excuse.

It must at least be confessed that the Gambetta Ministry was composed of men who had displayed, in comparatively subordinate positions, abilities which evidently qualified them to fill higher stations. From this favourable estimate there are many who might be disposed to exclude the Minister of Instruction and Public Worship. That the Church needs pruning of its excrescences, and of very many of its assumptions, there can be no doubt; but to select as Minister of Public Worship so conspicuous an opponent of the Church, appears, to say the least, to throw a doubt upon M. Gambetta's vaunted sagacity. It may seem presumptuous to question the Premier's knowledge of a subject so intimately affecting the inner beliefs and tendencies of his countrymen: but to an outside observer, looking at the matter from a position absolutely free from the distorting atmosphere of passion, there is conveyed the impression that he has over-estimated the present estrangement which no doubt to some extent exists between the peasantry and the clergy. For many years the former have regarded with much jealousy and irritation the interference of the priesthood in matters outside of, or but slightly pertaining to, its spiritual duties, irritability being especially excited by a too intrusive intervention in all that relates to education.

As into the religious, so into the political, convictions of his countrymen, M. Gambetta appears to have overrated his penetration. By means of that short-sighted logic which derives its premises from egotistical sources, he demonstrated, conclusively enough to himself, that because he was the most popular man in France, therefore the French people were as advanced in their political views as he was himself. So firmly was this conviction implanted in his mind, that he composed his Cabinet of men whose opinions upon all subjects relating to the conduct of public affairs were not merely judiciously consistent, but absolutely identical, with his own—they were not colleagues in the independent sense of that term, but confidential friends and associates. His popularity appears to have unhinged his logic, and hoodwinked his sagacity. It is not from mere conjecture that springs the belief that his influence and fame rest far less upon the distinctive peculiarities of his political creed than upon the indomitable and unmisgiving patriotism which, like a halo, crowned him at Tours in 1870 with such fascinating light. Impressed with this unbounded faith in himself, and in the broad identity of his political views with those of a majority of the French people, M. Gambetta nevertheless attempts to make "assurance doubly sure," by striving to combine the special attributes and

advantages of the Tribune with those of the Statesman—to utilize, as occasion requires, the fiery “speciosities” of the former, or the cool calculations of the latter. As a Tribune, he merits a place near Mirabeau and Danton. Though his figure is heavy, and his face at times wears a wearied expression, his voice rarely fails to produce a magical effect. In that, whatever the theme, lies his chief captivating power; its sonorous qualities ever imparting to the ideas they convey a charm which not unfrequently contributes more towards the acceptance of the speaker’s views than long-studied arguments or apparently irrefragable logic. Not that M. Gambetta betrays any deficiency in such expedients; on the contrary, he can wield with no little dexterity most of the powers and resources of which language can boast. Censurable formerly for exuberant gesticulation, he now rarely allows his attitudes, whilst speaking, to transgress the bounds of good taste. High, almost consummate, as his oratory undoubtedly is, it is open to the objection of abounding more in declamation than in precision: its melody is bewitching, but it too often eludes translation into determinate notes. No doubt M. Gambetta can boast of possessing in a superlative degree the faculty, indispensable to a statesman, of discoursing upon general policy, or upon any measure presenting wide scope for controversy, eloquently and copiously, yet, in reality, without expressing a single definite idea. The ability to blow “hot and cold out of the same mouth” he also regards as a useful auxiliary. He attempts to make his influence all-pervasive: to conciliate the moderate Republicans without driving his “advanced” political friends to despair. At Belleville he could plunge into some of the lowest depths of Radicalism, at Cahors he could soar, with fluent suavity, into the serene heights of Conservatism. This all-comprehensive policy, which aims at reconciling incompatible political views, presents no very promising future. It is nevertheless obvious that, with a desire to grasp influence extending from centre to centre of rival parties, M. Gambetta has shown from the outset of his career a gradual tendency to relax his hold upon the sympathy of the more impulsive of his adherents. Contrast, for instance, the political programme which, as an aspirant to represent a Radical constituency, he issued in 1869, with the Declaration which, last November, when he assumed the office of President of the Council, he read in the Chamber of Deputies. The former was a shriek which might have aroused the spirit of anarchy; the latter, on the contrary, showed here and there a willing step in the direction of moderation, and was imbued with at least the tone of practical and judicious statesmanship. It was, indeed, somewhat vague and tame when compared with what universal expectation had prefigured. It represented in very

faint outline a policy which M. Gambetta has more than once depicted in very striking colours. That policy, so far from affording any traces of tameness, has boldness stamped on all its phases, boldness too often allied to rashness. A brief reference to its principal features will at once indicate this dangerous tendency—Education, the Senate, the Magistracy, the Church, the Army: all these institutions were to have been transformed, if not reformed, during the brief existence of the present Chamber! Education was to have been entirely freed from the trammels of the Church—"The School for itself, the Church for itself." The Senate was to have been shorn of its independence. "Life-membership is contrary to the principle of Universal Suffrage." It is necessary "to limit and alter the attributes of the Upper House." "You cannot reform the Magistracy by decreeing a transitional measure. To be carried to a good end, reform should extend to the judicial organization itself." These words imply the impolitic desire to reach perfection by a single stroke of the pen. No doubt, the Magistracy affords ample scope for reform. The number of useless tribunals and officials, for instance, is an iniquitous tax upon the people, and a gross scandal. But can this be said of magisterial irremovability, or of much else upon which it was proposed to lay the rude hand of innovation? "*Le Cléricisme, voilà l'ennemi.*" This dictum, uttered four years ago, still retains its full force and gravity. To deal with such an "enemy" is no light task; for it demands the exercise of prudence in its most deliberate form, and of delicacy infinitely varied in its action. Within the vast and all-comprehensive superstructure of the Church, the majority of the people, spreading over the highest and the lowest, take shelter. A spirit is there which evokes in many of its votaries the most exalted emotions of the human mind, and in others contracts the mental grasp within inveterate and stolid prejudices. The statesman who could render sweeping changes in the position of the Church palatable to such a diversely characterized majority would surely deserve to occupy a very high place in the estimation and admiration of the world.

Such was M. Gambetta's political programme in its most pre-tentious and hazardous phraseology. But it was also expressed in a tone which fairly promised to exorcise many of the dangers that lurked in the more pronounced version. The former, gathered from M. Gambetta's electioneering speeches at Tours and the Elysée-Ménilmontant, was presented in colours chiefly chosen for their supposed attractiveness on such exciting occasions; the latter, embodied in his speech at Le Neubourg, when the general election was over and success had wrought its usual pacifying effect, was evidently influenced by a consciousness

of responsibility on the part of the speaker. "We must beware of attempting to do everything at once." This was the key-note of the speech. It was a sonorous prelude to the official tone of a Minister of State. In the following utterances may be detected yet more articulate accents:—"I say that when we perform a political act, when we lay hands on the old scaffolding which is still standing, it is requisite to ascertain beforehand what will be the practical consequence of the reforms which are being accomplished; above all we must beware of attempting to force upon the country reforms which may look admirable on paper, but which as a matter of fact would afford the reaction a *locus standi*. . . . A reforming Republic does not mean a levelling, Utopian, or chimerical Republic." Here are two programmes which, if they do not positively contradict each other, present very marked phases of difference. In which can be detected the full and veritable revelation of the speaker's mind? Probably in neither. The first alarmed the Moderate, the second irritated the "advanced," Republicans; and M. Gambetta, anxious not to alienate either party, necessarily gave utterance at times to much that was both ambiguous and inconsistent. There was something significant, it may almost be said prophetic, in the reference which, in his speech at Le Neubourg, M. Gambetta made to an opinion he had expressed four years ago upon the internal condition of France—"that the era of peril had closed, and that the era of difficulties was commencing."

Under such influences, on the 14th of November, was the Ministry of M. Gambetta inaugurated. During the first few days of their intercourse, there was a cordial interchange of confidence between the Chamber of Deputies and the President of the Council. The stability of the Ministry was trumpeted as unquestionable. Hardly, however, had the echoes of such a positive assumption died away, than distrust, with here and there a trace of fear, began to show itself in all quarters. The Chamber, from a course of ready compliance—often bordering upon obsequiousness—with the behests of the man who was supposed to be indispensable, if not all-powerful, suddenly became suspiciously vigilant of its independence: it had just gone to one extreme, panic now hurried it to the other. It began not only to claim the full enjoyment of dignified and legitimate freedom, but to betray many indications of that factious independence which had so frequently proved detrimental to Ministerial stability. It took alarm at certain imperious symptoms which at times showed themselves in the language, and more so in the demeanour, of the President of the Council: in fact, misgivings and fears were the order of the day. On the other hand, M. Gambetta soon began to realize some of the difficulties and contrarities incident

to his responsible position, and his arbitrary temperament forthwith became irritated. "He would be all or nothing." He had not sought the Premiership: it was thrust upon him. The highest office in the State was the only one which he cared to fill. If, however, he had failed to devise a means by which to escape the will of France—decided to link him with present official responsibility—he was still free to manipulate that responsibility in the manner most congenial to his will.

This mutual distrust induced both the Premier and the Chamber to stand on the defensive. But M. Gambetta is not a man disposed to let a determination ripe for execution hang long in suspense. He possessed an overwhelming majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and a substantial majority in the Senate. To a Minister loyally imbued with the spirit of Parliamentary government, this assured majority would have been amply satisfactory. To M. Gambetta it was but the stepping-stone to long much-coveted semi-autocratic authority. He thirsted for a tenure of power sufficiently durable and ample to ensure his unrestrained guidance of the "fierce Democracy"—"He wishes," says the *Republique Francaise*, "to be the Minister of Democracy, fully sensible of its strength. . . . His Ministry implies the transformation of the organism of the Government according to the principles of the Democracy." To compass this coveted end, there was but one constitutional means available—*Scrutin de Liste*: a perfectly efficient instrument, in the hands of a politician possessing great popularity or great personal influence, to twist public opinion into any form predetermined by the operator. Employed under such auspices, it would, in effect, be tantamount to a *plébiscite*. No doubt, the exercise of such a centralized political power might on some rare occasions elicit the veritable opinions of the majority of the nation; but the minority, however large and highly qualified, would be virtually disfranchised. It is readily admitted that, under a plebiscitary régime, unlimited scope is given to "grand currents" of popular opinion or sentiment. One of these "grand currents" occurred in 1848, when Louis Napoleon, by means of *Scrutin de Liste*, which at that time prevailed, reached a vantage ground from which he successfully overthrew the Second Republic.* Not that there is any necessary association between *Scrutin de Liste*

* Though the difference between the method of voting called *Scrutin de Liste*, and the method which at present prevails, called *Scrutin d'Arrondissement*, is generally known, it may be as well to observe that, under *Scrutin de Liste*, each Department would return about six Deputies to the Chamber: under *Scrutin d'Arrondissement*, each Department is divided into districts (*Arrondissements*), containing about 100,000 inhabitants, and each district returns one Deputy.

and arbitrary power ; nor is it by any means assumed that M. Gambetta desires or dreams to achieve more than a measure of influence sufficient to carry certain legislative and political measures which he is known to favour. He nevertheless advocates *Scrutin de Liste*, because it would, to a very great extent, emancipate the Deputy from the supervision of his constituents, and place him more directly under the guidance of the central authority. But would this gain to governmental vigour be at all commensurate to the sure loss which liberty would sustain ? Would it not subject every constituency to the control of a metropolitan or other central committee ? Would it not, in a word, be an immense stride towards Parliamentary—inevitably converging to individual—absolutism ?

The Constitutional Revision Bill was evidently devised mainly to serve as a palatable coating to the distasteful pill of *Scrutin de Liste*. It was framed to conciliate that numerous party which hates the “falsehood of extremes,” and to tempt Radical impatience by leaving a side door open for innovation. Apart from its chief, though obviously interpolated, feature, the Bill was composed of clauses so mild and unimportant in their nature, that, but for the cause already assigned, there appeared no necessary, or even sufficiently intelligible, ground for the introduction of such a measure at all. It dealt, in a very mild fashion, with the mode of electing senators ; extended the franchise in senatorial elections ; limited the power of the Senate to modify money Bills, and introduced, as if a necessary and natural addition, *Scrutin de Liste* in elections for the Chamber of Deputies. But the utmost amount of anticipated improvement in the Constitution was utterly valueless when weighed against the very positive and far-reaching evils which must ever accompany any, the least, interference with the foundations of the Republic. The method of electing Deputies, unlike that of electing Senators, forms no part of the Constitution, and therefore any contemplated alteration in that process might have been moulded as an ordinary measure, and submitted to the Legislature. But M. Gambetta’s anxiety to render *Scrutin de Liste* the permanent mechanism by which the members of the Chamber should be elected, induced him to enshrine it as a part of the Republican Constitution.

In this perturbed and defiant attitude of the Chamber and of the Ministry, the former appointed a Committee of thirty-three of its members to consider the Revision scheme of the Government. The elected Deputies represented the refractory and captious humour of the Chamber in its most exaggerated and determined form, only one member of the Thirty-three siding with the Government. And what did the Committee do ? Little

else than grossly expose the disingenuous humour of the Chamber, and its dread of *Scrutin de Liste*. So absorbed was it by the interesting personal aspect of its investigations, that it failed to pay the slightest respect either to political consistency, or to the most imperative dictates of logic. What, for instance, could be more inconsequential than to regard with complacency suggestions to confer upon the projected Congress power reaching to the suppression of the Senate, and even of the President of the Republic, and yet place *Scrutin de Liste* at an unapproachable distance

Wounded in vanity and importance, and apparently anxious to defy with unambiguous emphasis the personal tone and spirit of the Committee, M. Gambetta, in his dealings with that perverse body, assumed a manner offensively dictatorial, making it evident that nothing but absolute submission to his will would be tolerated. The Chamber also had cast aside hesitation. It was not likely, therefore, that, in such an unfavourable position, compromise in any form would find a sure footing. The spirit of determination which animated both sides derived its birth from unmitigated selfishness: it showed no redeeming quality whatever. Utterly vain is any attempt to discover the faintest trace of a truly patriotic feeling amidst the confused hubbub of passionate party explosions, or the secret heart-throbbings of individual anxieties. France, indeed, though secretly invoked by French statesmen and politicians, is rarely the chief—not always even a secondary—object of consideration: personal or party demands being usually very far in advance of any real anxiety for the interests of “La belle France.” There are of course exceptions to this rule; but it is a rule applicable alike to all parties, whether Monarchical or Republican.

The report of the Committee, the decision of the Chamber—adverse to the Ministry—and the resignation of M. Gambetta, followed in rapid succession: a few hours, and all was over. Such a series of events was inevitable, perhaps designed. It is certainly not incredible that M. Gambetta deliberately created the crisis which occasioned his fall. He was more anxious to test the pliability of the Chamber than to accept the burthens and contrarieties of office. He would retain his position if he were granted full liberty of action; but if there appeared any doubt of this, he determined to resign. He was not as other Premiers. Had he not been a Dictator? Had he not been the destroyer of many successive Cabinets? Could he be expected to descend from his high position and submit to the ordinary yoke of office—to the doubtful smile of supposed adherents, and to the coarse breath of opposition? If this be the true explanation of the situation, M. Gambetta committed an egregious

blunder; for he could not prevent a very general glance of apprehension towards that rock upon which French political liberty has hitherto invariably foundered—Autocratic power. On the occasion in question the danger may not have been serious; but it serves as a salutary warning, and should not be despised. M. Gambetta seems tenaciously to grasp the flattering idea that his popularity entitles him to fill the position of Premier, not only without a portfolio, but without the instability which is the usual lot of Ministerial life. "He fancied," says the *France*, "that the popular applause which long greeted him was addressed to his person. He was mistaken. It was to the sacred things he was supposed to represent—called liberty, justice, and national sovereignty. When his personal ambition was found out his prestige was at an end." This is taking a very extreme view of the case; for, if accepted, it would follow that M. Gambetta has irretrievably wrecked his political reputation. That his prestige is at an end, however, is an obvious exaggeration; but in popularity he has no doubt severely suffered. Yet the shadow which now evidently rests upon him would rapidly vanish, if the erewhile popular idol would but abandon his present dangerously lofty flights, and modestly assume the path of "Opportunism" by which he rapidly obtained wide political repute, and achieved many a brilliant victory in the cause of the Republic. That he will take this prudent course is very doubtful. "In future," says his journal, the *Republique Française*, "when M. Gambetta is applied to, it will be known that he must be taken just as he is, with his programme of reforms, of which *Scrutin de Liste* is an essential condition." The deference and adulation which have been lavished upon him both at home and abroad, and the habit he has acquired of wielding vast irresponsible power, seem likely to confirm his disposition, which is naturally prone to assume command, in a wayward determination to pursue a policy of ambitious adventure. His impulsive nature is ever urging him to engage either in some occult political transaction, some dashing experiment in legislation, or to emit some outburst of rhetoric tending to rekindle the smouldering embers of national animosities. He is unquestionably entitled to take high rank as an Opposition strategist, and as an organizer of political intrigue; but his short tenure of office has clearly proved him to be deficient in most of the higher qualities which constitute a title to rank even among the crowd of mediocre Constitutional statesmen. He has little aptitude, and certainly no taste, for holding a position eminently subject to continued and varied opposition, and often to unmerited defeat. The object of his ambition is not a mere Premiership with a large administrative majority; this would merely place him on a level with statesmen

over whom he has exercised a controlling influence. He may not, with any credible show of evidence, be liable to the charge of cherishing extravagant dreams of some 18 *Brumaire*—some posterous dictature—but he seems disposed to stretch Ministerial dictation to its extreme limits: to endow the Minister with a power co-ordinate with, if not superior to, that of the Chamber. He has been too long an Opposition leader to practise with facility and success the formalities, deferences, and restraints indispensable to the due discharge of Ministerial functions. He seized upon the Ministry as if it had been conquered territory; composed his Cabinet of men who derived their inspiration solely from him, and demanded from the Chamber an implicit deference to his will. Assuming the possession of boundless influence and popularity, he flattered himself that such high-handed proceedings would be tolerated, or at most encounter very little resistance. Such infatuation was not indeed without some show of excuse; but to cherish it with unbounded faith was hazardous in the extreme. At a most critical moment it stood confessed in all its exaggeration; and the pretentious edifice which the President of the Council had so confidently constructed suddenly collapsed, laying bare the basis of the whole superstructure, a basis which was seen to be composed of little else than hollow and fragile materials.*

In perfect keeping with the peculiar spirit of such a new-fangled Parliamentary Republic, a tendency to aggrandize the central authority pervaded all the measures which had been elaborated by the Gambetta Cabinet. That on the Magistracy seemed constructed with an eye to render Justice on some occasions a mere handmaid of the Executive. That on Military Reform bestowed a wide increase of indirect influence upon the central power; whilst that on habitual offenders afforded the Government admirable means, not only of supervising and controlling the criminal classes,—a most salutary invention,—but of placing a certain measure of restraint upon inconvenient political agitators. With the Bill on Associations, both civil and religious, with that

* It would doubtless have been very reassuring to the Republic, if, at this critical period, M. Gambetta had not repudiated the wise policy which he had been wont to advocate before the incense of persistent flattery had clouded and depraved his naturally acute mind. In a speech which he delivered six or seven years ago in the Chamber of Deputies, he made use of the expression "gouvernement modéré et conservateur;" and as this raised a laugh on the Right, he turned towards the occupants of that quarter of the Chamber and thus addressed them:—"Il vous plait de rire à ces mots de République conservatrice. Eh bien! soyez convaincus que, lorsque vous aurez épuisé toutes les combinaisons qui hantent encore l'esprit de certains de nos collègues . . . alors vous ne rirez plus de la République conservatrice; vous la demanderez et vous aurez raison!"

on the Concordat, and with others, a similar centralizing spirit was but too evident.

Thus the reputation of M. Gambetta, which had usurped an undue and exaggerated amount of importance and influence; which had, in fact, overshadowed France and become an incipient danger to her liberty, suffered a partial eclipse. If it ever re-emerge—an eventuality hardly to be doubted—it must make its appearance under very different conditions, and with very modified and restricted lustre. Sensational legislation will certainly meet with no national support, probably with no general national connivance. Even “*la revanche*” must not be permitted, at least for some time to come, to find a voice. That these predictions rest upon solid ground, the absolute lack of excitement, or even the presence of much interest, noticeable in any class of the people at the fall of M. Gambetta, seems conclusively to demonstrate. In fact, by her significant silence, France recorded a strong protest against every phase of disquieting innovation. At present, M. Grévy is her *beau idéal* of a statesman; and he certainly affords a striking contrast to M. Gambetta. He possesses, in a very eminent degree, clear-headed sagacity, unimpeachable impartiality, serene dignity; and he compensates for a cold demeanour, and a mind somewhat too logical, by steadfastness in friendship, and an unswerving adherence to the most simple, the most consistent, and the safest Republican traditions. With his hand at the helm of State, the Republic need fear no detriment, for he is a brave and a determined chief, and notably endowed with a degree of patriotism very rarely found in French statesmen. He is unhesitatingly convinced—and his opinion is supported by the whole drift and course of French Republican history—that if the present Republic has any chance of an enduring future, it can only be by eschewing for at least another decade of years all pretentious or exciting legislation, and all interference, not strictly warranted, in Foreign affairs. Moved by this influential political feeling, yet careful to avoid needlessly discouraging expectations which had been incautiously raised among fervid politicians by the late Minister, the President of the Republic judiciously entrusted M. de Freycinet with the formation of a new Ministry.

When this selection was announced, the very natural immediate effect on the mind was to induce it to take a retrospective glance towards the political events which occurred during the autumn of 1880. It seemed as though a bridge were suddenly thrown across the perturbed political interval which separates that time from the present, in order to invite at least a momentary view of the Ministerial crisis which then agitated France.

At the beginning of the period mentioned, M. de Freycinet held the very offices which he was now invited to fill, and, by his moderate policy both in Home and Foreign affairs, had earned the approval and respect of all those whose judgment was not warped by prejudice or partiality. He had a majority in the Legislature, he was fortified by the confidence of the President of the Republic, and by votes of confidence which he expressly elicited from the Chamber of Deputies; whilst France looked upon him with satisfied expectation, and with perfect trust. Amidst this general approbation and reliance, the Ministry, towards the close of September, after an existence of barely nine months, suddenly resigned. To what cause is to be attributed this unexpected disappearance of a Cabinet fully representing the will and wishes of the nation, and universally regarded as durable? Had the President of the Council exposed France or the Republic to any danger? Had he committed any unpardonable political act, any gross blunder, any impolitic movement? Was he even suspected of meditating any such act? Nothing of the kind. It was not the reliance of France which had been withdrawn from the Minister, but the capricious and imperious patronage of M. Gambetta. By his moderation and independence, M. de Freycinet had given umbrage to the man who had usurped an unconstitutional power over the Ministry. He was sacrificed, and M. Ferry took his place. The new President of the Council accepted, with quiet resignation, the yoke of an irresistible master. Independence was known to be a destructive quality, and any little involuntary deviation in that direction was speedily retraced. Thus the Minister tremblingly moved on, still clinging to the shadow of power. At length came the elections, the result of which, at a superficial glance, seemed to affix the stamp of national condonation, nay, even of national approbation, to the acts and policy of M. Gambetta. No doubt, appearances were favourable, they were even supposed by many to be flattering. At all events, they were assumed, by the personage chiefly interested, to be conclusive. Then—a foregone mildly accepted conclusion—the supposed master of the situation, with a contemptuous wave of the hand, dismissed M. Ferry, placed himself, to the sound of obsequious pæans, in the seat of power, and proclaimed that it was his will, not merely to reign, but, when his own judgment dictated, to govern in a fashion which to political purists might perhaps appear to transgress constitutional usage. But Retribution, though she had been slow in her movements, as she often is, presented herself now in a very decisive and admirably fitting manner. To the amazement of all, it was found that France, though she loved Gambetta, was no

great admirer of his political programme. She stood—it was but for a moment—hesitating. The well-bestowed trust which, at recent critical epochs in her career, she had reposed in M. Gambetta; and the powerful influence—the product of many a well-fought political battle—which he possessed, and of which his own perverse conduct could alone deprive him, made her pause. But judgment was ripe. The President of the Council, over-estimating his political influence, and the forbearance of France, was, in a somewhat peremptory manner, dismissed from office; and the very man whom, in the wantonness of his occult power, and in a moment of spleen, he had overthrown, stepped into the vacant place, and, in fact, resumed the very duties from which, less than two years before, he had been undeservedly thrust—a series of events presenting striking examples of retributive justice and the irony of fate.

Yes, the wanton interpolation of the Ferry Cabinet in the Ministerial career of M. de Freycinet was a great injustice: it was also a great mistake. Abroad it occasioned that embarrassing Tunisian expedition which aroused against France the jealousy of many nations: at Home it imprudently provoked religious heart-burnings and defiances which created new, and embittered the old, enemies to the Republic. For all this gratuitous injury to France and to the Minister, there was reserved, nevertheless, some compensation. M. de Freycinet exercised his Ministerial functions with a freedom and a welcome responsibility which had not for many years fallen to the lot of any French Minister. No imperious dictator stood on the threshold of his second official life to thwart his judicious and reassuring resolves. In selecting M. Ferry to fill the post of Minister of Public Instruction, he gave an earnest that, under the shadow of his moderating influence, educational reform, though vigorously pushed forward, would not advance with indiscreet haste; and such a selection also indicated that a spirit of progress, pointing in many directions, would animate the Ministry. On the other hand, any hasty legislative tendency was beneficially tempered by the presence of M. Léon Say in the Cabinet. The President of the Senate was specially indicated by France—in the serious financial crisis which then existed—and by the wide and profound extent of his acquirements in all the intricacies of political economy, for the post of Minister of Finance. It was during M. de Freycinet's first Ministry that M. Léon Say represented the Republic at the Court of St. James's. Then it was that his special abilities were conspicuously brought to bear upon negotiations for a Commercial Treaty between France and England, a Treaty which, but for the determined opposition of the Senate, he would have success-

fully concluded. He is well acquainted with England and with English politics, especially in reference to economical questions. It was not likely, therefore, that he would abet a venturesome policy. He made it, indeed, a fundamental condition of his acceptance of a seat in the Cabinet, that certain hasty and intemperate political and legislative schemes, which had been bequeathed by the late Ministry, should be abandoned or discreetly deferred. An agreement upon this basis—at least in so far as purely political questions were concerned—was by no means difficult. M. de Freycinet himself had certainly given no evidence of a disposition to countenance a policy of adventure into unknown and doubtful political regions. On the contrary—except during the time he occupied the post of Minister of Public Works, wherein he displayed great administrative capacity and activity—he had rarely shown any tendency to gratify that impatience of slow and sure political reform which generally characterizes French notions of progress. He was nevertheless aware that the popular craving for change, though it should be carefully diverted from unwholesome measures, could not, either for the stability of his own position, or for the safety of the Republic, be entirely disregarded. Possessed of insinuating manners, persuasive oratory, and no little dialectical skill, he was eminently qualified to pursue a course of vigorous moderation. He showed admirable tact in his choice of Ministerial colleagues. The Cabinet was so composed that its members, whilst acting harmoniously as a body, represented a wide range of political feeling, and a liberal spirit of judicious concession. It possessed unusual political and official experience. Besides the three well-known members already mentioned, there were notably the Minister of the Interior, M. Goblet, the Minister of Commerce, M. Tirard, and the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, M. Cochery, who had passed a Ministerial ordeal. For controlling the collective action of such a body, M. de Freycinet is gifted with many eminently felicitous qualifications: he combines in both mind and manner nearly all the endowments necessary to achieve the highest results that can be expected from consummate conciliation.

The Declaration of policy which, on the 31st of January, M. de Freycinet read to the Chamber, was instinct with the moderation and compromise to which allusion has just been made. "Wherever our influence is exerted it will be dignified, firm, and conciliatory. . . . In our constant march towards the ideal of liberty, we do not, beforehand, lay down any fixed limit. . . . Nations do not live on politics alone." Except in the quality of "firmness," these remarks represent the spirit which usually animated the late Ministry—progressive, but not rash. It cannot be said, however, that deviations from the course indicated

by this prudent inaugural speech were either infrequent or unimportant; and unfortunately they were mostly in directions which tended to weaken the Cabinet.

Political concession, when it neither violates principle nor betrays fear; frequently proves a very strengthening auxiliary to a Ministry: it often transforms opposition into support, and widens the basis of the governing power. The frequent absence of this quality in French statesmen has been a fruitful source of embarrassment and disaster to France. On the other hand, there have been instances—rare, no doubt—when its presence, marked by too deferential an air, has tended to alienate adherents, to disgust the wavering, and to embolden opponents. M. de Freycinet is justly chargeable with having presented on several occasions the quality of concession garbed in the latter fashion. In the administration of Home affairs he repeatedly yielded to the importunity confidently brought to bear upon him by the advocates of hasty progress. In his Foreign policy, concession was carried to an equally imprudent extent, though in a diametrically opposite direction. Political pliancy towards numerous antagonistic exigencies was stretched to the verge of pusillanimity, and inevitably tended to paralyze the healthy action of diplomacy. At each turn or phase of his policy, the Minister appeared to be ever haunted by the presence of Prince Bismarck. To M. de Freycinet, by some strange fascination, Germany seemed magnified into the whole of Europe; and thus the action of his negotiations was ever beset by a legion of doubts, and marked by a preoccupied air of timidity. His Egyptian policy betrayed notable indications of this purblind quality of vacillation. The sway of this fluctuating spirit was increased by the allurements of office, which beckoned the Premier to tempt fortune by taking a course that might mollify party opposition, and tide him at least over the approaching Recess. And this invitation the President of the Council considered to be almost imperative, as he was fully conscious that he had no assured majority in the Chamber; for the votes of confidence with which that fickle body had recently flattered him were referrible far less to any cordial reliance upon him than to a dread of the probable advent of a Minister before whom it would have submissively to bend.

There can be little doubt that if M. de Freycinet had possessed ordinary constancy and strength of mind he would have followed a course of policy in reference to Egypt very nearly identical with that of England: but the multitude of fears and temptations which struggled in his mind against any such accord finally contrived to overpower his weak resolves in that direction. He strangely over-estimated his remarkable powers of

conciliation, when he sought to secure a majority in the Chamber by professing an earnest anxiety to gratify, through certain prudential omissions, the wishes both of interventionists and non-interventionists. In the Naval Credit debate, it was in the following manner that, with siren accents, he endeavoured to propitiate the chief Republican parties in the Chamber:—“The real bearing of the credits has been strangely misrepresented, and all who, like us, advocate a peace policy, may vote for them without hesitation. Let me distinguish between French intervention in Egypt, and the contingent protection of the Suez Canal. . . . Intervention involves a solution of questions of internal administration, of finance, and of relations with Turkey—that is to say, with the rest of the world. These questions may give rise, if not to conflicts, at least to disagreements with several of the Great Powers, and for this reason I cannot, in the general situation of Europe, propose a military intervention in Egypt. . . . The protection of the Canal, however, has quite a different character, raising no political questions and involving no risk of conflict, seeing that all Europe has the same interest in the Canal. . . . You may rest assured that we shall not allow ourselves to be drawn beyond the limits we have assigned ourselves. We have never done anything without the sanction of Parliament, and if fresh operations become hereafter necessary nothing would be done without your consent. This credit is, therefore, a direct appeal to your confidence.” The policy here so carefully hedged round with precautions and nice distinctions was, in truth, but a mere step in that more decided course which M. de Freycinet would fain have followed; and but a mere shadow of that policy which both M. Léon Say and M. Ferry were known to advocate. M. Clémenceau very pertinently asked whether the Government was for peace or war? Certainly not for peace, as it was despatching troops. Nor was it for war, for these troops were not to fight. But in spite of all his subtile manœuvres M. de Freycinet failed to penetrate the ambiguous and tortuous disposition of the Chamber. He anticipated opposition from the Right and from the Extreme Left; but he calculated that many of the intermediate sections of the Chamber would at least give him credit for good intentions, and abstain from precipitating a Ministerial crisis. On the present occasion, however, it happened that M. Gambetta had no steadying and restraining influence over the action of the Chamber. He, at all events, could not be the immediate successor of M. de Freycinet, if the latter were to fall; for if the policy of the President of the Council was regarded as objectionable because it embodied a very mild species of guardianship over the Suez Canal, that of

M. Gambetta, which implied military intervention in the affairs of Egypt, was, *à fortiori*, inadmissible. Being, then, at liberty to follow its factious political instincts, the Chamber pronounced in favour of absolute non-intervention, and by an unprecedented majority (450 to 75) overthrew the irresolute Cabinet. Whether this sudden determination towards abstention in Foreign affairs was inspired by fear of Germany, or by a wish to circumscribe all political action to the exclusive development of internal institutions, or, finally, by a malignant feeling towards M. de Freycinet, it is difficult to decide. It may fairly be conjectured, however, that this vast majority, embracing four-fifths of the entire Chamber, was a mere heterogeneous mass, composed of deputies representing each of these influences, or various indeterminate combinations of such influences. At all events it seems pretty certain that the defeat of the Ministry was far less the result of a desire on the part of the Chamber to cherish a peaceful spirit towards Europe generally than an exhibition of domestic party tactics.

Though the rejection of the Vote of Credit on the 29th of July was a punishment not altogether unmerited by M. de Freycinet for his past timidity, it is not in that direction that we are to look for the momentous consequences which flowed from it. It humiliated and weakened both France and the Republic. The former withdrew from the European Concert, and was relegated to absolute isolation; whilst the latter, with insane prodigality, squandered, as she has ever been imprudently wont, her by no means exhaustless supply of competent statesmen; and by that prodigality, with its attendant uncertainty in the conduct of public affairs, weakened the hold she possessed upon the confidence and affection of the people. All her chief politicians had been successively driven from office in the most capricious and summary manner, and, with becoming self-respect, declined to subject themselves to further contumely. Like the Bourbons, the Republicans have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The Legitimists ruined the Legitimate Monarchy; and it appears by no means improbable that the "Republicans" will, for the third time, succeed in overthrowing the Republic. Is history about to repeat itself? Are not the enemies of the existing order of things already dreaming of some auspicious mishap to the Republic? Are there no faint symptoms of Imperial resuscitation? * Will no amount of chastening experience, no

* At a meeting of Bonapartists held in the Salle Wagram on the 15th of August, M. de Cassagnac, in a speech delivered in his usual swaggering style, observed, that "the Republicans were literally devouring each other. The reason he and his partisans in the Chamber did not interfere in debate was that Gambetta and a hundred others killed the Republic more surely than he

unequivocal notes of warning, no perfectly obvious signs of peril, avail to awaken ordinary prudence in the Republican ranks, and impress them with at least the spirit of self-preservation?

M. de Freycinet had held the Premiership six months. With all his faults, it may surely be said that none of his predecessors since M. Dufaure had revealed a more judicious discernment of the real interests and wants of the Republic. By the fall of M. de Freycinet, the President of the Republic was placed in a most embarrassing position. Where was M. Grévy to find a competent politician willing to accept the vacant office of President of the Council? Well, there was M. Brisson, President of the Chamber, apparently the only high-class statesman who had not been used, abused, and cast aside by that chaotic and unpatriotic Assembly. He very wisely declined to accept the treacherous position. There remained the inevitable alternative—a Ministry of mediocrities. But the palpably contemptible and selfish reasons which had led the Chamber to dismiss M. de Freycinet, tended to depress even the confident aspirations of young political ambition. Who could hope to surpass the late Premier in suavity of manner and in deferential submission to the Chamber? If he was sacrificed to the apparently ineradicable propensity to rebel against all legitimate and prudent guidance so repeatedly and perversely indulged in by that body, what mediocre politician could expect to enjoy even a few months of official life? Truly, a very forlorn hope! It was, nevertheless, absolutely necessary to fill the perilous post, and M. Grévy performed the difficult task with his usual consummate prudence and tact. After negotiations carried on in various quarters, and spreading over several days, he succeeded, though not without much solicitation, in persuading M. Duclerc, who was Minister of Finance under the Second Republic, and who is now a life senator, to accept the thankless office of President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Ministry installed on the 8th of August is the sixth that has had to be formed since M. Grévy, in January, 1879, became President of the Republic. The average duration of French Cabinets appears, then, to be about six months; and this transitory quality of Ministerial existence will be inevitable as long as the Chamber of Deputies continues to be intolerant of any controlling influence, however much that influence may be in harmony with Parliamentary Government. But the Ministry of

or his friends could possibly do. When the fray was over they would descend into the arena, and with a broom clear the house." There is an obvious basis of truth in these exaggerated remarks. The Republicans are certainly doing the Republic more injury than its professed enemies have at present the power to inflict; but, on the other hand, the boastful assertion which closes the quotation is very far from possessing an equally solid foundation.

M. Duclerc is not, by general opinion, accorded even that short span of official life. It was called by M. Clémenceau a Vacation Ministry ("Ministère de Vacances"), though in this case the wish may have been father to the thought. There can be no doubt, however, that it is a mere *Cabinet d'Affaires*, a neutral Administration, which cannot even pretend to have a policy, for it owes its existence to the personal jealousies and selfish ambitions of factious Republican sects. It is essentially a business Cabinet, composed of diligent men who will carry on the Government according to precedent, without venturing, upon its own responsibility, to initiate any legislative measure, much less any political movement. A Cabinet thus constituted can hardly be presumed to possess more than a mere shadow of independence; for there will ever be powers and influences in the background to which the temporary holders of office are constrained to pay deference.

M. Duclerc could surely have felt little confidence, much less any pleasing anticipations, when, on the 8th of August, he read the customary Ministerial Declaration to the Chamber. Professing absolute deference to the capricious will of the Assembly both in Home and Foreign affairs, he concluded his inevitably tame and colourless speech with the following broad hint to *Messieurs les Députés*:—"We have another object in view—namely, that of endeavouring to draw together and to conciliate the various fractions of the Republican majority. If, with your aid, we attain this patriotic end, we shall have accomplished a work which, in our opinion, under present circumstances, is most beneficial to the common interest of the Chambers, of the Republic, and of France." He was right: he could not have pointed to a more pressing necessity; for in the continued manifold division, and consequently unstable character, of the Chamber of Deputies infallibly lurk the decline and fall of the Republic. It may, at all events, be assumed as certain, that in this gross inconstancy of the Chamber, and in the more than probable opposition of M. Gambetta, are foreshadowed the rocks whereon the present Ministry is destined speedily to be wrecked.

There are two men in the Chamber of Deputies who, though for obvious reasons they are at present excluded from office, are nevertheless possessed of sufficient voting power in that Assembly to hamper the action of any Ministry, and even at times to shape its course. M. Clémenceau, who is the most prominent exponent of the Extreme Left, has already, in distinct terms, recorded his opposition to the new Cabinet, and it appears that M. Gambetta, though by no means so antagonistic to the Ministry, looks upon it—at least so we judge from the tone of the *Republique Française*—with a countenance by no means re-

assuring. The ground or motive for this unfriendly aspect is attributable to little else than to wounded self-esteem. M. Duclerc has steadfastly supported the Republican Union in the Senate, and most of the new men whom he induced to join the Cabinet are Gambettists. The Minister of Justice, M. Déves, was Minister of Agriculture under M. Gambetta. The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Duvaux, belongs to the Republican Union, and the Minister of Commerce, M. Legrand, is also a staunch supporter of that party. But such a proportion of power and pelf accorded to members of the Republican Union did not fully respond to the exacting demands of M. Gambetta. The chief participants in the unprincipled coalition which overthrew M. de Freycinet were M. Gambetta and his party, and they appear determined to pursue the same destructive opposition.

Though his ambition suffered a severe check at the beginning of the year, it is far from probable that M. Gambetta has lost, or even to any great extent permanently impaired, the widespread influence which he formerly possessed. He only awaits a favourable opportunity to place himself once more on a vantage ground from which he might regain his former position, and, profiting by experience, gratify to some extent his arbitrary instincts. Such a degree of success, however, could not be achieved if France were duly impressed with becoming respect for Parliamentary institutions; for if this were the case, M. Gambetta would have to endure long and bitter penance before he could hope again to wield official power. Yet, in spite of all this, and the fact that his popularity has proved more imaginary than real, it remains uncontested that he exercises an influence which at any moment may be turned with damaging if not destructive effect against the Ministry—an influence, therefore, which should be accounted by the Cabinet as a necessary point for consideration in most of the questions upon which it may have to deliberate.

An element of danger to the Ministry, far greater than any antagonistic influence of M. Gambetta, is to be found in the uncertain character of the Chamber itself. The majority which overthrew the late Cabinet was not the representative of any definite national policy, or even of any distinct political bias, but, with rare exceptions, a mere crowd of envious self-seekers. The whole Chamber, indeed, is little better than an incongruous mass of impracticable politicians, divided into numerous so-called groups, which are in fact mere loose knots of individuals, each having little more than a specious appearance of unity or of concerted action. From this defective and uncertain cohesion, the extreme factions in the Chamber must of course be exempted: they, at least, are logical and, on certain fundamental

points, united. The Ministry, possessing a majority to-day, to-morrow may be deserted. Then would ensue a Ministerial crisis, followed, in the official world, by a change of persons, and probably by a change of policy more apparent than real. Further impotent attempts at legislation would be made, until the occurrence of some accidental humour of the Chamber would condemn to destruction the recently constructed Ministry. Such has uniformly been the pernicious circle of events: and herein lies the chief argument in favour of the method of voting called *Scrutin de Liste* as a remedy for such mutability. It is felt that some change is demanded which would impart to the Chamber a determinate character, and enable a Minister to construct his policy upon at least some moderately firm foundation. But there can be little doubt that *Scrutin de Liste* possesses an unfortunate inherent tendency to disfranchise the minority, and, not improbably, it would be the means of subjecting France to one central, adroit, and imperious will. At all events it would inevitably push discipline and unity to the verge of despotism; and therefore Ministerial instability, an evil far less dangerous, and certainly more remediable, is surely to be preferred. A probable remedy, indeed, might be found in a dissolution of the Chamber, a remedy for the trial of which the present Ministry possesses greater facility than most of its predecessors, as it could obtain for such a scheme the ready sanction both of the Senate and of the President of the Republic.

And here we are confronted by what may assuredly be ranked among the chief evils attending universal suffrage: the false impression of the national will which that appeal to the political judgment, or rather to the political feelings, of every man is accustomed to give. Guizot somewhere observes, that "universal suffrage had ever proved in France an instrument of destruction or deceit—of destruction when it had really placed political power in the hands of the multitude; of deceit, when it had assisted to annul political rights for the advantage of absolute power." The positive assertion contained in the first clause of the foregoing sentence is no doubt true as far as the records of actual experience go; but the inference which may seem to follow in reference to the future is surely not inevitable. It is questionable whether universal suffrage has ever yet been fairly tested either in France or elsewhere. No doubt the last general election elicited the freest and most general expression of political opinion that has ever been obtained from the French people. But that expression was incomplete; it could not be regarded as a sufficiently determinate basis for a permanent governmental policy. It lacked thirty per cent. of its full and true tone, an absence which impaired and falsified the general

expression in a very appreciable degree. Now, it may be assumed with confidence that this vast mass of unrecorded votes belonged, in very great part, to Conservative Republicans, and represents a reserve of moderation to which the Minister might appeal if too urgently pressed by those who despise all progress which is not made by "leaps and bounds." Of course it remains doubtful whether this Conservative mass could be prevailed upon to vote. In the presence of danger it is ever wont to look for salvation, not to the easily exercised electoral power which it possesses, but to some individual "Saviour" for whom it never looks in vain. It is not improbable that M. Duclerc may, sooner or later, be driven to make such an appeal. He cannot, with safety either to himself or to the Republic, borrow the support of the Extremists by looking with any favour upon propositions which M. Jules Simon very appositely calls "insanities;" for no concession to that group, except in the form of absolute surrender, could possibly produce a lasting alliance. If to the opinions of other political sects—for, in a strict and well-defined sense, there are no Republican *parties* in France—there could be affixed a seal of ordinary permanency, concession in such directions might afford compensating support; but the fluctuations of opinion which the Chamber ceaselessly displays,—fluctuations resulting most frequently from interested, capricious, or malicious motives, would render all such speculations abortive. The *Republique Française* sneers at the Cabinet because it "leaves everything in suspense;" but that journal seems to forget its own position as the recognized organ of the very man who is chiefly responsible for bringing about the present humiliating state of affairs. The only feasible escape from this embarrassing situation appears, as we have already hinted, to be the bold but somewhat hazardous expedient of an appeal to the nation. It may, indeed, be admitted that such a course might insinuate doubts among the people as to the sufficiency and probable vitality of the present Parliamentary régime; and possibly, through an inadequate or exaggerated perception as to the real causes and demands necessitating a premature General Election, create wide-spread alarm. But surely it would show deficient confidence in the good sense of France to refrain from carrying out a probably salutary act because untoward consequences might possibly follow. There can be no doubt, however, that a dissolution of the Chamber would array a large majority of the present deputies against the Minister, and subject him to countless anathemas. But what would all such selfish opposition and objurgation weigh against a favourable verdict of the nation? Anxiously watching the Ministerial career of M. Gambetta, France per-

ceived with no little surprise and regret that her favourite was deficient both in political moderation and in political aptitude. Possessed of this recently acquired knowledge, she would not again, at least in her rural garb, permit the influence of M. Gambetta to interfere with the full exercise of her preference for candidates professing political principles of no doubtful moderation. Political indifference would probably be less prevalent, and the true conservative Republican feeling of the country would, it is to be hoped, express itself in no grudging accents. The Chamber formed under such conditions would be likely to afford the President of the Council ample means, in the shape of a substantial majority, to pursue a course of consistent political moderation, and to give to the Republic—rescued from a state of dangerous perturbation—sufficient time to gain strength, consolidation, and permanence.

ART. VI.—THE JUBILEE OF THE FIRST REFORM ACT.

1. *Epochs of Modern History. — The Epoch of Reform, 1830–1850.* By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P. Author of “A History of our own Times.” London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1882.
2. *Fifty Years of the House of Lords.* Reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.
3. *England: its People, Polity, and Pursuits.* By T. H. S. ESCOTT. New Edition. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. London, Paris, and New York. 1881.

IRISH affairs and a new phase of the ever-recurring, ever-varying Eastern Question, so absorbed public attention that the Jubilee of the First Reform Act has not at the time we write received the notice which it demands. There was no general commemoration of “the first fortnight of that immortal May” of 1832, as Macaulay termed it—during which occurred what has been called the “Agony Week of the Reform Agitation,”* nor of the first week in the following June, when the agony was over and the hour of triumph arrived, for on the 7th of that month the Clerk at the table of the Lords read the

* *Vide* Professor Bain's “Biography of James Mill,” Appendix C., p. 452. [Vol. CXVIII. No. CCXXXIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXII. No. II. EE

title of the Reform Bill, and pronounced the usual and time-honoured formula "*Le Roi le veult*," which Tory spitefulness suggested to him should have been altered to "*La Canaille le veult*"*.

Two Western constituencies, however, celebrated the Jubilee. One was the great Borough of Plymouth, which the Act recreated—as it created a Parliamentary borough by the name of Devonport, the sister town previously known as Plymouth Dock, the inhabitants of which had the honour of being the objects of Dr. Johnson's real or simulated hatred.† The other was the smaller constituency of Liskeard, which the Act emancipated from the iron grasp of the Earls of St. Germans, whose nomination borough it had become. From early times to the present this Cornish borough has been distinguished for its members. In Stuart times it sent to the House of Commons Sir Edward Coke, whose fame as a lawyer has overshadowed his reputation as the champion of Parliamentary rights and privileges. In the darkest days of its degradation as a nomination borough it gave Gibbon that opportunity of Parliamentary observation to which he owed much of his success as an historian, and which was of far more use to him than would have been the same period of time passed in retirement and study and without which he could never have produced so lively a picture of the Roman Senate House. To Gibbon in the course of years succeeded Huskisson, the first Parliamentary leader of the Free Traders. The publication of the Reform Bill made known the intention of its framers to wrest from the Lords of Port Eliot the power to send a member to sit and vote in the name of the people of Liskeard, and to vest the right and power of election in the constituency to be created by the Bill. When it became clear that the Bill would become law, the Lord Eliot of that day, the heir of the house which reckoned the seats‡ for Liskeard among its indefeasible *appanages*, determined to try whether the new constituency would submit to receive its representative from Port Eliot. There is a tradition in the borough, that amongst other of the to be enfranchised inhabitants he canvassed a leading member of the Society of Friends, there and then as in other places a larger and more important body than now—and the answer to his solicitation was given with the plainness of speech which distinguishes Friends, "Friend Eliot, it is much that after thee and thy house have tried long and hard to prevent my having a vote

* *Le Marchant's "Memoir of Earl Spencer"* (Viscount Althorp), p. 437.

† Boswell, chap. xi.

‡ Before the Act of 1832 Liskeard sent two Members to Parliament. Since it sends only one.

thee shouldst ask me to give it thee." This was the general feeling in Liskeard, and the Eliots no more even attempted to regain their ancient solitary reign in the emancipated borough.

The Bill passed, and the new constituency gave the lie direct to those false prophets who in the spirit of "the ill-favoured ones who sat by the bedside of Christiana," foretold that with reformed constituencies such men as Coke, Gibbon, and Huskisson would in vain seek to enter the House of Commons. Liskeard sent as its first representative—and until his premature death uninterruptedly continued to send—Charles Buller, the friend of James and John Mill—the pupil of Carlyle. Carlyle speaks of Buller in terms of, for him, unusual eulogy:—

"In truth it was beautiful to see such clear almost childlike simplicity of heart co-existing with the finished dexterities, and long experience of a man of the world. . . . This man was true to his friends, true to his convictions—and true without effort, as the magnet is to the north. He was ever found on the right side, helpful to it, not obstructive of it, in all he attempted or performed."*

"How much eloquence and wit," said Macaulay, "how much acuteness and knowledge, how many engaging qualities, how many fair hopes are buried in the grave of poor Charles Buller."

On Buller's death the seat was offered to Macaulay himself, whom the Free Churchmen of Edinburgh had ousted from his seat, and who might have found Cornish Methodists as irreconcilable as Free Kirkers; Macaulay declined in favour of Roebuck; † who was a friend and ally of Buller. He had been driven from Bath by Evangelical Churchmen, and would hardly have found a harbour of refuge in a constituency having so large a Methodist element as Liskeard. Buller was therefore succeeded by a mediocrity of the legal profession, who had some local connections. In after years two wandering stars in the political firmament sat in Buller's seat. Ralph Bernal Osborne was at one time the rising star of the advanced Liberals, but he had not Buller's steadfast and consistent liberalism, the House, however, always listened to him with interest and pleasure. To him, though not immediately, succeeded Edward Horsman, who may for a brief period be preserved from oblivion in the memories of those who remember the title of the "superior person" sarcastically bestowed on him by Lord Beaconsfield. On his death Liskeard, led by the same instinct which, in 1832,

* Article, "Death of Charles Buller," in the *Examiner*, Dec. 2, 1848. Mr. Buller at the time of his death was First Commissioner of the Poor Laws in Lord Russell's first administration.

† Speech at Edinburgh after re-election to Parliament, 1852.

‡ *Vide* Trevelyan's "Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 245.

guided her to choose the then unknown and untried Charles Buller, sent to the House of Commons Leonard Courtney, then a stranger to parliamentary life, but who once in the political arena soon displayed that profound and varied knowledge, that copious and exact memory, that power of speech which, in the short space of six years, have raised him to honourable offices. He has been found equal to them all, and may look forward to a long career of continued successes. Rightly and fitly did Liskeard celebrate the Jubilee of the Statute which made her a living and acting constituency. At the Jubilee meeting, Mr. Acland, the newly-elected member for East Cornwall, who bears a name with a parliamentary reputation of three generations, appropriately reminded his hearers that the month of May, so much sung by our elder poets, has besides the event of the immortal May of 1832, another connection with the prosaic subject of Reform: 1832 is not only the Jubilee of the first Reform Act, it is the centenary of the first unfurling in the House of Commons of the flag of Parliamentary Reform.

On the 17th of May, 1782, William Pitt—

“moved for a Committee to examine into the state of the representation, and, in the speech, by which that motion was introduced, avowed himself the enemy of the close boroughs, the strongholds of that corruption to which he attributed all the calamities of the nation, and which, as he phrased it in one of those exact and sonorous sentences of which he had a boundless command, had grown with the growth of England and strengthened with her strength, but had not diminished with her diminution, or decayed with her decay. On this occasion, he was supported by Fox. The motion was lost by only twenty votes in a house of more than three hundred members. The Reformers never again had so great a division till the year 1831.”*

We observe that Mr. Justin McCarthy unnecessarily and unworthily casts a sneer on Pitt's memory. “It is not likely,” he tells us, “that Pitt was much in earnest about the matter; he would have had a much larger following if it had been generally understood that he really meant Reform.† Macaulay is not only in all respects and on all points a far greater historical authority than Mr. McCarthy, but Wilberforce, the friend and ally of the elder Macaulay, handed down to him the traditions of Pitt's career and fame. He passed them on to his son. Wilberforce, in the days of Pitt's Reform proposals, was one of his most intimate friends and warmest supporters, and Macaulay tells us that not only did Pitt “bring forward a judicious plan

* Macaulay, “Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches.” Article “William Pitt.” Edition, 1871, p. 402.

† “The Epoch of Reform,” p. 29.

for the improvement of the representative system, but he prevailed on the King not only to refrain from talking against that plan, but also to recommend it to the Houses in a speech from the Throne"—

"The Speech with which the King opened the session of 1785, concluded with an assurance that His Majesty would heartily concur in every measure which could tend to secure the true principles of the Constitution. These words were at the time understood to refer to Pitt's Reform Bill."*

Wilberforce records in his diary that the defeat of Pitt's Reform motion in 1785 was a "terrible disappointment to Pitt's hopes of his country and noble patriotic heart."† The French Revolution and its attendant horrors, the schism in the Whigs, and the scare among the people of this country which it produced, diverted Pitt from the pursuit of political improvement; but in 1797, while opposing Grey's motion for Reform, he freely admitted "that he had been a Reformer, and would be one again if he saw men's minds calm and reassured, and ready to content themselves with moderate improvements, but this was not to be hoped since the outbreak of the French Revolution."‡ Pitt's detractors might have said that his Reform policy was one of those things which, to use their phrase, "he was taught by his dad." Twelve years before Pitt's first motion Lord Chatham told the House of Lords§ that—

"The Boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the 'rotten parts' of the Constitution. . . . But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the Constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but amputation might be death."

Chatham, deeming the disorder of the body politic incurable, proposed to infuse such a portion of new health into the Constitution as might enable it to support its inveterate diseases. The representation of the counties was, he thought, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. "The infusion of health," he continued, "which I now allude to would be to permit every county to elect one member more in addition to their present representation." To increase the strength of the great cities and counties was, he thought, the only security against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the Crown.

* Macaulay, "William Pitt," *ubi supra*, p. 417.

† Wilberforce's Diary, 23 March, 1785. "Life," vol. i. p. 78.

‡ Villemain, "La Tribune Moderne; titre Lord Grey," p. 93.

§ Speech on the State of the Nation, January 22, 1770.

This was the first suggestion of Reform that was ever 'made in Parliament. On June, 3, 1780, the Duke of Richmond proposed in the Lords a plan of Democratic Reform, founded on the principles of universal suffrage, annual elections, and equal electoral districts, each returning one member.* In 1782, and later years, William Pitt proposed an increase of the county representation, and a somewhat timid scheme of amputation as to the rotten boroughs making compensation to the borough-mongers. This point of Pitt's plan Fox strenuously resisted. Fifty years later, a wholesale amputation, without compensation, was carried by Fox's successors, Grey, Russell, and Althorp.

The object which Pitt had in view in proposing Parliamentary Reform, was different from that of Grey and his colleagues, though sought to be attained by the same means. George III. was before everything an electioneerer, he was his own, what Bentham called, Corruptor General, he furnished the means, and minutely audited the expenditure of corruption; he thought it consistent with his station and his professions of religion and morality to subsidize the patron of a borough by a grant out of the Privy Purse, and to write with the pen of an English Sovereign to offer a subject some "gold pills"—his Majesty's own phrase—for the purpose of corrupting electors. It was therefore Pitt's main object, as Sir George Lewis truly says—

"to emancipate Parliament from the influence of the Crown, exercised through the nomination boroughs, and to prevent the King bartering patronage for seats. He sought to diminish the influence of the Crown upon the House of Commons, not to clip the wings of the great proprietors of boroughs. One of his reasons for abandoning the question of Parliamentary Reform undoubtedly was that he considered that object to have been attained by other means."

Lord Beaconsfield in his very interesting and, on the whole, fair and accurate sketch of the state of parties subsequent to 1815 remarks that—

"a new adjustment of borough influence had occurred during the war, and under the protracted administration by which that war had been conducted, new families had arisen on the Tory side that almost rivalled old Newcastle himself in their electioneering management; and it was evident that unless some reconstruction of the House of Commons could be effected, the Whig party could never obtain a permanent hold of official power. Hence from that period [1819] the Whigs became Parliamentary reformers."

Lord Russell in substance agrees with the Conservative leader. It was in 1819 that Lord Russell first again unfurled in the

* Lewis's "Administration of Great Britain," p. 98; and the authorities there cited.

House of Commons the flag of Reform. He carried a Bill disfranchising Grampound, and transferring its two seats to the then unfranchised town of Leeds. The Lords struck out Leeds, and gave the two seats to the County of York. Lord Russell was then led to revolve in his mind a plan for the reform of the whole state of the representation. The Whigs as a party were not yet disposed to commit themselves to Reform. "Mr. Tierney* told me," says Lord Russell, "that the notes to members usually sent out when a party motion was in contemplation could not be allowed to me on the question of Reform." "An old and powerful member of the Whig party† told me that he never knew the question of Parliamentary Reform brought forward without doing harm to the party." The Whigs moved, however, with the times, and in 1827, when Mr. Tierney joined the Canning Ministry, he stipulated that he should be free to vote in favour of Parliamentary Reform. Early in 1830 Lord Russell showed Huskisson some Reform resolutions which he intended to move. Huskisson said: "I cannot vote for these resolutions, but something to this effect will be carried before long." The Duke of Wellington, having shown as much skill in leading a political party to defeat as he had shown in leading an army to victory, Lord Grey formed his Government, and the Reform Bill was brought forward. "The object," we resume our quotation from Sir George Lewis, "was changed; it had become anti-aristocratic instead of anti-monarchical—the influence of the Crown was no longer formidable; and the measure of 1831 was intended to diminish the power of the proprietors of close boroughs, by the same means which Pitt proposed to employ for diminishing the power of the Crown."‡ The story of the passing of this measure, and an enumeration of some of its results, make up the contents of Mr. McCarthy's small volume. Its perusal recalls to the mind the wish "*Oh Si Sic Omnes!*" If only the votes and speeches of the Member of Parliament were influenced and guided by the same spirit of fairness and moderation as the work of the historian. We do not altogether and on all points agree with Mr. McCarthy. He fixes the beginning of the Reform Epoch in 1830, its close in 1850. We think his first date is too late—his second too early.

According to Lord Beaconsfield,§ from the time that the Duke

* The Whig leader. This was about 1820–22.

† Lord George Cavendish. [Lord Russell's own Note.]

‡ Trevelyan's "Life of Fox," p. 126 *et seq.* Sir George Lewis' "Administrations of Great Britain," pp. 97, 98, 475. "Coningsby," book ii. c. i. Earl Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 31 *et seq.*, 21 *et seq.*, p. 60. "Memoir of Earl Spencer," p. 207 *et seq.*

§ "Coningsby," *ubi supra*.

of Wellington, and afterwards Sir Robert Peel, joined the Liverpool Administration, and formed "that intimate connection which exercised a considerable influence over the career of individuals and the course of affairs . . . the domestic government of the country assumed a new character and one universally admitted to have been distinguished by a spirit of enlightened progress and comprehensive amelioration."* Sir George Lewis says that the alteration in the cast of parts made in 1823 "betokened a great advance towards a more liberal composition of the Ministry,"† and Lord Russell tells us that "the eloquent speeches of Canning in favour of Catholic Emancipation, and of Canning and Huskisson in favour of Free Trade," the substitution of Peel for Sidmouth, a Criminal Law reformer and a friend of Free Trade, in place of a Minister who was the incarnation of prejudice and intolerance, created a new feeling in the country. "Every Liberal," he continues, "felt that—

"Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tip-toe on the misty mountains' tops."‡

By fixing the beginning of the Reform Epoch in 1830, Mr. McCarthy excludes from it Peel's measures for the improvement of the Law, those of Huskisson for Free Trade, and those of Religious Equality, in 1828-9, all which we cannot consent to exclude from the Epoch of Reform; but we must allow Mr. McCarthy to speak for himself:—

"This chapter of history (according to him) begins with the year 1830, after the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and after the passing of the great Act of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Such measures, great as were their results and obvious as was their justice, do not come within the sphere of that kind of political reform which is to be studied in this volume. The principle on which the admission of Dissenters to civil and municipal office, and the political emancipation of Catholics, was founded, was one of moral justice. No matter what the system of government which prevailed in England, the justice of religious equality in civil and political affairs would have been recognized in time. In some of the most despotic countries in the world there never was any idea of maintaining such a principle of religious exclusion and intolerance as that illustrated by the disenfranchisement of Roman Catholics, and the Test and Corporation Acts. Curiously enough, some of the countries which even in the present day maintain the most antique and anomalous systems of arbitrary government, have never had any religious exclusiveness or religious tests as parts of their governing principle. Therefore it is not right

* The Duke of Wellington joined the Liverpool Cabinet in 1819, Sir Robert Peel at the beginning of 1821.

† "Administrations," &c., p. 429.

‡ "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 48.

to regard Catholic Emancipation, the recognition of the civil rights of Dissenters, or the admission of Jews to the House of Commons as mere measures of political reform.”*

Irishmen have never been distinguished for the soundness of their logic. Mr. McCarthy's distinction between measures of religious liberty and equality and measures of political reform is what logicians call an “arbitrary division”—his view is also historically inaccurate. It is impossible, as M. Guizot has shown, to separate in English history the spirit of religious faith from the spirit of political liberty. “Reform” in its historical sense is synonymous with Canning's celebrated formula “Civil and Religious Liberty,” nor can any History of the Reform Epoch be worthy of the name, which excludes from its ken such measures as the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and the Emancipation of the Romanists. We dissent also from the date at which Mr. McCarthy fixes the close of the Reform Epoch, the death of Sir Robert Peel, in 1850 ; but here also it is fair to let him speak for himself :—

“That epoch of reform [*i.e.*, from the introduction of Lord Grey's Bill to the death of Sir Robert Peel] encloses a group of constitutional changes so important as to entitle it to a distinct place in the history of England. Lord Grey's Reform Bill established the basis of a popular suffrage, gave representation to the great industrial towns, and abolished many old standing anomalies and sources of corruption. The tithe system was brought to an end in Ireland. Slavery was banished from our Colonies for ever. The working of women and children in mines and factories was placed under wholesome regulation. The foundation of a system of national education was laid. Our penal code was made human and reasonable. The Corn Laws were repealed. These changes and others hardly less important are the birth of that marvellous period of political activity. Moreover, during this epoch of reform, the relations of the Sovereign to Parliament, and of Parliament to the People, were established on a well defined and satisfactory principle.”†

Mr. McCarthy's line of division at his close of the epoch is as arbitrary as that of his beginning. How can you include the various measures which he specifies, and exclude others? How include in the Reform Epoch the Abolition of Slavery, and exclude the Establishment of Representative Government in the Colonies? How consistently exclude the further extension of the Suffrage and its protection by the Ballot? How include the first grant towards National Education and exclude the establishment of the School Board system? “Homer's Epos,” it is remarked—we

* “Epoch of Reform,” pp. 2, 3. *Conf. ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

† Preface to “Reform Epoch,” pp. v., vi.

quote Carlyle—"is like a bas-relief sculpture; it does not conclude, but merely ceases."* The Reform Epoch has neither concluded, nor ceased. Mr. McCarthy's work should rather have been called "The First Twenty Years of the Reform Epoch," or perhaps "The Epoch of the First Reform Act."

Mr. McCarthy has endeavoured, he tells us, "to give his readers something like a picture of each leading public man on both sides of politics during this epoch." Yet he gives no portrait of Lyndhurst, who was pre-eminently the Tory champion. We cannot compliment him on his success. His pictures are not remarkable for faithfulness. This is particularly true in the case of Earl Grey. There are but few survivors of those who during the third decade of this century "listened [we quote Macaulay] with delight till the morning sun gilded the tapestries of the House of Lords to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, and so were able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men of whom he was not the foremost."† Unfortunately, oral tradition as to the statesman who filled for so long so prominent a place in Parliament and the country, and who was the pilot at the helm throughout one of the fiercest storms that England ever weathered, is fading and ready to vanish away; and no biography of him exists. His son and successor possesses his papers, and must have personal recollections of him; but we have understood‡ that at an earlier period of his life want of sympathy with his father's greatest achievement indisposed him to give to the world his father's biography, and probably age has now incapacitated him for the task; but regard to his father's memory and consideration for the public welfare should induce him to allow some younger man to perform the task, and to furnish him with the materials for it. Another of the earl's sons, the late General Grey, commenced a life of his father, but, as in the case of the same writer's "Life of the Prince Consort," the work collapsed with the first volume. Both these biographies belong to the same class as Tomline's "Life of Pitt," which, according to Macaulay, "enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world, and of which Lord Liverpool said, 'that any drayman, with the advantage of the letters and the Parliamentary debates, could have written as good a life of a public man.'"

* "French Revolution," vol. iii. book viii. c. viii.

† Earl Grey, Lord Eversley, Lord Forester, Lord Brougham, Lord Ebury, Lord Teignmouth, Lord William Lennox, Lord C. J. F. Russell, Mr. C. P. F. Villiers, M.P., Mr. C. R. M. Talbot, M.P., and Mr. Rigby Wadson are all the public men now living whom we can trace to whom the above description is applicable.

‡ From the preface of General Grey's unfinished life of his father.

In the absence of any Life of our great Reformer, we must correct Mr. McCarthy's picture by reference to notices of him by colleagues and contemporaries, with assistance from the distinguished foreigner whom we have already quoted.

Mr. McCarthy describes Lord Grey—

“as a man of the highest personal honour and character. Nature had not given him any great force of will or power of initiative. He was therefore apt to be sometimes under the influence of those around him. . . . But Lord Grey had the entire confidence of the reformers of England, and was in every way a man fitted to stand between Sovereign and People at a great political crisis. He had the courage to tell a Sovereign what it became the Sovereign's duty to do, although the admonition might be distasteful to royal ears, and he had the firmness not to allow himself to be led away by the impatient demands of a reasonably dissatisfied People.”*

Again :—

“With the passing of the Reform Bill the name of Lord Grey may be said to fade out of history. He had done his own special and appointed work, and had done it patiently and well. It was a great effort on the part of a man of his aristocratic descent, and somewhat cold and haughty temperament, † to interest himself so deeply and risk so much to extend the franchise to a class of men with whom he could have had but an imperfectly developed sympathy. He is not a great figure in history, but it is a dignified and stately figure. It represented a great movement, of which indeed he was not the source and the inspiration, but of which he was the successful guide and the graceful, imposing figure-head. His life links together two distinct eras of our history which, but for that connecting bond, would be completely sundered. Lord Grey began his political career as the friend and associate of that great group of statesmen and orators, of whom it is not too much to say that as a group they had not their rivals in the previous history of England, and that they have not found their rivals in the history of later days. We have had since that time, as we had before, many great names, names in themselves, perhaps, as great as any which were shining in the early part of Lord Grey's career. But there was not before his time, and there has not been since, any group of statesmen who could be compared to the two Pitts, with Burke, with Fox, with Sheridan, and with Windham. Amongst such men Lord Grey did not hold a commanding place; but he was admitted into their company, he was looked upon as one of them, and some of their lustre is still allowed to shine over his more modest personal fame.” ‡

* “Epoch of Reform,” pp. 30, 31.

† One of his soubriquets was “the Erl King.” His colleagues commonly called him “Gaffer Grey” or “the Gaffer.” Campbell's “Life,” vol. ii. pp. 19, 21.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

According, therefore, to Mr. McCarthy, Lord Grey had not "great force of will or power of initiative." M. Villemain on the other hand points out that, when the scare produced by the French Revolution "discouraged Fox himself and made him more hesitating and more timid" in pursuing the path of Reform, Lord Grey "persevered, ready to follow his illustrious chief—or to take his place in the same path" without ever renouncing it.* In 1793, he presented the famous petition from "The Members of the Society of Friends of the People, assembled for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform." This certainly was the first step in the Reform movement after Pitt abandoned it, and on the 26th of May, 1797, he made a substantive motion for Reform in a speech which was founded on the same lines as his speeches of 1831-32, and which Speaker Abbot, a hostile witness, describes as "moderate and discreet. . . . He disclaimed theoretical principles either in favour of the rights of man and universal suffrage on the one side, or as founded upon the inequality of local representation on the other." His object and ground were the same in 1797 as in 1831—that is, as described by the same authority, "practically to make the House of Commons the more immediate image of the people and the guardian of its interests." His plan was also in spirit and essence the same as the great Statute passed under his guidance—increase in the county representation, extension of the borough franchise. "His plan was to make the ninety-two country members 113, by giving two to each Riding of Yorkshire and division of Lincolnshire, &c., and to substitute in lieu of all other rights of election of the 400 other Members one general scot and lot right for householders divided into districts."† This was in fact household suffrage, which it was reserved for Lord Beaconsfield to educate the opponents of Reform into establishing in the boroughs.

Considering that Grey in 1793-97 persevered as a Reformer, in spite of the prescription of the Court and the passions of the people, that by Mr. McCarthy's own showing he in later life told his Sovereign distasteful truths, while at the same time he resisted popular clamour, we think that he was remarkable not for the want but for the possession of "force of will," and when we find him in the concluding years of the last century proposing a plan of Reform with the same objects and on the same principles as the measure which more than thirty years later he succeeded in carrying, we cannot regard him as only the "guide and graceful figure head" of the Reform movement, but—as he was in fact—

* Villemain, "La Tribune Moderne; titre Lord Grey," p. 82.

† "Diary of Speaker Abbot" (Lord Colchester), vol. 1. p. 104.

its "source and inspiration." If Grey, as Macaulay admits, was not the foremost man of the age of Pitt and Fox, yet that admission should be read in connection with M. Villemain's introductory observations to his biographical sketch of Grey.

"Great orators, able and eloquent politicians, may detach themselves in our eyes from the series of English annals; or rather, they there represent some great question usefully resolved, or some great problem left for the future. From these divers points of view, talents of a lesser degree may command the same degree of interest when amongst men long associated in the affairs of their country, he who was not the most eminent by his gift of speech has nevertheless exercised the most decisive action and served the most efficaciously some great public interest. This influence indeed could not have been obtained but by qualities still higher than talent by that character and ascendancy which make the man respectable to himself and others, and by the strength of the conviction which he inspires. But if this conviction and the end which he seeks touches immediately the gravest question of the future of a people, on the principles and the practice of *commission*,* or election acknowledged or supposed to be in their hands, in one word, the present and future organization of the popular vote, every one will confess that the prolonged pursuit of such an object, success and far-seeing moderation in such an effort, presents one of the most instructive pictures in contemporary history."†

We hesitate to agree with Mr. McCarthy that Grey had not "the statesmanlike wisdom of Peel," agreeing rather with M. Villemain that Grey was not only "a worthy example of 'civil virtue,' but also of the great characteristic of a statesman, foresight." Nor is Mr. McCarthy more just to Lord Grey's oratory than to his statesmanship.

"Lord Grey's eloquence, he tells us, was probably of a kind hardly known to our time. It seems to have been measured, stately, grand; better suited to illustrate great principles and advocate large reforms, than to deal with what we may call the mere business details which take up most of the work of Parliament at the present day. Although the pupil of Fox, Lord Grey does not seem to have caught from his master any of that spontaneous and impassioned eloquence which has been described by Grattan as 'rolling as resistless as the waves of the Atlantic,' those perhaps among us who can remember the lofty, half-poetic oratory of the late Lord Ellenborough, with its diction apparently raised above the level of ordinary events and common debate, will have a better impression of the style of eloquence in which Lord Grey was distinguished."‡

We may admit with M. Villemain that "Grey had not the lofty mind and the eloquence of Lord Chatham, nor the power

* Le mandat.

† Villemain, *ubi supra*, pp. 78, 79.

‡ "Reform Epoch," pp. 30, 31.

of speech of Canning," and no one has ever succeeded to the unique position as "a great orator, *the* great debater," held by Fox, but we rank Grey as an orator far higher than does Mr. McCarthy. With regard to the business-like qualities of his oratory, in the unreformed House of Commons such qualities were not so common, and they would not have been so appreciated as in the House reformed by the Acts of 1832 and 1867; but Grey successfully discharged in the Lower House the duties of First Lord of the Admiralty, and after the death of Fox those of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In his younger days, Speaker Abbot describes him as "angry, declamatory, and verbose, implacable in his enmity to Pitt, and unconciliatory of the audience which he is daily addressing."* When Abbot wrote this, he had sat for only one session in the House in which Grey had already sat for nine years. To be opposed to George III., Pitt, or Addington, "the base Anti-Trinity," to borrow a phrase from Archbishop Leighton, which Abbot worshipped, was enough to ensure from him an unfavourable judgment of any politician or speaker whatever, and we regard his opinion as mere prejudice. To Grey's power as an orator in his later days we have the testimony of another but more candid political opponent.

"Earl Grey's fine countenance, tall commanding figure, dignified and graceful delivery, and finished elocution, did justice to training and example which could have fallen to the lot of no apter scholar of the mighty debates of a preceding generation, amongst whom he had won his golden spurs as a chosen manager of the impeachment of Hastings. He had derived much advantage from early official practice, ample legislative experience in both Houses of Parliament, and other requisite qualifications. His style of speaking, though lofty, was practical, chaste, unimaginary, rigorously free from superfluous ornamentation, and yet sufficiently versatile to be applicable to all the emergencies of discussion."†

Again, describing the debates in the House of Lords, in 1829, on the Romanist Emancipation Bill, the same witness tells us that—

"Of the orators who distinguished themselves in these remarkable debates, the palm of eloquence must be assigned to Lord Grey. A standard-bearer in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, he was denied the prospect of the promised land till he had shared with his followers the way-worn weariness of the desert, and the discouragement of repeated defeats. And now the passage of the intervening Jordan devolved on the leadership of one who had not borne the burden and heat of the day ‡ Yet no invidious reference to past shortcomings, no

* "Diary," vol. i., p. 23

† Lord Teignmouth's "Reminiscences of many Years," vol. ii. p. 199.

‡ The Duke of Wellington.

niggardly grudging of present recompense sullied the loyalty of the allegiance or the sincerity of the tribute which he tendered to his more fortunate rival. And whether he reminded his brother peers, as he pointed to the historical tapestry which adorned the walls of their House, of the immortal achievements which rescued them from the threatened thralldom of Spain and its Inquisition, or congratulated the hero of a hundred battles on his crowning vindication of the rights of conscience, the heroic strain of the veteran statesman's eloquence was worthy of the speaker and of the occasion."*

In reference to this debate, a member of the Wellington Cabinet speaks of Lord Grey as "very active and fighting the whole battle for us," and of his speech on the second reading of the Bill as "excellent and as one which will have a greater effect on the public mind than any which have yet been delivered."† Mr. Greville, in reference to Grey, indulges in his characteristic tone of depreciation, but feels constrained to admit that besides his other oratorical qualifications "his classical taste, united with legal knowledge, rendered him the most finished orator of the day"‡

When the Reform Bill reached the House of Lords, in 1831, Grey's opening speech struck a sympathetic listener—

"as very good, but it did not quite satisfy his admirers. It appeared to me less spirited and forcible than might have been expected from his long tried zeal for Reform: but alas! some thirty years had passed since, in the prime of manhood, he had made the question his own, forcing it on an adverse and impatient House of Commons, with the cold and divided support of his party: but all his wonted fire glowed in his reply which was generally admitted to be magnificent. The group of young members of the House of Commons, collected behind the Throne, were, in the warmth of their admiration with difficulty restrained from cheering.§ At the close of the debate (says another witness) I saw Lord Grey, turned seventy, rise long after midnight, and without a note refer to and answer all that had been urged by the most formidable of his opponents during that and the four preceding nights, carrying the war with infinite spirit into their quarters, and concluding with a noble vindication of his own consistency, and an awfully solemn declaration of his determined purpose, whatever might be the result of the decision, to persevere in the cause of Reform, till he saw it triumphant."||

This is proof, if it were needed, that Grey was not lacking in "force of will," and that he was something more and different

* "Lord Teignmouth, *ubi supra*, pp. 206-7.

† Lord Ellenborough's "Diary," vol. i. p. 358; ii. pp. 2, 4, 6.

‡ "Journ l," vol. ii. p. 88.

§ Sir Denis Le Marchant, "Memoirs of Viscount Althorp" (E. Spencer), p. 350.

|| Lord Campbell's "Life," vol. i. p. 526.

than a mere "graceful figure-head" to the Reform movement. When the Bill again reached the Lords in April, 1832—

"Lord Grey opened the debate, on the second reading, with a very fine speech, admirably adapted to the occasion, being clear, dignified, and eminently prudent and persuasive, abounding, says M. Villemain, in simple and practical details without 'general theories.' His reply, immediately before the memorable majority of nine, which carried the second reading, was magnificent. Taking into consideration, said Macaulay, the time of the night, or rather of the day, the exhaustion of the subject, the length of the debate, and Lord Grey's age, it was almost unparalleled."*

We close our remarks on Grey in the words of Lord Russell—that his name and that of Fox "should ever be used to incite men to enter public life, to keep their honour unstained, and to look to the welfare of their country as the object of all their exertions."†

Mr. McCarthy is more just to Lord Russell, but we have faults to find with this portrait also.

"The man who rendered the most decided service to the cause, and who, during the whole of his active career, was more distinctly identified with reform than any other statesman, was Lord John Russell. Russell was not a genius, and he never became an orator. But he had strength of character and of will, and he saw his way clearly before him. During the whole of his long career he was never turned aside by a personal motive from any principle of policy. He was a ready, keen, penetrating debater. The force of his cold, quiet sarcasm told irresistibly on any weak point in an opponent's argument. He had sat at the feet of Fox.‡ He loved literature as well as politics, and was a personal friend of most of the great literary men of his time."§

This seems to us a far less just estimate of Russell than Lord Beaconsfield's, which, often as it has been reprinted, we will recall to our readers' memories.

"Lord John Russell has that degree of imagination, which, though evinced rather in sentiment than in expression, still enables him to generalize|| from the details of his reading and experience, and to take those comprehensive views which, however depreciated by ordinary men in an age of routine, are indispensable to a statesman in the conjunctures in which we live. He understands therefore his position, and he has the moral intrepidity which prompts him ever to dare that

* Sir Denis Le Marchant, *ubi supra*, pp. 417, 418.

† "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 126.

‡ This is a rhetorical expression. Russell was born in 1792, Fox died in 1806, when Russell was fourteen.

§ "Reform Epoch," p. 34.

|| "He had, said Lord Granville (*ubi post*), a particular talent for generalization."

which his intellect assures him is politic. He is consequently, at the same time, sagacious and bold in council. As an administrator he is prompt and indefatigable. He is not a natural orator, and labours under physical deficiencies which even a Demosthenic impulse could scarcely overcome. But he is experienced in debate, quick in reply, fertile in resource, takes large views, and frequently compensates for a dry and hesitating manner by the expression of those noble truths that flash across the fancy and rise spontaneously to the lip of men of poetic temperament when addressing popular assemblies. If we add to this a private life of dignified repute, the accidents of his birth and rank (which can never be severed from the man), the scion of a great historic family, and born as it were to the hereditary service of the State, it is difficult to ascertain at what period, or under what circumstances, the Whig party have ever possessed or could obtain a more efficient leader.*

Lord Russell had a very modest opinion of himself: "My capacity," he says, "I always felt, was very inferior to that of the men who have attained in past times the foremost place in our Parliament and in the counsels of our Sovereign. I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders."† But we think the people of this country generally will accept his distinguished opponent's judgment of him rather than his own, or that of Mr. McCarthy. If the common definition of genius be right that it is "a great capability of taking pains," then Lord Russell was undoubtedly a man of genius. For instance he himself prepared the disfranchising Schedules A. and B. to the Reform Bill. "No part of the Bill was so hotly contested or so troublesome to defend, for the case of each borough being taken in succession involved many questions of local statistics, which, if he had not himself prepared the Schedules, he must often have been at a loss to answer."‡ When the details of the measure were first made known to the Ministry Stanley was frightened, and would have resigned, but Althorp, who did not then understand the measure, sent for Russell, who went through it with Stanley, who said: "It is a very large measure, but you are right."§ If Russell was not an orator he certainly stood in the foremost rank of Parliamentary speakers, Mr. McCarthy says of his speech of March 1, 1831 ||:—"His manner even at its best was cold and inanimate. On this

* "Coningsby," book v. chap. iv. Lord Campbell's estimate of Lord Russell, *vide* Campbell's "Life," vol. ii. p. 205, very much agrees with Lord Beaconsfield, but Campbell could never thoroughly appreciate any one but himself.

† "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 221.

‡ Sir Denis Le Marchant, *ubi supra*, p. 335.

§ Earl Russell to Bishop Wilberforce, "Life of the Bishop," vol. ii. p. 414.

|| On motion for leave to introduce the Bill.

occasion he was naturally made nervous by the task 'he had before him, and he is described as having spoken for the most part in a lower tone, and with less animation even than was usual with him.*

He himself tells us that—

“ Sir Robert Peel observed sarcastically that I had said that many ingenious arguments were urged in favour of the ballot, but that I had not stated any ingenious arguments in favour of my proposition of that night. This was substantially true. It seemed to me that the arguments in favour of Reform had made their impression—a very deep impression—upon the country; but that these arguments had become trite and familiar, and that the great novelty of my speech must consist in a clear and intelligible statement of the nature of the proposition I had to make.”†

It was in fact, to use Mr. McCarthy's words: “ A speech of mere business details.” The course then taken by Russell showed, that perfect knowledge of the House of Commons, which made him not only the unrivalled leader of the Whigs, but almost, if not altogether, the unrivalled leader of the House of Commons. Sir Denis Le Marchant, who heard the speech, relates that—

“ Lord John Russell spoke for rather more than two hours. His speech, though highly praised by the country at the time, has been censured by Radical writers as not equal to the occasion. It appears to me admirably fitted to obtain what he aimed at—the success of his measure. His constitutional argument, on which he perhaps dwelt too long, called forth a slight degree of languor and impatience, and yet it served to increase the effect of his announcement of Schedule A.

“ It was for the peroration of the speech that Lord John Russell had reserved his best powers, and a more noble and convincing plea for Reform had not been heard for many years within the walls of the House. It stamped him as a statesman, an orator and a patriot; but it fell on ears deafened by the effect of the schedules, and he sat down in a profound silence.”‡

To extinguish 150 seats, as Russell himself admits, amounted to a Revolution, and the proposition, he says, “ I placed boldly and baldly before the House created feelings of astonishment, mingled with joy or with consternation according to the temper of the hearers.”§ By way of commentary on Sir Denis's text we give these remarks of Lord Granville:—

* “ Reform Epoch,” p. 50.

† “ Recollections and Suggestions,” pp. 70, 71.

‡ *Ubi supra*, p. 297-8. It will be remembered that Sir Denis was Secretary to the Chancellor, Lord Brougham, and attended the House of Commons to report the progress of the debate to the Premier, the Chancellor, and other Ministers.

§ *Vide* “ Recollections and Suggestions,” pp. 70, 71.

“ Lord Russell had one quality invaluable as a speaker. Unlike, I am afraid, very many of us, who mount at the beginning on a pedestal, and gradually descend step by step till we reach the ground before we end, Lord Russell only warmed as he went along, like his great political idol, Mr. Fox, and it required obstacles and difficulties to excite him to put forth his certainly very great powers. I remember his saying with intense amusement to one of his family, ‘ Do you know Lord Granville says that the beginning of my speeches are always very dull.’ I had asked him whether his beginning in that way was unintentional, or whether it was a slight rhetorical artifice. The fact was, he required to get animated in his subject, when he seemed both in intellect and almost in stature to increase with the subject as it went on.”*

This peculiarity is also noticed by Lord Lytton in the “ New Timon :”

“ How, formed to lead, if not too proud to please,
His fame would fire you, but his manners freeze.

* * * *

“ But see our Statesman when the steam is on,
And languid Johnny glows to glorious John ;
When Hampden’s thoughts by Falkland’s muses drest,
Light the pale cheek and swell the generous breast.”

“ Lord Russell,” records Charles Sumner in his diary, “ rose in my mind the more I listened to him. In person, he is diminutive and rickety. He wriggled round, played with his hat, seemed unable to dispose of his hands or his feet ; his voice was small and thin, but notwithstanding all this, a House of upwards of 500 M.P.’s was hushed to catch his slightest accents. You listened, and you felt that you heard a man of mind, of thought, of moral elevation.”†

This was written in 1838 ; twenty years afterwards we saw Lord Russell produce the same effect on the House of Commons of that day.

We agree with Mr. McCarthy as to the “ irresistible force of Russell’s cold, quiet sarcasm.” One of his many hostile critics observed : “ The attribute most striking in his Lordship is coolness ; it seems as though impossible to excite him,” and he describes a scene between Lords Stanley and J. Russell in 1835, when Stanley attacked the Whig Ministry “ with a terrible vehemence of indignant reproach,” and Russell, in his reply, with his usual quiet coolness of manner proceeded to be satirical about it ; the effect, adds this writer, “ was chilling.” We witnessed a similar scene between the same antagonists in the House of

* Speech on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

† “ Life of Charles Sumner,” vol. i. p. 316.

Lords.* When Lord Derby made an onslaught on Lord Russell's Italian policy which he described as one of "meddle and muddle," and likened the Whig Foreign Secretary to "Bottom the Weaver," and like him saying, "Let me play the lion," Lord Russell showed no diminution of his quiet coolness, nor had his cold, quiet sarcasm lost any of its old force when he replied: "The noble Earl reminds me of what was said of the late Mr. Sheridan, that he resorted to his imagination for his facts, and to his memory for his jokes." The effect of this also was chilling. "Russell's great merit," said Lord Brougham, "lay in summing up a debate, in which respect none of his rivals was superior to him," and the critic whom we have before quoted, remarks: "that he was rather clever at a summing up recapitulation (rather than a forcible reply) of his own case, and of everything that supports it." His great knowledge also of the History of England, it has been well said, "enabled him to adapt or persuade others that he was adapting his measures to the rules of the Constitution, and to impart an almost Conservative complexion to Radical measures."† Mr. McCarthy says, "He never was an orator capable of commanding the emotions of a large and popular assembly,"‡ and we have heard that consummate judge of such matters, Richard Cobden, say that, "Johnny Russell on the boards of the House of Commons is the most subtle and dangerous opponent you can have. Take him off those boards I care nothing for him." Speaking with twenty years' experience of Lord Russell's management of election meetings in the City of London, we rate him as a popular orator far higher than does either Mr. Cobden or Mr. McCarthy. To his other qualifications as a party leader he added, in Lord Brougham's words, "a love of his party as if it were a religion," and he was, perhaps, the greatest master of parliamentary tactics that ever lived.§

Lord Beaconsfield's description of him as "the somewhat rash but still unrivalled leader of the Whigs,"|| is therefore neither more nor less than the exact truth. We trust he may be more fortunate than Earl Grey, and that an authentic biography of him will at no remote period be given to the world.

We turn to another and even more conspicuous figure in the Reform epoch. It is the misfortune of Lord Brougham that he will be known to future generations through his own senile, hastily written, and often inaccurate autobiography, and from the tissue

* "The Critic in Parliament and in Public since 1835," pp. 25, 41.

† Spencer Walpole, "History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War of 1815," vol. iii., pp. 535-6.

‡ "Reform Epoch," p. 50.

§ Walpole, *ubi supra*.

|| "Life of Lord George Bentinck," p. 172.

of misrepresentations and caricatures which Lord Campbell began and left unfinished, and which "with all its faults upon its head," was, after its writer's death, recklessly and unfortunately given to the world as "The Life of Lord Chancellor Brougham." Mr. McCarthy's portrait will do little to make him better known; we cannot call it successful. In his estimate of Brougham's position and influence during the period 1830-34, he shows remarkable ignorance.

"Henry Brougham was unquestionably the most energetic reformer of the period. His talents were miscellaneous, brilliant, and his capacity for labour seemed inexhaustible. He delighted in work. He seemed only to live and enjoy himself in work. Even his relaxations were of an eager, exhaustive kind. He had tremendous physical strength, great animal spirits, and an unlimited belief in himself and admiration for himself. It was impossible not to admire his genius, and not sometimes to laugh at his vanity. He was a great popular and Parliamentary orator. His style was too rugged, and at the same time too diffuse, for a time like ours. His passion would now seem to us like that of a madman; his actions and his gestures would be intolerable to our Parliament. He sometimes seemed to foam at the mouth in the fury of debate, and on one occasion at least he went through the form of dropping to his knees, in order to make his appeal to the Peers more impressive.* At the time of which we are now speaking, he filled a vast place in the public mind. Untiring, restless, insatiable of praise, greedy of power, capable of commanding a public meeting almost as completely as O'Connell, he naturally became a powerful force in the promotion of great political and social reforms. He had rendered immense service to the cause of liberty and to that of education. He had been the most uncompromising enemy to the system of slavery in the colonies. It was his voice which denounced 'the wild and guilty phantasy that man can have property in man.' He was a law reformer. He was one of the founders of what may be called popular education, and an advocate of religious equality.† He threw himself for a time with all the wild, coarse, animal energy of his nature into the course of political reform.‡ . . . As Lord Chancellor he sank into a position comparatively unimportant."

Mr. McCarthy is a Member of Parliament, and has therefore means and opportunities of judging its present tone and tastes which we have not, but we think Brougham's best efforts would have been as acceptable to the present House of Commons as they were to the House of his own day. So frequent a speaker

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 398; but Campbell's account is evidently exaggerated.

† Of religious liberty but not of equality.

‡ "Reform Epoch," p. 33.

§ *Ibid.* p. 45.

was necessarily not always at his best.* He was not more rugged than Lord Cranbrook, or than Mr. W. E. Forster; he was certainly not more diffuse than Mr. Gladstone, but one of his defects was—as pointed out by Campbell—the habit of dwelling too long upon the same topic, whether grave or gay, and weakening his logic and his wit by excessive elongation.† The House of Commons at any time would have delightedly listened to his speech in the Missionary Smith's case. "It," as Lord Russell says, "combined the closest and most pressing logic with the most eloquent denunciations of oppression and the most powerful appeals to justice, and contributed in a very marked degree to the extinction of slavery throughout the dominions of the Crown." Or to his speech on the amendment of the law, which, according to the same high authority, was "large and comprehensive in its general view, searching and elaborate in its detail,"‡ and Sir Robert Peel used to say that having intended only to hear the opening of the speech, he found himself chained to the House till its close by admiration of his power and effectiveness.§ Brougham's speech on the conduct of the continental powers to Spain was another of his brightest flights, and would be as acceptable now as it was then. He himself said he had made better speeches in the House of Lords than ever he did in the Commons, and certainly one cannot imagine any time at which either House would not have heard with delight such speeches as his great Reform, speech in the Lords.|| The terms "overpowering, matchless, immortal," applied to it by the *Times*, may have been exaggerated; but such judges as Grey and Lord Holland, who remembered Fox, pronounced it to be a "superhuman effort," and Holland said that he had not heard so fine a speech even from Fox. The action and delivery were as much applauded as the speech itself.¶ Equally acceptable to either House would be such speeches as those on the Change of Ministry in the session of 1835, on the Emancipation of Negro Apprentices in the session of 1838, and the Bedchamber question in the session of 1839.**

* Readers may remember Bentham's couplet on Brougham—

"O Henry what a mystery you are
Nil fuit unquam tibi tam impar."

Bowring's "Autobiographical Recollections," p. 294.

† "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 288.

‡ "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 136.

§ Mr. G. W. Hastings, M.P., *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1869.

|| On second reading, October 7, 1831: Works, edition 1873. vol. x. p. 319.

¶ Sir Denis Le Marchant, p. 352.

** The speech of 1835 is included in the first edition of Brougham's Speeches, but is omitted from the edition of 1873. The Speeches of 1838-9 will be found in vols. ix. and x. of that edition.

Brougham from his devotion to the great questions, which constituted the strength of the Liberal party, enjoyed a degree of general popularity which in political circles was scarcely understood. To speak of his sinking as Lord Chancellor into a comparatively unimportant position shows great ignorance. Soon after his acceptance of office the *Times* proclaimed that "Parliamentary Reform is safe from the gigantic power of its champion on the woolsack;"* in fact, in the estimate of the public, as even Campbell admits, Brougham held a place in the Ministry second to none, and no one can read his correspondence with Lords Grey and Holland, without seeing what great influence he had among his colleagues. If other proof of it be needed, it is the fact that on the resignation of Grey it was Brougham's promptitude, vigour, and daring alone which prevented the breaking up of the Whig Ministry, and led to its reconstruction under the premiership of Melbourne.† It was Brougham's "irrepressible versatility and locquacity" which disgusted Melbourne with him. "The irrepressible Chancellor," according to Melbourne's biographer, "took his full share, and something more of work as well as talk; but to the circumspect and practical Home Secretary, his provoking and exaggerative way was sometimes less a help than a hindrance."‡

The faults of Brougham, which made Melbourne some time before the resignation of Sir Robert Peel in 1835 determine never to sit again with him in the same Cabinet, were, according to their colleague Russell, "a recklessness of judgment, which hurried him beyond all the bounds of prudence, an omnivorous appetite for praise, a perpetual interference with matters with which he had no direct concern, and, above all, a disregard of truth."§ "Harry, when you want to study insincerity, stand before a looking-glass," was, we know, Bentham's advice to Brougham.|| In justice to Brougham, it should ever be borne in mind that Althorp, while acknowledging Brougham's glaring defects, and the mischief they were calculated to do to himself and to every one with whom he acted, regretted, though he by no means censured, his exclusion from Melbourne's second Administration, and when there was a prospect of Althorp being called to form a Ministry,

* *Times*, February 1, 1831.

† Brougham's "Speeches" (original edition), vol. iv. p. 90. Conf. Russell's "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 127, *et seq.*; Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 433 *et seq.*; Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. ii. pp. 3, 4, 5; Le Marchant, "Life of Althorp," p. 510 *et seq.*, especially 518.

‡ Lord Melbourne, during the Grey Administration, Nov. 1830—July, 1834, was Home Secretary.

§ "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 139.

|| Torrens' "Life of Melbourne," vol. i. p. 434.

he expressed himself as bound in honour to offer Brougham the chancellorship if he would accept it.*

Althorp himself Mr. McCarthy well describes as—

“a plain, straightforward country gentleman, with a great taste for farming, and no personal inclination for political life. He was not even a tolerably good speaker. But his plain, homespun ability, his straightforward manners, his sound judgment, and his absolute disinterestedness made him a genuine power in Parliament. Perhaps the House of Commons has never had a leader in whom it placed a fuller confidence, and that carried about as far as devotion itself could bear.”†

As an illustration of this description, Mr. McCarthy refers to an occasion mentioned by Lord Russell and Sir Denis Le Marchant, when Althorp, replying to J. Wilson Croker, rose and merely observed, “that he had made some calculations which he considered as entirely conclusive in refutation of the Right Honourable gentleman’s arguments, but unfortunately he had mislaid them, so that he could only say, that if the House would be guided by his advice they would reject the amendment,” which the House accordingly did.‡

Sir Robert Peel, we are told, used to complain that he in vain attempted to remove the impression made upon the House by Althorp’s simple and unadorned, and always sensible and forcible matter-of-fact speeches and statements, and that Althorp had only to get up, take off his hat, and shake his head, to satisfy the House that the replies to them, however plausible they might appear, were founded on a fallacy.§ Mr. McCarthy does not, however, do justice to the services Althorp rendered to the Reform Bill. When Russell, from illness caused by over-exertion, was obliged to give up the task of carrying the Bill through Committee, Althorp took the measure into his own hands, and succeeded so well that no one could tell there had been any change in the leadership. Brougham, years afterwards, told Bishop Wilberforce that, at the Reform Bill, “Althorp’s readiness was wonderful, no objections could ever be raised without his having at once answers ready from every part of the Bill which bore on it. It was like touching a note of music when every other note answers.”||

* Le Marchant, “Memoir of Spencer,” pp. 541, 559. For a fuller statement of our views on Brougham *vide* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N. S. CXII., Oct. 1879, p. 480.

† “Epoch of Reform,” pp. 45, 46.

‡ Le Marchant’s “Life of Spencer,” p. 400.

§ Le Marchant, p. 566 on the authority of the late Right Honourable Edward Ellice.

|| “Life of Bishop Wilberforce,” vol. iii. p. 408, *see* Le Marchant, p. 335.

During the Committee stage, Campbell wrote to his brother that the Bill had "got into a slough from which he knew not how it was to be pulled out." "Althorp," he adds, "like Bottom, the weaver, will play all the parts himself. I was last night going to answer Sugden, but his lordship preferred arguing the law himself, so I went to sleep." This was the language of mortified vanity. Three weeks afterwards, he saw reason to change his opinion, and he wrote, "I have been at several consultations with Althorp. He seems to me to know more law than some of his legal advisers." After another interview, he pronounced him to be "a fellow of most miraculous equanimity."* A member of the House of Commons at that time records that "one great source of Althorp's influence over the House was the scrupulous fairness with which he stated his opponent's case before he attempted to answer it." Sir Robert Peel also noticed this. Another opponent, Sir H. Hardinge, bore this testimony to Althorp's services. "It was Althorp carried the Bill. His fine temper did it."†

Mr. McCarthy makes no mention of Stanley's services to the cause of Reform.‡ He refers to his services in the conduct of the Slave Emancipation Bill, and says:—

"When Stanley's feelings were really roused in some great cause, he was always able to rise to the height of a genuine eloquence. He was not a man of lofty intellect, or even perhaps of deeply penetrating intelligence; but his style, when animated by feeling, carried with it all the persuasiveness and all the force which are especially adapted to move an assembly like the English Parliament."§

Brougham, always jealous of Stanley as a speaker, told Bishop Wilberforce, that he "did not think very highly of Derby (Stanley) as a speaker, that the Bishop spoke a great deal better than Derby, though Derby was very good as a debater."|| On the other hand, Russell, a fair and candid witness, tells us that while Althorp and himself had the greater portion of the labour, and a still larger portion of the responsibility connected with the Bill—

"the palm of eloquence in debate belonged undoubtedly to Stanley. At the close of the debate on the second reading of the first Bill, by

* "Life of Campbell," vol. i. pp. 518-19, 522; conf. Le Marchant, p. 394.

† Le Marchant, p. 566 (*note*) p. 400; and *see* Sir Robert Peel's testimony to the same effect, Le Marchant, p. 343. *See also* "Lord Althorp, his Life and his Part in the First Reform Act," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N. S. No. C., October, 1876.

‡ The late Earl of Derby.

§ "Epoch of Reform," p. 87-8.

|| "Life of the Bishop," vol. ii., p. 409; but it is said that Brougham, when asked who was the greatest speaker in England, said Lord Derby was the second, implying that he himself was the first."

his animated appeals to the Liberal majority, by his readiness in answering the sophistries of his opponents, by the precision and boldness of his language, by his display of all the great qualities of a Parliamentary orator and an able statesman, he successfully vindicated the authority of the Government, and satisfied their supporters in the House of Commons.*

In the debate of December, 1831,† the memory of which will always remain amongst the most cherished of Whig traditions, Macaulay made the speech, which up to that time was certainly his greatest,‡ and which was received with the most tremendous cheers. J. W. Croker, whom Russell describes as a more "formidable adversary of the Bill" than even Sir Robert Peel, attempted a reply to Macaulay on the following night. Stanley, speaking from information supplied to him by Hobhouse,§ replied to Croker in what was thought by many of the older members one of the most effective speeches they had ever heard. Stanley had previously not been thought equal to a speech of this high order. It obtained, we are told by one who was present, cheers which almost surpassed those given to Macaulay. Croker, under the veil of Rigby, is described by Lord Beaconsfield as "bold, acute, voluble, with no thought, but a good deal of desultory information, destitute of all imagination and noble sentiment, but blessed with a vigorous mendacious fancy."|| His assurance was proverbial. At first he listened to Stanley with apparent indifference, but as Stanley proceeded in his attack, supported by immense cheering from a very large majority of the House, which evidently enjoyed his exposure of Croker's gross misrepresentation of facts, Croker's courage gave way—he turned very pale—looked as if he were going to faint, pulled his hat over his brows, and did not recover himself the whole night. It is extraordinary that a speech, so eminently successful, should have been overlooked in the history of the Bill.¶

In reference to the Bill, Mr. McCarthy makes no mention of Macaulay, whose speeches so effectively aided alike the popularity of the measure in the country, and its success in Parliament. We must correct another injustice which he does to that great man. Referring to the Slave Emancipation Bill he observes—

* "Recollections and Suggestions," pp. 91, 92. It is not clear whether Earl Russell refers only to the speech on the second reading of the first Bill, or generally to the successive debates on the three Bills.

† On the second reading of the third Reform Bill.

‡ *Vide* "Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches," p. 518, edition, 1871.

§ Afterwards Lord Broughton.

|| "Coningsby," book i., c. ii.

¶ The statements in the text are taken from Sir Denis Le Marchant, p. 382-3; see also p. 397; conf. "Greville's Journal" viii. p. 22.

“Among those who supported the Government was Mr. T. B. Macaulay, afterwards famous as the historian, essayist, and orator. Mr. Macaulay spoke with all the more influence because he was the son of that Zachary Macaulay who had done more than almost any other man for the cause of emancipation, at a period when that cause was yet only beginning its struggles, and seemed to have little chance indeed of approaching success. Macaulay and others contended that the transition from slavery to a state of apprenticeship was, at all events, a great step in advance, that it settled the question of slavery, and that the delay of a few years was a matter of little consequence, so long as absolute emancipation was to follow in its course.”

This passage is full of inaccuracies. In 1833, when the Emancipation Act was before Parliament, Macaulay's reputation both as a writer and speaker were fully established. These are minor matters, but a more serious error is that which makes Macaulay a supporter of the apprenticeship proposal. In his speech on going into Committee, he confessed that on the subject of apprenticeship he “entertained great and, in some respects, he feared, insurmountable doubts,” and voted for immediate abolition. At the time Macaulay made this speech, his resignation of his office was in the hands of the Government, and he was prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice his place rather than his convictions, although from the circumstances of his family the emoluments of office were to him by no means a matter of indifference.*

Mr. McCarthy's description of the manner in which the Bill was opposed is noteworthy from its relation to the present state of Parliamentary Procedure, and because it is written by one who is himself a master of the art he describes :—

“The Opposition now made up their minds to try what they could do by a process more familiar to our days than to theirs, the devices of Parliamentary Obstruction—repeated motions for adjournment, on each of which a discussion and a division took place. There was something ingenious in the device by which the debate was kept up through the whole of the night. For example, some member of the Opposition would move, ‘That the Speaker do now leave the chair.’ On the motion being lost, it would be moved, ‘That the debate be now adjourned.’ That motion being lost, somebody would again move ‘That the Speaker do leave the chair,’ and so, with alternations of motions for the Speaker to leave the chair, and for the House now to adjourn, the whole night was passed through, and it was half-past seven in the morning when exhausted members were allowed to go home, only to assemble again at three o'clock that day. Scenes of this kind were repeated again

* “Epoch of Reform,” p. 89 ; conf. Trevelyan “Life of Macaulay,” vol. i. pp. 306, 9, 11, 14, and also Arnold's “Public Life of Macaulay,” pp. 148, 161. Macaulay was at this time Secretary of the Board of Control.

and again; week after week passed on, while determined Conservatives were talking against time, and were making use of the forms of the House with every possible ingenuity in order to delay the passing of the Bill. The same speeches, in almost the same words, were made over and over again, on every point concerning which a discussion could possibly be raised. Reformers both in and out of Parliament began to be seriously alarmed. It seemed not impossible that if tactics of this kind were pursued, the Government might find it out of their power to carry through the Bill in any time during which Parliament could be expected to sit. The disfranchising clauses of the Bill gave immense opportunity for debate. As each rotten borough proposed for sacrifice came under consideration, opportunity was taken not only for defending the existence of that particular place, but for repeating all over again the arguments against any manner of reform with which the ears of the House had been wearily familiar for months. . . . The work of obstruction . . . was arranged and drilled by a systematized process of organization.”*

This perfectly accurate description of the obstructions of the sessions 1831-2 might, with scarce the alteration of a word, be used to describe the obstructions of fifty years later.

Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Wilson Croker were the chief agents of this Fabian-like policy, and they were zealously supported by the Tory lawyers, Sir James Scarlett, “Sir Charles Wetherell, Sir Edward Sugden, and Mr. Pollock,† ‘the flower of the Bar.’” When the case of Bishop’s Castle, one of the most rotten of the boroughs in Schedule A., was considered, another Conservative lawyer, Mr. James Lewis Knight, who‡ sat for it as the nominee of Earl Powis, gave an absurd tirade of an hour’s length on the independence of its electors. Lord Clive, the patron’s son, quietly observed that the choice which the burgesses had made of Knight was not theirs but the patron’s, and it was not their independence, but the absence of it, which ought to have been defended.§

We are willing to do justice to Ireland and the Irish, but historical truthfulness compels us to give dishonour to whom dishonour is due. The science and art of Parliamentary Obstruction were invented not by the Irish members of our day, but by

* “Epoch of Reform,” pp. 62, 63, 64; conf. Le Marchant, pp. 334, 335, 339, 387, 388.

† Afterwards Sir Frederick Pollock, successively Attorney-General and Penultimate Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

‡ Better known by his subsequent name of Knight Bruce, Vice Chancellor and Lord Justice of Appeal. He did what may be called the comic business in the Court of Chancery. See WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N. S. No. CIII., July, 1877, art., “Successful Lawyers.”

§ Le Marchant, p. 381, note.

the English Tories of the Reform epoch.* The Irish have proved themselves apt scholars, and have improved on the original invention, but the invention is the shame and disgrace of the Tories of 1830-32, and the spirit which animated them then is still in full force, as has been shown this session, and in the debates on the Procedure Resolutions will be further shown in the course of this autumn.

"Peace, Reform, and Retrenchment" were announced by Lord Grey as the principles of the Whig Ministry. As to Reform, the Whig Ministries of the period, 1830-41, abundantly fulfilled their pledges. At the close of that period, Lord John Russell, in surrendering power to a majority of a newly elected House of Commons, was able truthfully to declare, "We began in Lord Grey's administration with the Reform Act, we end by proposing measures for the freedom of commerce: with large and important measures we commenced; with large and important measures we conclude." As to peace, the Whigs were not so successful. Palmerston was placed in the Foreign Office, and his policy was essentially one of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign nations.† One of his great strokes of policy, the Quadruple Treaty of 1840, was so distasteful to Grey that from his retreat he wrote in the strongest terms to the French Ambassador to express his regret that he could not go to the House of Lords, and so was deprived of the opportunity of expressing as he would have wished, his censure of the willingness, alike unworthy and imprudent, of the English to deprive themselves of such an alliance as that of France.‡ Grey's disapproval was shared by some in the Cabinet, which was not without difficulty persuaded to concur in Palmerston's policy.§ We believe, however, the constituencies as a whole approved of the foreign policy of the Whig Ministries. As to retrenchment, the Whigs were not more successful; but here the fault was not theirs, but the constituencies'. With the first Reformed Parliament began the state of things which Lord Sherbrooke, after four years' experience at the Exchequer, thus described:—

"It is now fashionable to consider the revenue which is raised annually as a sum of money for Government and for Parliament to do just what they please with. It seems to be thought that it is a kind of thing which, having been once got together, ought to be scrambled for by those who have the greatest activity or Parliamentary influence to

* We think Mr. Wilson Croker was an Irishman.

† See the memorable review of it in Sir Robert Peel's speech (his last) June 28, 1850.

‡ Villemain, "*La Tribune Moderne*," p. 124.

§ Russell, "*Recollections and Suggestions*," pp. 222-7; "*Life of Cobden*," vol. i., p. 158.

induce the Government of the day to hand over the largest portion to them. I may put it in a more familiar form. People seem to look upon the product of our taxes very much as one does when one plays what is called pool at a round game of cards, something which is levied indeed by a general contribution, but which ought to be restored in a more or less degree to the people from whom it has been taken, the process in the present case or the means by which it can be restored being the amount of pressure which each constituency can exercise upon the Government. We are told if any objection is made to those dealings, Government is so very rich it can afford to do anything. We are told that it should be a generous and liberal Government, and not mean and stingy and cheeseparing.*

In the course of the present session Mr. Gladstone made a similar complaint. Economy in the abstract still receives the homage of politicians, but as soon as it ceases to be abstract and descends into the region of the concrete, it becomes one of the most distasteful things in the world.

"The men who devised and carried the Reform Act of 1832 were, in the judgment of Lord Beaconsfield, statesmen, and their names will live in history. They encountered a great emergency and they proved themselves equal to the occasion."† "The Act did not," says Bagehot, "for many years disclose its full consequences."‡ After fifty years' experience of its results it is interesting to compare with them the prophecies of its opponents. On the third reading of the Bill in the Lords, that Earl Winchilsea, whose duel with Wellington at a memorable crisis§ may perhaps rescue him from a well-deserved oblivion, animated by pseudo-prophetic fury, exclaimed :—

"This night will close the first act of that fatal and bloody tragedy into which the country is to be plunged. This night will terminate the existence of the Lords as one branch of the Legislature of the British Empire, at least the independence of that House, and without its independence the House can no longer exist to maintain its name and character as a British House of Parliament. Those who may live to witness the last scene of this dreadful political act will have to detail the downfall of the Monarchy, and the overthrow of the Constitution of this country. The judgments of the Almighty have been drawn upon the land, but may those who have been instrumental in drawing down these judgments and bringing about the destruction of this country, live to see her insulted laws once more vindicated. When I reflect that it is a measure which will blacken the country with every sort of crime, leave the country without any sort of Government except

* Speech at Glasgow, September 26, 1872.

† Speech on the Representation of the People, Feb. 25, 1867.

‡ Quoted in "England," p. 309.

§ During the Catholic Emancipation crisis, March, 1829. See the Duke's letter, quoted by Sir G. C. Lewis in "Administrations of Great Britain," p. 466.

military despotism, and uproot that Constitution which has enabled the country firmly to resist all attacks which have shaken surrounding countries—what language can I use to express my feelings of regret upon the occasion of the closing of such a scene."

The present Earl Shaftesbury also opposed the Bill, and now, fifty years later, still thinks he was right. He is clear that if the great Act of 1832 does not make England greater than she was, it will make her immeasurably less. To use a trite quotation, "There is much virtue in an 'if.'" Lord Shaftesbury's prophecy may or may not come true, though we see no signs of its fulfilment. But the question is whether he and the other prophets of evil of the Reform Epoch were true prophets.

"They maintained"—according to Lord Shaftesbury himself—"that it would lead eventually to large and organic changes: that it would overthrow the Established Church, and destroy the independence of the House of Lords, if not altogether annihilate its existence. They never contemplated these issues as immediate: they generally believed that about thirty years would elapse before the full and permanent effects were seen. In this they were right. The Household Suffrage Act of 1867, followed by the introduction of the Ballot, gave the final stamp to the future character of Legislation. One enactment yet remains, the enactment of Household Suffrage for the Counties. The measure will affect the tenure and transmission of property in every form, as the other measures have affected the principle and action of political institutions."

Let us examine these prophecies by the light thrown on them by fifty years' experience of the working of the Act. It was not, neither was it intended to be, a revolutionary measure. Russell avowed "that he had made up his mind not to deviate from the track of the Constitution into the maze of fancy or the wilderness of abstract rights.*" Mr. McCarthy, with the love of depreciation usual with him, says "it was only a compromise;" but he admits that "under all the circumstances it could have hardly been anything else;" and also, "that it established a principle which it left to be brought into a more perfect system by future generations."† Contrary to Lords Winchilsea and Shaftesbury he maintains that "the policy which opens the way to Reform is the true antidote to Revolution." "Since 1848," he observes, "we have never had even a whisper of domestic disturbance in England."‡ Brougham, referring in his later days to the Chartist fiasco of April 10, 1848, said, "The authors of the Reform may name

* In his *Essay on the "British Constitution,"* revised edition, quoted in the *"Epoch of Reform,"* p. 47.

† *"Epoch of Reform,"* Preface vi., pp. 46, 199.

‡ *Ibid.*

this date, and say, 'That is our case.'* M. Villemain sums up the case of Reform against Revolution with perfect accuracy.

"In truth, the Reform Bill, as it was carried after three years of strife, was perhaps the greatest internal event which could test the British Constitution. All its effects are not yet known and exhausted, and at the same time a quarter of a century which has elapsed since that experiment allows us already to reduce to their right worth the deleterious prognostics with which it was assailed. Many voices foretold that the Reform Bill once adopted would, before ten years, make England a Republic. Reform accomplished, and ten years afterwards the most enlightened of the Tories was restored to power, and would have been again brought back to power if death had not carried him off. It was not then Anarchy or Revolution which was likely to result rapidly from Reform. But it might have been doubted whether it would have the power to recall the country, and above all if it would in a greater proportion call to public business enlightened minds, independent characters—great citizen orators. . . . Other changes beyond doubt have proceeded from Parliamentary Reform, and amongst the number, above all, the great economical measure which Robert Peel so ably conducted; the old opposition of political parties is weakened, their weapons have changed hands; but the English Constitution has not perished, its strength is in the feeling for Law and Liberty."†

Another quarter of a century has elapsed since this passage was written, and has not weakened but strengthened its force.

Let us look at the present state of the institutions supposed to be more especially menaced by the legislation of 1832, and first the monarchy. "The monarch who filled the throne at the time of the Reform Epoch would, it has been well said, have passed in private life for a good-natured sailor. The good-natured sailor was hardly qualified for the throne on which destiny placed him."‡ Nothing told by Horace Walpole of the old Duke of Newcastle is more grotesque than the stories of William IV. recorded by Greville. At the Privy Council, held on the death of George IV., the burlesque character of the new king began to show itself; he spoke of his brother with the semblance of feeling, and in a tone of voice properly softened and subdued, but just afterwards, when an official handed him the pen to sign the prescribed declaration, he said in his usual tone, "This is a damned bad pen you have given me;" and at his brother's funeral he behaved with great indecency, leaving his place in the procession as chief mourner to shake hands with an acquaintance, and nodding to others on his right and

* "Works," edition 1873, vol. ix. p. 409, note.

† "La Tribune Moderne," pp. 108-9, 123.

‡ Spencer Walpole's "History of England," vol. iii. p. 388; conf. Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. i. p. 301.

left.* At the most critical period of his reign (in May, 1832) in one of the audiences which Wellington and Lyndhurst had with him during their attempt to form a Tory Ministry, he burst out, "I have been thinking that something is wanting with regard to Hanover. Duke, you are now my Minister, and I beg you will think of this; I should like to have a slice of Belgium, which would be a convenient addition to Hanover. Pray remember this;" and then resumed the subject they were upon.† When a Deputy-Lieutenant of Clackmannanshire was presented at a *levée*, the King, whose knowledge of Scotland was about equal to Newcastle's knowledge of Cape Breton, exclaimed "Clack what, sir, Clack the devil! No jokes here; pass on, sir."‡ In his person the regal authority fell for the time into contempt. It was, however, certainly fortunate that the kingly office was at the Reform crisis held by a weak-minded man, who was governed by stronger minded people who surrounded him. He had much of his father's obstinacy, but none of the perverse acuteness which accompanied the father's insanity. He held his father's notions as to his kingly powers and prerogatives, and sometimes ludicrously tried to carry them into effect.§ It was said by Horace Walpole that the "Crown devolved on the King of England upon the death of Lord Rockingham." The death of Lord Spencer gave William IV. an opportunity of endeavouring to regain, not his crown, but the personal power in the Government which his father had exercised. Guided by the Queen, who appears to have been secretly advised by Stockmar, he arbitrarily dismissed the Melbourne Ministry. There had been no such instance of kingly personal action since the reign of George III.; it was an exceptional, but very real and large, action on the politics of the country by the direct will of the King. The act was rash and hard, if not impossible to justify. Its result was the consolidation of the Liberal party, which enabled the Whig Ministry to hold the fortress of power for six years. The King's intervention defeated its own aim.||

One outcome of the Reform Epoch, according to Mr. McCarthy, is that—

* Greville's "Journal," vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

† *Ibid.* p. 302.

‡ Ramsay's "Recollections of Military Service and Society," vol. i. p. 2.

§ See the instances mentioned by Greville, vol. iii. pp. 203, 276, 279, 285, 363, 366.

|| Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. pp. 38-9, 231-2. We found the statement as to Stockmar on the fact that the memoir of William IV. justifying his policy 1830-4 was first published in "Stockmar's Life," vol. i. p. 312 *et seq.* See further the remarks on this subject in WESTMINSTER REVIEW, N. S. No. 76, April, 1873, Art. "Irresponsible Ministers: Baron Stockmar."

“with the close of the reign of William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne ended that chapter of our history in which the personal will of the Sovereign made use of the conditions under which the country is to be governed. It is now satisfactorily, and we trust finally, settled that the Sovereign always yields to the advice of the Ministers. As in the case of the House of Lords, so in the case of the Crown, it may be said that any departure from this established and well recognized principle, could we suppose such a thing possible, would now lead beyond doubt to some important modification of our whole Constitutional system.”*

Lord Beaconsfield, speaking of the vote of the Commons of May, 1832, said—

“It virtually announced its own supremacy; revealed the forlorn position of the House of Lords under the new arrangement and seemed to lay for ever the flattering phantom of regal prerogative. He then makes this suggestion: But if the Peers have ceased to be magnificoes, may it not also happen that the Sovereign may cease to be a Doge? It is not impossible that the political movements of our time, which seem on the surface to have a tendency to Democracy, may have in reality a monarchical bias.”†

What has been the position of the Sovereign during the present reign? Throughout it, if she has not had personal power, she has ever possessed and still exercises great influence in the government of the country. Within two years of her accession, on occasion of the resignation of Lord Melbourne, according to constitutional usage, “the whole power of the State,” to use Mr. Gladstone’s expression, “returned into the Royal hands.” What was called “The Bedchamber Question,” gave her an opportunity for the exercise of something nearly approaching to personal power. She withheld what Sir Robert Peel considered the necessary proof that he possessed her entire confidence, and so prevented his forming an Administration, but Sir Robert Peel testified that nothing could be more strictly constitutional than the principles on which the Queen then acted.‡

At the Queen’s marriage a new and by no means silent or latent force entered into English politics. The Queen’s Consort, though disqualified from taking a direct controlling influence in the Government, nevertheless did the Queen’s work. German by birth, in feeling, and by training, he was utterly incapable of understanding modern English ideas as to the Monarchy. We agree with Mr. Spencer Walpole that “from the bottom of his

* “The Reform Epoch,” p. 75, 76; *conf.* McCarthy “History of our own Time,” vol. i. p. 1.

† “Ceningsby,” book i. chap. vii.

‡ Speech on the Ministerial Explanations, May 13, 1839. As to the Bedchamber Question, see “Gleanings of Past Years,” pp. 39, 40.

heart he desired the happiness of the people, but he desired that the people should derive their happiness not from themselves, but from the Queen.* Behind the Prince there stood a man of stronger mind even than himself, one of the most subtle and dangerous enemies the rights and liberties of the people of this country have had of late years—Baron Stockmar. Had he lived in earlier times, and the nature and extent of his influence been known, his head certainly and not undeservedly would have adorned Temple Bar. He was born out of due time; he would have been a fitting adviser of the Stuarts. With the ignorance of English people and things common to all foreigners, and with a vanity and self-confidence peculiarly his own, he told the Prince before the marriage that “he could not marry the Queen of England without meaning and without being bound to become a political soldier.” The duty of such a soldier, according to Stockmar, was to fight on all occasions in the interests of absolutism and personal rule at home and abroad. Throughout the Prince’s life, Stockmar never ceased to impress on his mind, naturally inclined to such instruction, that the Queen—*i.e.*, in the circumstances of the reign the Prince himself—was or should be the permanent Premier. By Stockmar’s inspiration the Prince laid claim to be the Queen’s “sole confidential adviser in politics and her permanent Minister,” which it was impossible he could be, because his conduct was not within the reach and control of Parliament. According to this German oracle, “The House of Commons was absurd and usurping;” “no opportunity should be let slip of vindicating the legitimate position of the Crown.” Those who differed from him were “crackbrained sciolists,” and “the most stupid of Englishmen.” Such poison, distilled into the ear of a man as ambitious as clever, could not but produce effect. What that effect was, is seen in the royally inspired “Life of the Prince Consort,” by Sir Theodore Martin. We can allude to one instance only of the exercise under the Prince’s influence of personal power. On the resignation of Lord Derby, in 1852, the whole power of the State again returned into the Royal hands. The Prince Consort passed over Lord John Russell, the leader of the Opposition, for whom, according to constitutional usage, he should have sent, and sent for Lord Aberdeen, the leader of no party, but the best tool the Prince could find to hand, though even Aberdeen was condemned by Stockmar as “one of those who treat the ‘existing Constitution’ merely as a bridge to a ‘Republic.’” The result of the Prince’s action was the Coalition Ministry of 1852–53, whose

* “History of England from the Peace of 1815,” vol. iii. p. 533; and the note and the authorities there given.

mutual jealousies and divided counsels led to the complications and miseries of the Crimean War.*

Singularly enough, the greatest and most direct exercise of prerogative during the reign was at the instance and by the advice of the most Liberal Minister England has ever known. The first Gladstone Ministry carried through the Commons their Bill for the Abolition of Purchase in the Army. The Lords, as they had the right to do, but with their usual unwisdom, rejected the abolition clauses. Mr. Gladstone, not unwilling to repay the Lords the defeat and mortification they had inflicted on him, strained the Constitution and extended the Prerogative. He abolished Purchase by Royal Warrant, and there was great and general astonishment. Lord Beaconsfield soon after succeeded Mr. Gladstone. He did all in his power to make the Sovereign "something more than a 'Doge,'" and to lessen and cast contempt on the power and dignity of Parliament. Notably this appeared in the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and in the bringing Indian troops into Europe without the authority of Parliament, but more especially in the "Royal Titles Bill." In the debates which arose on and out of that uncalled-for measure, he showed an unmistakable desire to carry out the views of the kingly office and its powers set forth in *Coningsby*, and to re-establish personal power.† These views perhaps it was which led the Queen to place on the tombstone of her "friend" the Scriptural quotation—singularly inappropriate, "Kings love those who speak Truth." The Minister's speeches no doubt gave rise to that remarkable article on this question which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*,‡ which Mr. Gladstone truly characterized as "anonymous servility." Those therefore who foretold dangers to the Monarchy from the First Reform Act were the falsest of prophets.

Mr. Gladstone, speaking with the authority of fifty years of Parliamentary Life, and of a member of many Cabinets, tells us that "The Prerogative or Power which gives the Monarch an undoubted

* As to the prince's political influence and action see Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort," *passim*; Mr. Gladstone's valuable review of it in "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. p. 23 to 129; the two remarkable pamphlets by Verax, "The Crown" and "The Cabinet," and his "Reply to the *Quarterly Review*." The articles on Sir Theodore's work in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, N. S. Nos. CL, January, 1877, CVI., January, 1878, CXI., July, 1879, CXV., July, 1880, and the article on Baron Stockmar, *ubi supra*, noteworthy illustrations of Stockmar's secret influence and interference will be found in the "Life of Bishop Wilberforce," vol. ii. pp. 165-6, c. 186, 280. It is remarkable that, on the resignation of Mr. Disraeli in 1868, the Queen, following the Prince's precedent, passed over Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the Opposition, and sent for Lord Granville.

† *Vide* "Coningsby," book vii. c. ii. iv.

‡ For April, 1878, Art. I.

locus standi in all deliberations of Government, remains as it was; and it is important, or otherwise, exactly in proportion to the ability, the character, the experience, and above all the attention which the Sovereign of the day brings to bear upon it.* The importance of the Monarchy is not likely to diminish while it is held by the present Queen. Her Majesty has forty-five years' experience. In attention to the duties of the office, she equals her grandfather. She possesses greater abilities than he possessed. She is highly educated, which he was not, nor is she without those of his mental qualities which have been described as a "strong will and a firmness of character to which a harsher name might perhaps be given."† On the position of the Monarchy and the way in which the Queen discharges its functions we have the testimony equally valuable and interesting of another distinguished and experienced statesman—

"Constitutional Monarchy [lately remarked Lord Derby] is a beautiful and delicate machine, and like all beautiful and delicate pieces of mechanism, it requires careful handling. It is difficult to overrate the mischief which might be done by any Sovereign who should disregard those unwritten but well-defined traditions which govern our public life. It is a great honour to her Majesty that, in her long reign, prudence and patriotism have led her to resist any temptation to move in that direction, and, keenly interested as we know her to be in public affairs, she has not the less scrupulously and thoroughly respected those invisible limits by which her practical exercise of power is limited."‡

The nature and effect of these invisible limits is excellently stated by Mr. Escott in the very interesting and valuable work named at the head of this paper. Mr. Bagehot, speaking of the Abolition of Army Purchase by Royal Warrant, says:—"This is nothing to what the Queen can do by law without consulting Parliament." Mr. Escott thus comments on Mr. Bagehot's proposition:—

"If we contrast with the theoretical powers of the Sovereign those actually exercised in the relations between the Monarch and the Monarch's Ministers, the facts may be put in very few words. It is for the Sovereign to know the policy which Ministers may be executing or deliberating, and to exercise, if she so desires, the right of encouraging, counselling, warning. The choice of its Ministers is the prerogative of the Crown, but this choice can only be exercised within certain narrow limits. Practically, the constituencies decide who the Premier shall be, and the Premier selects his colleagues in accordance

* "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. i. pp. 40, 78.

† *Vide* Macaulay's "Essay on Chatham." Essays, edition 1874, p. 72.

‡ Speech at Cobden Club dinner, July 1, 1882.

with the political exigencies of the time. But though the Sovereign does not possess, or does not actively exercise, the power of direct political initiative, she has immense political influence, and is charged with grave political duties. Here, again, we have another illustration of the remark that where there is knowledge there will be power. The Sovereign, whose mind is a storehouse of political history and precedents, necessarily affects, and frequently in a very important degree, the action of successive Ministers. Moreover, the Sovereign is the head not only of the Government, but of the society of the realm. The English Court is still the greatest social institution in Great Britain; the arts of the courtier are up to this day diligently studied and assiduously practised. In a community dominated, as the English community is, by the aristocratic principle, it is inevitable that the Sovereign should always have much power. A constitutional hereditary Monarchy may sometimes be compared to the presidency of a Republic, but in reality it is endowed with attributes generically distinct. So long as society and politics act and react on each other the authority of the Sovereign will never become a fiction or a dead letter.*

In another part of his work Mr. Escott informs us that a distinguished statesman, commenting on these views, has expressed to him the opinion that it is quite as probable that the ordinary progress of Modern Democracy might silently and gradually absorb the Monarchy into a Presidency without cataclysm or even struggle.†

From the Monarchy we turn to the House of Lords—the effect of the Peers abandoning the struggle against the Bill of 1832 was, according to Mr. McCarthy, to settle the principle:—

“That the House of Lords were never to carry resistance to any measure coming from the Commons beyond a certain point—beyond the time when it became unmistakably evident that the Commons were in earnest. Since that day no serious attempt has been made by the House of Lords to carry resistance to the popular will any further than just such a period as will allow the House of Commons to reconsider their former decision.”

By way of comment on this statement, we insert a remark of Mr. Thorold Rogers, M.P., to which we assent, “At the present time, the Lords confine themselves to petty hindrances, and apparently to petty spite.”‡ We resume our quotation from Mr. McCarthy, “when the House of Commons have reconsidered their decision, and still adhere to it, it is now almost as clearly settled as any other principle in our constitutional system that the

* “England: Its People, Polity, and Pursuits,” pp. 318, 319. *Confer, ibid.*, p. 295–6, 343; and “Gleanings of Past Years,” vol. i. p. 227, *et sequentes*.

† P. 369, note, and *see* p. 306.

‡ “Cobden and Political Opinion,” p. 263.

House of Lords are then to give way, and withdraw all further opposition." We insert another comment taken from Mr. Thorold Rogers, "When the public mind is made up to the change the Upper House is notoriously unable to resist, ardent spirits urge the Peers to take a firm stand against innovation, but their Lordships always succumb."* This has been signally illustrated during the present session. "It may be stated in plain words," continues Mr. McCarthy, "that were the House of Lords now to depart from this implied arrangement, some modification of our Constitutional System as regards the Upper Chamber would be inevitable."† This is the question involved in a statement, made many years ago by Mr. Bright. With his usual outspokenness, he said, "We know, everybody knows, nobody knows it better than the Peers, that a House of Hereditary Legislation cannot be a Permanent Institution in a free country. For we believe that such an Institution must in the course of time require essential modification."‡

Mr. Escott, the whole tone of whose work is Conservative, devotes a chapter to the House of Lords in which he thus sums up his general review of its position:—

"In the first place, while the House of Lords is an Assembly representative of great interests, high intellectual excellence, success, and prosperity, it retains its aristocratic prestige unimpaired. Secondly, valuable as its discussions always are on critical and complicated themes of imperial policy, mature and finished as is the quality of its statesmanship, there is a definite promise of more legislative activity and influence among its rising members. Hence, in a democratic age, it is gaining rather than losing power, and although the traditions and habits of dependence upon the aristocracy have disappeared, it is felt that an aristocratic hereditary legislature, which does its work well, stands on unassailable ground. The very fact that the functions of the House of Lords are critical rather than constructive, while it gives their Lordships less opportunity of national display, increases their capacities for national usefulness."§

Again—

"That the influence of the House of Lords upon the deliberations and the Acts of Parliament is, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a very real thing there can be no doubt. But it is not exercised in the old way, nor is it exercised in the only manner which some persons may imagine to be possible. The real influence of their

* "Cobden and Political Opinion," p. 264.

† "The Reform Epoch," pp. 74-5.

‡ Speech at Manchester, Dec. 10, 1858: *Bright's Speeches*, Popular Edition, p. 293.

§ "England," p. 366.

Lordships is invisible rather than visible. They prevent certain measures being introduced quite as much as they control them when introduced. Whatever may be the case with the country, the Conservative party are always sure to have an overwhelming majority amongst the Peers; hence, it is always theoretically possible for the Upper House to reject any measure passed by the Lower House which may offend the prejudices of Conservatism. A Liberal Cabinet, we may suppose, meditates the introduction of a Bill which is considered fatally to affect some great Conservative interest. Their Lordships get wind of the proposal, and politely but firmly hint that it will not do. What is, or, at least, what may be, the consequence? The measure is either shelved, or else watered down to such an extent that its drastic powers disappear.*

Even conceding, which we do not, the facts to be as here stated, they do not support the inference drawn from them that the House of Lords does "its work" well, or that it stands on "unassailable ground." As to the manner in which its work is done, we have this judgment of Sir S. Cornwall Lewis, a statesman of judicial mind, and as little democratic in his opinions as Mr. Escott himself.

"It might indeed have been expected that the House of Lords should have redeemed its adherence to the interests of its order by its exemption from popular errors and popular fanaticism. Unhappily, this has not been the case; on the contrary, it seems to have sought to atone for its maintenance of the interests of the aristocracy by embracing the principles of democracy. Thus it has too often happened that when the people have been right, the House of Lords has been oligarchical; and that when the people have been wrong, the House of Lords has been democratic."†

"It is almost invariably found," we now quote from "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," "that the Second Chamber is even more subject to the tempest of sudden panic or semi-delirious passion than the Lower House. When 'society' is at fever heat, the Lords, all of whom are in 'society,' share its temperature. The House of Commons is subject to the same disturbing influences to some extent; but all its members are not in 'society,' and it is subject to the cooling influences of the country constituencies."

Mr. Bright once said, "I am scarcely able to discover one single measure important to English freedom which has come from the voluntary consent and good will of the Peers."‡ Not only is this true, but Mr. Bright might have gone further: the history of the House during the last fifty years shows that the description which Sir Philip Francis gave of one of its most

* "England," pp. 36-67.

† "Administrations of Great Britain, 1789-1830," p. 468, and p. 461; *conf.* "Fifty Years of the House of Lords," pp. 47, 87.

‡ Speech at Birmingham, Oct. 27, 1858, *ubi supra*, p. 283.

influential members in past years, Lord Thurlow, is now true of the House collectively. It is "the inveterate enemy of all human action." The proof of this is to be found in the valuable *résumé* of the history of the Peers contained in "Fifty Years of the House of Lords." It is there proved that "the House of Lords has been unable to persevere in its opposition to popular reform, excepting in the case of Ireland; and in the case of Ireland its success has been as signal as it has been pernicious. In England and Scotland it has delayed and marred measures of reform; in Ireland alone it has rejected them."* In fact it is there demonstrated that the present unhappy state of Ireland is largely "owing to the course as to the Irish measures taken during the last fifty years by the House of Lords." O'Connell told the Commons in 1839, "Though a majority of this House may be disposed to do us something like justice, all your efforts will be frustrated by the other branch of the Legislature." "Every Bill," said Macaulay, "framed by the advisers of the Crown for the benefit of Ireland, was either rejected or mutilated;" and on another occasion, "The Irishman has been taught that from England nothing is to be got by reason, by entreaty, by patient endurance, but everything by intimidation."† This is true, and his great teachers have been the House of Lords. In the result the Lords, during the present session, have been degraded by being compelled to eat the leek of the Arrears Bill.

As to the modification of the House to which Mr. Bright referred, What could such a modification be? Mr. Escott says:—

"The Conservatives would not deny that their Lordships' House might submit with advantage to several modifications. Thus there are many Conservatives in favour of the creation of Life Peers."‡ "But," replies Mr. Thorold Rogers, "such a suggestion is one of the most reactionary character. If the persons added to the List are nominated by the Crown at the instance of the Prime Minister for the time being, they will occupy an inferior position in the House as the Bishops do; will be made to feel their inferiority as the Bishops are, and be expected to limit themselves to specialities as the Bishops are."§

Since this passage was written its accuracy has been verified :

* "Fifty Years," &c. p. 95.

† *Ibid.* pp. 23, 34, 36.

‡ "England," p. 366.

§ "Cobden and Political Opinion," p. 268, as to the position of the bishops.

"The late Lord Fitzwilliam, meeting the late Bishop Wilberforce soon after his celebrated speech on the Corn Laws, told him that such a display of episcopal eloquence in the House of Lords was altogether contrary to rule."
"Hayward's Essays," vol. iii. p. 25, note.

a few Life Peers have been created to carry on the judicial business of the House, not one of them has ever opened his mouth in debate, and we think, though we by no means positively affirm, that not one of them has ever voted on a division.

A distinguished Whig politician, the late N. W. Senior, had, so far back as 1835, a conversation with Mr. Greville as to the necessity of a reform of the House of Lords. He said it was even then too late to reform it by a creation of Life Peers, or "by the election of representatives. When Scotland," he said,

"was united, shesent representative peers elected from the body : Ireland the same. Now fifty years of Tory rule have given such a preponderance to the Tory interest in the House of Lords that the balance cannot be redressed but by a creation which would make the House of Peers too numerous for a legislative assembly, I would therefore begin by creating, in order to equalize the strength of the parties, and then the Peers should elect Representatives."*

The objections to Mr. Senior's scheme are thus stated by Professor Thorold Rogers:—

"Suppose the Upper House in Great Britain were made elective, of whom should it consist? Is the nation to choose a limited number out of the existing body of Peers? To give the Peers such a power as the Scotch and Irish peerages have, would be to bring matters to a dead-lock—the result would be very much what there is now, except that there would be a mischievous and absurd phantom of representation in the Upper Chamber. Or is it to choose Peers as it will? Then the inconvenience to which I have referred above will arise, and for a time at least the Lower House will be swamped with a party of the Right, which an extreme Radicalism will be invited, indeed compelled, to displace and ostracize. It is impossible to construct a popular representation out of a privileged class. . . . At present the peerage is debarred from using its extreme rights under the Constitution because it knows that its position is an anomaly, and its privileges an usurpation, but if the Legislature formally grants a new Constitution to the Upper House it recognizes, under all the sanctions of law, powers, and authorities which are mere customs. If such a chamber were like the present House of Lords, its existence would be wasted, if it became an active body its powers would be discretionary."†

This justifies the opinion of Mr. Escott. The Liberal politician—
"would oppose Reform of the House of Lords for the same reasons that the Conservative would advocate it; such a measure, the former would contend, must strengthen and not weaken the influence of a Second Chamber, whereas a certain phase of Liberalism is pretty generally opposed to the existence of any Second Chamber at all. The House of Lords, argues the Liberal, is quite strong enough as

* Greville's "Journal," vol. iii. 306.

† "Cobden and Political Opinion," pp. 267-9.

matters are, and exercise a sufficiently similar force upon the course of Legislation."*

He would be a bold man who would at this time undertake to affirm or deny that the House of Lords will be a permanent institution in this country. In favour of its permanence there is the innate Conservatism of Englishmen. Their indifference to what in point of logic and theory are anomalies, and their disposition to maintain ancient institutions and even abuses, so long as they do no harm, or the mischief they do is not too evident; nevertheless there are in the constitution of the House elements of weakness, if they be not the seeds of decay and ruin. Even Mr. Escott admits that "the fame of a few illustrious peers eclipses the prestige of the Assembly in which they sit; that the sphere of active statesmanship in the House has been too like a close borough; that difficult as it is for a young and untried man to get the ear of the House of Commons, that difficulty is very much greater in the Lords."†

A young peer, even though he take his seat not by creation but by succession to an ancient peerage, but who is an unknown aspirant to Parliamentary fame, is received with icy politeness, is chilled and discouraged, and probably loses his ambition to be a Parliamentary speaker. On the other hand, any scion of the great houses, traditionally famous in political annals, if he step into the arena of debate, even though he be an inferior man, is sure to be welcomed, and to be listened to with attention. As a natural consequence, "It is rare to find more than a third of the sittings of the House occupied." The hours of sitting have this session been altered, to the great inconvenience of the Ministerial and Judicial Members, because the few Members who attend debates and divisions do not like "to be kept beyond the usual dinner-hour." This same session furnished a notable instance of this usage of their Lordships. The Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Bill, a measure fraught, if its opponents speak truth, with the most serious moral and social consequences, was not allowed to be properly debated, and the selected speakers were compelled to curtail their speeches, because an illustrious member of the House—"illustrious by courtesy," Lord Brougham would have said‡—was anxious to vote before leaving for dinner at his usual hour.

A legislative body, of which such are the customs and rules, is

* "England," p. 366.

† *Ibid.*, p. 360, 362, 363.

‡ "The illustrious Dukes now present—the illustrious Duke [Wellington] who is illustrious by his deeds . . . or the illustrious Duke [Cumberland] who is illustrious by courtesy of the House."—*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. viii. p. 421.

not likely to continue a permanent institution in a free country. Much, indeed, depends on the character of the future leaders of the House. If there shall arise among the Conservative Peers men who, like Peel, make it their study to "ensure the harmonious and united action of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and a reformed House of Commons," and who shall possess Peel's temper and abilities, the House of Lords, as at present constituted, may continue to exist for an indefinite time. A succession of leaders, like the Marquis of Salisbury, with the rank and file of the Conservative party composed of such men as the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Winchilsea, the late Duke of Newcastle, and the late Earl of Lonsdale, would speedily bring about a catastrophe. Is then Lord Shaftesbury right? Is "the independence of the House of Lords" destroyed? Our reply is that its independence of public opinion, its absolute veto as an hereditary legislative body on measures passed after mature deliberation by the chosen representatives of the people is gone, but Mr. Escott is right, the House of Lords "still has a very real influence on legislation." No well-wishers to its continued existence and influence for good can desire that it should have the power it formerly possessed, or more influence than it now possesses.

It is true that the House of Lords has, since 1832, passed, not willingly but by compulsion of popular opinion, many measures which, of their own free will, they would never have either initiated or sanctioned. Those who wish they could have rejected those measures, condemn the whole course of legislation since 1832. Can any reasonable man, calmly surveying our history during the last fifty years, join in that condemnation? "A system of genuinely popular Government has been established."* Has not its legislation been wise, just, and beneficent? We would ask Lord Shaftesbury, could he have carried through an unreformed Parliament those beneficial measures of social reform, with which to his honour and glory his name will ever be associated?† If that be so, and it is undoubtedly the case, how can Lord Shaftesbury still think he was right in opposing the Act of 1832?

We must not dwell on the details of the wise, just, and beneficent legislation of our Reformed Parliaments; but there is one measure, the logical result and completion of Parliamentary Reform, the omission of all reference to which would be a gross defect in a paper designed to celebrate the Jubilee of the first Reform Act. We allude to the Municipal Reform Act. It

* "England," p. 2.

† See the chapter: Black and White Slavery, "Epoch of Reform," p. 81.

is hardly possible for us now to recall or realize the state of our unreformed municipalities—and yet to do so is needful to appreciate the good effects of their reform. Such as wish to pursue the subject, will find their pre-reformed condition vividly and truthfully portrayed by Lord Campbell.*

A Commission into the state of our Municipal Corporations was issued by Earl Grey's Government. To give results by legislation to the inquiries of the Commission was the first task of the Whig Ministry when restored in 1835, and its principal achievement. The Bill, in its beginning, and in its passage through Parliament, was beset with difficulties and dangers. Lord Campbell, who, as Attorney-General, supervised its preparation, tells us that William IV. was told by Queen Adelaide and the ladies of the Court, that it "was a gigantic innovation," and he gives an extract from a letter from the King to Melbourne, written evidently by Sir Herbert Taylor or Stockmar, or some other secret and irresponsible adviser, in which His Majesty is made to express the opinion "that the whole spirit of the Bill, its principles and provisions, affect most seriously the royal prerogative, and are calculated to lessen the authority and influence of the Crown." At the request of Melbourne, Campbell wrote a long explanation of the Bill, showing that it proceeded upon the true principles of the English Constitution, and that it would add to the stability of the throne as well as to the prosperity of the people.† This calmed the fears and apprehensions of the Royal mind. The Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell. In the Commons, Conservative opposition to it was very much mitigated by the conduct of Sir Robert Peel, who set himself to work sincerely to make a good measure of Reform out of the Government scheme, and did his best to prevent anything like unnecessary resistance. When the Bill reached the Lords, Lyndhurst put forth all his strength to oppose it. He urged upon Wellington that Peel had been playing a mistaken game, and that, if the Bill passed, the great strongholds of the Tory party would be lost. Wellington, influenced by Lyndhurst, and dissatisfied with Peel, pledged himself to stand by Lyndhurst in his resistance to the measure.

Mr. McCarthy, with his usual injustice to the Whig leaders, says:—"The speech in which Lord Melbourne introduced the Bill probably rather encouraged than discouraged the House of Lords," to take the course it did under Lyndhurst's guidance,

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 101 *et seq.*

† Campbell's "Lute," vol. ii. p. 65.

but this is quite inconsistent with Lyndhurst's own declaration.* Lyndhurst did not dare to move the rejection of the Bill, but he pursued a Fabian-like policy, and with his usual consummate dexterity and versatility—moved and carried amendments going to the root and foundation of the measure. The Bill, as sent back by the Lords to the Commons was an entirely different measure from that which the Commons had sent up to the Lords. There were signs that the feeling of May, 1832, would rise again in August, 1835. Lyndhurst quailed before the rising storm. The Whigs were firm on all important points. Peel supported them, Lyndhurst and his followers saw no way out of the difficulty but to submit, and the Bill, substantially as it left the House of Commons, became the law of the land †

And what has been the result? The Conservative but dispassionate witness on whom we have before relied, tells us:—

“The Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 marked a new epoch in the history of English local government. The measure gave municipal government as it now is to upwards of 200 English towns. It was adopted by Manchester first, and there, as well as wherever it was adopted subsequently, it commenced to diffuse an entirely new spirit. It brought home, or it has since served to bring home, the sense of citizenship to all who are living under it. The institutions which have directly been its products have generated an intense spirit of corporate energy and freedom; a new motive has been given for local improvements, and a fresh incentive to private and public beneficence. . . .

“An ordinary town council displays an ability in debate quite equal to that witnessed in the House of Commons when sitting in committee on some question of domestic legislation. Naturally, the political influences and advantages of such municipal training as this are considerable. The citizen who has served his apprenticeship to the active work of the Corporation, who has borne a prominent part in the criticism and advocacy of local measures in the council, who has worked actively on the committees to which he has been elected, has received a valuable preliminary training as a member of the Imperial Legislature. On the other hand, though, this very training may

* “The Epoch of Reform,” p. 133. *Ibid.* p. 135. *Conf.* Lyndhurst's Speech, 30 “Hansard,” 1351. “Lives of the Chancellors,” vol. viii. p. 108.

† The history of the passage of the Bill through the Houses will be found in “The Epoch of Reform,” c. ix.; Poor Law and Municipal Reform, p. 127 *et seq.*; “Lives of the Chancellors,” vol. viii., p. 103 *et seq.*, p. 469; “The Biographical Sketch of Lyndhurst” in “Mornings of the Recess,” reprinted from the *Times*, vol. ii., pp. 28 to 31; Greville's “Journal,” vol. iii. c. xxxiii.; “Fifty Years of the House of Lords,” c. vi.: “Municipal and Educational Reform,” p. 68 *et seq.* We are promised an official biography of Lord Lyndhurst by Sir Theodore Martin, the Prince Consort's apologist. We await with curiosity the “Apologia” which Sir Theodore will offer for Lyndhurst's conduct between 1835 and 1841, the most unprincipled profligate and disreputable in modern politics.

enable him to take a broader and more comprehensive view of the wants and institutions of England: though it is quite certain that it will prevent his ignoring, as there always is more or less of a tendency in members of Parliament to ignore, that complex provincial system which lies outside the metropolis, it is beset by certain obvious drawbacks. The man thus educated grows up indeed with activity, developed ambitions, and with invigorated capacities. But, strongly convinced that the provincial corporation is the true unit of imperial government, he may be apt to forget that the same positive certainty and precision are not possible in imperial as in municipal affairs, that when the complexity of the subject-matter is infinitely increased, the method of procedure which was once applicable is applicable no longer, and that the burden of larger principles cannot be supported in the same attitude which was adequate to maintain the affairs of a town. Yet, if he has a native elasticity of mind, he will soon adapt himself to the new conditions. Municipal statesmanship will prove but a transient phase of his political development, and he will gradually become a power in the House of Commons by the exercise of the same gifts, accommodated to the changed circumstances, that have secured for him pre-eminence in his own municipality.*

Two illustrations of the good and bad effects respectively of municipal trainings for Parliamentary duties occur to our mind. Richard Cobden served his political apprenticeship as one of the Aldermen of the newly created Corporation of Manchester. In the proceedings for its incorporation he was the moving spirit,† and his Parliamentary career attests the value of a municipal training. On the other hand, of its drawbacks this is an example: One of the most recently elected members of the House of Commons, who has served several times the office of mayor in the town where he resides, after a few weeks' experience of the House of Commons, told an astonished audience of friends and neighbours that "as a place of business he considered the House far inferior to the town council over which he had the honour to preside." His friends will be agreeably surprised if he displays "a native elasticity of mind," which will enable him to escape from the transient phase of municipal statesmanship and become a power in the House of Commons.

The social effect of municipal reform has been great and beneficial. Mr. Molesworth, in his "History of England," points out—

"That the Act had one most valuable though indirect effect, which was not contemplated perhaps by its authors. By putting an end to

* "England," chapter v., *Municipal Government*, pp. 56, 62, 63; the whole chapter is worth reading.

† Morley's "Life of Cobden," vol. i. p. 122 *et seq.*

‡ Mr. C. Campbell Ross, M.P. for St. Ives, and Mayor of Penzance.

the rights of apprenticeship and exclusive trading, it struck off one fetter on industry, as the Poor-law, in dealing with settlements, had struck off another. Both of them, by preventing men from trading and working where they would, interfered most mischievously with the freedom of labour.”*

We must bring this over-long article to a close, and we cannot do so more appropriately than in the words of the most brilliant of the Parliamentary orators who supported the great measure the jubilee of which we celebrate: Macaulay—“after twenty-four hours’ most diligent consideration of its general principles”—uttered these memorable words: “I have no hesitation in pronouncing it a wise, noble, and comprehensive measure, skilfully framed for the healing of great distempers, for the securing at once of the public liberties, and of the public repose, and for the reconciling and knitting together of all the orders of the State.”†

Fifty years experience of the working of the measure sets its seal to the truth of this prophetic judgment, and establishes the foresight and statesmanship of the speaker.

NOTE.—The Appendix C. “The Reform Agony Week,” to the biography of “James Mill,” by Professor Bain. to which we have before referred, contains interesting particulars of the part taken by Francis Place and Joseph Parkes during the crisis of May, 1832. It establishes the fact that it was Place who instigated the issuing of the memorable placard “Go for Gold and Stop the Duke,” of which Sir John Cam Hobhouse said, “*That’s the settler that has done it!*”

* Quoted by Mr. McCarthy: “Epoch of Reform,” p. 133. The Poor-law was in fact the first fruits of Reform in Parliament, *vide* “Epoch,” &c., c. ix. p. 121.

† Speech, March 2, 1831, on motion for leave to introduce the Bill, “Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches,” p. 483, edition 1871.



ART. VII.—THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

1. *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.* 1831–82.
2. *Annual Addresses of the Presidents of the British Association.* 1831–82.
3. *Addresses of the Presidents of Sections at the Meetings of the Association.* 1831–82.

HAVING successfully attained its scientific jubilee last year at the meeting in York, where it was first ushered into existence, the British Association for the Advancement of Science has continued its career towards accomplishing a centenary, with marked success at Southampton this year. Reviewing the past half-century since the foundation of the Association, the inquiring mind descries a vista of scientific and mental advancement that not only records the transactions of its own operations, but extends to those of the civilized world in general. Its advent occurred at a time when steam traffic on land and sea was struggling for its supremacy over all other modes of locomotion, in which it has succeeded as a victorious conqueror. At that period electricity emerged from an obscure experimental life in the laboratory to a full-fledged existence, under the divining rod of the immortal Faraday, who discovered the volta-electric or current induction; while Gauss and Weber, at Göttingen, actually established an electric telegraph, about two miles long. These discoveries were the precursors of that agency which has now become a household word, in conveying instantaneous thought and language, and promises to be the solar illuminator in the darkness of our nocturnal life.

These are among the most modern elements of scientific discovery that have engaged the attention of members, but other profound subjects of antiquity, together with their later development, have not been neglected in the numerous discourses delivered. Viewing the special subjects treated in the different sections, we find almost an encyclopædia of science coming within the grasp of the human intellect, in the papers read at them. Among these branches into which the main philosophic stream is divided, there have been learned discourses on the most ancient mathematical sciences that have engrossed the studies of *savans* since the eras of Euclid and Aristotle. These

and other sages have directed the way for succeeding generations to cultivate the exact and natural sciences that have developed into wondrous fields of fact and theory in our own age. To them we are bound to acknowledge their might of mind which produced the sparks that first illuminated the dark mysteries of science. What would be the sum of modern investigation if the past was ignored, and we had to begin *de novo* at the commencement of a new age? In all probability it would be uphill work, and acrimonious disputations to every step in the ladder of progress between pretentious dissentients. It becomes the modesty of the genuine man of science to acknowledge the benefits derived from the ancient progenitors of wisdom. To the honour of the founders and members of the British Association this has been held as the leading tenet of their scientific creed. Each and all of its most distinguished disciples have upon appropriate occasions referred back to the days of antiquity, and later ages, when pioneer philosophers advocated and advanced the cause of science; while they deprecated those who lauded the progress of the present over the past. On this point Professor Andrews, the President of the meeting at Glasgow in 1876, remarked at the commencement of his Address:—

“The task of addressing this Association, always a difficult one, is not rendered easier when the meeting is held in a place which presents the rare combination of being at once an ancient seat of learning and a great centre of modern industry. Time will not permit me to refer to the distinguished men who in early days have left here their mark behind them; and I regret it the more, as there is a growing tendency to exaggerate the value of later discoveries, and to underrate the achievements of those who have lived before us.”

Twenty-five men of mark in various upper grades of society, from doctors to dukes, have filled the presidential chair, indicating that the objects of the Association, and the tenour of the prelections, have been acceptable to the ranks of noblemen and distinguished officers, such as the Dukes of Devonshire, Buccleuch, and Argyll, the Earl of Harrowby, and General Sabine; learned men, knighted for their high merits, including Sir W. G. Armstrong, Sir Wm. R. Grove, Sir Joseph D. Hooker, Sir Wm. Thomson, Sir John Hawkshaw, Sir A. C. Ramsay, and Sir J. Lubbock, Bart.; professors in various universities and educational institutions, comprising the well-known names of Dr. Richard Owen, Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Allen Thomson, Dr. T. Andrews, Dr. Allman, Tyndall, Huxley, Williamson, Stokes, W. Spottiswoode, President of the Royal Society; C. W. Siemens, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., and the Rev. T. R. Robinson, D.D. The obituary of the Presidents includes all the pioneer projectors of the Association, who presided at the early meetings; so that

new members have been elected to the chair, some of whom were mere boys when the veteran leaders first marshalled their philosophic forces in the army of science. However, it cannot be said that the *prestige* of the post has deteriorated under the command of these subalterns, who have been trained in the sectional chairs.

In taking a cursory review of the various subjects treated at the sectional meetings before their Sub-Presidents, we find the whole arcana of science laid under contribution to carry out the general scheme propounded by the founders of the Association, which embraced also the amenities of its meetings. With a prescient knowledge of human nature, they saw that to make it a financial success it was prudent to render the meetings as attractive as possible, so that the general public might be induced to become Associates for the time being, if not yearly or life members. By arranging a skilful programme, to be carried out under the active administration of a paid Secretary and other officials, the outside public were invited to take an interest in its scientific proceedings, by setting up a sort of social relationship between the Members and Associates, so that in a measure they might practise gastronomy and gaiety between the intervals of profound prelections.

Hence arose the rule that excursions out of doors, with refreshments by the way, and soirées indoors, having a buffet where light viands are served. To the stern philosopher this was held as an innovation on the rites of the temple of science, but the more liberal-minded professors and students of both sexes considered that Epicurus would be a fitting Mentor to advise them in studying the philosophy of Plato. The result was that many who knew little or nothing of science flocked to the meetings where the pabulum prepared was administered to both body and mind. And though the host of male and female Associates aided science only as listeners, they assisted materially in subscribing great part of the funds that enabled the Association to keep afloat. It was thus that the founders and their successors in the administration have been encouraged to persevere in the original schème to mingle philosophy with food and female society. Otherwise, a bare convention of members, restricted to the masculine gender, without the "feast of reason and the flow of soul," with nothing but rigid rules for the guidance of the meetings, might have been swamped at the beginning, or lived a lingering life in semi-obscurity.

As a rule, men of scientific attainments, acquired by the pure love of study, with a slender purse, are poor men, and few or no societies, composed of such members, can maintain their meetings, unless on the humblest scale. It is by the subscriptions of

the wealthy "Fellows," that the oldest and most flourishing of British societies hold their sway over the smaller fry. Examples of these may be noted in the Royal Society and the Geographical Society, where the bulk of those who add the coveted initials to their names have scarcely any pretension to a knowledge of physics or geography in the abstract, which these associations are formed to expound. No one observed this better than the late Sir Roderick Murchison, who engrafted the principal of public pecuniary subscribers on the list of the latter Society, entitling the contributor to assume the mystic letters, F.R.G.S. He was also one of the chief supporters for adopting the plan of inviting non-scientific members and associates to join the British Association, by an attractive programme.

Whatever be said as to the enjoyment of freedom by the Associates, who are not elected, or are bound by any regulations beyond the purchase of a ticket, the proceedings have always been conducted with decorum. A leading feature in the subject-matter of the papers read, and discourses delivered, is their freedom from any objectionable passages. It may be mentioned that, if such appear, they are expunged by committees who supervise them before delivery, or return them if rejected; so that not a sentence is allowed that might offend the most delicate listener, while all religious or political allusions are discountenanced. Perhaps the only approach to controversy is of the mildest character, during the discussion of some abstruse point that never raises the ire or indignation of the audience. Hence the number of ladies who by their presence grace the meetings of the Association, and listen quietly to the discourses or essays.

Happily the days are past when the Huttonian and Wernerian theories of the plutonic or pluvial origin of strata in the earth's crust, created a controversy of the most virulent kind among *savans* who professed to be platonic philosophers; while presumptuous charlatans treated the wondrous fossil records of geology as simply plastic freaks of Nature. We can afford to laugh at their ephemeral discussions and speculations, as perhaps future generations may smile at the dogmatic opposition to the truths of profound wisdom and discoveries made in our day, such as the frivolous arguments advanced against the Darwinian doctrine of "Evolution," which are already being relegated to the limbo of lies. No doubt that doctrine was severely dealt with at the meetings of the British Association, but due respect was paid to the eminent naturalist by his opponents, who could not but recognize the modesty of Darwin's arguments in support of his profound theory; while Wallace, Huxley, and other exponents of the doctrine fought manfully for its pre-eminence over a jumble of hypotheses that burst like bubbles, when this

solid ball of genius scattered them before the winds of debate. Nowadays, the meetings pass over without any serious scientific disputes, while a pacific sentiment pervades the papers, and the peripatetic excursions are carried out in a gentlemanly manner.

In reviewing the reports for the first fifty sessions we find that many of the meetings present some general scientific feature characteristic of its proceedings; and these, in a measure, have been foreshadowed by the Presidents in their Addresses, alluding to prominent subjects for treatment. Sometimes, astronomy is the leading theme, elevating the disquisitions on that supreme of all sciences, and carrying the minds of the members beyond this sublunary sphere. Sometimes, terrestrial topics enchain their intellects by investigating the latest discoveries in geology, or geographical exploration, elucidated by the presence of one or more renowned explorers. Sometimes, the aerial envelope of the earth with its weather changes is the practical postulate for inquiry; and, anon, the researches by scientific navigators into the formerly supposed unfathomable ocean, with its myriads of molluscs building up its bed, are described and illustrated by expeditionary *savans*. Sometimes, the volcanic forces which have rendered the earth habitable to air-breathing creatures is the thrilling theme, when some great earthquake or eruption asserts the instability of rocks supposed to be immovable. Sometimes, the natural history of the beings that breathe on the land, and those that respire in the sea, absorb the general attention, or the vegetable kingdom evolves botanical treatises for the edification of those who study that delightful science. And last, but not least, the yet undeveloped powers of electricity lead to demonstrations of light and the principles of motion, undreamt of by the wisest of the past generation, which is now understood by the least scientific Associates of the British Association, while the discourses on discoveries in the application of gases render the Chemical Section at times the leading topics of the meetings. Other sciences, not enumerated, tend to fill up the time with essays of specific instruction for the delectation of their authors; but in harmony with each meeting as a whole, so that the ensemble is attuned in its parts, like those of a grand opera, where the chorus forms the fittest setting for a solo.

Perhaps the least known to the general public, yet one of the most worthy of the Presidents, was Professor Thomas Andrews, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., and Hon. F.R.S.E., who presided at Glasgow, in 1876, and who is already alluded to in the opening of our paper:—

“Of his antecedents one might sum up what was characteristic of Dr. Andrews' position among the great scientific men of the period

by stating that he was discovered by his discoveries. Even were Faraday still alive we should make bold to say that there was no other great scientific man that, through the whole of a long career, kept himself so free from worldly ambition, indeed, even unknown to the world, who, like Andrews, worked and worked, and did great things, merely because he could not help acting as the spirit moved him. It does not lessen his glory that he is not known to the multitude, but being elected President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science he cannot fail to become a light among his scientific colleagues."

This was the notice that introduced the modest man to the meeting, adding his achievements in scientific discovery as follows:—Researches on the Heat Disturbances involved in Chemical Reaction; Researches on Ozone, and on the Behaviour of Gases under the Exceptional Conditions of Temperature and Pressure.

That meeting was one of the most successful and numerous attended of any on the records of the Association. The total number of tickets issued was 2,702, made up as follows:—Old life members, 208; new life members, 315; new annual members, 206; associates, 1,231; ladies, 687; foreign members, 24. The money drawn amounted to £2,919. Grants for scientific purposes were made to the amount of £1,600. Among the eminent members present were the Duke of Argyle, Sir Wyville Thomson, just returned from the *Challenger* Expedition; Commander Cameron also arrived after his exploration in Africa; Dr. Carpenter, Sir Wm. Thomson, and many other professors.

From the tenour of the President's Address the leading characteristics of the meeting were, Astronomical, Aërial, and Aquatic. In adverting to the "Transit of Venus" observed that year, he said:—

"The passage of Venus over the sun's disk is an event which cannot be passed over without notice, although many of the circumstances connected with it have already become historical. It was to observe this rare astronomical phenomenon, on the occasion of its former occurrence in 1769, that Captain Cook's memorable voyage to the Pacific was undertaken, in the course of which he explored the coast of New South Wales, and added that great country to the possessions of the British Crown.

"As the transit of Venus gives the most exact method of calculating the distance of the earth from the sun, extensive preparations were made on the last occasion for observing it at selected stations—from Siberia in the northern to Kerguelen's Land in the southern latitudes. The great maritime powers vied with each other to turn the opportunity to the best account; and Lord Lindsay had the spirit to equip at his own expense the most complete expedition that left the shores of this country. Some of the most valuable stations in southern

latitudes were desert islands, rarely free from mist or tempest, and without harbours or shelter of any kind. The landing of the instruments was in many cases attended with great difficulty and even personal risk.

"Photography lent its aid to record automatically the progress of the transit. The observations of M. Janssen at Nagasaki in Japan were of special interest. Looking through a violet-blue glass, he saw Venus two or three minutes before the transit began, having the appearance of a pale round spot near the edge of the sun. Immediately after contact the segment of the planet's disk, as seen on the face of the sun, formed with what remained of this spot a circle. The pale spot when first seen was, in short, a partial eclipse of the solar corona, which was thus proved beyond dispute to be a luminous atmosphere surrounding the sun. Indications were at the same time obtained of the existence of an atmosphere around Venus."

From the Astronomical subject, President Andrews proceeded to consider that difficult question in Meteorology which treats of *Ærolites*:—

"Our knowledge of *ærolites*," he remarked, "has of late years been greatly increased; and I cannot occupy a few moments of your time more usefully than by briefly referring to the subject. So recently as 1860 the most remarkable meteoric fall on record, not even excepting that of *L'Aigle*, occurred near the village of New Concord, Ohio. On a day when no thunder-clouds were visible, loud sounds were heard resembling claps of thunder, followed by a large fall of meteoric stones, some of which were seen to distinctly strike the earth. One stone above fifty pounds in weight buried itself to the depth of two feet in the ground, and when dug out was found to be still warm.

"Of the meteoric origin of these masses of iron, or rather an alloy of iron and nickel, there is little room for doubt, although no record exists of their fall. Sir Edward Sabine, whose life has been devoted with rare fidelity to the pursuit of science, and to whose untiring efforts the Association largely owes the position it now occupies, was the pioneer of the newer discoveries in meteoric science. Eight-and-fifty years ago he visited, with Captain Ross, the northern shores of *Baffin's Bay*, and made the interesting discovery that the knife-blades used by the *Esquimaux* in the vicinity of the Arctic Highlands were formed of meteoric iron. This observation was afterwards fully confirmed; and scattered blocks of meteoric iron have been found from time to time in *Baffin's Bay*. But it was not till 1870 that the meteoric treasures of *Baffin's Bay* were truly discovered. In that year *Nordenskiöld* found at a part of the shore, difficult of approach even in moderate weather, enormous blocks of meteoric iron, the largest weighing nearly twenty tons, imbedded in a ridge of basaltic rock. The interest of this observation is greatly enhanced by the circumstance that these masses of meteoric iron, like the basalt with

which they are associated, do not belong to the present geological epoch, but must have fallen long before the actual arrangement of land and sea existed—during, in short, the Middle Tertiary, or Miocene period of Lyell. The meteoric origin of these iron masses from Oviak has been called in question by Lawrence Smith; and it is no doubt possible that they may have been raised by upheaval from the interior of the earth. I have indeed myself shown by a magneto-chemical process that metallic iron, in particles so fine that they have never yet been actually seen, is everywhere diffused through the Miocene basalt of Slieve Mish in Antrim, and may likewise be discovered by careful search in almost all igneous and many metamorphic rocks.”

In referring to recent scientific expeditions, he gave precedence to that under the direction of Sir Wyville Thomson, in H.M.S. *Challenger*, for the purpose of investigating the natural phenomena of the deep sea; he stated that the safe return of the ship, after an absence of three and a half years, was a subject of general congratulation. That our knowledge of the various forms of animal life, and of the remains of animal life, which occur, it is now known, over large tracts of the bed of the ocean, is chiefly derived from the observations made in the *Challenger*, and in the previous deep-sea expeditions which were organized by Sir Wyville Thomson and Dr. Carpenter. The physical observations, especially those on the temperature of the ocean, which were systematically conducted throughout the whole voyage of the vessel, have already supplied valuable data for the resolving of the great question of ocean-currents. Upon this question, which has been discussed with singular ability, but under different aspects, by Dr. Carpenter and Mr. Croll, he could not attempt then to enter; nor would he venture to forestall, by any crude analysis of his own, the narrative which Sir Wyville Thomson had kindly undertaken to give of his own achievements, and of those of his staff during their long scientific cruise.

Following the opinions expressed by President Andrews, we abstain from giving even a *précis* of that undertaking, especially as our limited space precludes us from doing justice to it. At the same time it accords with the plan of this paper to allude to the results shown by Capt. F. J. Evans, C.B., F.R.S., the President of the Section discussing Geography on the occasion. Reviewing that branch of science known as the “Physical Geography of the Sea,” he said:—

“We had now reached a new starting-point in reference to many of our conceptions of the physics of the globe. There was opened up, for example, as fair a general knowledge of the depression of the bed of large oceanic areas below the sea level as of the lands of the adjacent continents above the universal zero line. We learned for the first time

by the *Challenger's* results that the unbroken range of ocean in the Southern Hemisphere is much shallower than the Northern Seas, and that it has no features approaching in character those profound depths of 27,000 and 23,500 feet found in the abysses of the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans. One grand feature in common to all oceans was this—that the fringe of the seaboard of the great continents and islands from the depth of a few hundred feet below the sea level was, as a rule, abruptly precipitous to depths of 10,000 and 12,000 feet. Vast in extent as were these depressed regions—for they must recollect that they occupied an area three times greater than the dry land of the globe, and that a temperature just above the freezing-point of Fahrenheit prevailed in the dense liquid layers covering them—life was sustained even in the most depressed and coldest parts; while in those areas equivalent in depression below the sea level to that of European Alpine regions above, animal life abundantly prevailed, structural forms, complicated in arrangement, elegant in appearance, and often lively in colour, clothed extensive districts; other regions apparently formed the sepulchral resting-place of organisms which, when living, existed near their surface; their skeletons, as it had been graphically put, thus ‘raining down in one continuous shower through the intervening miles of sea-water.’ Geological formations, stamped with the permanency of ages, common to us denizens of the dry land, appeared too in these regions to be in the course of evolution; forces involving the formation of mineral concretions on a grand scale were at work; life was abundant everywhere in the surface and the sub-surface waters of the oceans; in fine, life and death, reproduction and decay, were active in whatever depths had been attained.”

In the same Section at this meeting reference was made to the successful accomplishment of his land journey by Commander Cameron across the tropical regions of Southern Africa; the details of which he left to the explorer himself, who subsequently related the salient points of the country and people he passed on his way, to a numerous and appreciative audience. As a rule, no meetings are so attractive to the general run of members and associates as those where geographical discovery is the theme, and a new successful field of exploration is described *in propria persona* by the explorer. Such were the meetings when Livingstone, under the guidance of Sir Roderick Murchison, first recounted his geographical discoveries in South Africa, after a sojourn there of sixteen years, when he was almost unknown to the outer world; while he endeavoured to solve the ancient mysterious problem concerning the sources of the Nile.

The results of these extraordinary wanderings of a missionary, with a Bible in one hand to convert the black heathen, and a sextant in the other to observe the latitudes and longitudes of an unknown region, are matters of geographical history, and Christian fortitude, that redound to the honour of British explorers,

as unexcelled achievements in modern times. It is not our purpose in this paper to revert to the discovery of the great lake sources of the Nile, so bravely and scientifically carried out by Baker, Speke, and subsequent explorers of South Africa; but to the finding of the long-lost veteran Dr. Livingstone in search of those conduits of a mighty river, who was numbered with the martyrs of science in his quest, forms a chapter in geographical history that will remain a record of British geographical enterprise for all time. The demonstration of this *denouement* of a scientific drama was developed at the Brighton meeting of the British Association in 1872.

On this occasion the knowledge that the characteristic of the meeting would be geographical, brought together a rare assemblage of distinguished geographers and interested Associates, to witness the discussion of the statement made by the most energetic newspaper correspondent of the day from America, who found the lost explorer, and established for himself a character for geographical research which afterwards culminated in the discovery of the vast region through whence the upper affluents of the Congo or Zaire flow to feed that great stream, hitherto a blank on the maps of South Africa.

The appearance on the platform of Mr. H. M. Stanley, the courageous traveller who had overcome the danger of the pestilential region through which he penetrated his way, devastated by native insurrections, and ultimately to clasp the hand of the Scottish explorer in the unknown lands of Africa, was, as it ought to have been, enthusiastically received by the members and associates of the British Association; excepting a paltry sprinkling of cavillers, who treated his statement with doubt and disagreeable discussions, because he happened to be an American and not an Englishman, sent out as a journalist, by the munificent proprietor of the *New York Herald*, Mr. Bennett, with an order to find Livingstone at any cost, and succour him if found alive. On this occasion Stanley satisfactorily proved by an unvarnished tale how he succeeded in his mission, in finding the lost explorer, reduced to distress, whom he relieved, and afterwards continued his journey with Livingstone along the unexplored shores of Lake Tanganyika.

Those who know the buildings of Brighton where George IV. erected a seraglio in the Oriental style, will remember the spacious apartments of that palace. These were all devoted to the meetings, and served to give *éclat* to them by their elegance. The writer of this paper was present on that occasion, and considers that it was one of, if not the most successful display of the surroundings and social amenities of the Association, excelling all others before it, and not surpassed since. There the popular

science of geography was in the ascendant; and the guest of the long-lost Livingstone formed the leading subject of discourse. As it was known that, in addition to Livingstone's own despatches, papers were to be read by Stanley on his exploration of the northern end of Lake Tanganyika in company with Dr. Livingstone; and by Colonel Grant, the companion and associate of Speke in the discovery of the Victoria Nyanza, there was a great assemblage in the hall under the dome where the meeting took place.

That spacious rotunda contained seats for two thousand spectators, and these were filled, by not only the *élite* of the British Association, but dignitaries of English and foreign fame. Among the latter were the late Emperor of the French, the Empress Eugenie, and the luckless Prince Imperial. They were conducted to their seats in the front row, facing the platform. Their reception by the crowded company was of the warmest character. When Mr. Stanley arrived he was introduced to the Imperial party by Mr. Galton, the President of the Section on Geography, and immediately afterwards ascended the platform, where he was received with loud cheering, which was renewed most heartily upon rising to read his papers. Beside him sat the black boy Kalulu, who had been in the employ of Livingstone.

The Chairman, in announcing the programme of proceedings for the day, explained the circumstances connected with Dr. Livingstone's discoveries previous to Mr. Stanley's expedition. About six years ago (1866) the rumour reached England of Dr. Livingstone's death; but Mr. Young's expedition had entirely disproved that. Since that time letters had been received from Livingstone himself, in 1867, 1868, and 1869. The road from the east coast of Africa to Ujiji was first opened up by Burton and Speke, who found that at that time it was a road along which there was no difficulty in sending supplies, and supplies were actually sent to Ujiji along the road in accordance with the request which Livingstone had made in one of his letters. In 1869, however, the cholera broke out, and afterwards wars commenced which closed, or almost closed, the road for caravans. The Royal Geographical Society were considering what steps they should take, when they heard that Mr. Stanley had actually started. Supplies and letters were therefore placed in Mr. Stanley's hands to deliver to Dr. Livingstone, and not wishing in any way to compete with an existing expedition, they took no further steps, until a rumour, happily unfounded, reached England that Mr. Stanley's expedition was broken up, and he himself prostrate with fever. They therefore sent out their expedition in December, 1871, but at that very time Mr. Stanley had shaken hands with Livingstone at Ujiji, and when the expedition arrived

on the coast of Africa, the advanced return party of Mr. Stanley appeared, and in a few days Mr. Stanley himself.

The story of how the young and aged traveller met; how they started together on a voyage of discovery over Lake Tanganyika, which Livingstone termed a picnic compared to his trying travels; how he discovered a new species of gorilla, fairer in the skin than the one discovered in north tropical Africa by M. Du Chaillu; these and many other incidents form a thrice-told tale with which the public are acquainted, and which it is not necessary to enter into. Suffice it to give the following views of an eminent geographer who was present on the occasion:—

“Sir Henry Rawlinson said, he was glad to have the opportunity of bearing testimony to the great value which the Royal Geographical Society attached to Mr. Stanley’s services, and also of expressing their high opinion entertained of his merit as a traveller. In forcing his way from the sea to Tanganyika, through a country desolated by sickness and war, successfully braving all dangers and difficulties, in order to succour Livingstone, animated by the hope of doing so, and acting in the spirit of honourable loyalty to his employers, reflected the greatest credit upon him personally, and on the country which had the honour of calling him citizen. As there had been some misconception on this subject, he took the present opportunity of disclaiming on the part of the Royal Geographical Society the slightest feeling of jealousy in this matter. He was especially glad to refer to the Address he delivered to the Geographical Society at the commencement of the last session, in which he announced Mr. Stanley’s journey into the interior of Africa, wished him every possible success, and stated that, if he succeeded in discovering and rescuing Livingstone, he would be received in this country with the same cordial spirit and the same honour which would have been conferred on any Englishman who had done it. While as Englishmen they all honoured Mr. Stanley as a geographer, they attached especial importance to the work Mr. Stanley and Dr. Livingstone had been engaged upon—namely, the exploration of Inner Africa.

“Livingstone had, no doubt, achieved a great geographical success in discovering the great interior system of river beds, but from his letters it was evident to the very last he had strong misgivings about his being on the Nile basin. Over and over again he said it had occurred to him that he might have been on the Congo. Why? No doubt on account of the tale told by one of his own instruments. He said distinctly in his letters that he followed down this river system from the water’s bed 7,000 feet high to a point four degrees south, where his aneroid barometer showed he had reached a level of about 2,000 feet. He knew that was the level ascribed to Gondokoro—he said so himself—and consequently it must have occurred to him that the Nile could not run 1,000 miles without any difference of level. What did really become of this great river system, which he had discovered, it was impossible to say authoritatively.”

This refers to the Lualaba and its affluents, which Stanley subsequently explored, and astonished the world by his intrepid voyage down that stream, over a succession of cataracts, where he lost his right-hand white men, and where his brave black fellows were exposed to hostile and sanguinary natives; but he himself was victorious, and traced the river to its outlet on the west coast, proving it to be the upper sources of the Congo, as surmised by Livingstone. At the meeting that expedition was in contemplation, and the judicious remarks of Sir Henry Rawlinson acted like oil poured on troubled waters, so the controversy on the topic, which at one time was becoming acrimonious, dwindled down to silence.

During that year (1872) the Japanese Ambassador Iwakura arrived in England, and was invited down to Brighton, together with his colleagues of the Embassy, and Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister in Japan, under whose guidance they had been placed by Earl Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. A special object of their visit to the meeting of the British Association was to hear a paper delivered in the Geographical Section, on the "Topography of Yedo," the Japanese capital, afterwards named Tokio, which was pleasing to the members of the Embassy who were present, though they understood but little of the English, as the reader had a large map of the city, comprising forty square feet, constructed in Yedo, showing the creditable position of Japanese cartography. The following is from a printed report of the proceedings on the occasion, and a summary of the paper:—

"On the 20th of August, a paper on the 'City of Yedo,' was read before the British Association, at Brighton, by Mr. Samuel Mossman—formerly editor of the *North China Herald*, and who has been recently in Japan. During the reading, the Japanese ambassadors and their suite, accompanied by Sir Henry Parkes, occupied seats in front of the platform specially placed there. Mr. Mossman referred frequently to a native plan of the City of Yedo, on a scale of eight inches to the mile, and covering a superficies of forty square feet. In describing the position of the city, and alluding to its history, he stated that the ancient name of Yedo signified 'River's Door,' derived from its geographical situation at the entrance to the Ogava, or 'Great River,' which divided the town into two parts. In 1868, its title was altered to Tokio, or 'Eastern Capital,' on the Mikado taking up his permanent residence there, after the expulsion and deposition of the Shioogon, or Tycoon, whose ancestors had ruled with undivided sway over its inhabitants for many centuries. According to the plan he now exhibited, prepared by native surveyors, the circumference of the city had been computed approximately at twenty-four miles, and its area at thirty-six square miles. Yedo proper was divided into three parts,—namely, the centre, called *Siro*, 'the Castle;' *Soto Siro*, 'outside

the castle; and Midzi, or the town and suburbs. Siro, with a circumference of nearly five miles, and covering an area of two square miles, contained the palaces of the late Shiogoon, now appropriated by the Mikado, the legitimate sovereign of Japan. These, surrounded by ramparts and a moat, formed a strong citadel. Outside these ramparts were a second and third line of defence, formed by high walls and several canals. In these quarters were the palaces of the great *Daimios* of feudal nobility, the halls of the Legislature, and the Council of State, and the offices of the Administration. From the palace of the Mikado, which rose in the centre high above the others, rose a square tower, of several stories, richly ornamented. The two royal palaces had not, however, the character of magnificence which had been ascribed to them. On the contrary, they exhibited that entire simplicity of furnishing and decoration, both within and without, which distinguished all Japanese buildings, except temples. Within the precincts of Siro there was neither dwelling nor public edifice inhabited by ordinary citizens, the nobles and their retinues alone being privileged to reside in this imperial quarter. Almost every residence was surrounded by a moat, crossed by small bridges, leading into the main thoroughfares, where the canals were spanned by eighteen wide public bridges. By the side of the principal canal there was a picturesque promenade, and the walks round the castle were beautifully bordered with flowering plants, and the footpaths kept scrupulously clean. The palaces of the *Daimios* were plain, even to a fault, and all the stories among foreigners, regarding the splendour of the palaces, were mere fictions. Across the outer canal was the celebrated *Nip-pon Bashi*, or 'Bridge of Japan,' built of cedar wood, having balustrades ornamented with designs in copper. It was situated in the great street of Yedo, which is fifty paces wide, forming the central division of the *To-kai-do*, or national thoroughfare through the island of *Nip-pon* to Hakodadi, in the northern isle of Yesso, and in a south-west direction to Nagasaki, in the Isle Kiusiu, being a continuous road that would compare with our own turnpike roads, of not much less than a thousand miles in length. From this bridge all distances in the realm are calculated. The Japanese had from an early period recognized the advantages to be derived from good roads and the means of rapid communication between the provinces and the seat of Government.

"To the eastward of the castle was the business quarter, inhabited by the trading-classes. This large district was subdivided into seventy-eight sections, which can be isolated by large wooden gates during any commotion, and always guarded by an efficient police force. A great part of the remaining suburban district is inhabited by industrious agriculturists, neat little villages being dotted about the rice fields, vegetable gardens, and orchards. There were also some extensive pleasure grounds, and gardens for public entertainments. Here, also, were to be seen some extensive spacious domains and town residences of the great *Daimios*, such as Mito, Owari, and Kango. These covered a superficies of nearly three square miles, where

formerly the retainers of each nobleman, not less than ten thousand in number, were quartered in strong barracks. . . . Under the legitimate rule of the Mikado and his reformed Government, the prospects of the prosperity of Yedo under the new appellation of Tokio were most encouraging; and, with a continued progress in its public works, and the introduction of institutions on European models, the Japanese capital bade fair to be, in time, the London of the far East."

Sir Harry Parkes, at the conclusion of the paper, said—

"He was glad to have an opportunity of supplementing, by a few remarks, the excellent paper which had just been read. In the last few paragraphs Mr. Mossman had justly described Yedo as being in a transition state, the city sharing, of course, with the whole of Japan the great changes in that country. One of these changes which some might object to as interfering with the picturesque appearance of the capital, was the introduction of the railway from the seaboard. This, however, was but one of many improvements introduced by the present Government."

After giving a succinct account of the revolution which brought about these changes, and the prominent features of Japanese geography, together with the survey of the coast by British officers, he finished by saying:—

"The Japanese Government had shown themselves very liberal in assisting our marine surveyors. The sea between the Japanese isles and the mainland had been thoroughly surveyed, and the officers making the survey had always met with a warm and cordial reception from the people. We knew pretty well the outline of the coast, and what was now wanted for the benefit of Japan, not less than the benefit of other nations, was that the physical geography of the country should be studied. If they would make use of such knowledge as they could obtain from Europe, they would be able undoubtedly to turn the large resources of the country to good account. What had been done hitherto was a very good earnest of what would be accomplished. The very fact of these gentlemen from Japan being present justified him in saying this, seeing that the chief member of the mission had taken a part second to none in working out those great changes which had been spoken of, and who had been ably supported in that great work by his colleagues present. These gentlemen had come with the professed object of finding out how far what they had observed in this country was applicable to Japan, and in this fact he saw reason to hope that in future the foreign relations of Japan would be conducted on as liberal a footing as we desired."

Sir John Bowring, as the first British Plenipotentiary to the Court of Yedo, expressed his approbation of the views enunciated by Sir Harry Parkes; and said it was to him especially a source of the highest gratification to see a number of Japanese noblemen coming from their country, many thousand miles

away, and interesting themselves in the proceedings of the British Association.

The next noticeable meeting was at York last year, where the Association held their first gathering in 1831: hence it was the fiftieth anniversary or semi-centenary of its existence. None of the early founders were alive to honour the occasion, but their younger successors were there, such as Sir John Lubbock, who was inducted as President; Sir William Thomson, Professor Huxley, Professor Owen, Sir J. Hooker, Professor Roscoe, Professor Flower, Dr. Allman, Mr. Spottiswoode, Mr. A. C. Ramsay, and Mr. Herbert Spencer. Besides these home celebrities, Professor Barker, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was present, with the following members from the United States:—Dr. Asa Gray (Harvard), Professor Whitney (Beloit College), Mr. G. B. Eads, C.E. (St. Louis), Mr. Woolsey Johnson (Annapolis), Professor Marsh (Yale College), Dr. T. Craig (John Hopkins' University), and Mr. H. A. Rowland (Baltimore). With such an assemblage of scientific *savans*, and an auditory comprising upwards of two thousand members and associates, of whom five hundred were ladies, and seventeen foreigners, President Lubbock had a heavy task before him to command general attention, and he succeeded admirably in delivering his comprehensive and elaborate Address. Of course a retrospect of the past records of science since the first meeting of the Association, naturally fell to be comprised in it; and this was done with due regard to all those discussed in the Sections. But as an eminent naturalist, Sir John gave precedence to the physical sciences, and so did his *collaborateur*, Professor Huxley, in his Address on the Rise and Progress of Palæontology. Thus the characteristic of the meeting may be appropriately termed the Natural History Meeting. Accordingly the President, after expressing the thanks of the Association to the City of York for the welcome it had received, and its extreme satisfaction at being able to meet on its thirtieth anniversary in its mother city, he commenced to sum up in his Address the principal scientific results of the last half century, dwelling especially on those with which the Association was directly concerned, from which we extract the following brief paragraphs:—

“ Fifty years ago it was the general opinion that animals and plants came into existence just as we now see them. We took pleasure in their beauty; their adaptation to their habits and mode of life in many cases could not be overlooked or misunderstood. Nevertheless the book of Nature was like some richly illuminated missal, written in an unknown tongue, the graceful forms of the letters, the beauty of the colouring, excited our wonder and admiration; but of the true meaning little was known to us; indeed we scarcely realized that there

was any meaning to decipher. Now glimpses of the truth are gradually revealing themselves; we perceive that there is a reason—and in many cases we know what that reason is—for every difference in form, in size, and in colour; for every bone and every feather, almost for every hair. Moreover, every problem which is solved opens out vistas, as it were, of others perhaps even more interesting. With this great change the name of our illustrious countryman Darwin is intimately associated, and the year 1859 will always be memorable in science as having produced his great work on ‘The Origin of Species.’ In the previous year he and Wallace published short papers, in which they clearly state the theory of natural selection, at which they had simultaneously and independently arrived. We cannot wonder that Darwin’s views should at first have excited great opposition. Nevertheless from the first they have met with powerful support, especially in this country, from Hooker, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer. The theory is based on four axioms:—‘(1) That no two animals or plants in Nature are identical in all respects; (2) that the offspring tend to inherit the peculiarities of the parents; (3) that of those who come into existence, only a small number reach maturity; (4) that those which are, on the whole, best adapted to the circumstances in which they are placed are most likely to leave descendants.’ Darwin commenced this work by discussing the causes and extent of variability in animals, and the origin of domestic varieties; he showed the impossibility of distinguishing between varieties and species, and pointed out the wide differences which man has produced in some cases—as, for instance, in our domestic pigeons, all unquestionably descended from a common stock. He dwelt on the struggle for existence (which has since become a household word), and which, inevitably resulting in the survival of the fittest, tends gradually to adapt any race of animals to the conditions in which it occurs. While thus, however, showing the great importance of natural selection, he attributed to it no exclusive influence, but fully admitted that other causes—the use and disuse of organs, sexual selection, &c.—had to be taken into consideration.”

Then followed a disquisition on the doctrine of “Evolution,” which has become the basis of biological investigations by the principal professors and students of Natural History throughout the world. Sir John Lubbock stated that he commenced with that branch of the sciences because it was the one with which he was best conversant; but in his Address—the longest delivered at the Association—he reviewed every science coming under the purview of the different sections from A. to G., and gave a general account of the progress each had made during the previous fifty years. It opened up the business of the meeting with great *éclat* among the members and associates, and was heartily responded to by the Mayor and municipal authorities of York, who treated their visitors with unbounded hospitality, and brought to a fitting

conclusion the jubilee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

This year saw the beginning of a fresh departure on the road to the centennial goal, and, as if to illumine the onward path, it may be characterized as the Electric Light Meeting. Dr. Siemens, who occupied the President's chair, though born a foreigner, is a representative electrician, discoverer, and inventor in England, his adopted country, by the production of machinery to practically elucidate the principles he has propounded. With these objects in view the Council of the Association, in selecting Southampton as their next place of meeting hit happily upon the town most convenient to the metropolis, where not only the electric lights but the gas lights, on an improved principle, could be exhibited to the best advantage. These accessories to illustrate practically the papers read on the subjects, not only illuminated the halls within doors, but enlightened the town outside by the display of the electric light at the docks, and rows of Sugg's patent gas lamps along the leading thoroughfare, which turned the streets of the southern seaport into crowded promenades of delighted townspeople. The debatable question of the electric light versus the gas light, as a means of public and private illumination, formed a prominent part of the President's Address, which was received with general approval, from the impartiality of his views. He opened his Address by saying:—

“At this the first ordinary gathering in the second half century of the history of the Association, it behoved them to consider what were the strong points to rely upon for the continuance of a career of success and usefulness. The advancement of the last fifty years had rendered theory and practice so interdependent, that an intimate union between them was a matter of absolute necessity for our future progress. It was to the man of science who also gave attention to practical questions, and to the practitioner who devoted part of his time to the prosecution of strictly scientific investigations, that we owed the rapid progress of the present day, both merging more and more into one class—that of pioneers in the domain of Nature.”

After entering into the abstract principles of electric science, regarding the unit measures of the “practical system,” as distinguished from the “absolute system,” Dr. Siemens then continued to consider electric energy thus:—

“The largest and most extensive application of electric energy at the present time was to lighting, but, considering how much had been said and written of late, for and against this new illuminant, he would here confine himself to a few general remarks. The principal argument in favour of the electric light was furnished by its immunity from products of combustion, which not only heat the lighted apartments, but substitute carbonic acid gas and deleterious sulphur com-

pounds for the oxygen upon which respiration depends. The electric light was white instead of yellow; and that enabled them to see pictures, furniture, and flowers as by daylight. It supported growing plants, instead of poisoning them; and by its means they could carry on photography and many other industries at night as well as in the day. . . . It could no longer be a matter of reasonable doubt, therefore, that electric lighting would take its place as a public illuminant; and that even though its cost should be found greater than that of gas, it would be preferred for the lighting of drawing-rooms and dining-rooms, theatres, and concert-rooms, printing establishments, and factories, also the cabins and engine-rooms of passenger steamers. . . . Assuming the cost of electric light to be practically the same as gas, the preference for one or other would in each application be decided on its own ground of relative convenience; but he ventured to think that gas-lighting would hold its own as the poor man's friend. Gas was an institution of the utmost value to the artisan. It required hardly any attention, was supplied upon regulated terms, and gave with what should be a cheerful light, a genial warmth, which often saved the lighting of a fire. The time was, moreover, not far distant, he ventured to think, when both rich and poor would largely resort to gas as the most convenient, the cleanest, and the cheapest of heating agents; and when raw coal would be seen only at the colliery or the gas-works."

In the Addresses by the Presidents of Sections, the one on Geography, by Sir Richard Temple, bore away the palm. It was a comprehensive account of the "Plateau of Mid-Asia," and the ramifications of the rivers that derived their sources in that elevated table-land, which has been designated by the Asiatics as "The Roof of the World."

"This area is shaped somewhat of an irregular rhomboid," Sir Richard remarked, "completely enclosed by six grand ranges of mountains—namely, the Himalayas, looking south towards India; the Pamir, looking west towards Central Asia; the Altai, looking north towards Siberia; the Yablonoi, looking north-east towards eastern Siberia; the Yungling and the Inshan (inclusive of the Kingan), looking towards China. These several ranges preserve generally a considerable altitude, varying from 6,000 to 25,000 feet above sea-level, and reaching in the Himalayas to more than 29,000 feet."

An interesting discourse to the nautical community was delivered by Sir William Thomson, "On the Tides," in consequence of Southampton possessing the advantages of a double high water every morning and afternoon, or more properly speaking, a tide at each semi-diurnal revolution, that remains more or less at high water for an average of two hours. Referring to this phenomenon, Sir William said:—

"At Portland the tide was produced by a strong tidal current. Off Portland there was exceedingly little rise and fall, and what tide

done with this free discussion, which has passed into licensed discursiveness, and let us set the House of Commons 'on work,' in the words of the old Statute of Elizabeth."

Now there is a good deal of truth in this view of the matter, but it is just because there is a great deal of truth on either side that decision is difficult. We all of us in our lazy moods have some sympathy with that justice of the peace who thought hearing both sides of a case only confused his mind. But the whole truth is not with those who argue in the way indicated. The great poet was to create the taste by which he is to be enjoyed, and the House of Commons must make the public opinion that it is to represent. True, the debates in Parliament may modify the opinions of few of its members, to whom their hustings' pledges and their party allegiance are more than any arguments, and all the speeches may have no result when looked at in the light of the immediate vote, but that the debates are most important in influencing the opinions of the public, that the masses go to school to Parliament, and that the votes upon some other occasions may be, and will be, largely influenced by the debate upon this, no one who knows anything of politics can, for a moment, doubt. We say then unhesitatingly, that members are sent to Parliament not only to vote, but to speak, and that the House of Commons would fall far short of its duty, would indeed fail of its real usefulness, if it decided upon measures without discussion. It is, too, we would add, not only the wise words which are valuable in this regard, the foolish ones are just as valuable the other way. Under all the circumstances of the case then, we profess ourselves sincere advocates of almost unlimited freedom of speech, and we would suffer many things rather than see that great privilege, that paramount means of the inoculation of true ideas into the minds of men, that slow fermentation which ultimately leavens the whole lump of humanity with the truth, curtailed by a jot or a tittle.

But while we profess this creed, we admit that the question whether the freedom of discussion has not gone too far in the House of Commons is not by any means a frivolous one. Indeed there is a grave question whether a good deal of it is discussion—that is, honest argument—at all, but is not merely speaking against time with the view of resisting the will of the House, and postponing in time the measure which a small minority has not the power to resist on principle. Any candid reader who has taken an interest in the somewhat ugly sessions of recent Parliament cannot doubt that speech is being used not for the purpose of argument, but merely for the purpose of obstruction; that the Rules of the House, which were framed with a view to the con-

venient and speedy dispatch of business, are being used for the purpose of preventing the transaction of any business whatever; and that it is time an end was put to these disreputable tactics of an irreconcilable minority. We do not care to go into the history of this method of guerilla warfare. We may mention, however, that it was vigorously practised during the period—1830–32, when the obstructionists who opposed the passage of the Reform Bill were headed by Sir Robert Peel.* Still, minorities have generally had sufficient respect for themselves and for the House of Commons to refuse to bring themselves and that institution into the contempt of all wise men. But recently that sense of self-restraint seems again to have been lost to a certain section of the representatives of the people. Mr. Gladstone, in the speech in which, on the 20th of February, he moved the first of the “New Rules,”† as they are called, spoke of his experience of the way

* *Vide* Art. VI., pp. 451–2–3 of the present number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

† For the convenience of our readers we have appended the Rules as they appeared in the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons of the 7th of February, 1882.

I.—PROCEDURE.

Putting the Question.—1. That when it shall appear to Mr. Speaker, or to the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, during any Debate, to be the evident sense of the House, or of the Committee, that the Question be now put, he may so inform the House; and, if a Motion be made “That the Question be now put,” Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman, shall forthwith put such Question; and, if the same be decided in the affirmative, the Question under discussion shall be put forthwith: Provided that the Question shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a Division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than two hundred Members, or to have been opposed by less than forty Members.

Motions for Adjournment before Public Business.—2. That no Motion for the Adjournment of the House shall be made, except by leave of the House, before the Orders of the Day, or Notices of Motions, have been entered upon.

Debates on Motions for Adjournment.—3. That when a Motion is made for the Adjournment of a Debate, or of the House, during any Debate, or that the Chairman of a Committee do Report Progress, or do leave the Chair, the Debate thereupon shall be strictly confined to the matter of such Motion; and no Member, having spoken to any such Motion, shall be entitled to move, or second, any similar Motion during the same Debate, or during the same sitting of the Committee.

Divisions.—4. That when, before a Division, the decision of Mr. Speaker, or of the Chairman of a Committee, that the “Ayes” or “Noes” have it, is challenged, Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman, may call upon the Members challenging it to rise in their places; and, if they do not exceed twenty, he may forthwith declare the determination of the House, or of the Committee.

Irrelevance or Repetition.—5. That Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee, may call the attention of the House, or of the Committee, to continued irrelevance or tedious repetition on the part of a Member; and may direct the Member to discontinue his Speech.

Postponement of Preamble.—6. That, in Committee on a Bill, the Preamble

business had been conducted in the House of Commons during the last fifty years. His memory carried him back to the time when as a youth he had a bird's-eye view of the House from the gallery, and in those days, the House used, except upon rare occasions, to finish its business between six and seven o'clock and adjourn. But a change came over the House on the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832. The House then became, in a sense, really representative. The difficulties which the Government now propose to deal with are only incident to representative assemblies. In these, members often speak not so much to throw light upon the particular matter under discussion, as to seem to be doing so to their constituents. But the demands of the con-

do stand postponed until after the consideration of the Clauses, without Question put.

Chairman to leave the Chair without Question.—7. That, when the Chairman of a Committee has been ordered to make a Report to the House, he shall leave the Chair, without Question put.

Half-past Twelve o'Clock Rule.—8. To add to the Standing Order of the 18th February, 1879, the following words:—"But this Rule shall not apply to the Motion for leave to bring in a Bill, nor to any Bill which has passed through Committee."

Order in Debate.—9. To amend the Standing Order of the 28th February, 1880, as follows:—"That whenever any Member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the Question, on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, "That such Member be suspended from the service of the House;" and, if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a motion being made, put the same Question in a similar way, and, if the motion is carried, shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee, and report the circumstance to the House, and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same Question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any Member be suspended under this Order, his suspension, on the first occasion, shall continue for a week, on the second occasion for a month, and on the third occasion for the remainder of the Session: Provided always that nothing in this Resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any Member according to ancient usages.

Debates on Motions for Adjournment.—10. That, if Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, shall be of opinion that a Motion for the Adjournment of a Debate, or of the House, during any Debate, or that the Chairman do Report Progress, or do leave the Chair, is made for the purpose of obstruction, he may forthwith put the Question thereupon from the Chair.

Consideration of a Bill, as amended.—11. That, on reading the Order of the Day for the Consideration of a Bill, as amended, the House do proceed to consider the same without Question put, unless the Member in charge thereof shall desire to postpone its consideration, or notice has been given to re-commit the Bill.

Motions on going into Committee of Supply.—12. That, whenever the Committee of Supply appointed for the consideration of the ordinary Army, Navy,

stituents have increased with time, and with the instantaneous reporting of the proceedings of Parliament. Jobs are no longer to be achieved quietly for one's constituents as they used to be, and as the back stairs are no longer a way to popularity, all the representatives wish to be seen, and to be as conspicuous as possible on the front stairs. Thus it comes that the amount of talking in Parliament is largely on the increase. In the year after the Reform Bill, the House sat for 1,144 hours, but the zeal of the new members wearied them, and their ardour of legislation became more moderate, for we find that in the fourth session after 1832 the House only sat for 943 hours. But these achievements in "time work" are not great when compared with our more recent experiences, for in the year 1881, when the legislative doings of Parliament were by no means great or useful, the House seems to have sat for 1,400 hours. There are many causes which have conduced to this increase of labour. Some of those hours must no doubt be placed to the account of obstruction, but many of them would be properly credited to mere garrulity. It cannot be doubted that the talkativeness of Parliament has been greatly increased in recent years, a circumstance which is due, to some extent, to the slightly lower tone of the representatives of the people. The effect of the various Reform Acts has been not only to secure the representation of the opinions of the people, but of the people themselves; and any one who cares to compare a Hansard of the past with a Hansard of the present, will be struck by the difference in the class of persons taking part in the debates in Parliament. We are not complaining of this change,

and Civil Service Estimates stands as the first Order of the Day on a Monday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any Question, unless an Amendment be moved, or Question raised relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply, on first going into Committee on the Army, Navy, and Civil Services respectively.

II.—STANDING COMMITTEES.

Standing Committees on Law and Courts of Justice, Trade, &c.—1. That two Standing Committees be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to Law and Courts of Justice, and to Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures, which may be committed to them respectively.

Nomination by Committee of Selection.—2. That the said Standing Committee do consist of not less than sixty, nor more than eighty, Members, to be nominated by the Committee of Selection, who shall have regard to the classes of Bills committed to such Committees, to the composition of the House, and to the qualifications of the Members selected; and shall have power to add and discharge Members from time to time, provided the number of eighty be not exceeded.

Commitment and Report of Bills.—3. That all Bills comprised in each of the said Clauses shall be committed to one of the said Standing Committees unless the House shall otherwise order, and, when reported to the House, shall be proceeded with as if they had been reported from a Committee of the whole House.

but pointing out that the fact that the labours of Parliament are increasing at the same time that its effectiveness as a legislative assembly is diminishing, is not to be ascribed solely to obstruction, but is due partly to other causes. These other causes are a proof of the health of the institution, just as much as obstructiveness is an indication of its morbid tendencies, tendencies which ought by all means to be cured. While we are speaking of the time of Parliament, and the way it is spent, it would be wrong to overlook the fact that Parliament has a great deal more work to do than it formerly had. The Prime Minister pointed to the fact that in his youth social questions were not regarded as within the proper sphere of Parliamentary consideration: while at the present time, they receive a great deal of legislative attention. But Parliament has found many other fields for its usefulness than those it formerly strayed in. At one time the duty of Government was regarded as confined to the protection of the persons and property of those living under it. But such a restricted view of Government is, in these days, dubbed "Administrative Nihilism," and Government educates the people, regulates the hours of labour of women and children, prevents adulteration, controls railway companies, and makes large experiments in preventive medicine. And it is quite certain that the more Parliament does in these directions, the more it will find to do; and that instead of being very little governed, we shall be the most governed nation on the face of the earth. The old theory, that the minimum of regulation, of control or government, was the best proof of a healthy and happy nation, has long been abandoned; and men seem to think that we have all been happy and prosperous only in those years when many Acts have been added to the already bulky Statute Book. But not only has the legislative work of the House increased, "Supply" is of course much more arduous than it used to be. And while there are many more branches of the executive to be provided for, the House takes a far more active part in the direct control of that executive than it formerly did. When, therefore, we are computing the hours of labour and comparing these with the "piece-work" done, we must not lose sight of these other matters which occupy much time and attention, and to which, more than to obstruction, the increased labours of the House are, in fact, due.

But the fact of obstruction can be better recognized upon special occasions, than by means of a comparison of the working hours of various Parliaments. We said that at one time men's better feelings prevented their indulging in such a miserable Fabian policy as that of obstruction. But perhaps the truth of the matter is that there was in the past a strong, healthy public

opinion in the House of Commons, which secured the observance of rules, which were all the better and more useful in that they resided in tacit understanding, and were not reduced to writing, as laws or Standing Orders. It is quite certain that for a long time the feeling of Parliament was too strong for any Member who thought of clogging the wheels of progress by his entangling speech. There was in effect a useful *clôture*, and no man thought it worth his while to keep open a debate which, in the evident opinion of the House, ought to be closed. It is a serious misfortune that this strong public opinion is no longer sufficient to meet the case. It is a matter for grave regret that in the House of Commons, where wise opinion should have been attaining more and more the force and efficacy of law, the sanction of that opinion seems to have passed away, and it has become necessary to restrain Members by rules and orders. That some such necessity has arisen, is not open to doubt.

The Premier is of opinion that obstruction first manifested itself in the Parliament of 1868. But if there were indications of a tendency to obstruct in that Parliament the system or policy of obstruction, has been hugely extended and elaborated since that time. It was an infant then, and might have been strangled with a little wisp of words. It is a giant now, and it is supposed to require a whole code of rules to put an end to it. Its progress may be observed in the Parliament of 1874, and every one will remember the undue bulk which was given by these silly tactics to the debates upon the South African Bill, and the Army Discipline Bill. It is well to bear in mind, however, that much of the discussion of those measures was called for; and the immense difficulty in connection with this question is to distinguish between the really useful and elucidating argument, and the *vox et preterea nihil* of obstruction. The mere resistance of the will of the majority is the duty of the minority, and it is due to that resistance that the country has the whole case laid before it; but a minority ought in its resistance to have a conscience, and that conscience ought to tell them that it is foolish and wrong to resist the will of Parliament by any means other than fair argument and legitimate reason. It is as improper to resist the will of the majority by the semblance of argument which is the method of obstruction, as it would be to resist that will by physical force. The real difficulty, as we have said, is to distinguish the semblance from the reality, and that duty would by the first of the New Rules which are proposed by the Government, be left to a majority of the Members of the House of Commons, safe-guarded by certain artificial restrictions to which we shall hereafter have to refer. But before doing so, let us advert to the fact that the recent phases

of obstruction have been worse than the first. One or two facts, which are familiar to the public, will show what the Parliament of 1880 has had to contend with. In the session of 1881 the Government proposed to introduce measures which, in Mr. Gladstone's words, were "of immediate and vital necessity to the security of life and property in Ireland." Surely that was a time for action, not for discussion. But there was a debate of eleven days' duration on the Address, the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, which had been referred to in the Queen's Speech, was discussed in a debate which promised to be interminable, and the House had to sit for twenty-two and a half hours to break down by the physical force of the endurance of its Members, the obstruction of an obstinate and obdurate opposition.

Subsequently there was another continuous sitting of forty-one and a half hours, which was brought to an end, none too soon, by the memorable action of the Speaker. This urgent matter, which, on the responsibility of the Government, was declared to be of immediate and vital necessity to the safety of life and property, occupied the House of Commons no less than twenty-nine days. The Land Act of the same session was not disposed of in fewer than fifty-eight sittings of the House.

Having spoken of the rise and progress of the policy of obstruction, perhaps something ought to be said of the means which have been devised to meet and end it. But although since the year 1832, some eleven Committees have been appointed to report as to matters connected with Parliamentary Procedure, so little has been effected that very little need be said.*

It is true, as Mr. Marriott, in proposing his amendment to the first Rule, pointed out, that the opinions of all these Committees which had considered the matter—and some had admirable material before them to enable them to arrive at a proper conclusion—were adverse to the Clôture. But the net result of all the means taken to cut down obstruction is, that it still flourishes. Even the wise and very moderate methods proposed by Sir Stafford Northcote, which became Sessional Orders in 1879, although they have undoubtedly been of use, have proved

* It is to be remembered that since 1832 many things have been done to limit the privileges of private members, and although we look with the greatest disgust upon obstruction in any form we do not regard the limitation of the parliamentary autonomy of private members with unmixed satisfaction. The Government of the time being may gain much by such discipline, as it is under the circumstances able to enforce, and which secures the solidarity of its party; but the country may lose much in having to forego the independent thought and action of able men who are reduced to silence, and become mere voting power under a crushing procedure.

cumbrous. It is a great expense of time and energy to ask the House to divide, with the view of suspending one obstructive Member for six hours. So that we are confronted by the fact that there is a grave evil connected with our Parliamentary Procedure and no adequate means of meeting it. It was in this position that the Government found themselves, and looking forward to the great measures which they hoped to place on the Statute Book, they had to reckon with this matter of obstruction. It was somewhat unfortunate that the measures they desired to pass were made so prominent a reason for the New Rules, by one of the less discreet Members of the Government. That error opened the Government to the attack, that the New Rules were introduced that the Government might pass the County Government Bill and the Corrupt Practices Bill, and were to be made the means of forcing these "down the throat of the Opposition." We cannot but think that it is a matter for deep regret, that the New Rules were not made the subject of conference and agreement between the Government and the leaders of the Opposition. These are in effect the rules of the game they are both going to play; and it is only right that both should have some say in the framing of them. What we wish to do in this place is to look at these rules apart from the merits of any particular measure they may be the means of passing, apart from the interest of the party in power, and to give, in our consideration of them, due weight to the argument of the Government who propose these methods of procedure, and to the views of those who are opposed to some of the principles involved.

The matter of first importance in relation to this question of procedure is undoubtedly contained in the first rule which has already been somewhat fully elucidated by the debates which took place in February last. We shall subsequently have something to say about the second section of these rules, which deals with Standing Committees, but in the meantime, confining ourselves to the Procedure Rules, we would say that most of them deal with small but useful improvements in the conduct of the business of the House, which will, we think, be beneficial. The Second Rule will, if passed, correct an abuse which has become serious. The fourth will render uncalled-for divisions, and consequent waste of time, unnecessary. Lord Eversley, in his evidence before the Committees on Procedure of 1848 and 1854, expressed a strong opinion that no division should take place unless twenty-one Members stood up in their places to express a desire to divide. He was also in favour of rules that motions for the adjournment of the House, or the adjournment of the debate, should be decided without debate, and that no such

motion should be repeated within an hour. The fifth rule involves a more serious principle. "Continuous irrelevance and tedious repetition upon the part of a Member," is not a vice unknown to Parliamentary debate. We are sorry to say that it existed before Parliamentary obstruction was thought of, and it will probably survive the fall of that windy institution. But to give the Speaker the power to direct the "tedious" Member to discontinue his speech, is placing an awkward and invidious censorship in the hands of the Speaker. If it were necessary to cure the main evil which is complained of, we would not shrink from even this harshness, especially as "continuously irrelevant and tedious" speakers are not unfrequently very pachydermatous. But it seems to us, after the consideration we have given to it, and without, of course, hearing the case for Rule 5 opened by the Government, that "continuously irrelevant and tedious" speakers might well be left to be dealt with by the yawns and impatience of the House, or if the tedious speaking was indulged in for the purpose of obstruction, the Member might effectually be dealt with under one of the other rules. The Sixth Rule is an adaptation from a custom of the House of Lords, and will be useful. The Ninth Rule we know as the Sessional Order, which was framed by Sir Stafford Northcote. But the Penalty Clause in the rule is strengthened, and we cannot regard it, even in its present form, as unduly stringent. The other rules do not seem to call for special comment; but it may be convenient to divide the resolutions into two classes. The first, as Sir Stafford Northcote said, is intended to limit or restrict debate, while the other resolutions are intended to limit or restrict the opportunities of debate, and it is quite possible to approve of the latter while one disapproves of the former. We have then something to say with reference to the closure of the debate. Every one knows that we have not heard the last of this famous rule. Mr. Marriott's amendment, which affirmed that no rules of procedure would be satisfactory, which would confer the power of closing a debate upon a majority of Members,* has been disposed of; but in the Notice Paper of the 3rd of April, 1882, we find no fewer than thirty-one amend-

* The Government had a majority of thirty-nine against Mr. Marriott's amendment, but it obtained that majority only by means of a threat of dissolution, and by persistently treating the amendment as if it was a declaration of the principle that no debate should be closed at all. When governments carry their points by such means, is it unlikely that they would use that powerful engine *clôture* to carry their point not against obstruction, but against argument, against reason, against the right? We remember that the Government wished in the session of 1881 to declare "supply" urgent. All governments tend to become despotic. Power is a dangerous poison; and our constitution is wise in giving it in small doses even to the best men.

ments to the first Resolution, which are still waiting for the "deliberation of the House."* Some of these emanate from the Opposition. For instance, Sir Stafford Northcote proposes to negative the first Resolution. But many of them are to be proposed by staunch supporters of the Government. Thus Sir John Lubbock wishes to make the closure of the debate dependent upon its being carried by a majority of two-thirds, and Mr. Anderson to make a majority of three-fourths necessary to the closure. The real question then between the two sections of the House, which differ as to this first resolution is, as to whether a bare majority should have the right to close the debate? Mr. Gladstone, when he was introducing the rule to the notice of the House said that, "The one sound principle in this House is, that the majority of the House should prevail." And although the majority is not always right, we know not any other principle which, in determining questions before the House of Commons could be substituted for it. But Mr. Gladstone, after having nailed his colours to the mast, proceeds at once to haul them down again; for after having enunciated the principle we have quoted, and having pointed out the great measures which were passed, and mentioned the great Ministries which were wrecked by small majorities, he went on to say, "When I speak of a bare majority as the only sound principle upon which we can go in this matter, let me be understood. I do not mean a majority without safeguard. I mean a bare majority as opposed to an artificial majority, constructed in ingenious ways whether it be two to one or three to one, or anything else of the kind." Or, in other words, when he says a bare majority, he does not mean a bare majority, and the only principle he can go upon in this matter, is gone. As to the artificiality of the safeguards proposed by the Government as compared with those which are proposed by Sir John Lubbock or Mr. Anderson, we leave our readers to judge. What we are concerned with here is the fact that the principle of a bare majority which is acted upon in all other matters in the House of Commons—where a majority of one passed the Act of Union, where five threw out Lord Melbourne's Government in 1839, and five Lord John Russell's Government in 1866—is not held to be in principle a sufficient one for closing a debate even by the Government themselves, and that when Mr. Gladstone uses the word "bare" as opposed to "artificial," he is simply playing with words. Now the argument, that if every act competent to a legislative assembly, can be done by a bare majority, the act of closing the debate ought to be competent to the same authority, or in other words, if a

* There are ten pages of Amendments to the various Resolutions.

majority can pass a Bill, a majority can say when it has been enough discussed—rests upon a fallacy.* The discussion of a measure belongs to the country—the decision upon it belongs to Parliament. This is a circumstance which has been far too much lost sight of. It has been assumed that this is a matter which concerns the internal administration of Parliament. In our view it concerns the very pith and marrow of our representative institutions. We, as constituents, wish to know not only how a man votes, but why he votes as he does. Each debate is a trial not only of the Government, but of the Opposition. It is by the reasons given, by the arguments adduced then, that we are enabled to make up our minds upon the merits of men and measures, and we declare our true verdict at the next election. It would be a serious loss to the political knowledge and education of the community to be without the fullest discussion of all the questions which come before Parliament. When, however, it is argued, that discussion would still be enough if the cloture existed in its fullest force, we are prepared to doubt it. We can conceive a Government in power desiring to stifle a discussion which would discredit it before the country. We can conceive a Government desiring to secure another lease of power by reason of the votes they might obtain through the popular ignorance of their past conduct, and under such circumstances we believe that a Government would unhesitatingly use the power of limiting the debate, not for the furtherance of Parliamentary business, but for the furtherance of their own aims and ends. Statesmen easily persuade themselves that the best policy for the country is the continuance of themselves in authority, and that end, which seems so desirable to them, seems in the jaundiced eyes of their consciences to justify almost any means. They would too have an effective instrument in their hands, and it would seem to them the height of folly not to use it. A good excuse for an act when done is often the only reason for doing it. Such a use of the *clôture* would be a public calamity, whether the power were used by a Liberal or Conservative Government. But even in cases of less public moment than those we have been imagining, it is easy to conceive the reckless use of the power of closing debates doing irreparable harm. Let us suppose a Government, with an election not far in the future, having a desire to pass certain measures which are in its opinion urgently called for. Say one of them, the least important, is before the House, and that the lengthened argumentative discussion of it prevents the

* It is obviously, as has been pointed out, a different thing by voting to give effect to our own opinion, and voting that other people have expressed their opinions fully in spite of their declaration that they have not done so."

progress which the Government thinks it desirable to make with the others. Of course, they think it has been sufficiently discussed, for to men who have made up their minds all arguments are superfluous. Would they not under such circumstances, if they could induce the Speaker to perceive the "sense" of the House, use their majority for putting an end to the debate which was not in itself obstructive? In other words, would not this powerful weapon in the hands of any Government be used not as a means of control by the House of Commons of those who were wilfully obstructive, but as a means of controlling the House of Commons by a Government which had grown impatient? We have said that the difficulty in every case is to distinguish real *bonâ fide* argument from that semblance of argument which is used by persons anxious to retard and delay the Parliamentary machine. What we desire is, to prune the latter from the tree, not to cut down the former. But who is to judge which is which? Are we to trust the party whose measure is being resisted, to say whether the will of the House of Commons is being resisted; and, if so, will not such a majority always give themselves the benefit of the doubt? Obstruction, it is to be remembered, is an attempt to thwart the whole proceedings of Parliament, not an attempt to thwart the desire of the majority. The latter is the duty of the minority. Are we then to make the majority judge in their own cause, and to ask them to say whether it is the will of the House or their own desire which is being set at nought by discussions which seem to them wearisome? Would it be difficult for any Government to convince itself that such arguments were not real arguments, but were only used for the purposes of obstruction? And if that power were used by one party while in power, would it not be as ruthlessly used by the other when in the merry-go-round of politics their turn came? No doubt the House of Commons has been made ridiculous by those persons who have obstructed its proceedings and forced upon its Members matches of sleeplessness as remarkable as the pedestrian displays at the Agricultural Hall or Lillie Bridge? But we suspect that with the adoption of this rule and the party-tactics which would be moulded upon it, the House would in the future cut a more ridiculous figure in history than it has done in the past. The purpose of Parliament is action, and discussion with a view to action, and any reasonable argument which a rational man may use for the *bonâ fide* purpose of elucidating the subject is a valuable part of that discussion. True, *we* may not think much of the arguments, we may think the man foolish or indiscreet to use them; but that is no reason for our putting our hand upon his mouth. That he is using speech not for argument but for delay, as Guiteau's counsel did, [Vol. CXVIII. No. CCXXXIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LXII. No. II. K K

is another matter. He is doing violence to the institution of free speech, and cannot complain if his speech is stopped by the violence of *clôture*. But what we wish to see is this excrescence lopped off, and not the death of all healthy debate by violence. And we fear that if this great power of *clôture* were placed in the hand of a bare majority, even safe-guarded as Mr. Gladstone proposes, that freedom of speech would in the end cease to exist. The question in the meantime is only on the carpet in relation to the House of Commons, but the example there set would have far-reaching effects upon all our institutions. Mr. Gladstone said a few genuine words in his speech of the 20th of February: "I trust," he said, "that the House will always continue to appreciate—I would almost say worship—liberty of speech, and that it will continue to tolerate for the sake of liberty of speech, the licence of speech which mocks and counterfeits that liberty of speech." But we believe that the licence of speech would only be the first victim of this new method. All revolutions begin well, and the earliest victims of violence are those to whom violence is a small injustice. But that liberty of speech is jeopardized by this rule we cannot doubt, and that in the end it would perish under this new method of legislation we cannot but reluctantly believe.

Feeling as we do thus strongly as to the inexpediency of this proposed change, we have looked with care at the arguments which have been urged in favour of it. But although the Prime Minister spoke at great length, his speech was singularly free from anything like a reason for this resolution. The principle upon which he founded the rule he at once abandoned. The history he gave of obstruction was accurate, but supererogatory, for every one was familiar with the facts. We have looked in vain, we say, at his speech, for reasons in support of this policy. Were we asked what we would substitute instead of a bare majority, we would say some such majority as would indicate that the sense not only of a party, but of the House of Commons, was in favour of the discontinuance of the debate. We do not care to have the question of the "sense of the House" left to be determined by the Speaker, and fail to see how, prior to a division, he is to ascertain the sense of the House, except it be by the noise of one section, and the greater reticence of the other. Such a delegation of duty upon the Speaker would place him in an invidious, in an improper, position. He would, as has been said in many quarters, become the servant of a party; instead of holding the scales of justice impartially between the two sides of the House, as Speakers have been wont to do in the past, he would become merely as a weathercock to register which way the political current was the stronger. The

very fact that these large powers were in the hands of the Speaker, powers which could on occasion be effectively used for party purposes, would make each party desirous to have a politician of their own views in the Chair, and future Speakers would undoubtedly be chosen because they would exercise their functions in the interests of a party, and not in the interests of truth and justice.* That has not been the case in the past, and if it should come to be the case in the future, the House of Commons will have lost more in the respect and regard of the wise than it has gained by putting an end to obstruction. What we desire at the present time is, that the authority of the Chair, and the House as represented by the Chair, should be more respected, and with a view to that end we are asked to degrade both. But if, on the other hand, the House itself, by a substantial majority, which overlapped the lines of party showed that it was the opinion of the House that certain conduct was obstructive, and that the debate should close, we think there would be safety in such a clôtüre that would preserve to *the House* the control over its own members and proceedings instead of relegating that control to the party which, for the time being, happened to be in power. No one can doubt that too much discussion is a bad thing. When things are too much discussed the mind seems to lose the grip of the act aimed at, and instead of being instant to do, is content to fumble with the matter in words. While full elucidation is to be above all things desired, mere verbiage is to be above all things deprecated. But there is one thing worse than too much discussion, and that is, too little, and it seems that in all probability it would be just on those occasions when the fullest ventilation of Parliamentary views was required that the clôtüre would be most certainly put in force. But there is another consideration which ought to weigh with us. Recently we have seen the House of Lords and the House of Commons at their occasional loggerheads. The war has resulted, as these affairs always do, in the capitulation of the House of Lords. They were of course allowed all the honours of war, and marched out with their arms, but it was none the less a victory to the Commons. But is it not certain that the effect of making a clôtüre possible in the House of Commons would, in all such cases, strengthen the

* In this view Mr. Frederick Harrison agrees. In his article in the *Nineteenth Century* he says: "The very next Speaker will be elected after a previous party intrigue and struggle, and he must be a politician in whom the dominant party trust. What will the next Speaker be? Farewell to the race of the Manners, Lefevres, and Denisons! We have passed to the era of the precedent militant and dominant, the strong man of a victorious party."

position of the House of Lords. Would not the non-representative assembly be able to say—"This matter was not fully discussed in the Lower House. The 'gag-law,' as the President of the Local Government Board, before he took office, called the *clôture*, was put in force, the result might have been different had the matter been thoroughly discussed." Under these circumstances would they be so open to blame for resisting what only professed to be the will of the representatives of the people? It is odd to find certain members of the present Government playing into the hands of the Upper House. Under all the circumstances then, we cannot but deprecate the action of the Government in adhering to the first resolution in the form in which it was at first proposed, and we cannot but believe that if it becomes a Standing Order it will lead to serious evils in the future. Many a man to be relieved of some local ailment, has lost his life, and it seems as if the House of Commons, to be relieved from a disease of the licence of speech, would be fain to lose its liberty of speech altogether.

We come now to another matter, demanding careful and serious consideration. The Prime Minister, in the course of his speech on the First Resolution, described his plan as dividing itself into two parts, "one of which relates to procedure and the other relates to devolution or delegation," and he said that, although he regarded the measures of procedure as vitally essential, yet that he regarded the device for the delegation of the labours of the House as more important. It is, then, with the latter part of the scheme that we would deal in this place.

At one time Parliament did a great many things it ought not to have done, and left undone a great many things it ought to have done. It used to decide upon the question whether a man should have a divorce from his wife, and not very long ago it was thought a proper tribunal to decide whether one of its Members was duly elected or not. In other words, it passed Divorce Bills, and decided upon the merits of election petitions. Now the determination in these matters depended solely upon the decision of a plain issue of facts, and the application to the circumstances of strict legal principles; and we are of opinion that wherever the determination of a question of rights depends upon the application of fixed rules to various sets of circumstances, the inquiry is properly a judicial one, and that a mind stored with and largely under the influence of decided cases is the proper mind to decide the matter. Now Parliament seems to have come to that conclusion, for it denuded itself of these functions, and we now have actions of divorce tried before a competent judge, instead of Divorce Bills decided upon by legislative assemblies; and we have question of bribery, treating, and intimidation

referred to Election judges, instead of to the colleagues of a Member whose election is called in question. The action of Parliament in thus depriving itself of these anomalous functions was, we venture to think, most proper. But we do not agree with those persons who find in this action a type of the conduct which should be pursued by Parliament in relation to its legislative functions. Many reformers have proposed that Parliament should delegate the whole of its duties in respect of Private Bill Legislation to a fixed tribunal somewhat analogous to the Railway Commission; while others have proposed that instead of having Private Bills referred to two Committees, one in the House of Commons and one in the House of Lords, they should be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses. Sir Erskine May, in his evidence before the Joint Committee of 1869, stated that he was persuaded that if one tribunal only had been introduced fifteen years previously, it would have saved the promoters and opponents of Private Bills many millions in costs. But there is a great deal to be said against either of these proposals. As to the first it is quite certain that, as Mr. Chichester Fortescue (now Lord Carlisle), in speaking in the House of Commons in March, 1872, said, "It is a mistake to suppose that the business before the Private Bill Committee was judicial and of the same nature as that with which the House had already parted;" and in opposition to Mr. Dodson's resolution for the establishment of a "permanent tribunal of a judicial character," he said, "it did not appear to him he must confess, that a satisfactory plan had as yet been submitted to the House, for the creation of such a tribunal."

Then, as to the proposal that there should be one Joint Committee of both Houses, instead of two separate Committees, we may quote the opinion of Sir William Harcourt, who once had a large practice at the Parliamentary Bar. Speaking in the House of Commons, in 1872, he said:—

"Objections had been taken to the proposal of an appeal to the House of Lords. He did not think it a bad thing; over and over again he had known decisions reversed by the House of Lords, and he had never recalled any in which the reversal of the House of Lords was not right. That was natural, because, when the case went from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and received a second hearing, it came naturally to be better understood. It would be a mistake to make one Standing Committee, which could give only one hearing, because second hearings, in cases of great importance, were very valuable."

This opinion is fully endorsed by Sir Theodore Martin, in his *Notes on Private Bill Legislation*, and we believe is shared by

every one who has any knowledge of the practice of Parliament in relation to Private Bills. But although it was thought that the proposals of the Government might follow in the direction of the resolutions submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. Dodson, in 1872, the fact is that their actual proposals are not nearly so revolutionary; and that although we are averse to all real delegation of Parliamentary powers, after careful consideration, we cannot see that these resolutions are not wise and prudent. The objections to the devolution of any of the real legislative functions of Parliament are very obvious. Such delegation is in derogation of the rights of every Member whose duty it is to be "art and part" in all legislation. Members are not sent to Parliament by their constituents to have exclusive attention to one branch of the law. Such a constituency as Manchester, or Leeds, may have a deep interest in all questions of trade; but are its members to be relegated to the Committee of Commerce, and have no say in the making of other laws and the regulation of the judicature of the country? Besides, it is evident that if the real functions of Parliament were delegated to Committees, the country would no longer be governed by Parliament, but would be governed by these Committees, and it would entirely depend upon the way that these Committees were constituted, what laws were passed or rejected. The country might wish for one thing, but the Government, if they appointed the Committee, might secure another. We confess that at first sight we had a repugnance to the new proposals, on the ground that they involved a delegation of the functions of Parliament in Committee to a Committee of Parliament, but there is a great deal to be said in favour of the proposal if it is not to be regarded merely as the beginning of a process of denudation by which all the functions of the House are to be devolved upon Committees of its Members. If that is the object of the Government, we protest against the proposal. If the whole of the scheme is before us in these Resolutions, we cannot see that there is really much to be objected to. In the first place, it is to be remembered, that the Rules of the House already provide for all Bills being referred to Select Committees; and the Standing Committees now proposed, would be in the nature of, although larger than, the Select Committees contemplated by the rules of Parliament. The very size of the Standing Committee ought to render the reconsideration of the Bill in Committee of the whole House unnecessary, and it is by the avoidance of this stage in the present practice of Parliament in relation to Bills, that the immense saving of time will be effected. This proposal, unlike the *clôture*, is not one which has been now made for the first time. Lord Eversley, in his evidence before the Committee on Procedure in 1854, stated that "it

would be desirable that a Bill which had been committed to a Select Committee should not in all cases pass through a Committee of the whole House, and that the present practice of Parliament might be modified in this particular." Mr. Evelyn Denison, then Speaker of the House, as Lord Eversley had been before him, in giving evidence before a similar Committee in 1861, said, that he decidedly concurred in this opinion, and added, "while other recommendations would perhaps tend more to certainty in the conduct of business, some alteration with regard to the Proceedings in Committee, would perhaps tend to expedite public business more than anything which had yet been considered." Sir Erskine May, another high authority upon questions of Parliamentary Procedure, in his evidence before a Committee in 1869, said that the reference of Public Bills to a Select Committee was an advantageous practice, and one which might be usefully extended; that generally it obviated objection, the Members most actively concerned in opposing the Bill having had an opportunity of proposing amendments in Committee." These opinions are not without great weight, but something must be said of the disadvantages of Select Committees. It is well known that the selection and appointment of the proper Members in such a case is half the battle. The House is well aware that everything turns upon the constitution of the Committee, and endeavours are not unfrequently made in the House itself to have at least a fair representation of the opponents of a measure or a policy on such a Committee. Let us take an illustration. In the session of 1881, at the instance of certain trade associations, the Government consented to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the question of railway rates and fares, and the working of the Railway Commission. The Committee was nominated, and the traders thought that the railway interest was too largely represented upon it. There was going to be some contest in the House itself, but Mr. Chamberlain gave way, and increased the number of the Committee, and appointed four more Members who represented large constituencies interested in trade. The Committee took evidence during the Session of 1881, and was re-appointed in 1882. It was divided into two hostile camps, camps which were not even courteous to one another. The witnesses called in support of the traders' contention, were severely cross-examined by the gentlemen who represented the large railway companies, and railway witnesses were subjected to the same treatment by those who were interested in agriculture or trade. When they came to agree upon their report, every clause was fought over, and divided upon, and most of the important recommendations were only carried by one, sometimes only by a casting vote. That is not a very favourable specimen of a Select Committee, it may be said,

but take another illustration. A proposal was made in the last session, to make a railway along the banks of the Regent's Canal. The Grand Junction, and other canal companies, objected to the proposal, and asserted that the Regent's Canal was in fact their terminal station, and that the promoters' object and interest was to obstruct and injure the canal. The Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee, consisting of nine members. Four of them were professedly put upon the Committee in the interest of the canal companies. After an inquiry extending over some eighteen days, the preamble was declared to be proved by a majority of five to four.

But although Select Committees are not altogether satisfactory, we think that possibly the size of the Standing Committees now proposed may prevent the constitution of these by the Committee of Selection or the Government for the time being, acting through them, in such a way as to secure any definite result; and we conclude that the rights of every individual Member, whether he has been on the Standing Committee or not, will be preserved, so as to enable him, when the Bill is reported, to take the opinion of the House upon any particular clause which may have been retained in the Bill, or introduced into the Bill by the Standing Committee. Without this safeguard, for which we do not see that any provision is made, indeed, the words of the Third Resolution would seem to exclude such a motion, we think the proposal would involve a serious derogation from the rights of private Members, and would take from them duties and privileges which they were sent to Parliament by their constituents to perform and enjoy. With this safeguard on the other hand we cannot see that the delegation involved in these proposals will seriously injure the scheme of our representative system. It is well known that at the present time every Private Bill is referred to a Committee consisting of four Members, and that after hearing evidence they report to the House that they find the preamble proved or not proved, as the case may be. The way that the Private Bill Committees of Parliament discharge the duties devolved upon them is such as to earn for them the respect and admiration of all who are familiar with Parliamentary practice. But by delegating the question as to the proof or non-proof of a particular preamble, the House of Commons does not part with any of its real legislative functions, for it reserves to itself the full power to reverse or affirm the decision of the Committee. It can, if it is not satisfied that the inquiry has been full or fair, re-commit the Bill, and it can alter or modify the Bill in any way it thinks right. To the credit of Private Bill Committees be it said, that the necessity for such interference on the part of the House with the decisions of its Committees is exceedingly rare. But that that right is not a dead

letter, is shown by the fact that in two instances during the recent Session the House of Lords re-committed Bills which had been passed by Select Committees, in one instance for re-consideration by the same, in one for the consideration of another Committee. If the House of Commons secures the same control over the Standing Committees that it at present possesses over the Committees on Private Bills, we think that the system will work well, and will not be open to those grave constitutional objections which may be urged against delegation. The duty of the Standing Committee will be to work out the details of a Bill after the principle has been affirmed by the House. We think the Government are right in leaving the nomination of the Members of the Standing Committees to the Committee of Selection. But this is an onerous and important duty upon the right discharge of which the success of this great constitutional change will depend.

We cannot doubt that the adoption of these resolutions and the appointment of Standing Committees will have the effect of saving a great deal of valuable time. We know that it is in Committee that time is chiefly wasted, and the result of these changes will inevitably be, that the hands of Parliament will be much freer for its real legislative work than they have been for many years past. When the procedure rules which limit the opportunities of debate are enforced, we have every reason to believe that notwithstanding the increasing demands which are made on the time of Parliament, notwithstanding the increased duties which from year to year devolve upon the House, that Parliament will know once more what leisure is. This belief makes us the more unwilling to have recourse to the closing of a debate at the instance of a bare majority. We believe that the other changes which have been enumerated will be sufficient to relieve the House of the labour which weighs and increases upon its bent shoulders. Under these circumstances, as we are unwilling to have recourse to a law which is not liberal but despotic—to a law which will be used to massacre the words of men, which are in a very real sense the lives of men, too, for it is through liberty of speech that all our other liberties have been attained—as we are unwilling to part with that most precious freedom even for the purpose of giving Parliament a holiday, or securing the enactment of the most liberal or beneficial measures which it has entered into the minds of statesmen to conceive, we are compelled to hold a view strongly adverse to the *clôture*. We would not do this great evil that some possible good may come, and we believe that in this case, as in most, the evil done will not bring any good at all, but will bring forth evil after its kind.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

CAN the world go on without a revealed religion? To this question Mr. Joseph Gostwick, in a judicious and interesting volume¹ on German Culture and Christianity, returns an emphatic No; and, he adds, "this is in substance the answer given directly or indirectly by such men as Lessing, Herder, Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel." In most, if not all, of these instances, we think the construction which our author puts on the occasional expressions of these eminent men, or their general mental attitude, when writing on Christianity, scarcely admissible. Herder, though a clergyman, had, as Mr. Gostwick complains, held dubious views respecting the nature of Christ. He calls him the hero of philanthropy, and exclaims, "as to the name Christian, let it remain, or let it pass—that can matter little." Lessing, who edited the fragments of Reimarus, uses similar language. Goethe, who, though not included in the above list, appears in the body of the work, was a Pantheist, who, while acknowledging the beauty of the conception which Jesus formed of God, drawn as it was from his own pure and beautiful consciousness, pronounced that conception inadequate, framed as it was from *human* qualities only. Fichte, certainly, taught that the doctrine of Christianity, as enunciated in the unhistorical gospel of St. John, was the same as his own, on the metaphysical theory of Life and Being; but he speaks of Jesus as a man, and, with a strange laxity of interpretation, denies that He is represented in that gospel as a superhuman personality. Kant, certainly, made admissions of which we are not surprised that orthodoxy should avail itself; but his well-known repugnance to admit the supernatural origin of Christianity has been detected in at least one of his works, as it was by Professor Stapfer, "everywhere in the memory of his friends." As to Schelling's Positive Philosophy, it is to us, with its *drei Potenzen* parodying Hegel's categories, a miserable mystification; while it is more than doubtful whether Hegel believed in a personal God at all, and not in the least doubtful that he disregarded the historical incidents in Christianity and declared miracles to a cultivated mind, to be incredible. Even the religious philosopher *par excellence*, Schleiermacher, who is one of the representatives of German culture included in this volume, appears to have had no belief in the Resurrection, the Ascension, or the Second Advent of Christ; and, if Dr. Zeller be right, he refused to ascribe personality to God, had no belief in miracles, and little, if

¹ "German Culture and Christianity, their Controversy in the time 1770–1880." By Joseph Gostwick. London: Frederic Norgate, 7, King Street. 1882.

any, belief in the immortality of the soul. The negative opinions of the learned professor whose name we have just mentioned, are well known; yet, in disaccordance with Strauss, who maintained that "we are not Christians," Zeller contended that we are Christians, arguing, like Fichte, that we can cast off no portion of the being that we have inherited from earlier ages, and that we owe, more or less, to Christianity our present civilization, our disposition, and our morality. It is evident, we think, that the heterodox have culture more clearly on their side than against them, and that if the orthodox can appeal to the recorded sentiments of men of genius as favouring their views, unbelief, or scepticism, can appeal to their anti-dogmatic utterances, as favouring very opposite conclusions. Carlyle, of whom Mr. Gostwick has written an interesting notice, was described in our hearing by one who had sat for years at his feet, as essentially a Christian. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that Mr. R. H. Hutton, quoted by our author, is right in intimating that Carlyle rejected the Christian religion; a conclusion corroborated by Mr. Alexander Bain's statement that on some occasion Carlyle "denounced the Christian religion and all its accessories." Mr. Gostwick, however, is perfectly justified in discriminating between vulgar invective and reverential criticism, as he has every right to make the most of concession, sympathy, or the reverent recognition of what is fair and of good report in Christianity. His book, partly biographical, partly critical and expository, treats, by no means inadequately, of the subject which supplies its title. The preliminary chapters give some account of the Deism and Rationalism of the eighteenth century, and are followed by biographical notices and critical estimates of cultivated Germans of that period, all very fairly executed, though too little prominence is perhaps given to the negative side of their theology. With the closing chapters on Baur and Strauss we are not in agreement at all. No doubt there are excesses, errors, inconsistencies in the theories or conclusions of these great German theologians; but we are unable to accept Mr. Gostwick's estimate of them. We cannot, however, argue the case here. To those who care to ascertain the results of German theological criticism, we may recommend two works by the late Mr. R. W. Mackay, "The Rise and Progress of Christianity," and "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents," or they may see them as reported, in a comparatively conservative form, in the new edition of the Rev. S. Davidson's "Introduction to the Study of the New Testament."

The question of religion is an absorbing one, and in the general decay of faith the cry of orthodox and semi-orthodox watchmen is natural, and not unacceptable. The author of "Ecce Homo" has once more raised his voice² and bidden us look hopefully and lovingly towards the dawn. His thoughtful and calm survey of the question will hardly satisfy the orthodox, and we incline to think that the

² "Natural Religion." By the Author of "Ecce Homo." London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

heterodox will not readily accept his religious symbolism. Deploring the infatuation of party-spirit gradually surrendering the whole area to dispute and denial, he desecrates common truths outside the region of debate. There is, he argues, a natural theology which inquires into the relation of the universe to human ideals. For instance, if one of the doctrines of supernatural theology, the eternal happiness reserved for the just, cannot be established by any natural evidence, yet the ordinary laws of Nature, notwithstanding occasional miscarriages of justice, regard the distinctions between virtue and vice, and accordingly not only Christians, but those whose only God is Nature, fully recognize that virtue is rewarded. More than this! Those who believe in Nature only may be said to believe not merely in a God, but in some sense in a personal God, since their God, Nature, has so much personality that He takes account of the distinction of virtue and vice, punishes crime and relieves distress, humanity being included in Nature. Words are indifferent provided men's minds are filled with a sense of a Power to all appearance infinite and eternal, with which their own being is inseparably connected, in the knowledge of whose ways alone is safety and well-being, in the contemplation of which they find a beatific vision. To philosophers as to Christians Nature is God's Ordinance, and thus Science and Theology have a common ground. Theism, he says, is not disbelief in the goodness and personality of God, but disbelief in any regularity in the universe to which a man must conform himself under penalties. In realizing the greatness of the universe we are conscious of a feeling of religious awe. Pantheism and Christianity agree in this, that they give a unity, though a different kind of unity, to the Universe. A rationalized Christianity or Religion of Humanity may be conceived as surviving the fall of the Supernatural System. With this the sensuous Hellenic religion may be imagined to co-exist. "Wherever the higher Morality shows itself Humanity is worshipped." A reform then seems possible. As Christianity was wider than Judaism, so the religion of our age must be wider than Christianity, but as Christianity did not denounce Judaism, so our religion must not renounce Christianity. The true sacred books and classics of mankind will prove to be the Old and New Testament, so soon as in the former Nature is written for God, and in the latter Humanity for Christ. Christianity, it is contended, does not stand or fall with the Miracle of the Resurrection, but rests on the broad foundation of the Hebrew religion, Hebrew prophecy, and the historic union of the nations in the Christian Empire. There is much in these speculations which appears to us true, and good, and beautiful; there is much also that is provocative, vague, tantalizing. As we read, we ask, *Is* there a Power, not Matter, nor Force—but a form of being, infinite, eternal—one called Nature, yet higher than Nature; or is not Nature the Nature we know, multiform, enigmatic, fallacious, and even cruel. Will orthodoxy recognize this natural Christianity, or will heterodoxy adopt our author's symbolism, call Nature God, and read Humanity into the Bible where Christ now is found? Then, again, if there can be a

natural Christianity, why is supernatural Christianity to survive, not indeed as a scientific creed, but as probability, presentiment, or indication, "given through exceptional, unaccountable occurrences called Miracles?" These are questions which we shall not now attempt to answer. Instead of doing so, we recommend all to read this work, for it is a work of singular beauty and touching interest.

The principle of Continuity and Universalism which underlies the speculative exposition of the author of "Natural Religion," animates the more critical essay of Dr. Kuenen in his valuable Hibbert Lectures, for a translation, and apparently an admirable translation, of which we are indebted to the zeal and ability of the Rev. Ph. H. Wickstead.* The three religions for which universality has been claimed are Buddhism, with its 450 millions; Christianity, with its 400 millions; and Islam, with its 175 millions. Islam, however, though "a mission to all mankind," and though it ultimately covered a territory that more than equalled the Roman empire in extent, is pronounced wanting in the true character of universality. This defect is due to the impress left on it by the personal predilections of its founder and the obstruction to its progress arising from the immobility of "the 'Korán' and the Tradition." To the preaching and character of Mohammed Dr. Kuenen does ample justice. "The Apostle, the prophet of Allah, is a reproduction of Israel's great leaders, and the 'Korán' which he produced is a counterpart of 'the Book' which Jews and Christians alike recognized and revered as the foundation of their religion. True universalism is unattainable in Islam. In vain have the Mo'tazilites endeavoured to impart to it an ethical character; in vain have the Wahhabites, the Puritans of Islam, tried to restore it to its original purity. It cannot satisfy the higher demands of human nature. The criterion which Dr. Kuenen applies is the connection of the universal with the national religions, this connection furnishing the explanation and measure of their universalism. Buddhism, like Islam, has its universality and its national connecting link; for far from agreeing with those who see in it only the denial and rejection of Brahmanism, our author points out how Hinduism became international in Buddhism, which he regards as properly the offspring of an Indian monastic order with Brahmanic asceticism as the link between the national and the universal religion. Its power of adaptation is astounding, but its inactivity, its quietism, its want of a positive ideal, demonstrate its inefficiency and deny it universality in the future. The third religion which claims this proud pre-eminence is Christianity. It has its connecting link in Judaism: to this connection it must be attributed that Christianity entered the world without being rounded off or closed as a system. "No religious founder ever left more for his followers to do than Jesus;" and it is to this very undeterminateness, according to Dr. Kuenen, that Christianity owes its adaptability, its vitality, its universality. The lectures thus inadequately characterized abound

* "National Religions and Universal Religions." Lectures delivered at Oxford and in London in April and May, 1882. By A. Kuenen, LL. D., D.D., Professor of Theology at Leiden. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1882.

in valuable analytical and expository matter, both in the body of the work and in the Appendix. The inquiry into the character of Jewish Monotheism deserves especial commendation, and we are not indisposed to accept, with some qualification, a novel theory of the learned author. Originally, the religion of Israel was polytheism; but the traditional view that Jahvehism was the religion of a minority must, Dr. Kuenen thinks, be rejected, or, as we should be inclined to think, modified. The worshippers of Jahveh at a very remote period, must at any rate have been a very considerable minority. Yet as far down as the eighth century B.C. the great majority of the people acknowledged and worshipped other gods. Monotheism begins to show itself distinctly in the writings of the prophets of that century. The belief that Jahveh was the only God sprang out of the ethical conception of his being. The older Monotheism of the period before the prophets has no existence. A nascent Monotheism only is to be found in the prophets of the eighth century; in the last quarter of the seventh century Monotheism is taught in explicit terms in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. Kuenen rejects the hypothesis of the introduction of Judaism from abroad, and maintains that from the earliest period Israel had its own national religion. He agrees in particular with M. le Page Renouf, that Egyptian influences are not discoverable in Hebrew institutions. There are many other passages full of interest in his volume, but we must content ourselves with indicating two more only. One is the note on the Buddha legend with the corresponding remarks, in pages 436, 437, where, while admitting that a few features in the evangelical tradition may have been borrowed from it, he decides that sober and strict research does not support, but indeed condemns, the hypothesis that brings Jews into connection with the Buddhists. The second passage concerns the relation of Christianity to Essenism. The genuineness of the Philonic treatise has had defenders of no mean rank—among others Professor Zeller. Dr. Kuenen, however, is of opinion that Herr P. E. Lucius, a young Strasburg scholar, has shown that it was composed in the third or at the beginning of the fourth century, by a Christian, but in the name of Philo. "And herewith," he concludes, "falls the last prop of the foreign origin of Essenism, the purely Jewish character of which is now finally established." We desire to direct attention to this point, but as we have not even read the treatise in question, we can form no opinion of the soundness of this conclusion. Hilgenfeld and Schürer, however, accept "the demonstration" of the young Strasburg scholar.

Something of this spirit of Universalism dwelt in the heart of the late eloquent Dean of Westminster.⁴ His occasional sermons preached in the Abbey have been collected and published in accordance with the Dean's own wish. The funeral orations on Lord Palmerston, Dickens, Kingsley, Lyell, Thirlwall, Grote, Carlyle, Lord Lawrence, and Lord Beaconsfield will attract all readers. In the sermon entitled

⁴ "Sermons on Special Occasions." Preached in Westminster Abbey. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., late Dean of Westminster. London: John Murray. 1882.

"The Religious Aspect of History," he recognizes Mr. Grote's passion for justice, his gracious urbanity, antique courtesy, reverential abstinence, and modest forbearance; and celebrates Carlyle's earnestness, independence, many brilliant gifts, and unexampled splendour of conversation. In general, these sermons exhibit the customary grace and culture, the charitable and receptive nature, of the late Dean, and also his vague, and ductile, and undogmatic theology. If we are perplexed by an apparent want of logical cohesion and sequence, we admire the sincerity of utterance in which he condemns the endeavour to wrest the words of the Bible from their natural meaning, and force them to speak the language of science. Speaking of the paradoxically "conscientious" scholars who interpolated the word *not* into the sacred text (Lev. xi. 6), and thus, as they thought, reconciled it to science by making the whole passage mean exactly the reverse of that which was intended, he continues:—

"This is the earliest instance of the falsification of Scripture to meet the demands of Science: and it has been followed in later times by the various efforts which have been made to twist the earlier chapters of Genesis into apparent agreement with the last results of geology, representing days not to be days, morning and evening not to be morning and evening, the deluge not to be the deluge, and the ark not to be the ark."—P. 202.

Dr. Alfred Dewes, dissatisfied with the Revised Version of the New Testament, offers as a contribution towards the realization of an intelligible version—a version which shall be simple and forcible, avoiding equally servility and licence.⁵ The attempt is laudable, but the result only in part successful. To accomplish his proposed end—perfect intelligibility—Dr. Dewes often abandons the literal interpretation, as in Rom. xv. 31, where for the Greek words signifying *my ministration*, we find *the help I am carrying to Jerusalem*; and Rom. xiv. 1, where for the *doubtful disputations* of the Revised and Authorized Versions, Dr. Dewes substitutes the diffuse though lucid rendering *decide on the scruples that trouble him*. In one instance the local colouring or national peculiarity is sacrificed to the real sense of the original—the *outward mark* being perhaps invariably substituted for *circumcision*. In Titus iii. 5, we have a correct but too quaintly literal interpretation, *hath saved us by means of the bath*. Again, the frequent modernization of the language, as in Eph. iv. 9, *Now what does the fact that he went up imply?* is, we think, decidedly incongruous with Scriptural associations. Occasionally we meet with renderings which we cannot regard as accurate. For instance, in Phil. ii. 6, *considered not that he should cleave to his equality with God*, instead of *did not think equality with God a thing to be grasped at*. So again, chap. iv. 3, the proper name *Syzygus* is a questionable rendering, though it has its supporters; and in 1 Tim. iii. 15, we decline to regard, with Dr. Dewes and others, *Timothy*, and not the Church of the living God, as the pillar and ground or mainstay of the truth. In 1 Cor. vii.

⁵ "Life and Letters of St. Paul." By Alfred Dewes, M.A., LL.D., D.D., Vicar of St. Augustine's, Pendlebury. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.

37, 38, again, we cannot think the interpretation correct which supposes the lover and not the father of the marriageable maiden to be the subject of the verbs. Dr. Dewes' liberal version, we may add, has been made from the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort.

A Version of the New Testament by Dr. Hebert, who "clings more and more to the letter of the Scripture," is based on the Greek text of 1611, and is more literal and less modern in character. Dr. Hebert is a veteran student of the New Testament, and his version is, doubtless, generally correct.⁶ One rendering, however, we notice in Gal. i. 18, where the Greek word rendered *to ask questions of Peter* really means *to make the acquaintance of Peter*. Only the first portion, containing the six primary epistles to Thessalonica, Corinth, Galatia, and Rome, of Dr. Hebert's translation, appears to be completed. In the arrangement of the New Testament books he follows what he believes to be the true chronological succession. Brief explanations are subjoined to the text.

The soundness of the English Revisers' Greek text is disputed, and the *Textus Receptus* vindicated by Mr. G. W. Samson.⁷ Mr. Samson even demands a careful consideration of the claims of 1 John v. 7, affirming that it is found in the Latin Vulgate, and quoted by the Greek and Latin Fathers before Constantine. Now, to what does this assertion amount? To this: that the passage is found in the later MSS. of the Vulgate, while it is wanting in the two earliest, in those revised by Alcuin, and in fifty others. As to the Patristic citations of more or less distinctness they exist only in the imagination of those who confound sound with sense. The Greek words were first inserted in the Complutensian edition (A.D. 1514).

Mr. H. Melvill Gwatkin's "Studies of Arianism,"⁸ chiefly relating to the character and chronology of the reaction which followed the Council of Nice, may be commended to the notice of all who care to trace the history of theological speculation. The author seems inclined to favour the opinion that the theory of Evolution, which has already thrown a new light upon some of the most difficult of the problems connected with the history of life, is capable of a momentous extension. Beyond the domain of Matter, within which only we trace the operation of biological energy, he divines a mysterious borderland, where we come face to face with powers of another order. Between the world of matter and a world beyond, the Person of our Lord is, he thinks, the solid and sufficient link; since, if the Saviour's Resurrection is historic fact, the whole mysteries of the Incarnation must have some true kinship to the law of God in Nature.

⁶ "The New Testament Scriptures in the order in which they were written," &c. By the Rev. Charles Hebert, D.D., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Henry Frowde.

⁷ "The English Revisers' Greek Text shown to be Unauthorized," &c. By G. W. Samson, former President of Columbian University, Washington, &c. London: Trübner & Co.

⁸ "Studies of Arianism," &c. By Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M. A., &c. London: George Bell & Sons. 1882.

His object then, if we do not misconceive his meaning, is to give peculiar prominence to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ as a metaphysical reality, an eternal transcendent verity, which, as pointing to a universal law, ruling spirit and matter alike, deserves the serious attention of the philosophic mind. He starts, accordingly, with the current conception of Deity among the Greeks, Orientals, and Jews; and glancing at the subordination theories of the earlier period of Christianity, deals with Arianism as a direct result of antecedent movements, an inevitable reaction of heathen forms of thought against the definite establishment of the Christian view of God. The memorable formula of the Bishops of Chalcedon is the index to this universal law. The Arian hypothesis is not only an impious audacity, but an intellectual vice, an incurably defective and inefficient dogma. In the position thus assumed, we see the impression made on a thoughtful mind by the influences of modern speculation and science. In Mr. Gwatkin's book, accordingly, there is a breath of life which contrasts favourably with the "dry-bones" literature of stereotyped orthodoxy. His acquaintance with Church history, ancient and modern, the writings of the Fathers, and numerous occasional monographs, gives richness and correctness to his representations. We do not accept his theology or his metaphysics, but we commend him for candour, generosity, and lucidity. We may add that he professes scrupulously to have examined Cardinal Newman's theories, as set forth in the "Arians of the Fourth Century;" and that if he has not often accepted them "it is only because he has found usually good reason for rejecting them."

We can speak approvingly also of another work of mixed theology and history, Mr. Alfred Dale's "Synod of Elvira." Elvira, "the Christian name" of Illiberis, is identified with Granada; and the Synod is assigned to the early part of the year 306, when Hosius, the Bishop of Cordova, the personal link between the three Councils—Nicæa, Sardica, and Elvira—might very well have been present. It was convened primarily to restore order in the Church of Spain after the Diocletian persecution, and to reform "the abuses and evils entailed by the period of suffering and trial." Such at least is Mr. Dale's conclusion. At any rate the whole action of the Council was to all appearances directed to ends of ethical and ecclesiastical polity. The text of the Synodical Acts has been reproduced from the edition by F. Antonius Gonzalez, and is printed at the end of the volume as Appendix A. The Christian legislation of the period is illustrated in a series of chapters; the life and manners of the faithful are described, and their relation to the heathen state and heathen society of the fourth century, with much interesting detail, and with, as appears to us, minute and accurate scholarship. The constitution of the Council, Church organization and discipline, laws relating to idolatry, murder, unchastity, witchcraft, sorcery, military service, the

⁹ "The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century. A Historical Essay." By Alfred William Winterslow Dale, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

stage, and Christian worship are strikingly elucidated. The purifying action of the Church on heathen social relations, its discouragement of unnatural profligacy, infanticide, abortion, and cruelty is forcibly exhibited, and a vivid picture of the manners of the age is presented in Mr. Dale's descriptive pages. We cannot think him right in understanding the orders of the Council of Jerusalem, Acts xv., to refrain from blood as a prohibition against murder. It was from eating blood that the Gentile Christians were commanded to refrain, and we do not see that the reference to Tacitus, page 1, altogether authenticates the statement in the text. Should not Plin., "Hist. Nat." iii. 4, have been included?

Bracketing two works of a somewhat kindred purpose, one by a Catholic the other by a Protestant champion of the faith, we may briefly characterize them as well-intended but not successful efforts to defend Revelation against the assaults of Unbelief. "Science without God," by the Dominican Friar, H. Didon,¹⁰ is an earnest, eloquent outburst, appealing mainly, though not exclusively, to the emotional part of our nature, and re-affirming the old arguments, metaphysical and psychological. Vulnerable points in the logic of opponents are exhibited, the illimitableness of desire and unsatisfactoriness of possession are proclaimed; but the calm, cogent voice of reason is hardly audible in these oratorical addresses. The eloquence of the Dominican is directed against Materialism, Atheism, and Scepticism, all said to be logically implied in Positivism. The description of the religious ideal of the Positivists (p. 78) would be regarded by them as an unworthy caricature. Our second apologetic work, "Christianity and Modern Scepticism," by the Rev. A. G. Girdlestone,¹¹ is announced by himself as the result of practical acquaintance with Scepticism in Oxford, the Black Country, and London. In it are considered defects in the principles of ascertaining and in the methods of presenting truth, the moral character of sceptics, the qualifications necessary for dealing with them, and the relation of natural science to the subject treated in the volume.

In the series called "Present Day Tracts," which, like the preceding works, are vindictory, are included two which may attract orthodox readers. That by the Rev. W. G. Blaikie, on "Christianity and the Life that now is,"¹² deprecates the misrepresentations of unbelievers and the misconceptions of Christians, and advocates the use while it discourages the abuse of the world. That by the Rev. Prebendary Row revives the metaphysical and teleological arguments for the existence and character of God,¹³ and rejects the evolutionary theory, even

¹⁰ "Science without God." By H. Didon. Translated from the French by Rosa Corder. London: Kegan Paul. 1882.

¹¹ "Christianity and Modern Scepticism." By the Rev. A. G. Girdlestone, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Clapham Park. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1882.

¹² "Christianity and the Life that now is." By the Rev. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., &c. 56, Paternoster Row.

¹³ "The Existence and Character of God." By the Rev. Prebendary Row, M.A. 56, Paternoster Row.

in the non-atheistic form in which it is presented by Darwin. Mr. Row's metaphysical postulates are very disputable, and we are unable to reconcile the assertion that geology affords no instance of evolution and indefinite variation with the conclusions of Mr. Huxley in "Science and Culture," p. 328, where he tells us:—

"Among the fossils of Pikermi, Gaudry found the successive stages by which the ancient civets passed into the more modern hyænas: through the tertiary deposits of Western America, Marsh tracked the successive forms by which the ancient stock of the horse has passed into its present form; and innumerable less complete indications of the mode of evolution of other groups of the higher mammalia have been obtained."

A work of a very different school, "The Present Religious Crisis,"¹⁴ by Augustus Blauvelt, may be profitably read concurrently with these orthodox publications. It forms the first of a series of volumes, the second of which will be entitled "Religion of Jesus," and the third, "Supernatural Religion." The crisis which suggests the title of the book is the acknowledged decay of faith. Beginning with this theme, Mr. Blauvelt proceeds to handle the weighty topics of dogmatic theology, the canon, Biblical inspiration, the historical character of the Gospels, religion in its generic aspect, the religion of Jews as distinct from that of the Old Testament, religious repression and religious liberty. The discussion appears to be conducted with candour and impartiality.

How the existence of God and unity of the Divine nature were taught to his polytheistic countrymen by Mohammed, "an ignorant, impressible, superstitious, but nevertheless noble and great man," may be learned with sufficient exactness from the delightful little volume which Mr. Stanley Lane Poole has prepared for us, "The Speeches and Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammed."¹⁵ The Speeches are arranged in Professor Nöldeke's chronological order, and are selected with admirable discrimination from the "Koran," and are pronounced by the author to be practically identical with the prophet's words. The "Table-talk" is culled from the heap of traditions collected at a late period, and which cannot be accepted as more than possibly correct reports of Mohammed's conversation. In the brief introduction prefixed to these selections, Mr. Lane Poole traces with simple, yet graphic, power the incidents in the Prophet's early career so far as ascertainable, describes his person, habits, and disposition; and recounting the Arabian characteristics in desert and town-life, and picturing for us the audience he had to address, readily enables us to realize the manner of man the founder of Islam was—a figure so important in the eyes of M. Comte, that he has assigned him a conspicuous place as a final representative of his initial theocracy.

¹⁴ "The Present Religious Crisis." By Augustus Blauvelt. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

¹⁵ "The Speeches and Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammed." Chosen and Translated, with Introduction and Notes. By Stanley Lane Poole. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

At Dr. Congreve's instance the Eight Circulars,¹⁶ which Comte (1850-1857) addressed to the subscribers of the subsidy instituted on his behalf, have been translated by Mr. Lobb and others, and are presented to us in a collective form. They serve to show what importance Comte attached to the establishment of a new spiritual power, and how sanguine he was of the approaching triumph of Positivism.

Dr. Bridges' "Five Discourses on Positive Religion"¹⁷ will give those who are desirous of gaining an insight into its character, without formal investigation, the means of satisfying their curiosity. The subjects of these discourses, which contain many eloquent passages, and are marked by refinement of thought and beauty of expression, are prayer and work, religion and progress, Positivist mottoes, centenary of Calderon, and man the creature of humanity.¹

PHILOSOPHY.

THO the industry and intellectual ardour of Mr. Thomas Davidson we are indebted for an English presentation of the philosophical system of Rosmini, an interesting sketch of his life, a bibliography, an introduction intended to explain his position in thought, a selection of parallel passages from his own works, with a kind of running commentary on the text from the translator's pen. The work selected for translation is the "Sistema Filosofico,"¹ originally written by Rosmini for Cesare Cantù's "Storia Universale." It appears to be a complete *résumé* of Rosmini's system, in a necessarily somewhat curt or cramped form, but generally intelligible; Mr. Davidson having evidently done his best "to turn Rosmini's somewhat diffuse Italian into readable English." Rosmini, described by Mr. Davidson as a thinker and a saint, is said to have exercised a wide and most beneficial influence on the thought of his own country. Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì (such is his full name) was born on March 25, 1797, of noble parents, at Rovereto in the Italian Tyrol. While still very young he studied mathematics and philosophy, and, before attaining his twentieth year, discovered the cardinal principle of his system. A priest, a saint, the founder of an Order, he was favourably received by the Pope on his arrival at Rome in 1828. His pastoral labours in his native city, where he accepted a cure some six years later, roused the opposition of the Austrian Government, which dreaded his Italian and Papal leanings. The persecution of Rosmini and his followers at the hands of the Jesuits, according to his biographer, was unceasing. In 1837, tired of Austrian surveil-

¹⁶ "The Eight Circulars of Auguste Comte." Translated from the French. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

¹⁷ "Five Discourses on Positive Religion." By J. H. Bridges, M.D. London: Reeves & Turner. 1882.

¹ "The Philosophical System of Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì." Translated, &c. By Thomas Davidson. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1882.

lance, he took up his abode at Stresa on the Lago Maggiore, where he lived and wrote, surrounded by admiring friends, for eleven years. Opposed as he was to Austrian rule Rosmini was equally opposed to the unity and freedom which Italy has since achieved. A reformer, a patriot, an influential person in Rome, he was appointed in 1848, by the Piedmontese Government, special envoy to the Holy See, but receiving instructions from that Government to abandon his own scheme of the federation of States, with the Pope as *ex-officio* President, and confine himself to the project of an armed alliance for the prosecution of the Austrian war, he resigned his mission and devoted himself to the cause of the Pope and the Church. By the Pope he had been graciously received; he had been made a consulter of the Congregation of the Index, promised a cardinal's hat, offered the presidency of the Liberal Ministry, with the portfolio of Public Instruction. But owing to various doubts, scruples, and forebodings, he determined to decline the nomination, and from that moment lost his influence with the Pope. His two then recently published works, "The Constitution according to Social Justice," and "The Five Wounds of Holy Church," were prohibited, in consequence of the action taken by the Congregation of the Index at an irregular meeting at Naples. In 1854 the decree prohibiting them was cancelled, the Pope enjoining perpetual silence on the enemies of the persecuted philosopher, who, however, did not long enjoy the mental relief thus afforded him, dying, as he did, soon after at Stresa (July 1, 1855). A prolific author, Rosmini wrote no fewer than ninety-nine different works, and sixteen pages of Mr. Davidson's Bibliography are filled with the titles of the writings to which this Rosminian literature gave rise. We will now attempt to give our readers some notion of his philosophical system. Affirming that philosophy has, since the days of Aristotle, been moving in a vicious circle, his interpreter declares that Rosmini's chief merit was that he found a way out of this vicious circle. He discovered and elaborated a science of *ideology*. Ideology is described as the science of intellective light, whereby man renders intelligible to himself the sensible things from which he draws the sum total of knowledge. The ultimate luminous point in things is Ideal Being, at once the form of thought, the principle of truth, and the essence of objectivity. It is not thought, as Hegel erroneously asserts, which is the reality of things, but the idea—the idea not as a product of thought, but as ideal being, united to real things as a principle is united to its terms. The idea is at once prior to thought and independent of it. Being has two modes—the ideal and the real. Ideal being is the form of cognition; real being its material. With Rosmini the word ideal does not express an intrinsic attribute of Being; it is the idea of existence, formal Being. It is also a *universal*—a universal which, he maintains, is not furnished by the senses. The word ideal, again, does not apply to the essence of being, but to the property which it has of making known real beings to us. The essence of being is known in and through itself, and is the means whereby we know all other things. The idea

is innate; it is the *form* of intelligence. As showing or revealing all, it is the light of reason. In his logic, Rosmini rejects alike the categories of Kant and the dialectic of Hegel. In his view the formal categories of being are to be found in its three necessary modes: ideality, reality, and morality. Kant's seventeen forms—the forms of sensibility, understanding, and reason—have, he contends, no real foundation. On the contrary, the human mind has one single indeterminate form, and this is the idea of universal being. This ideal being is related to real being as a model, an example, a type. It is a mode of being, and must not be confounded with reality. In Rosmini's view, the substance of the Ego is a feeling because the Ego feels. If we *think* this feeling, we perceive a substance, and this substance is ourselves. Feeling, therefore, incites us to affirm not only the feeling but also the being in which it inheres, and hence to perceive the being and the feeling in the being simultaneously. Rosmini, says his expositor, forestalled by many years the doctrines of Bain and Spencer, as to the mode in which we become conscious of measured space. We form the idea of extension and space, according to the Italian philosopher, in two ways. First, through the fundamental feeling (that is, the general and continual discharge of the entire nervous system), accompanied by the faculty of spontaneous motion which our bodies have. Second, through the sensations of touch, aided by this faculty. Indefinite space is formed in both these ways, and is thus at once subjective and extra-subjective. The basis of the proof that there exists an extended being (body) different from us he finds in the fact that in the perception of bodies we feel an agent which is not ourselves and towards which we are passive. All the material and dynamic phenomena of Nature are explicable by Rosmini's unit of natural existence, which is neither force nor matter, but sentience. Philosophy, however, is insufficient to solve all problems. Psychology, shows, for instance, the tendency of human nature towards its own perfection, but fails to discover the destiny of the soul of man. In the midst of harassing doubts, religious tradition comes to our rescue. From the ideal form of being, Rosmini derives one of his four proofs of the existence of God, arguing that as this form is eternal light and *eternal object*, there must be an eternal mind, an *eternal subject*. Still, all the knowledge of the Divine nature we can thus attain to, is no more than a negative-ideal knowledge. We may reason to the fact of God's existence; but the Light of Grace alone can make us acquainted with the nature of God's reality. Such is a rapid survey of Rosmini's system of philosophy. The bare notion of his first principle was derived from the writings of Thomas Aquinas. Guided by this principle—"that it is the essence of intelligence to have an object, and that object is being,"—he proceeds to develop his sciences of intuition or object, of perception or sensible subject, and of reflection or supersensuous realities. Logic, Law, Politics, Ethics, Cosmology, Ontology, and Natural Theology, have all been systematically treated by him. In his application of the five fundamental rules of politics he arrives at a result favourable to the Catholic system, which he pronounces the most effective for social

organization, and the amelioration of the human race. That Rosmini was a staunch supporter of Papal infallibility and authority, temporal as well as spiritual, must inevitably create a prejudice in the Protestant mind, and tend to discourage the study of his philosophy. His "New Essay on the Origin of Ideas" is destined, according to the sanguine prognostication of Mr. Davidson, to take the place of "Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason," as the second great philosophic work of the world, beside and before Aristotle's logic. His translator has a higher opinion of Rosmini's merits than we have, who certainly do not possess what he deems the indispensable qualification for its appreciation, long and careful study. Some of the philosopher's observations appear to us just; his critical comments on the errors of others are acute; his exposure of Hegelian absurdities clever and decisive. But when we examine his own philosophical structure, we cannot help seeing its many flaws and cracks. With Hegel, Being develops into the universe, into God. Denying the reality of the Hegelian process, Rosmini like Hegel makes being the starting-point of philosophy; maintains that it is reached by direct intuition, which he regards as an infallible form of cognition, inasmuch as phenomenon and noumenon thus apprehended are necessarily one. For ourselves we fail to see in his Ideal being anything but a mental concept glorified by the light of a devout imagination. If we mentally obliterate all the attributes of an object, except the most general of all, its being or existence—that residual concept is only an idealism, a creation of the mind to which we can readily lend the desired universality. It is an abstraction, a generalization, and not an intuition. Such at least is our present opinion.

In language not dissimilar from that of Rosmini, the author of "An Essay on the Philosophy of Consciousness,"² affirms that Being is the *à priori* condition of Thought, but differing from Rosmini, in this as in other respects, proclaims the unity of thought and being. "The substance or hypostasis of thought," says the Essayist, "is being. The being of the individual Ego, and that alone, supplies the ground on which the rational judgment takes its stand. Starting from a certain ideal of humanity, acquired through history, biography, and personal experience, reason, it is alleged, argues up to being universal. This view of the intellectual nature of man is the first of the three discoveries to which our author prefers a claim. The second discovery relates to our affectional nature. As in the material universe action and reaction are equal and opposite, so in the spiritual world attraction is held to be reciprocal and complementary. Thence it comes that the imperfection of every finite being is the source of the greatest joy; inasmuch as the sense of mutual correlation for dependence is love, and love is the condition of our highest joy, as well as a potent auxiliary in the fulfilment of the moral law. The third discovery furnishes an answer to the question: Is life worth living? "Present suffering and even permitted sin," it is responded, "are conceivably

² "An Essay on the Philosophy of Consciousness." By P. H. Fitzgerald. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

good as assisting through intellectual, emotional, and moral development a thorough realization of the order of the universe." To complete our notice of the author's theory we must add that the nature of thought is pronounced to be triform. We are forced, it is said, to conceive a sufficient, an efficient, or a final cause for every event and for every thing—an assertion which in its integrity we more than question. In one or the other of these three principles of causation, [it is further said, all the sciences have their source, as so many phases of the one fact of self-consciousness, in reflection. The Essay professes to be an analysis of reason, and the rationale of love. We differ widely from most of its positions; but we have no space for controverting them.

We are so far in agreement with Mr. Ryland³ in his strictures on Locke's theory of the origin of our knowledge as to admit that philosopher's ignorance of elementary biological facts, of the imperfection of his psychology, of his excusable non-recognition of the reaction of the sentient mechanism through its inherited structure; but recalling Locke's expressions "the actings of our own minds," "its own operations within itself," "its own operations proceeding from powers intrinsic and proper to itself," we are disposed to qualify the censure which he passes on Locke, and, important as was the service rendered by Kant, we can hardly find in him, much less in Hegel, a solution of the problem of the origin of our ideas. Dissenting, however, as Mr. Ryland does, from Locke's initial position, he shows a generous appreciation of Locke's work, by editing for us in a separate form the immortal third book "Of Words," of the great Englishman's Essay. In addition to the text of this book, Mr. Ryland has in his "Introduction," tabulated the chief events of Locke's life, fixed his place as a philosopher, and discussed his doctrine of Ideas and of Species. The numerous notes at the end of the volume will clear up many difficulties for the inexperienced student.

Mr. Leslie Stephen is an uncompromising advocate of the experience philosophy, regarding ontology "as a barren region haunted by shadowy chimeras, mere spectres which have not life enough in them even to be wrong."⁴ In the exposition of his views on the freedom of the will, moral obligation, conscience, disinterested sympathy, we find ample evidence of acute thought and diligent study. Throughout his essay we meet with instances of fine discrimination, careful analysis, and vigorous independence of view. His volume is a complete repertory of arguments on most if not all the vexed questions of ethical science. If, on the other hand, we have found it somewhat diffuse and monotonous, and if in the hunt after Truth we are sometimes thrown off the track, we may perhaps be allowed to impute it to the length of the run, the complexities of the way, and the varying suspensive

³ "Locke on Words." *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*. Book iii. With Introduction and Notes. By F. Ryland, M.A. London: W. Swan & Co. 1882.

⁴ "The Science of Ethics." By Leslie Stephen. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1882.

procedure of the huntsman, as well as to our own hebetude or misapprehension. Mr. Leslie Stephen rightly begins his dissertation with the elimination of metaphysical doubts, as irrelevant in the sphere of science. Recognizing the difficulties which surround our previsions of human conduct, he decides that, after all deductions on this score, some result is attainable. Society, he argues, may be considered as a structure implying a certain fixity of relations. The theory of evolution shows that every organism represents the product of a certain series of adjustments between the organism and its environment. To discover the scientific form of morality is the particular problem he has in view. The criterion of happiness is examined, and declared to be misrepresenting; the theory which makes the reason the sole rule of conduct is held to be insufficient. As, however, conduct is regulated by some sort of regard to the purposes of life, a certain unity of character is developed, and thus every reasoning agent represents a type, partially realizing a general efficiency by the acquirement of certain general qualities. Through a process of correlation of pernicious and painful states, a certain advantage or utility accrues, but to the race rather than to the individual. The social evolution implies the evolution of a strong social organism or rather tissue. The best type is that which rests on the stronger tissue; for it is the most vigorous tissue which prevails in the struggle of existence. Corresponding to this tissue, certain social instincts are developed, and hence a body of customs essential to the life of the society. It is by the vitality of the "instincts in virtue" that the community exists. Law—external law—is the result of universal social pressure, and these instincts are equivalent to an internal law. "Conduct," Mr. Stephen continues, "is a function of character and circumstance, and rules of action corresponding to our primitive sensibilities must be capable of statement in rules of character." The question now arises, how is the moral rule to be deduced from the general principle of social vitality. The law of Nature is: Be Strong; her punishment is weakness, decay, death. In the early social stages, fighting power was the critical power for each race. Courage accordingly became a necessary condition of social vitality. Courage and the approval of courage were recognized as *useful*. Similarly industry, energy, temperance, chastity, truth, justice, benevolence, are based on the principle of utility or social welfare. This inauguration of virtue, as an essential of the security and happiness of society, prepares the way for a discussion on egoistic instincts, altruism, merit, and conscience, in a series of chapters replete with valuable and discriminating comment. In the ninth chapter, headed "Happiness as a Criterion," our author, while pronouncing Utilitarianism unsatisfactory as a complete account of morality, admits that it "contains a core of inexpugnable truth." But though it has a solid basis of fact, it requires, according to him, restatement or reconstruction. The imperfection of the Eudæmonistic theory may be conceded, but is there any moral theory without its imperfection? We cannot make an accurate or exhaustive calculation of the sum total of all human pleasures and pains. But are we justi-

fied in rejecting the fundamental principle because we are not in possession of all the secondary principles? Ethical science is a progressive science, and with the improvements that increased knowledge and experience will bring with them, we may, as Mr. Stephen would undoubtedly acknowledge, learn more and more of the consequences of action on the happiness of mankind. The charges, however, which are brought against this moral theory, as hitherto held, can all be met, our author is of opinion, if directed against the moral system which *he* supports. His morality is the evolutionist morality, and if the evolutionist morality be in some sense Utilitarian, it differs from the morality of the older Utilitarians. The prior doctrine is objected to, as basing morality on pure experience, as recognizing only the *Association* type of knowledge, and as overlooking the existence of innate tendencies. Now, if by innate tendencies are meant "organized predispositions," and not actual intuitions of right and wrong, we accept the criticism as just, where the indictment is warranted. Again, admitting that the Utilitarian type of knowledge is rightly represented by the Association Psychology, we do not feel greatly disturbed by the alleged want of strength and cohesion. If the complex products of the mind are shown to be the outgrowth of the lower elements of our nature, still the phenomena are not artificial, but the natural consequence of a presiding psychical law. The law of Association, though it does not explain everything, is co-extensive with much of our mental life. In the connection of size and distance with visible signs, in the complex ideas of Beauty or Sublimity, it asserts its efficacy; and if the associations thus generated are practically indissoluble in art and sensation, why should this type of knowledge not be sufficient for a basis of ethical science? Rejecting, however, the old Utilitarianism for its real or alleged inadequacies, Mr. Leslie Stephen proposes to substitute the Evolutionist criterion. "The organism," he says, "has solved the problem for us, at least approximately. What is Wholesome is in the long run productive of pleasure. The Utilitarian takes as a criterion the happiness, the Evolutionist the health, of Society. The two, indeed, are not divergent but tend to coincide. The Evolutionist Philosophy enables us to reduce the variations of the social organism to a fixed rule." So says Mr. Leslie Stephen; and, if this be so, the new morality would be an auxiliary to the old. Unless, however, we can predict future variation, ethical science would, it appears to us, be still chargeable with imperfection. The immediate merit, it is urged of the new philosophy, would be to restore due authority to social instincts without elevating them into transcendental intuitions. The primary condition of Happiness is Health. The typical man, that is, the healthiest man, is the happiest man. "Happiness is the reward offered not for virtue alone, but for conformity to what I have called the law of Nature: that law, namely, of which it is the great commandment—Be Strong." All virtuous action, it is further explained, implies action in conformity with certain instincts which have become organic in the virtuous man. If we rightly understand Mr. Stephen,

the typical man need not have recourse to any valuation of consequences to determine the morality of an action? He is a moralized man, responding to all the needs of society, and is spontaneously truthful, pure, good, courageous. It would be interesting, but perhaps scarcely possible, to test the soundness of this principle. To submit to some satisfactory scrutiny the men of maximum vitality, with the object of ascertaining if they possessed the required maximum of virtue, and if this virtue really was the direct consequence of their instincts, would be an arduous experiment; an experiment rendered all the more difficult, since we should have to make allowance for the influence of present social pressure, religion, education, &c. Another interesting question would be, How far would it be right or practicable, on this theory, to modify the existing social order, to introduce political or social ameliorations into the organism, so respectably served by the typical man, that is, the man whose standard of virtue as we presume, is not in excess of the general social standard. At the conclusion of his Essay, Mr. Leslie Stephen asks, "What is it I have done, supposing my arguments to be satisfactory, and what is it that, even upon that hypothesis, still remains to be done?" For a partial answer, we refer our readers to Mr. Leslie Stephen's own pages. In lieu of all further comment we cite the concluding sentence of his volume, offering our sincere tribute of admiration to the many merits of his essay, indulging a hope that the Evolutionist theory of Morals may aid in the amelioration of the Old Utilitarianism, but, for the present, retaining our belief in the validity of the cardinal principle of the prior system.

"On my theory, then, the moralist assigns no new motives; he accepts human nature as it is, and he tries to show how it may maintain and improve the advantages already acquired. His influence is little enough: but such as it is, it depends upon the fact that a certain harmony has already come into existence, and that men are therefore so constituted, that they desire a more thorough solution of existing discords. A sound moral system is desirable, in order to give greater definiteness to the aims and methods, and it is doubtless important to obtain one in a period of rapid decay of old systems. But it is happy for the world that moral progress has not to wait till an unimpeachable system of ethics has been elaborated."

From the most recent speculations on ethical science we pass to the most memorable of the psychological inquiries of Antiquity, Aristotle's⁵ *De Anima*, under the intelligent, if not unerring guidance of Mr. Edwin Wallace. To his perspicuous and readable, but somewhat paraphrastic version of the great master's treatise on the Soul, Mr. Wallace has prefixed a carefully executed and instructive dissertation of his own on the scope, method, and character of psychology as conceived by Aristotle, on his various minor treatises relating to this subject on the pre-Aristotelian accounts of the soul, and on the merits and defects of the Greek philosopher's investigation. His remarks

⁵ "Aristotle's Psychology in Greek and English, with Introduction and Notes." By Edwin Wallace, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1882.

on the perplexing theory of the creative reason (*νοῦς ποιητικός*) on which, according to Mr. J. S. Mill, Dr. Franz Brentano, has written with an unusual thoroughness of philosophical research and exegesis, will be read with interest, though his interpretation, on which, however, he does not insist, has a somewhat modern air about it. Mr. E. Wallace rightly regards Aristotle as the first who constituted Psychology into a special science. "While unable fully to explain the union of the antithesis, he yet showed that soul and body were not so much two contradictory forces as two complementary counterparts in human nature," expanding and illustrating his view by an enumeration of the different stages in the development of the Psyche from lower to higher forms. The notes, which are numerous, elucidate the text: they are expository rather than grammatical or philological. An index to the Greek original enhances the value of this acceptable presentation of Aristotle's famous treatise.

From the psychology of Aristotle to the psychology of Buddhism is a somewhat unexpected transition.⁶ Rightfully to apprehend Dr. A. Bastian's point of view when he touches on the religious question is not easy. He appears, however, to refer the origin of religion to emotional excitement, to some instinct or impulse such, we will say, as "the perception of the Infinite;" and though he apparently regards all previously realized religions as untenable, yet in some scientific or alternative form he pronounces religion indestructible. Embracing alike the external and internal world, Buddhism, as a religious philosophy, finds its support in psychology. In a learned and elaborate dissertation Dr. A. Bastian examines and explains the various forms of Buddhist thought, sentiment, doctrine, and practice from the combined Karma of all sentient existence to simple Nirvana, which appears equivalent to personal non-existence. Numerous analogies in the historical varieties of religious thought, Christian, Gnostic, and Pagan, are indicated in pages which bristle with an overgrowth of ancient and modern erudition. Dr. A. Bastian, long a resident in Siam and Ceylon, is the author of more than one volume on psychology and ethnology. He is also the translator of a work, judged to be of great value by Oriental scholars, the "Abhidhammatthasangata." Buddhism seems to preserve much of its old vitality, if we may judge from the officially reported number of its adherents, estimated, though not with absolute certainty, at 500,000,000.

Mr. T. Rawson-Birks, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, is a zealous champion of the old theology, which is quite as perplexing to us as the "First Principles" of Mr. H. Spencer has proved to others. It is against Mr. Spencer's doctrine of evolution that Mr. Birks's polemic is primarily directed,⁷ but the Darwinian theory is also

⁶ "Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie." Von A. Bastian. Mit einer Karte des Buddhistischen Weltsystems. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

⁷ "Modern Physical Fatalism and the Doctrine of Evolution, including an Examination of Mr. H. Spencer's First Principles." By Thomas Rawson Birks, M.A., &c. Second Edition. With a Preface, &c., by C. Pritchard, D.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

assailed, being curiously described as "the supposed discovery of a few recent authors, called the law of Natural Selection." All Mr. Birks's co-religionists, it seems, do not share his opinion, for he tells us that the doctrine of evolution has been accepted by some Christian divines, one of whom in a sermon recently published has recognized it as "the latest revelation which God has given to mankind." With many of Mr. Birks's conclusions we are in complete disaccord; but as he at least gives his reasons for the rejection of Mr. Spencer's *philosophia prima*, as the dynamical theorems enunciated in the "First Principles" are alleged to be wholly unlike those of Newton and his illustrious successors, and as mathematicians of great eminence and ability profess themselves unable to discover the standpoint from which Mr. Spencer regards these prior investigations, we think that Mr. Birks's objections are entitled to a candid consideration. The preface to this volume, from which we have borrowed the words enclosed in inverted commas, is contributed by Dr. C. Pritchard, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, at the request of some friends of the author of the book, now in its second edition. The first edition was published in 1876. Four years after Mr. Spencer, in an appendix to a stereotyped issue of the "First Principles," animadverted on certain passages written by Professor Birks. Illness prevented the Professor from comparing Mr. Spencer's strictures, and still precludes that knowledge. Dr. Pritchard has, therefore, undertaken to reply to those strictures, not, as already intimated, without appropriate solicitation.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

MR. HARWOOD, whose able and impartial Essay on Disestablishment must be known to many of our readers, has chosen an excellent subject for the display of his characteristic qualities of thought and style. Much has been written on Democracy of late years, but most of those who have undertaken to estimate the probable effects of Household Suffrage have done so from a partisan point of view. Professor Blackie and Mr. Ernest Jones pelted one another with Greek quotations in a very spirited manner; but their controversy had a good deal more to do with the Athenian Demos than with the English working-man. Mr. Harwood has the merit of perceiving that our national history has moulded the character of the people generally, and not merely of the governing classes. Democracy in this country will not follow in the track of Athenian or Parisian politics, and some of those who interpret most confidently the wishes of "the people," will find their calculations at fault. Himself imbued with conservative reverence for the historical element in our

¹ "The Coming Democracy." By G. Harwood. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

institutions, Mr. Harwood is disposed to think that English democracy will not be a revolutionary force—that the working-classes, when they have learned how to give effect to their aspirations, will show a right appreciation of the responsibilities of Empire, and an enlightened desire to be just in their treatment of the hereditary wealth and influence of other classes. We may remark that, if conservatism and progress are to be thus reconciled, there must be a high standard of political virtue, not only among the masses, but among those whom Mr. Harwood regards as our natural leaders. Working people have small leisure for study; they cannot be expected to see the merits of the governing classes unless those merits are made plain to them by direct personal demonstration. And in the arts of popular demonstration our aristocracy is sadly deficient. Many men, who are capable of doing good public work for the love of it, do not realize that they are as citizens on an equality with those for whom they work, and almost resent the notion of explaining themselves in a style intelligible to all. So long as this temper prevails, there must be a gulf fixed between upper and lower, and the influence which might be exercised with advantage by the wealthy and cultured will be usurped by professional agitators. Those who have read Mr. Harwood's former work will be prepared to find that he lays much stress on the influence of national religion. We agree with much that he has to say on this point. Indeed we have protested more than once in these columns against the not uncommon notion that a complete separation can be effected between politics and religion. We observe in the Germany of to-day that crude atheism is almost invariably associated with militant socialism—another proof, if proof were wanted, that religion and politics are not separate spheres, but only different functions of the same social organism. But we do not think that Mr. Harwood's argument bridges over the distinction between a national religion and an Established Church. He has himself admitted that every Church tends to become a sect; and Established Churches are by no means exempt from this general law. Until the tendency to sectarianism is overcome, there is always a strong argument against favouring one sect at the expense of the rest.

From the general theory of Church and State we turn to the exposition of their relative position in this country, contributed to the "English Citizen" series by Mr. Arthur Elliot.² The object of these little volumes is educational, not controversial; and the author of this particular treatise has shown considerable skill in avoiding the more keenly disputed questions connected with his subject. His historical account of the rise and progress of the National Church will appear fatally incomplete in the eyes of High Church critics. His remarks on the present financial and legal position of the Establishment will, perhaps, be equally far from satisfying politicians of the school of Mr. Guinness Rogers. But for those who wish to possess the facts and law

² "The State and the Church." By the Hon. A. Elliot, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

of the question in a handy form, this book will serve its purpose well. Here and there are trifling mistakes of expression. It is, for instance, not strictly correct to speak of the Bishops as "members of the peerage." Bishops, having seats in the Upper House, are Lords of Parliament, but they are not peers; their blood is not ennobled, and a Bishop's son is therefore not entitled to the honourable prefix borne by Mr. Elliot and other sons of peers. In dealing with the property of the Church and the vexed question of patronage, Mr. Elliot adopts the tone of mild Erastianism. He evidently does not sympathize with the views of those who would extinguish lay patronage, but he would remove the abuses connected with the sale of livings. Indecent as this traffic sometimes appears, we incline to think that it should meet with the approval of consistent defenders of the Establishment. There is really no "simony" in the transactions to which the Curates' Alliance offers a riotous opposition. If Bishops were to ordain for money, that would be simony; but if a man has already been found competent to receive a cure of souls, why should he not be allowed to purchase a convenient cure, just as a doctor or a solicitor may purchase a practice? What moral difference is there between the purchases so forcibly and variously denounced by the Bishop of Peterborough, and the use which is commonly made of college and family livings? Mr. Elliot devotes two chapters to the Church of Scotland. This part of his work will be specially useful, in view of the Disestablishment agitation now going on on the other side of the Border. Most Englishmen are content to regard Scottish ecclesiastical differences as matters which need not, and cannot, be understood. They are really quite as interesting as the corresponding differences in England, and they are argued out with an acumen which southern politicians cannot pretend to rival. Those who wish to understand a question which may take an important place at the next General Election will do well to consult Mr. Elliot's chapters.

Another volume of the same series is Mr. Spencer Walpole's³ "Manual of Foreign Relations." Forced to confine himself within narrow limits, the author has wisely refrained from attempting to give a complete historical introduction. The history of our foreign politics down to 1815 is dismissed in some thirty pages, while the changes which have falsified the foresight of the Congress of Vienna are described in forty pages. A special chapter is given to our relations with America and Russia—the two Powers which De Tocqueville regarded as destined to disturb the balance of the world: and the two concluding chapters contain a general description of the duties of ambassadors and consuls. Mr. Walpole writes as a Liberal, and his notions of foreign policy may be said to represent the *via media* between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Cobden. To the former statesman he is, we think, a little less than fair. Nobody now maintains that Palmerston's intervention in the affairs of other nations was always

³ "Foreign Relations." By Spencer Walpole. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

wise or well timed; and it is easy to tell the story of his Spanish escapades and his patronage of Don Pacifico, so as to make him appear a mere blustering Marplot. But it should be remembered that if he sometimes brought us to the edge of war, he never led us into it; and that his outspoken championship of English interests and English ideas gained us a good deal of respect and even of good-will among our neighbours. He understood perfectly what liberal statesmen are apt to forget, that a Foreign Minister is not a judge to ascertain and enforce what is abstractly right and fair, but an advocate whose business it is to get the best terms for his own clients. He asserted himself as boldly as Bismarck, and he had, from the moral point of view, this great advantage over the German Chancellor, that England had no scheme of aggrandisement to forward, and was therefore always sincerely pleased to keep the peace. Mr. Walpole admits that non-intervention is not a safe or even a possible rule of action for England; and we must confess that we prefer intervention in the Palmerstonian manner to that hesitating policy which leads to such events as the Crimean War and the bombardment of Alexandria.

To the conductors of the same series we are indebted for a treatise on the State in relation to Labour.⁴ We had occasion to notice not long ago a work by Dr. Adolf Held on this subject, published not long after that promising publicist met his death by drowning. A like melancholy interest attaches to the volume now before us. We understood that Mr. Jevons was preparing to bring his economic knowledge to bear on the present condition of Ireland, and men of all parties will deeply regret that we are not to have the advantage of his impartial judgment on the most perplexing problem of English statesmanship. This book, the latest result of Mr. Jevons's researches, is a practical application of the doctrine which its author was fond of preaching—the doctrine that legislation is concerned not with abstract and immutable rights, but with expediency. It is well that the popular tendency to believe in abstract, inalienable rights should be corrected; but we cannot help thinking that Mr. Jevons carries his argument too far in the direction of empiricism. The error of those who erect economic generalities into universal laws consists chiefly in this, that the basis of their inductions is not wide enough. But if we take account of all the facts, we ought to obtain abstract principles of truly universal scope; and the economist need not shrink from the logical application of such principles, and may well refuse to be banished to Jupiter or Saturn for the convenience of the empiric. In dealing with the Law of Trade Unions and Industrial conspiracy, Mr. Jevons displays, as might be expected, thorough mastery of the facts and insight into the relation of capital and labour in this country. Perhaps the most questionable of his propositions on this head is his approval of the Trades Union policy with regard to apprenticeship. We are aware that apprenticeship has too often been made an instru-

⁴ "The State in Relation to Labour." By W. S. Jevons. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

ment of fraud and cruelty by selfish parents and masters. And in these days, when working boys become independent at an early age, it is not desirable to give a parent the power of determining absolutely his son's course in life for seven or even five years. But if the standard of manual skill is to be maintained among our workmen, something in the nature of apprenticeship is indispensable. The Unions would render a signal service to English labour if they would devise a solution of this problem.

On passing from Mr. Jevons's work to the treatise of Herr Schellwien,⁵ we are at once aware of the characteristic difference between English and German politics. We are occupying ourselves with the future of Trade Unions and Councils of Arbitration, institutions which assume the permanence of the present division between capital and labour. In Germany, even the soberest politicians are busy discussing questions which go to the very roots of modern society. Is capital tending to accumulate in the hands of the few? And if such a tendency is actually operating, by what means may it be checked? The author of this Essay admits the tendency, but he is not satisfied with the proposed remedies of Socialism. He proves very clearly that Socialism, whether in the Bismarckian or in the Nihilistic form, would almost certainly aggravate the evils which it professes to cure. By upsetting the law of property, capital would be destroyed and its accumulation checked; in order to bring about a fairer division of wealth, we should reduce ourselves to a condition of society in which there would be nothing to divide. At the same time, Herr Schellwien is of opinion that existing laws are not just to labour. We protect, he says, the rights of the capitalist, and therein we do well. But the right of the labourer—his natural right to receive in wages the whole value which his labour has added to the product of industry—is not protected. We follow the tradition of the Roman law, which was conceived at a time when almost all labour was slave labour; and we must emancipate ourselves from this tradition before we can place the institution of private property on its true juristic and moral basis. This view of the subject strikes us as being quite original; and it is worked out with much learning and ingenuity. But when we try to realize the practical effect of Herr Schellwien's theory, we are somewhat at a loss. His proposal seems to be this: that some impartial tribunal should set aside a fair interest on the capital employed in industry, and that the remainder of the profits should be treated as the result of labour and divided among the labourers. But before this proposal can be adopted, there are one or two awkward questions to answer. What is a fair interest on capital? The answer must be, that the capitalist's return should vary according to the risk he runs and the managing power he displays. Managing power is as necessary to industry as either capital or labour; it cannot

⁵ "Die Arbeit und ihr Recht." Von Robert Schellwien. Berlin: Pulkammer u. Mühlbrecht. 1882.

be obtained unless it is paid for; and its payment, under existing conditions, lies in the extra profit to be gained by judicious investment and by skilful direction of labour. The reason why capital tends to come into fewer hands is that managing power is not a common gift. And the only way in which the many can prevail against the few is by setting themselves to acquire managing power. Any attempt to protect the labourer by giving him an indefeasible right to his share of the product of industry, will only retard his advancement, because all such protection tends to make men contented to remain as they are—labourers and nothing more. Now the mere labourer, without capital or managing power, never will be well off, because it is the interest of society to obtain its labour—that is, its physical force—as cheap as possible. The labourer improves his position, not by extending the “rights of labour,” but by becoming more than a labourer, and so increasing his own personal value. Though we cannot quite admit that Herr Schellwien has found the solution of the Social Question, we think highly of the merits of his work, and would specially recommend its perusal to those of our Radical politicians who are inclined to State Socialism.

Mr. Tremenheere's “Manual”⁶ hardly corresponds to its title. It is an enlarged edition of a book which he published some time ago, consisting of extracts from ancient writers on the science and art of government. Aristotle naturally heads the list. Polybius and Cicero are also laid under contribution, and the lessons from Greek and Roman writers are followed by extracts of a later date, ranging from Machiavelli to John Stuart Mill. There is not much system in the selection and arrangement of these passages, or in the editorial remarks appended to them; but it need not be said that a volume compiled from such sources is full of good matter.

Mr. Whale's pamphlet⁷ is well meant, but we do not quite see how it is adapted to advance the cause which he has at heart. We do not require to be told that political education is a pressing necessity. We want men who will actually undertake the work, and show us how it ought to be done.

Mr. Ernest A. Floyer⁸ is a telegraphic officer, whose lines fell to him some years since in far from pleasant places near the head of the Persian Gulf. The dreary little station at Jask was the starting-point of the two journeys described in the volume. Our knowledge of Baluchistan has always been extremely limited; even Sir Frederick Goldsmid's mission did not lead to anything like a complete exploration of the country. Mr. Floyer's first journey was by way of Bint to Bampur, the political and military capital of the Mekran; his second by way of Anguhran, the capital of Bashakard, to the Persian

⁶ “A Manual of the Principles of Government.” By H. S. Tremenheere, C.B. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

⁷ “A Fragment on Political Education.” By G. Whale. London: W. Ridgway. 1882.

⁸ “Unexplored Baluchistan.” By Ernest A. Floyer. London: Griffith & Farran. 1882.

frontier, and through Persia to Bagdad. He travelled with a considerable train of camels and servants, and was received as an equal by such local potentates as he happened to meet. He was able to verify his route by astronomical observations which will prove useful for the correction of our maps; his botanical and geological collections are of considerable value; and his remarkable knowledge of the languages and customs of the East enabled him to acquire all the information that was to be had in regard to the political and social conditions of those little-known regions. Of the Baluchis Mr. Floyer speaks very well. They are cheerful and kindly, fond of money, but absolutely honest, proud of their country and of their national character. They are governed by a number of petty sheikhs, and a more or less effective suzerainty is exercised in the west by Kelat, in the east by Persia. When the Persian taxgather is too regular in his visits, the people grumble, and say it would be better if the English would come and take the country. But we gather from some incidents related by Mr. Floyer that any actual attempt at annexation would meet with serious resistance, especially among the Baluchis of the coast, who are more independent in their ways and less accustomed to the Persian yoke. The religion of the country is a very nominal sort of Mahommedanism. After crossing the Persian frontier Mr. Floyer is on more familiar ground. But he has some valuable observations concerning the manufacture of Persian carpets, as he saw it carried on at Kirman and elsewhere. His account of the wretched condition of the children employed in weaving the artistic fabrics is very sad. And we are sorry to learn that English dyes and French patterns are making their way in the East, inasmuch that it is no longer safe to take the colours of a Persian rug on trust; the buyer must be careful to see that he is not deceived into buying a semi-European article, with a pert Persian design and a patent aniline red dye which runs or flies on the smallest provocation. Mr. Floyer deserves all credit for having done an important piece of scientific work in a thorough and masterly fashion.

Mr. Pidgeon's two volumes⁹ belong to a class of books which we are accustomed to regard with some suspicion. Travellers who survey the habitable globe in six months, and then sit down to give us a chatty account of what they have seen, are seldom in a position to impart much that is worth knowing. We must admit that Mr. Pidgeon's book is exceptionally good of its kind. The most novel and readable portions of this travelling journal are those which are occupied with descriptions of tolerably familiar scenes in the United States. Mr. Pidgeon has an appreciative and critical eye for business details of all kinds, and his notes on the industrial towns which he visited are quite worth reading. We gather from his pages that Anglo-Saxon civilization in the West, as in the East, is marked rather by activity in extending its borders than by wise economy in the use

⁹ "An Engineer's Holiday." By Daniel Pidgeon. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

of its resources. The boasted "progress" of the States is, after all, a matter of unlimited territory, and we see already in the condition of New England some signs of the difficulties which await American society, when the limit of its gigantic resources has been reached. Meantime Americans almost to a man are absorbed in making money, and have no time to consider the future of civilization. They have no time even to govern themselves: great cities are arising which are left destitute of the benefits which a decent municipality would supply; and political life is becoming a branch—and not a very reputable branch—of business. It is to be hoped that the abounding energy and the good feeling between classes to which Mr. Pidgeon bears his testimony, will prove equal to finding a solution for these social problems. From America the "Engineer's Holiday" carries us to Japan, and thence to China. In the latter empire there seems to be a prospect of important political changes at no distant date. Intelligent observers think that the Manchu dynasty is tottering to its fall; and it is suggested that England would have done wisely to refrain from interference with the movement, which led to the Tæping rebellion. From China Mr. Pidgeon proceeded to India, where he was greatly struck, as other travellers have been before him, with the poverty of the great mass of the population. We are pretty well cured by this time of the old-fashioned English delusion as to the wealth of the "gorgeous East;" but there is still some disposition to force costly European projects on a people whose average income is about thirty shillings a year. It is therefore well that we should be reminded from time to time of the stern facts of the situation.

Among the many Eastern nationalities more or less dependent on England for political guidance, the Burman is not the least interesting. We have now from the pen of a writer, long known to readers of a London paper by his signature, "Shway Yoe," two volumes of sketches embodying an immense amount of detailed information in regard to Burman life.¹⁰ From the incidents of birth and the choice of a name to the rites of burial there is hardly any aspect of life in the dominion shared between Victoria and Theebaw which is not illustrated in these pages. The picture has many attractive features. There seems, from all accounts, to be an element of gaiety and good fellowship in the Burman, which finds expression in the games and festivities of the people. They are not ambitious; and, when they have done the small quantity of work necessary to secure a subsistence, the rest of their time is devoted to smoking cheroots and social amusement. Their religion is Buddhism of a fairly high type; and custom requires that every youth should have passed through a monastery. So long as this custom is maintained, there is little hope of success for Christian missionaries. King Theebaw, in spite of his unorthodox tendency to gin and manslaughter, seems to have owed his advancement to the success with which he studied Pali in his youth. Of the Burmese kingdom, and its political and military strength, "Shway

¹⁰ "The Burman." By "Shway Yoe." London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Yoe" speaks somewhat contemptuously. He thinks the kingdom weaker now than it was at the end of the second Burmese war. There can be no strength in the councils of the king so long as his Ministers are liable to lose their heads for a single offensive word. As for the army, it appears to be recruited and officered on a bad system; and the so-called fortifications erected in various parts of independent Burma are mere "shell-traps," which would not stand against European ordnance. It is impossible to doubt that the annexation of the country by England would be a great benefit to humanity in general and to the Burmans themselves in particular. But there are so many parts of the earth of which the same statement holds true, that we must receive with some caution the expression of "Shway Yoe's" hope that the many titles of Theebaw may give way to the name and power of the Empress of India. In taking leave of this able and amusing book, we must say that we should have liked to see the author's observations presented in a somewhat more complete and connected form. English readers do not start with much knowledge of Burma, and a general description of the country and the people would make these pleasant sketches even better reading than they are.

While we speak and write with easy minds of the possibility of English annexations in this quarter or that, we are vigilant to detect and denounce any tendency to similar action on the part of our neighbours. Mr. A. Broadley,¹¹ who was the correspondent of the *Times* in Tunis during the French invasion, has written these two volumes of history with a view to expose the character and the possible consequences of recent French policy in North Africa. Since the Moslem power was established in that region, more than twelve hundred years ago, it has been the scene of many strange acts on the part of Christian Powers, and the story of the now reigning family, from the reception of Achmet in Paris to the virtual suppression of Achmet's son by M. Roustan and Mme. Musalli, is one of the strangest chapters in the eventful record. Mr. Broadley has had access to good sources of information, and his account of the financial embarrassments of the Tunisian Government is probably as fair and complete as any that has been given to the public. He has also succeeded in bringing out the interests of England in North Africa very clearly. It seems strange to Englishmen of this generation to be told that Tunisian pirates appeared in the Channel in 1817, and that in the previous year we held Algiers, and might have retained it permanently if Lord Liverpool's Government had been in an enterprising mood. Since that time we have never thought of active interference in North Africa, but we have from time to time assisted the people of Tunis to defend their independence against the encroaching policy of France. In 1878 Lord Salisbury departed—to what extent is not known—from this traditional policy. French ambition was encouraged to enter on the path of conquest; M. Roustan began to draft

¹¹ "The Last Punic War: Tunis Past and Present." By A. M. Broadley. London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

Conventions for the signature of the Bey; the Kroumirs were discovered to be among the most insolent foes of the Great Nation, and so without any declaration of war against the Bey or the Sultan, the province was invaded and reduced to the position of a tributary of the Republic. The diplomatic proceedings which led to the war, led also to the famous case of *Roustan v. Rochefort*, which Mr. Broadley describes with a good deal of humorous detail. We cannot help contrasting the exploits of the French Government in Tunis with our own recent experiences in Egypt, very much to the advantage of our own statesmen. But we must beware of bad company. Mr. Broadley tells us that the popularity of Englishmen among the natives of North Africa has been seriously impaired since our political association with France.

Another warning against the ambition of our neighbours is embodied in Mr. Scudamore's historical retrospect of the action of France in the East.¹² Those who know anything of the author's previous writings will take up this little book in the expectation of finding instruction and amusement in somewhat bewildering combination; and they will not be disappointed. Mr. Scudamore hurries us along from the Eastern policy of Charlemagne (for there are still people without the fear of Mr. Freeman before their eyes who call Charles the Great a Frenchman) to the diplomacy of the House of Valois, the Egyptian expedition of Napoleon I., and the release of Abd-el-Kadr by Napoleon III. From time to time he pauses to give us a string of quotations from Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, or to make an excursion into the history of the Levant Company. Lord Palmerston's name suggests a brief review of Lord Beaconsfield's "Endymion," and another most readable digression introduces us to Dr. Croly, the author of "Salathiel," and incumbent of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Baron de Tott, Count von Moltke, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and Ibrahim Pasha, are also among the figures in Mr. Scudamore's kaleidoscope. There is no very obvious drift in these miscellaneous memories, but they furnish plenty of good reading. The author has had considerable experience of affairs in the Turkish capital, and like most impartial observers he is utterly sceptical as to the possibility of reforming Ottoman Administration. He informs us that the present Sultan is personally unpopular, a fact which may have its own importance if any of the schemes for transferring the Caliphate to Mecca or Cairo should take a practical shape.

The second volume of Professor Ebers's "Egypt"¹³ is entitled to the same high praise which we bestowed upon the first. Most of the artists whose names appeared at the beginning of the first volume have lent their aid in the second; and it may be said that nothing in black and white could give a better notion of Egyptian scenery and

¹² "France in the East." By F. I. Scudamore. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1882.

¹³ "Egypt." By George Ebers. Translated by Clara Bell. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1882.

life than these engravings. Professor Ebers's part of the work is thoroughly well done.

Mr. Villiers Stuart¹⁴ has done a service to Egyptian archæology by reprinting in colours the funeral canopy which was used nearly three thousand years ago to cover the mummy of a queen—mother-in-law of that Shishak who besieged Jerusalem. It is a wonderful piece of needlework, wrought on gazelle hide. The colours of the reprint are somewhat garish, but this may be the effect of lithographing. Mr. Stuart takes occasion to publish along with his description of the funeral tent a considerable body of notes and speculations on Egyptian subjects. There is an amateur air about his learning, and his chapter on philology will make Professor Max Müller stare and gasp, but his descriptions of antiquities which he has himself unearthed and examined are not without value.

Howitt's "Visits to Remarkable Places"¹⁵ is a book worth reprinting, and this new edition, adorned with good illustrations, should revive its popularity.

Miss Oswald¹⁶ has made three journeys to Iceland, partly to enjoy the pure air and characteristic scenery of the island, and partly also to improve her acquaintance with Icelandic literature. Her book contains many delightful old stories gathered from the Sagas and elsewhere.

Mr. McClintock's "Holidays in Spain"¹⁷ is much what its title leads the reader to expect—an easy and not very profound disquisition on the scenes which come under the observation of an ordinary tourist. So few Englishmen travel in Spain that a book of this kind may find a public of its own.

The "Handbook of Jamaica for 1882"¹⁸ is a highly satisfactory piece of official workmanship. It contains full particulars of the physical features, products, commerce, population, history, and law of the colony. We have tested it at various points, and have found it most accurate and complete. If our imperial administration is not conducted scientifically, on a basis of thorough knowledge, the fault lies with ourselves and not with our Indian and colonial civil servants, whose activity in collecting and digesting information is beyond all praise. Another sample of the same kind of literature is Mr. Eustace Kitts's "Report on the Census of Berar."¹⁹ We have had occasion to refer more than once to the special importance of the Indian census, and the special difficulties under which the work is done. This large

¹⁴ "The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen." By H. V. Stuart, M.P. London: John Murray. 1882.

¹⁵ "Visits to Remarkable Places." By W. Howitt. New edition, condensed. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1882.

¹⁶ "By Fell and Fiord; Scenes and Studies in Iceland." By E. J. Oswald. London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

¹⁷ "Holidays in Spain." By F. R. McClintock. London: E. Stanford. 1882.

¹⁸ "Handbook of Jamaica for 1882." By A. C. Sinclair and L. R. Fyfe. Kingston. 1882.

¹⁹ "Report on the Census of Berar." By Eustace J. Kitts, B.C.S. Bombay. 1882.

volume shows us how the difficulties are overcome by systematic industry.

Mr. Rowe's *résumé* of Victorian politics²⁰ bears no official stamp. It is the outspoken report of an impartial outsider. The variety and complication of the questions on which he pronounces his judgment is very remarkable, in view of the fact that the colony is not much more than thirty years old. First comes the familiar controversy in regard to the advantages and cost of Protection. It would be hard to find a comparison more ideally complete than that which is offered by the fortunes of Victoria and New South Wales in the last decade. Mr. Rowe proves, as Mr. Baden Powell and others have proved, that the Free Trade colony has been outrunning her Protectionist neighbour in the most unmistakable way. Even the people who are engaged in protected industries are constantly furnishing evidence that their business is being ruined by the mistaken kindness of the legislature. It seems almost impossible that the meaning of the statistics of ten years should escape the eyes of intelligent men. And yet we know that there are politicians in New South Wales who are trying to persuade their constituents to have recourse to the short-sighted expedients which have proved so disastrously ineffective in Victoria. The anti-Chinese legislation of Mr. Berry's Government is another proof of the want of political education among the enterprising business men of Australia. Even if all that is said against the Chinamen were true, no case would be made out for the arbitrary fines and galling restrictions imposed on men because of their race. When we reflect that we have denounced and bombarded the celestials into conceding a measure of free trade for our own profit, and that our colonists are now refusing freedom to them, we begin to doubt whether England's part in the human comedy is quite so dignified as we are apt to imagine. Mr. Rowe's chapter on State Railways would have rejoiced the heart of Mr. Mill. The evils which, in the opinion of the author of "Liberty," would result from the purchase of the railways by Government in this country have actually resulted from State management in Victoria. Members are elected on the ground of promises to get a particular set of fares lowered; administrative posts are given for political support; incompetent officials are retained lest their votes should be lost to their responsible superiors. We must beware of entering on the constitutional difficulty which puzzled English newspaper readers so completely when Mr. Berry and Mr. Pearson visited this country some years ago. We recommend Mr. Rowe's sensible little book to all who share the popular delusion that the art of government is simple and easy. Here we have a young community of a good stock, with immense resources, and plenty of strength and ability; and yet, in the course of thirty years, this ideally fortunate people have raised a whole crop of problems and disputes, some of which may lead them into serious trouble. We

²⁰ "Questions of the Day in Victoria." By C. J. Rowe. London: Trübner & Co. 1882.

hope our Victorian kinsmen may be wise enough to take themselves seriously in hand, to distrust the promises of statesmen who think only of immediate profit, and to be more faithful to the principles of freedom which they profess.

Mr. Romilly²¹ had the fortune, or the misfortune, to be sent by Sir Arthur Gordon to reside in Rotumah, before that island was annexed to our Empire. His story is sufficiently exciting; there is a murder in it, and a ghost story, and a variety of adventures among the natives of Wallis Island, whose characters do not appear to have been improved by contact with Christianity.

"Maori Religion and Mythology"²² is a considerable addition to our knowledge of one of the highest savage races with whom we have been brought into contact. Mr. Shortland has recorded in Maori and English some of the favourite charms and stories of the Maories. His notes on land tenure and family relationship will be useful to the student of primitive institutions. There are also matters which have an important bearing on colonial politics. One unhappily memorable quarrel is traced by Mr. Shortland to an abuse of the native custom of *whakake*. The chief Teira is said to have sold the Waitara block mainly by way of asserting his position as an injured man, and in order to obtain revenge upon some persons in his own tribe who had wronged him.

"Notes on the Agriculturists of Aurungabad"²³ is a pamphlet prepared by a native gentleman, with a view to assist the inquiries of the Famine Commission. He has given us a minute and faithful account of Indian village life in a district not much affected as yet by European influence. Like all such studies, his pamphlet serves a double purpose; it affords information which may be of use to Indian administrators, and it possesses also a peculiar value for the student of comparative law. Nothing could be more to the point as an illustration of primitive society than Mr. Furdoonji Jamshedji's account of *baluta*, the customary right of handicraftsmen in a village community to receive a certain share of the peasant's crop, in consideration of which they exercise their craft without requiring payment for specific services rendered.

The controversy which has arisen in regard to State Colleges in India is producing a small harvest of literature. We noticed lately a pamphlet by Dr. Murdoch, in which a very alarming description was given of the education provided in State Colleges. We were told that native students were, as a rule, sceptical, immoral, and disloyal, and that their vices were fostered by the instruction provided for them. Mr. Roper Lethbridge²⁴ has now undertaken the defence of the Colleges,

²¹ "A True Story of the Western Pacific." By Hugh H. Romilly. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

²² "Maori Religion and Mythology." By E. Shortland, late Native Secretary N.Z. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

²³ "Notes on the Agriculturists of Aurungabad." By Furdoonji Jamshedji, M.R.A.S. Second edition. 1882.

²⁴ "Higher Education in India." By Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1882.

and his defence is supported from the Hindoo point of view in a letter addressed by the Maharajah of Travancore to the Governor of Madras,²⁵ and in a pamphlet²⁶ containing reports of speeches by the Maharajah, by Mr. Justice Muthusami Aiyar, and by Mr. C. Rangachari. Taken together, these testimonies seem to prove that the opponents of State aid to higher education in India have been guilty of great exaggeration and distortion of facts. The expense of the Colleges is not great; they are doing good work in training a class of native Indians competent to undertake administrative duties; and if they have helped to produce the sad compound of half-knowledge and absolute self-confidence known as Young Bengal, they are working steadily onward to the production of a Young Bengal much better fitted to assist us in the work of governing India. One of the favourite arguments of Dr. Murdoch's party is to the effect that elementary education suffers by the devotion of public money to higher education. But the grants to State and State-aided Colleges would go but a very little way towards supplying the natives of India with elementary schools. Nor would the schools do much good without the Colleges. If the people are to be educated, they must have educated leaders, and every successful native student in the Indian Colleges should become a man of light and leading among his own kin. After giving due attention to the arguments on both sides, we incline to sympathize with Mr. Grant-Duff, who has declared that he would stand aghast if he could conceive the possibility of a withdrawal of the grants in aid of higher education.

In a lecture²⁷ on the prospects of higher education in our own country, Dr. Heslop strongly supports the movement now in progress for establishing colleges in our manufacturing towns.

Mr. Potts²⁸ is a good specimen of University Conservatism. He seems to anticipate none but evil results from the work of the last Cambridge Commission. His chief objections to the new College Statistics are, first, that the Commissioners have charged revenues of variable amount with the payment of fixed sums for the salaries of Professors and other University purposes; and, second, that religion has been slighted and almost ignored in the new arrangements.

Mr. Jay's address to the Alpha Delta Phi Society²⁹ is an encouragement to American scholars to make their influence felt in the politics of their country.

Mr. Anagnos³⁰ has given, in a short compass, a very complete

²⁵ "Letter to the Right Hon. M. E. Grant-Duff." By the Maharajah of Travancore. Madras. 1882.

²⁶ "The Relation of Government to Education from the Hindoo Point of View." Madras. 1882.

²⁷ "A Glance at the History and Prospects of Education." By T. P. Heslop, M.D. Birmingham. 1882.

²⁸ "Remarks on the Recent Legislation for the Colleges and the University of Cambridge." By R. Potts, M.A.

²⁹ "The Duty to his Age of the American Scholar." By J. Jay. New York. 1882.

³⁰ "Education of the Blind." By M. Anagnos. Boston: 1882.

account of the progress of education among the blind. The history is not a very long one; for down to the middle of last century no one had ever thought of educating the blind at all. Religious people were rather inclined to think that any attempt in that direction would be an impious interference with the designs of Providence; and it may have been under the influence of some such superstition that Diderot was sent to prison for writing his *Lettres sur les Aveugles, à l'usage de ceux qui voient*. From the time of Harry, to whom we owe the invention, or at least the successful production of embossed books, great progress has been made; and at the present day blind schools form part of the national system of education in the United States.

Miss Mary S. Aldis³¹ has made an ingenious endeavour to simplify the mysteries of arithmetic for the benefit of young children. Her lessons are very cleverly devised; but it strikes us that the giant from whom her little book takes its title serves no obvious purpose, and might as well be dismissed to avoid confusion. The record of another attempted simplification is contained in the "Circular on Spelling Reform,"³² issued by the education bureau of Washington. In spite of a few eccentricities and exaggerations, the spelling reformers make out a case for the changes which they advocate; we can only hope that their sanguine hopes of success may turn out to be well founded.

Books on Currency have rather a bad name, and it is to be feared that even those who feel bound to study them regard them as a necessary evil. The late Hugh B. Wilson³³ was a writer of some authority on monetary subjects, and it is therefore an advantage to have his final opinions in the form of a book. Unfortunately this is a posthumous work, which suffers, as almost all such works do, from the want of those finishing touches and small corrections which the author alone can give. Space forbids us to enter on the question at issue between Mr. Wilson and the authorities of the Bank of England; we can only say that those who can face a discussion of the policy of the Bank Charter Act will find many acute and suggestive remarks in these chapters on Monetary Science.

Some of the more elementary of the principles of that science are well expounded in Mr. Horace White's pamphlet on "Money and its Substitutes."³⁴

We have to acknowledge the Quarterly Journal of the "Dialectical Society,"³⁵ the "Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute," vol. xiii.³⁶ the "Statistics of Savings Banks in Italy;"³⁷ an Address on "The

³¹ "The Great Giant Arithmos." By Mary S. Aldis. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

³² "Circular on Spelling Reform." Washington: Bureau of Education. 1882.

³³ "Currency." By Hugh B. Wilson. New York: Putnam's. London: Triebner & Co. 1882.

³⁴ "Money and its Substitutes." By Horace White. New York: Society for Political Education. 1882.

³⁵ "London Dialectical Society: Quarterly Journal." July, 1882.

³⁶ "Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute." Vol. XIII. 1882.

³⁷ "Statistica delle Banche Popolari." Roma. 1882.

Economics of Fair Trade"³⁸—which appears, perhaps, rather late in the field; the summary of "Results of the last Italian Census;"³⁹ a "Statistical Record of Divorces in Italy," reprinted from the *Annali di Statistica*;⁴⁰ "Friction, Felony, or Libel?";⁴¹ a pamphlet by a lady who has been engaged in a desperate struggle with the officials of the Post Office; the "Regulations of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John at Valetta,"⁴² translated and annotated by one of the chaplains of the revived order; and the new edition of the Cobden Club Essays, on "Local Government and Taxation."⁴³

SCIENCE.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK introduced a new era in the study of animal intelligence by his researches on ants, bees, and wasps.¹ His method differed from that of previous observers in carefully marking and watching individual insects, and in keeping the nests under observation for several years. It is therefore natural that we should now be given in a systematic form some of those results which the author has from time to time laid before the Linnean Society and the Royal Institution in greater detail. The volume opens with a citation of authorities consulted, and then devotes itself through the bulk of the book to ants; bees and wasps only occupying the last two chapters. And it is concluded that the ant possesses greater power and flexibility of mind, and is far calmer and less excitable than the other social Hymenoptera. The work is hence chiefly an experimental history of the mental powers of ants. About half of the British species, of which there are more than thirty, have been kept in captivity by Sir John Lubbock, and no two species are identical in habits. They hatch in about a month or six weeks after the eggs are laid. The larvæ are carefully fed and tended during the month which intervenes till they become pupæ. On entering this condition some larvæ spin cocoons; while those which have a sting are frequently naked. Then after a few days, with the assistance of the older ants, who unfold the legs and smooth out the wings of the new comers, they emerge as perfect insects. As among other insects, the pupa or

³⁸ "The Economics of Fair Trade." By W. Herkless, M.A. Glasgow: Wilson & M'Cormick. 1882.

³⁹ "Risultati del Censimento." Roma. 1882.

⁴⁰ "Le Separazioni dei Coniugi e i Divorzi in Italia." Roma. 1882.

⁴¹ "Friction, Felony, or Libel?" By S. Heath. Somerton. 1882.

⁴² "Regulations of the Old Hospital of the Knights of St. John at Valetta." By the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford. London: Blackwood & Son. 1882.

⁴³ "Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom." Essays. Edited by J. W. Probyn. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1882.

¹ "Ants, Bees, and Wasps; a Record of Observations on the Habits of the Social Hymenoptera." By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

chrysalis condition is one in which no food is taken, and during which remarkable changes in the organization of the animal take place. The duration of life of the perfect insect is unknown, though queens have been kept in confinement for eight years and are still strong. Ants possess a rudimentary sting in connection with the poison apparatus, and many species have the power of ejecting the poison to long distances. The hand held at eighteen inches above a disturbed ant-nest was covered with acid. There are always several kinds of individuals in the same nest, and in some species as many as five. In South America the nests are frequently of immense size, and fumes of sulphur blown into a nest have issued at holes seventy yards off. Sometimes the number of individuals in a nest may amount to half a million. Ants feed on honey, honey dew, fruit and insects, and almost any sweet or animal food which comes in their way. They are attacked by many parasites and have many enemies. They work all day, and if necessary, all night also. Having described the ant and its structure, the author next examines the formation and maintenance of nests and the division of labour, and as ant-nests have been formed between sheets of glass placed so close together as to allow of observation, there are many interesting facts concerning the home of the ant. A chapter is given to the relation of ants to plants, for there are many plants which from structural peculiarities are defended against insects, though in Nicaragua instances occur of some ants which actually protect trees, and defend them against other species which destroy the leaves. A chapter discusses the relations of ants to other animals, five hundred and eighty-four species of insects being habitually found in association with ants; of these five hundred and forty-two are beetles. It is exceedingly interesting to observe the manner in which the institution of slavery works among ants, and how important a part the slaves of some species come to take in war and domestic work, until in *Polyergus* the species have lost their knowledge of art, natural affection for their young, and even the habit of taking food. The behaviour of ants to their relatives furnishes the material for another chapter, but they appear to render but little assistance to each other, and except in time of battle, do not even assist their friends when attacked by enemies. The recognition of friends, and of ants which were removed as pupæ and restored to the nest on reaching maturity, is demonstrated by a multitude of observations. Some species make communications much more freely than others. The eighth chapter includes experiments to determine the nature of the senses of ants, and the ninth chapter gives evidences of their general intelligence in economizing labour, their want of ingenuity in constructing bridges and earthworks, and the difficulty with which they find their way. The observations on bees and wasps are entirely the outcome of Sir John Lubbock's experiments, and certainly establish the more important evidences of the mental constitution of these animals in a satisfactory way. Voluminous appendices give details concerning the division of labour, recognition of friends, power of communication and co-operation

among ants, and of communication and industry among wasps and bees. Five beautiful lithographic plates illustrate the volume, which is excellently printed.

It was an excellent conception on the part of Mr. Romanes to write a comparative psychology of the animal kingdom, and endeavour to trace, step by step, the evolution of mental qualities from the first dawn of intelligence to its highest manifestations.² This task, covering so wide a field, has necessitated a division of the subject, so that in the present volume we are presented with the facts of animal intelligence, and are promised at some future time a discussion of their bearing on the evolution of mind. The division is certainly a wise one; for the philosophy of the subject is so difficult, and so open to differences of opinion, that although there cannot be the slightest doubt but that such an evolution has taken place, there are sure to be uncertainties concerning the relations of intelligence, instinct, reason, and purely reflex actions, which follow from the dependence of organs upon each other. But concerning matters of observation there is less room for uncertainty; and a digest of the best available knowledge, such as Mr. Romanes gives, and elucidates with critical observations, is a contribution to science of the highest value. Though the author fears that it may perhaps be regarded as only an improvement on the works of anecdote-mongers, the book is so well charged with facts, which are full of interest and readily intelligible even to the unscientific, that we may perhaps doubt whether it will not do more to stimulate true zoological work than even the more ambitious performance which is the author's goal. The introduction is chiefly occupied in setting forth a conception of the different phases of intelligence which animals manifest. The movements and actions which are classed as reflex, are defined as "non-mental, neuro-muscular adjustments," due to the inherited condition of the nervous system. Instinct is regarded as reflex action, into which the element of consciousness enters; while reason is the power of intentionally adapting means to ends. These definitions only enter in a very general way into the author's discussions of animal intelligence; and seeing how difficult it is, even in the human subject, to separate these three conditions from each other, we are perhaps fortunate in not having to pause to apportion to each animal or group of animals the exact intellectual grade to which its intelligence belongs. So marvellous are the recorded doings of animals, that we might, even at the threshold of the animal kingdom, among the very lowest organisms known, pause to consider whether there is not intentional adaptation of means to ends. The observations of Mr. H. J. Carter have taught us not only that the *Actinophrys* possesses the power of selecting its food, but goes in search of it, and apparently knows when the supply is exhausted; while even the *Amœba* is able to distinguish and capture prey under conditions which in

² "Animal Intelligence." By George J. Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

higher animals would be regarded as eminently intellectual. The jelly-fish shows no higher intelligence than may be used in carrying the larvæ on the inner side of the bell-shaped body, and moving the digestive cavity alternately towards them, so as to bathe their noses in the nutrient fluid of the parent. No special intelligence is cited among any of the echinoderms; but the recently published researches concerning the earth-worm have enabled us to appreciate the remarkable intelligence of these animals; and it is well known that the land-leeches of Ceylon easily discover travellers advancing on the paths near which they wait, and congregate rapidly in the jungle and attack individuals in the rear of a party. Among the Mollusca, the records of intelligence are singularly few, and, judging from our own experiments, might have been vastly augmented. Even the oyster, which, when dredged from a depth, opens its shell and dies, learns, when placed in reservoirs where the beds are occasionally left uncovered, to keep the shell shut, and live. The intelligence of the razor-fish, which every schoolboy has salted on the sea-shore, is well-known; but a story is told of the Roman snail which would seem to indicate affection and other mental and moral qualities, for after a healthy animal had wandered away and found a well-stocked garden, it returned the next day for its sickly mate, and the two went off together. Cuttle-fish are said to recognize those who feed them, and to bear malice, as is shown by one climbing up a vertical partition, to get into an adjacent tank, in pursuit of a lobster, with which a quarrel had previously taken place. Ants, bees, and wasps are, perhaps, the most remarkable for intelligence of all invertebrate animals, and they are accordingly discussed at considerable length, the researches of Sir John Lubbock contributing not a little to swell the facts of their history. The British ants, which dislike light, yet were observed to distinguish colours, having an aversion to violet, and preferring red to green and green to yellow. They are apparently deaf, but have a certain sense of smell and of taste, while the antennæ are elaborate organs of touch. They have a remarkable sense of direction, and powers of memory, caressing friends after long absence and at once distinguishing strangers. An ant town of 1,600 nests, in the Alleghany Mountains, has all the inhabitants living on friendly terms and helping each other. As is well known, Sir John Lubbock has shown that the British ants are somewhat deficient in the higher social qualities, neglecting their friends in distress or when partly drowned, though the intoxicated were usually taken home. These remarkable animals have means of communicating with each other, so as to secure help or common action. Ants are carefully brought up and educated in the nest, and in their domestic arrangements there are the duties of keeping aphides, and the habit of making slaves, which latter proceeding leads frequently to war which it usually carried on with great courage, and needless cruelty; though battles may be fought for seeds and other matters of dispute. One of their most curious characteristics is the habit of keeping pets, more than forty species of beetles being known only in the

nest of ants. Ants sleep, but the period of rest varies, and it would seem that they have also their habits of play and amusement. Bees and wasps can see for greater distances than ants, and are able to distinguish colours. The favourite colours of the bee are orange and yellow. Both bees and wasps have a definite sense of direction, and they are easily taught to travel to places where honey may be had. The sense of memory is well developed, and remarkably tenacious. One of the most singular habits of bees is that of killing the drones, who are usually destroyed in a single day when there is no longer any need for them. Like the ants, they engage in war for plunder. The so-called white ants are remarkable not only for their gigantic mounds, but for the extraordinary skill which they display, indicative of engineering power of an unusual kind. Spiders, beyond showing that delight in battle and skill in construction of snares which is well known, have sometimes been thought to possess a love of music. They certainly rapidly approach a tuning fork, but it may be doubtful whether they do not mistake the vibrations for the buzz of an insect's wings. Of scorpions, the most remarkable habit recorded, is that of suicide on exposure to strong light. Fishes seem to descend again in the scale of intelligence, though this may be to some extent due to the paucity of observations. Sticklebacks, however, afford details of social life which are as remarkable in their way as anything exhibited by insects, because there is so much more individuality. The hunting habits of the Angler which attracts prey with a dangling filament over its snout; the *Toxotes* which shoots its prey by projecting water from the mouth may both be cited as examples of intelligence, while there seems to be no doubt about the combined action of the swordfish and thrasher in attacking the whale. Among reptiles, snakes are capable of affection not only for each other, but for man. Crocodiles and turtles, when first hatched, both have an instinct which guides them at once to the water; and animals of both these groups are capable of being tamed and manifest affection. The intelligence of birds presents a great advance on that of reptiles. Memory is notoriously well developed in parrots. There is strong evidence of sympathy among rooks. Various birds show indications of jealousy, emulation, vindictiveness, curiosity, pride and various other feelings. The mammals are perhaps as remarkable for intelligence as the birds. A small Australian marsupial builds a large pile of sticks into a compact mass so as to form a nest and protection against the dingo. The affection of the Cetaceans for their young, especially when injured, has been often recorded. The horse is stated by Mr. Romanes to be less intelligent than the ass, but its intelligence is perhaps of a different kind. It is easily and rapidly tamed, and may then admit of a good deal of education, but it is liable to terror, which may over-rule all other feelings. In this way, the distinctive mental characteristics are sketched in all the familiar mammals. Passing onward through goats, pigs, bats, and the carnivora, rodents, elephants, cats, foxes, wolves, dogs and monkeys, so varied and strikingly complex are the mental characteristics displayed by many of these animals, and so manifestly indicative of true

reasoning powers of the same order as our own, that no analysis could give an adequate idea of the interest of the facts. The book will well repay careful reading. We may, perhaps, suggest that it would be improved by being made less personal.

We have received Professor Macalister's "Introduction to Systematic Zoology and Morphology," published in 1878;³ and although it would be out of place to discuss it in any detail so many years after its appearance, we may state that the work gives in the first place a short account of the several organs of vertebrated animals, and then a series of chapters on the several groups of animals, space being devoted to the classes in proportion to their grade of organization. The work is much on the pattern of some of the excellent and older German treatises on comparative anatomy, and as an introductory book is one of the best that the student could take in hand.

Mr. Proctor has reprinted his series of papers relating to transits of Venus, which were for the most part published in the monthly notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, *Quarterly Journal of Science* and *Spectator*, chiefly between the years 1869 and 1874.⁴ The pagination commences at p. 234, and the work is stated to consist of those sheets of "The Universe and the Coming Transits" which were separated from that treatise when it was decided to publish "The Universe of Stars" as a separate work. The little volume accordingly deals largely with Mr. Proctor's differences with Sir George Airey; and it sets forth fully the author's views concerning the subject of which it treats. It is a valuable though technical contribution to astronomy, and is illustrated by numerous charts and diagrams which enforce the author's views.

Mr. Lewis Wright has written a volume on Light, chiefly with a view to showing how its various phenomena may be systematically exhibited to the student by means of the lantern.⁵ The book, however, goes far beyond the mere devising of experiments, and is a useful introduction to the study of light, even if the experiments are neglected altogether; for the author's object has been to carry out Professor Huxley's injunction that the teacher should convey clear and vivid impressions of the facts upon which conclusions have to be based. The work is clearly written, well illustrated with woodcuts, and a few plates, which exhibit phenomena of polarization; and except in the last chapter, which deals with transcendental matters is well conceived.

Under the title "Elementary Chemical Arithmetic," Mr. Sidney

³ Dublin University Press Series. "An Introduction to the Systematic Zoology and Morphology of Vertebrate Animals." By Alexander Macalister, M.D., Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology, University of Dublin. Dublin: Hodges, Foster & Figgis. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1878.

⁴ "Studies of Venus-Transits. An Investigation of the Circumstances of the Transits of Venus in 1874 and 1882, originally part of 'the Universe and Coming Transits.'" By Richard A. Proctor. With many illustrations. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

⁵ "Light: a Course of Experimental Optics, chiefly with the Lantern." By Lewis Wright. With illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

Lupton has prepared a class book of problems in chemistry, which admit of numerical solution, such as the student has to work out for himself in his studies.⁶ The problems are preceded by an introduction setting forth the nature of the mathematical processes which have to be considered in the various departments of chemical work, in relation to differing physical conditions. The examples are arranged in forty chapters, which, after preliminary exercises on measures, weight, temperature, and volume, deal with the principal elements—a separate chapter being devoted to each. At the end of the book the answers are given, and the volume concludes with a few useful tables such as may assist in the various calculations required. The questions appear to have been selected with judgment. The volume will be a useful addition to the lecturer's teaching machinery, and is likely to facilitate that practical work without which theoretical chemical knowledge is of little value.

The Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution is a title which may raise expectations, which are not gratified by Mr. Romanes's small volume.⁷ This is indeed but a lecture, formerly published in the *Fortnightly Review*, and enlarged so that it might, as the preface tells us, be spread broadcast over the land, in fulfilment of a suggestion made by Charles Darwin. The spirit of the work is, however, in such contrast to the writings of the great master, that, it may be, some of his followers will regret his sponsorship. From evidences of evolution the book is almost entirely free, and it is essentially an impeachment of the views of those, if any such still remain, who hold to the ancient belief that the several types of life were specially created. It certainly demolishes absolutely the idea of creation in the popular sense of the term, but in a manner which is needlessly irritating to those who have a faith left to lose; and the result is not very helpful to science, because although the old ground has been struck away, in connection with which it must be remembered the whole fabric of science has grown up, no evidences are offered sufficient to convince persons in search of a new faith that evolution is the one light which makes the relations of organic phenomena clear. It is not so much image breaking that is wanted in a generation which has grown up more or less saturated with sound evolutionary teaching, as the clear, firm grasp and luminous statement of scientific facts, which will impart new faith and energy where the old teaching has lost its power. Such an enunciation of what evolution is, the author's title led us to anticipate, but whether from want of knowledge, or want of grasp, or from not realizing the mental and moral conditions of the great human question discussed, the opportunity is lost which might have given to the doctrine of evolution the power of a new religion.

There is, moreover, a sense on the reader's part that Mr. Romanes's word has to be taken with an amount of dogmatic firmness that in

⁶ "Elementary Chemical Arithmetic, with 100 problems." By Sidney Lupton, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

⁷ "Nature Series. The Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution." By George J. Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

these days writers of any kind rarely demand. Science militant is not a very edifying spectacle, and it is probably the first time in its history that an attempt has been made to convert the British people to a doctrine of the grandest kind by mere ridicule. It may have been good for the worthy people of Edinburgh and Birmingham to have been told by Mr. Romanes that they were puffed up with silly pride and ludicrously anxious to maintain their own dignity if they doubted that they were the posterity of monkeys—and it may have been very smart to have told them that if they doubted this ancestry, then they must suppose that the Deity created man in the image of the ape. But although the book bristles with this kind of writing we venture to remark that this is not science; while as a burlesque of science it may do harm not merely with the general public, but with the multitude of educated and gentle natures, whose sympathies with the wonders of plant and animal life have furnished rich stores of fact in elucidation of all departments of natural history. Mr. Romanes needs a more sympathetic way of dealing with the world to become an apostle of evolution.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE second part of Mr. Blunt's "History of the Reformation" follows the first after an interval of about twelve years. Though written in too fair and impartial a spirit to be obnoxious to the charge of partisanship, the principle which inspires the author throughout is to assert the continuity of the Church of England from the time of Augustine; and to show that the long struggle resulted in the assertion of the independence of the Church from Papal jurisdiction—not its isolation from Catholic Christendom. This is constantly forgotten by those who pride themselves on their Protestantism, but it cannot be doubted by any who have taken the trouble to study the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or even by those who have an intelligent knowledge of the formularies and other documents of the Church. The care taken in providing for the continuity of the priesthood, and the recognition at the Reformation of pre-Reformation orders, are evidences of this principle, as well as the recognition in later times of the orders of bishops and priests of the eastern and western Churches of Christendom who have joined the communion of the faithful in these islands, as Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, who was rewarded by James I., for his conversion to Protestantism, by being made Master of the Savoy. By the Reformation the Royal Supremacy—that is, the equal jurisdiction of the Crown over both clergy and laity—was formally acknowledged by the clergy, but Parliamentary Supre-

¹ "The Reformation of the Church of England." By the Rev. John Henry Blunt. Vol. II. Rivingtons. 1882.

macy, which many people take to be the same thing, has never been recognized by any representative body of the Church. The principle upon which the Reformers acted was, on the one hand, that convocation—the legislative body of the clergy—could make no laws or canons affecting the laity without the consent of the representatives of the laity, and being thus embodied in Acts of Parliament; and, on the other hand, that legislation affecting the Church should be initiated by Convocation, as being a subject on which they have special knowledge. This latter principle has been considerably ignored in practice for the last century or more, but, for all that, it is undeniably one of the principles of the Reformation. Mr. Blunt, as might be expected, has not much sympathy with the Puritan or anti-Church party, and quotes Bishop Burnet and, better evidence still, Latimer, to show that many persons objected to confession and penance, and professed the Gospel, that they might be free from all restraint. Latimer even accuses the clothiers, in a part of the country where “the Word of God” was most earnestly professed, of stretching their cloth, and dressing it with flock-powder “to thicken it again.” This charge of lax morals cannot be laid against the party as a whole, for, in later times, although some of the leaders were notoriously men of bad character, still the party attempted to introduce a disciplinary system in place of Church courts, which would have been intolerably severe. A specimen of the spirit which animated them is shown by the millenary petition on the accession of James I., by which seven hundred and fifty clergy, perhaps a twentieth part of the whole body, desired certain specified alterations to be made in the Church service, without any consideration for the consciences of the large majority who were contented with it as it was. The Laudian movement is treated very gently as simply an attempt to assert the doctrines and enforce the practices enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer. The book closes with the revision of the Prayer Book and the secession of the Nonconformists in 1662. There is an interesting and useful chart of the ministerial succession of the Church, showing the different channels by which ordination has been received, which may be a comfort to some people who still half believe Holywood’s story about Parker’s consecration at the “Nag’s Head.” Mr. Blunt does not, however, sufficiently recognize the fact that false rumours about the consecration by Bishop Kitchin, of Llandaff, were abroad as early as 1561, which shows how secretly the ceremony had been performed. He states in the “chart” that Barlow, Parker’s chief consecrator, was consecrated by Cranmer, Voysey, and Clerk, but there is no direct evidence of this.

Nor does he give sufficient weight to the charge, which cannot be gainsaid, that neither of the other bishops who assisted were then legally in possession of an English bishopric, but were all either ex-bishops, bishops elect, or bishops suffragan. The service used, that of Edward VI., was not then statutablely in force, and the royal mandate for the consecration, in set terms dispenses with these disabilities by mere royal authority. So that in spite of the falsity of the “Nag’s

Head^o story, the preservation of the apostolical succession wants more and stronger argument to support it than Mr. Blunt has adduced.

Mr. Molesworth takes up the history of the Church where Mr. Blunt leaves it, at the Act of Uniformity,² and brings it down nearly to the present day, showing the process by which freedom has been gained by those outside the Church, as well as those within; a process of gradual education in liberal principles.

Laud and the Court of Star Chamber had made the people feel that the Church was an instrument of tyranny, though his only motive was to enforce the observance of the law; after his time the Independents and Presbyterians, who had clamoured for liberty for themselves, exercised still greater intolerance in enforcing, not the law of the country, but the opinions of a mere sect. This conduct of theirs, quite as much as the fear of the Romanists, caused Parliament to protest against Charles II.'s declaration of indulgence, and to insist on the carrying out of the Act of Uniformity as necessary for the peace of the kingdom.

The general use of the English Bible affected men's thoughts and conduct in many contradictory ways. While the Nonconformists looked upon Rome as Babylon, and applied to her all the curses of the Apocalypse, the High Churchman inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a constitutional Sovereign by quoting the sayings of semi-barbarous Oriental writers, whose only conception of a King was a Sultan with power of life and death over his subjects, and against whom the only effectual resistance was assassination.

In the Middle Ages in England, when history was more read than the Bible, such arguments as Barrow's in support of this doctrine could hardly be found, for though the duty of serving the King as the representative of the nation was held as it has never been since, the King was looked upon as holding a certain legal position, with legal rights and legal duties, not as "the Lord's anointed."

The events of the last few decades, the Oxford movement, the prosecutions of the writers of "Essays and Reviews," and of the Ritualists, are fairly, though somewhat slightly, narrated, and the position of the various parties in the Church stated with impartiality and appreciation. Although the writer's own opinions are not entirely concealed, they are not allowed to be unduly prominent or to influence his account of facts. Mr. Molesworth's point of view is very different to Mr. Blunt's. He allows that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession "has been maintained with more or less distinctness and boldness not only by High Churchmen, but also by many of those who belong to the Evangelical or Low Church Party." That is, that it is a fundamental doctrine of his church, and yet he says it has never rested on any intelligible basis, and its advocates, "so far from being able to produce the irrefragable evidence we have a right to demand of them, can really

² "History of the Church of England from 1660." By W. Nassau Molesworth. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

bring no proof at all of the alleged fact on which it is supposed to rest." Is it wilful blindness, or constitutional, which prevents Mr. Molesworth seeing other fundamental doctrines from the same point of view? Surely he must admit that if his words, quoted above, are the proper test to apply to one doctrine, they must be applied to all. At all events, they ought to have prevented him from speaking scornfully of Bishop Colenso, and "the small remnant of Christianity which he still clutched desperately," for surely the ark and the passage of the Red Sea are not such important parts of the religion of the body to which Mr. Molesworth belongs, as Apostolical Succession and Baptismal Regeneration.

Those who prefer gossiping narration of facts about recent Church affairs, instead of historical disquisition, will find Mr. Mozley's "Reminiscences"³ very much to their taste. He finds fault with a biographer for committing a positive outrage against the common rules of obituary record, the first of which is not to say anything but good of the newly departed, but his Reminiscences are all the more amusing because he has entirely ignored this rule in his own practice. Here is his judgment about the late Archbishop of Dublin: "Whately had a very good saying about the majority of preachers, 'they aim at nothing and they hit it.' Is it possible to describe better his own episcopate?" Nor does he spare himself. Speaking of his first case of visiting the sick, after his Ordination, he says: "How I acquitted myself, and what good I did I cannot say, but if I was not prepared for the pulpit, neither was I for the bedside." The position which Mr. Mozley appears to have taken throughout the movement was that of playing *fidus Achates*, rather blindly, to Newman's *pious Æneas*. The adverb is fully justified by the following passage: "The opponents of the movement, one and all, pronounced us on our way to Rome. Certainly, very few of us could say where we meant to stop, or what we had in view as the future of the Church of England. For my own part I never knew where it was all to end, except somewhere in the first three centuries, and I have to confess that I knew very little about them." This blindness about the future did not prevent him from being a good partisan. "The Evangelical party there could not show a single man who combined scholarship, intellect, and address in a considerable degree." "It is remarkable that all the most spiritually minded men I have known were in their youth extraordinary liars." "The evangelical preacher assumed the great mass of the people, committed to his care, to be utterly bad or hopelessly good, that is, hopelessly trusting to good works; or perhaps waiting for the day and hour when the Divine call was to reach them. Anyhow, he could discard them altogether from his consideration. He had delivered his message and that was enough, for him at least." But these passages we have quoted are scarcely reminiscences, and give hardly a fair idea of the contents of the book, which is brimming over

³ "Reminiscences: chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By the Rev. T. Mozley. In two vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

with stories, amusing in themselves and well told, often with a Pepsian naïveté. Many of the best have already been extracted for service in other reviews, but here is a fair sample which we do not remember to have seen quoted elsewhere.

Mr. T. B. Hobhouse was advocating the retention of capital punishment for murder in a debate of the Union. After using other arguments:—

“He would go to the oldest of all law-books, the foundation of all jurisprudence. There was a good deal in that book which was limited to place, time, and circumstances, but there was no place, time, or circumstance to limit the character of murder or the justness of the penalties. He wished with all his heart that England had followed the law of the Bible in its mercy, and he therefore had the less hesitation in appealing to its justice. The ancient and eternal law of the Bible in the case of murder had been expressly delivered to save mankind from reverting to its former stage of violence. He had taken care to write it. Nothing could be more express, and it took no lawyer to explain it. ‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by him shall man’s blood be shed.’ The roar of laughter that followed this enunciation only stirred Hobhouse to greater earnestness. He did not expect to have the Bible laughed at in a company of gentlemen, least of all at Oxford. He had always respected it, even if he had not read it as much as he might. . . . ‘Well, but the text?’ they called out. ‘Call it text if you like; it is a law binding on all the world. Here it is, and I wish all laws were as plain: ‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by him shall man’s blood be shed.’ ‘Read, read, read!’ they cried out. So he took the paper, stretching it out with both hands, and read it again, with a pause before every word, and a tremendous emphasis on the words ‘by him.’ ‘Whoso, sheddeth, man’s, blood, by him, shall, man’s blood, be shed.’ But he was again drowned with laughter, when a friend took the paper away from him and pointed out his mistake. ‘You all knew what I meant,’ he exclaimed. ‘Then why didn’t you say it?’ ‘What signifies the mistake of a word?’ ‘But it does signify who is to have the right to kill us all.’ When the storm had subsided, Hobhouse went on with his speech, and made a good finish.”

Some anecdote of this kind will be found about nearly every noted Oxford man fifty years ago, and the result is a most lifelike picture of University Society before railways had made Oxford men half Londoners.

Mr. Lecky’s view of the policy of George III.⁴ may be summed up in his own words:—that “he spent a long life in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to have been good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to have been bad.” He does justice to the king’s sincere desire to do his duty, and his attachment to his country, but he apparently thinks that the position of his predecessors, their ignorance of English affairs, and carelessness about politics, is the right state of mind for a sovereign, and sympathizes with his Ministers who resented his attempting to take part in affairs and wished to keep him in the same position as his grandfather. It must be remembered that George III.’s

⁴ “A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.” By W. E. H. Lecky Vols. III and IV. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

obstinacy always represented some principle, even though sometimes he did not understand it perfectly. The most typical instance of his obstinacy, his conduct towards the American colonies, though it is easy now to judge it from the impartial light of subsequent events, was quite backed up by the public feeling at the time. Mr. Lecky himself states the case very fairly, and shows that the taxation by means of the Stamp Act was not intended to raise money for any purposes that were purely English, but rather to contribute to the expense of an army intended primarily for the defence of the Colonies, at the close of an expensive war, by which the Americans had gained more than any other of their fellow subjects. The Tea Duty also was certainly not a grievance, for the result of imposing a duty of threepence a pound in America, and taking off another shilling a pound in England, was to make tea cheaper in the Colonies than it had hitherto been. Then, though the Americans figure as the champions of freedom and the Mother Country as a tyrant, it must be remembered that in the State of Carolina dissenters had been deprived by law of their political privileges, and in other Colonies both episcopalians and dissenters, where predominant, had passed laws in favour of their respective sects, but these had been repealed by the Home Government. In political equality and constitutional liberty, there is no doubt that the Colonies were far ahead of all European countries. The maze of parliamentary history is followed step by step, and affords the author opportunities for political remarks of great value. The discussion on party government in England, its evils and its necessities, is very clear and true. Mr. Lecky points out its influence in giving Parliament power to resist the outside pressure of newspaper writers, of demagogues and local agitation; but then party organization also enables a Government to put undue outside pressure on Parliament by these very means. The principal statesmen are described in a style which reminds the reader of the characters of the Kings of England in an old fashioned school history. The Duke of Bedford was "violent, harsh, and fearless;" Greville, "ambitious, arrogant, violent, jealous, and vindictive;" Charles Foster, "restless, discontented, morbid, nervous, and vacillating."

The account of the Whiteboy movement in Ireland, and the resistance to the exaction of tithes, will be read with much interest at the present time, when the island is in a very similar condition. "Boycotting" appears to be the only new feature of the present system of resistance. The Whiteboys' practice of cutting off clergymen's ears, and burying priests up to the neck, has happily not been imitated yet.

The history of Ireland⁵ is the history of England's wrong-doing. That two islands so close together should finally be united under the rule of the stronger, was an inevitable necessity. But a mere conquest would have been forgotten, and the two countries become one

⁵ "A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland." By C. G. Walpole, M.A. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

in interest, even if different in race and language, as England and Wales have done, but for the constant aim of the English Government, even down to modern times, to treat Ireland solely with a view to England's good, and the extraordinary and blind jealousy of her prosperity, as if it would have injured, instead of enhanced, the weal of England.

The carelessness of Edward II. in assisting his Anglo-Irish subjects, during the invasion by Edward Bruce, estranged them from England, and many a Norman Baron became in consequence an Irish chief, and adopted an Irish name and Irish habits, "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*" The Bourkes became the MacWilliams, the FitzUrses MacMahons, and D'Exeter, MacJordan. Then in later times, when the English Church was reformed, though the motive power came entirely from the rulers, it found an answer in the minds of the people, who had been prepared for it by "the new learning" which had filtered down through every stratum of society, by means of sermons and pamphlets. But in Ireland it was not so. Both "Englishry" and "Irishry" were devoted to the old faith, for, though their monasteries and their clergy were distinct from each other, the only religious influence of much account in the island was that of the friars, who worked and preached both in the Pale and among the "mere Irish." Consequently, both races became united by one common bond, the desire to resist an innovation which they felt to be at once blasphemous and tyrannical. The dissolution of the monasteries, also, was a greater injury to society even than in England, and it was not attempted to defend it by accusations of luxury and immorality. Away from the towns, they were the only schools, the only inns, the only hospitals, and the only means of providing the parish churches with proper service; their loss was keenly felt by all, of whatever nationality, except the few English lords and lawyers to whom the lands were granted. A similar policy was pursued by Fleetwood in carrying out the ordinance for the settling of Ireland in 1652. Not only were the disaffected Catholic Irish deprived of their lands, but even the Presbyterian landowners of Down and Antrim were transplanted to allotments in Leinster; and the towns, almost exclusively inhabited by persons of English family, were treated in the same way. The trade of Cork and Waterford, of Kilkenny, and Tipperary, was ruined, the merchants finding new homes in Flanders, in France, in Spain, and some even in Mexico. Cromwell, however, had the wisdom and justice to place both nations on the same footing as to commercial privileges, but at the Restoration worse principles prevailed again. The importation of cattle, the chief source of wealth in Ireland, was forbidden, and even a contribution, offered by the Irish landowners after the fire of London, was denounced as an attempt to undersell English farmers. Then, directly pastures were turned into sheepwalks, and Irish wool was becoming of value, a prohibitive export duty was placed on all wool and woollen goods, though the manufacture was wholly in the hands of the Protestant English colonists, and thus again the natives

and the settlers, Protestants and Catholics, were bound together by a common bond of sympathy, resistance to a code of unjust laws. Mr. Walpole carries his history no further than the end of the last century, but perhaps more illustrations of the same principle might be discovered in more recent legislation. The disestablishment of the Irish Church for instance: which has been its chief effect, to reconcile the disaffected Catholics, or to alienate the loyal Protestants? However, that is not a question which this book raises, so there is no need to discuss it.

The native Irish polity bore considerable resemblance to that of other half savage nations, with some institutions peculiar to itself. The land was not the property of the chief, but of the tribe, as elsewhere, but the institution of "tanistry," that is, the recognition of an elected successor, was peculiarly Irish. It gave the chief nothing more than a life interest in the chieftaincy, and was the occasion of considerable trouble when chiefs were created barons by the English kings, and the succession settled by feudal law. It was not formally abolished until the time of James I. The idea, borrowed from English law, that the land of the tribe could be alienated, or forfeited, by the chief, led to the same results as the same mistaken idea has in New Zealand, the belief of the peasantry that the land was taken from them; though no doubt the fixed rent and service of English tenure was an improvement on the arbitrary exactions of "coyne and livery," and "cosherings" by the chiefs. The "Geilfine" system of subdivision of the holding among the elder sons, while the younger inherited the paternal home, bears some resemblance to the custom of borough-English, though it is far more elaborate. The marriage laws were more enlightened than in more civilized countries. Where the wife had property, she was called "the wife of equal dignity," and neither party could contract without the consent of the other. The introduction of Christianity into Ireland is very slightly sketched, and no indication given of the fact of there having been three Patricks, all evangelists, in Ireland, to the last of whom, the son of Calphurnius, a decurion at Dumbarton, the acts of his predecessors are ascribed. The first, who was also named Palladius, was sent by Pope St. Celestine "to the Scots who believed in Christ," in the year 431, according to Prosper of Aquitaine. He was succeeded by Patricius Secundus, or Sen Patrick, who died in A.D. 458 or 461, while the more generally known bearer of the name was born in A.D. 410, was the servant of Sen Patrick in 440 or 442, bishop in 455, and died in A.D. 493. One error is worth noting, that it was not Francis I. but Charles V. with whom the Earl of Desmond was coquetting about the time of Kildare's arrest. There are several papers about this affair, and about the mission of a chaplain of the Emperor's to Ireland five years earlier, among the archives at Brussels, some of which are noticed in the Calendars of State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and of the Carew MSS., and others were published by Mr. Froude in the appendix to the edition of Thomas' "Pilgrim."

Another history of an episode not very creditable to England is

Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812."⁶ This is an American book, written with the object of showing how the United States Navy was able to contend successfully with a maritime power which had hitherto been unconquered. For twenty years previous to the American War, only five English ships had been captured, but in the first eight months of that war the same number were lost, and many more afterwards. In the author's opinion, this success was entirely due to the superiority of the *personnel* of the American navy, and to the fact that the English had allowed their discipline to relax from over-confidence, and did not train their crews so carefully in manœuvring and gunnery. As to the latter, the quantity of powder and shot which the captain of a war ship was allowed to spend in practice, was quite insufficient for the purpose, just as a similar economy prevents our soldiers from becoming good marksmen. In the case of the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, Captain Broke had disregarded official rules in this respect, and, besides, he had been in command of his ship for some years, while the American vessel was newly commissioned. The comparative skill in gunnery is very clearly shown by the statement of the injuries received by the ships in the various actions. For instance, when the American *Hornet* took the *Peacock*, after a fight of fourteen minutes, the latter was completely disabled, and soon afterwards sank, while the *Hornet* was only struck once in the hull. This is rather an extreme case, but there is considerable disproportion noticeable in the account of many other actions. Mr. Roosevelt has made good use of the naval archives, and the "Captains' letters" at Washington, as well as of printed books. Errors in James's "Naval History of Great Britain," arising evidently from the author's prejudice, are exposed in nearly every page. Mr. Roosevelt claims that he has endeavoured to make his history as impartial as possible, and has the candour to confess that if there are errors, they are probably in favour of the American side. The political history of the war is hardly touched upon at all, except to explain the causes of the rupture between the two countries, the insistence by Great Britain of the right of searching neutrals, and claiming her own subjects found in American ships; and, finally, the Orders in Council forbidding the American trade with France. The author cynically admits that America fought for the right, not because it was right, but because it was for her self-interest, as shown by the general approval of the very act which she had contended against, when Commodore Wilkes stopped and searched the *Trent* during the Civil War. Though the conditions of naval warfare are quite altered now, the book will be found very valuable, as the actions are described with great care, the armaments, the crews, and the losses sustained by each ship accurately stated, and diagrams introduced to show the relative positions and movements of the contending vessels.

⁶ "The Naval War of 1812." By Theodore Roosevelt. New York. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

Lord Keith's life is concerned more with the successes than the disasters of the British navy; for while the operations narrated by Mr. Roosevelt were being carried out across the Atlantic, he was in command of the Channel Fleet, and providing for the defence of England against French invasion. Though his name is not immortalized by the gaining of a great victory like Duncan, Jervis, or Nelson, he was employed in many most important affairs during his half-century of service, including the command of what would now be called the Naval Brigade at the capture of Charlestown and the descent of Toulon, and the landing of the troops in Aboukir Bay. It is worthy of notice that he left the Royal Navy for some time to serve under the East India Company, in which service his elder brother, the Hon. William Elphinstone, was a commander. The Company at that time afforded the opportunity for a naval career to young men of family without the influence necessary for success in the Royal Navy, and at the same time it was a much more lucrative service for average men. Lord Keith, however, had nothing to complain of on that head, for he had the reputation throughout the fleet of being a prize-taking admiral, and was accordingly popular among the sailors, a circumstance which he turned to the best advantage in bringing back the mutineers at the Nore and Plymouth to obedience. His most brilliant action, the capture of a fleet of nine Dutch ships at Saldanha Bay, was performed without firing a shot, merely by shutting them in with a force which they could scarcely venture to resist.

Lord Keith's despatches, containing an account of his interviews with Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*, when he was informed of the intention to send him to St. Helena, give no doubt a much more correct statement of facts than the dramatic description of Montholon; in fact, the tragic element is almost replaced by the comic. One incident, certainly, partakes of that character: the unsuccessful chase of the Admiral by a man who wished to serve a *subpœna* on Napoleon as a witness in a libel case between Sir Alexander Cochrane and a Mr. Antony Mackenrot. There is another good story about the midshipmen in one of his cruises, when provisions ran short, eating rats, "devililled millers" they called them. When the Admiral prohibited the practice he was asked to dine at the mess, and served with the forbidden food, under the name of rabbit, which had the effect of making him very ill, after he found it out. In the preface the author speaks of James's "Naval History" in the same tone as Mr. Roosevelt does, but with more modesty.

The first instance of the presence of the burgesses of Scotland in the Great Council of the Nation,⁷ was at the Parliament of Cambuskenneth, in 1326, when the earls, barons, burgesses, and freeholders granted the tenth penny to King Robert Bruce. Till the sixteenth century there are but few lists of the members who sat in Parliament,

⁷ "Memoir of the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, K.B., Viscount Keith, Admiral of the Red." By Alex. Allardyce. Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

⁸ "Members of Parliament. Scotland." By Joseph Foster. Second edition. Hazell, Watson & Viney. 1882.

the only names generally preserved being those of the Lords of Articles and Lords of the Court of Session. Mr. Foster's list includes all the names he has been able to ascertain, from the Parliament of the year 1357, which was summoned to appoint commissioners to treat for the ransom of David II., down to the present day. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and short notes of the offices held, of marriages, and other particulars are given, though in many cases, especially in the earlier centuries, nothing is known but the name; but Scotch surnames being so few, it is in most cases clear to what family the individual belonged. For a short notice of this kind, it is impossible to gauge the accuracy of a book which contains nothing but names and facts; but the author's courage in exposing the pretensions of the sham Scotch baronetries in one of his previous publications, and his successful vindication of his statements against the strictures of the Lyon clerk depute, are an evidence of his desire to ascertain the truth and his readiness to state it. He has evidently found frequent occasion to doubt the accuracy of herald's pedigrees, as many others have done before him. When it is remembered that heralds, at their visitations, and at the College of Arms, received and registered pedigrees on the authorities of the families, no one can doubt that mistakes, intentional or otherwise, must be common enough. This is no new discovery. As early as the reign of Elizabeth, one of the colleges at Oxford refused to admit pedigrees as evidences of founder's kin on the mere testimony of the heralds, and at a later period, a candidate produced a pedigree drawn up by a herald, who told him that if that would not serve, he would give him one that would. So that in spite of the known care and conscientiousness of the present members of the College of Arms, Mr. Foster is quite right in examining for himself with a suspicious eye all that is not corroborated by other more authentic records. For if genealogy is to be anything more than a mere plaything and amusement, if any laws of heredity or development of the human race are ever to be founded upon it, the science must be a science of facts, and not of fancies. Such men as Mr. Foster and the late Colonel Chester clear the ground and lay the foundation for an edifice to be completed by future workers.

There is no period of history of which people are so ignorant, as of the time just before they were born, so Mr. Cory's book can be specially recommended to middle-aged people.⁹ The principal topic is, of course, the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, and it is very well described with perfect fairness to both parties. It was about the same period that the idea of race as a political force was discovered by politicians, consequent upon the eager study of the new science, ethnology, and fostered by the historical writings of Augustin Thierry and others. The results of this were the disturbances in Ireland and Poland and Belgium, which ended in the case of Poland, by its ruin;

⁹ "A Guide to Modern English History." By William Cory. Part II. MDCCCXXX.—MDCCCXXXV. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1892.

but in the case of Belgium, in the establishment of a new kingdom. The principle of race has not, however, gained the ascendancy over the more old-fashioned considerations of military geography, even with all English politicians. Mr. Cory's style is epigrammatic and vivid, but a little too artificial and metaphorical. Some of his sayings are well worth remembering, for instance, apropos of the Bristol riots: "The rest, or compulsory idleness of Sunday, has not been wholly good for uneducated people since the invention of gin." Many points of English political usage, and words in common use, are explained *en passant*, as if the book was intended to be read by foreigners; but these explanations will be none the less useful to many Englishmen, because the words are familiar to them.

The foreign policy of the same period is narrated concisely and clearly in Mr. Trollope's sketch of Lord Palmerston's life.¹⁰ The book is principally based upon Mr. Evelyn Ashley's biography, and is free from any spirit of political partisanship. The line taken throughout by Mr. Trollope is to show that Palmerston, in his dealings with other countries, was acting for what he, and the majority of the nation also, considered to be the higher interests of the country, and that instead of being open to the charge made against him by Prince Albert, of "rendering null the influence of England," he had in reality thoroughly supported English influence and English interests, although he had been guilty of disobedience of orders received from the Court and the Prime Minister.

Mr. Froude¹¹ has carried out to the letter Carlyle's own views of biography, as expressed in his review of Lockhart's "Life of Walter Scott." He has neither been afraid of exposing the worst sides of his subject's character, nor of omitting to repeat the unsympathetic and harsh judgments of his contemporaries which abound in Carlyle's letters, and which certainly cannot have been intended to be seen by more than one or two persons. It is interesting to see how differently the same man affects different characters. For instance, few literary men have been regarded with such real affection by their friends as Charles Lamb was, partly, no doubt, from his troubles; but Carlyle's remark after seeing him is that "he is only not thrown out of doors because he is too much despised for taking such trouble with him."

His comments on Edward Irving, throughout his career, from the time when they first saw each other at Annan School till he became the theological lion of the age, will be of great value to any future biographer of Irving, for Carlyle knew him and liked him, and though he did not conceal that he saw through his delusions, still he understood his mind, and appreciated his good qualities.

The extracts from Mrs. Carlyle's letters are very interesting, both before and after their marriage, and show her in a better light than her husband, whose selfishness and bad temper appear in his whole

¹⁰ "Lord Palmerston." By Anthony Trollope. Isbister. 1882.

¹¹ "Thomas Carlyle. A History of the First Forty Years of his Life." By J. A. Froude, M.A. Two vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

conduct to her, just half hidden by a veil of what was scarcely love, and she, too, does not appear to have been led to marry him by love so much as by admiration of his talent, and perhaps ambition, which makes her lifelong sacrifice of much that would have made her happy, and the conscientious devotion to his service, the more remarkable. Her letters on their first arrival in London are very bright pictures of what struck her in town, seen through the medium of her Scotch habits of thought and life. She complains, for instance, of the expenditure on fruit by Londoners, "for no use but to give people a colic," not considering that to many constitutions fruit is more a necessity of health than even oatmeal.

Mr. Froude sums up Carlyle's message to the world as being this:—"That our most cherished ideas of political liberty are mere illusions, and that the progress which has seemed to go along with them is a progress towards anarchy and social dissolution." This message, perhaps, was needed; a statement of a truth or principle, even in an exaggerated form, is useful sometimes, and his teaching certainly has had great influence; whether it has now, or will have in the future, is doubtful. His readers now, compared to twenty or thirty years ago, are few, and those content themselves with the historical works. His style may partly account for this neglect, for at first it appears to be simply a product of the vanity for which he sometimes blames himself in his journal; but the repugnance caused by uncouth language soon ceases to be felt when the substance is valued.

There is a charming etching of Mrs. Carlyle in the second volume, and also a portrait of her husband, and one or two views.

Mr. Froude has also edited Carlyle's notes of a journey to Ireland in 1849.¹² They are very scrappy and disjointed, but still picturesque. The point which seems to have struck Carlyle most, was that the landlord prints his image on the face of the earth, and that consequently "you have beauty alternating with sordid disordered ugliness, abrupt as squares in a chessboard." As to the Irish people, he says that begging is the only industry really followed by them, and he tells how he horrified the people at Sligo by asking them if it were not better to drown or hang themselves than live such a dog's life. To Lord George Hill, who was doing all he could to reclaim his land and raise the people, he said: "No hope for the men as masters; their one true station in the universe is servants, slaves if you will, and never can they know a right day till they attain that," and confirms it by the fact that his labourers, engaged to work by the day, stayed only some three or four hours, and complained when, at the end of the week, they were paid by the hour. The policy of successive Governments towards Ireland has not been in accordance with what Carlyle himself would have suggested, and perhaps he would have said that the present state of affairs, when active sedition has succeeded to discontent and idleness, was the result of acting on wrong principles, and

¹² "Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849." By Thos. Carlyle. Sampson Low & Co. 1882.

not hearing in mind his remark already quoted. The traveller takes as much pains to tell his readers when and what he ate, drank, and smoked, as any writer of a sporting novel.

Old Cambridge men, especially if they were book collectors, will be glad to see Mr. Hughes' Memoir of their old acquaintance, Daniel Macmillan,¹³ a man who succeeded not only because he was a good business man, with the Scotch qualities of perseverance and carefulness, but because he felt that (to quote a letter to a friend in Glasgow), "we booksellers, if we are faithful to our task, are trying to destroy, and are helping to destroy, all kinds of confusion, and are aiding our great Taskmaster to reduce the world into order, and beauty, and harmony." Those who did not know him personally, will find much to interest them in his correspondence with, and remarks about, noted men, literary mostly, with whom he was brought in contact. His first sight of Carlyle was at a lecture given by him in 1840, which he describes with appreciation, and then notes this curious habit, "He rarely moves his hands from the sides of his desk; when he does, it is to rub his two forefingers along his forehead, just above his eyebrows. This seems to be of great use to him, enabling him to get on much better, at least I suppose so, because he always said his best things after one or two of these rubs." Newman reminds him of "our great Scotch sceptic, David Hume, the same analytical power, the same carelessness about consequences. . . . If he had not been a Christian and a Churchman, he would have been one of the powerfulest sceptical logic mills we have had set a-going in this country for many years." He considers him as holding to Christianity, "because the balance of probabilities seems in its favour," and compares him unfavourably as a leader to Leighton, or Coleridge, or Maurice, or Trench, or Hare, who appear to him "to have the most unwavering faith." His judgments on men of this class are confessedly purely subjective, based on their influence on his own mind and life. A fair instance of his literary insight is his advice to Charles Kingsley when writing "Westward Ho," not to "adopt that pseudo-antique manner in which 'Esmond,' 'Mary Powell,' &c. &c., are written—that style is now getting a bore—the free march of your own style will be much more Elizabethan in manner and style than any you can assume." His sketch of a novel for the same author, in which all the leading characters think and speak in the character of the day, and worship Mrs. Grundy, is very ingenious, but too long to quote. Such a book, Macmillan says, would be sure to take as a recantation of "Parson Lot's" errors, who then might turn the tables by a sequel. There is also some interesting correspondence with Archdeacon Hare, whose writings, "Guesses at Truth," and the "Victory of Faith," Macmillan considers likely to be very useful among the business young men in London, the Scotch more probably than the English. When he starts business at Cambridge, the Archdeacon lectures him for including

¹³ Memoir of Daniel Macmillan." By Thomas Hughes, Q.C. London: Macmillan & Co. 1862.

"Faublas" in his catalogue, which he defends reasonably enough on the ground that no one can understand a period without knowing its literature, though he takes the hint and burns the book. Did the Archdeacon intend his strictures only to apply to French books, or that a bookseller in a University town should only sell such books as were fit *virginibus puerisque*? Perhaps, being a scholar, the decent obscurity of a dead language would have condoned the offence in his eyes in the case of books like Martial or Apuleius. To those who study the phases of religious life, the gradual conversion of a Calvinist Baptist into a Broad Churchman offers some points of interest.

Two new numbers of the "English Men of Letters"¹⁴ series have recently appeared "Gray," by E. W. Gosse, and "Dickens," by A. W. Ward. With such an uneventful life as Gray's Mr. Gosse has found it necessary to expand rather than compress the existing biographies, but without this expansion—a commentary of just and delicate criticism on his works and his contemporaries—the life would be far from interesting, perhaps even positively dull. This little book may lead some persons to read Gray's letters, which they will find charming, not at all inferior to those of his friend Horace Walpole. Mr. Gosse points out, what every reader of his letters will see for himself, how keen was his appreciation of natural scenery, even of mountains, at a time when few persons, however cultivated, could admire more than the pretty and pastoral in scenery. He was also one of the first to study Gothic architecture, in fact, "Bentham's Essay" has commonly been attributed to his hand. His taste, however, did not get far beyond Strawberry Hill Gothic—witness the architectural frontispiece and vignettes in Bentley's illustrations to his poems, which he warmly praised, and which no one with any knowledge of architecture could have endured. These illustrations are not much known now; but they are well worth looking at, and not without merit of a kind. The illustration of "A Long Story," where the Muses convey the poet "underneath their hoops to a small closet in the garden," is exceedingly humorous from its combination of classic nudity and modern costume. To turn to a point of minute criticism. Why should Mr. Gosse take the phrase in the Eton ode "to urge the flying ball," as referring to "trap-ball," when cricket was even then a regular Eton game, and is mentioned by Gray himself in his letters?

Mr. Ward's "Dickens,"¹⁵ as far as the biography goes, is, as might be expected, based upon Forster's "Life," and contains no new facts, but the criticism is original, and the judgments passed upon his works well reasoned, and referred to definite principles; not merely an expression of the writer's individual likes or dislikes. It is necessary for the complete education of the young, as Dickens himself held, that the imagination should be nourished and cultivated as well as the other powers of mind; and it is the neglect of this principle that has

¹⁴ "English Men of Letters. Gray." By E. W. Gosse. Macmillan. 1882.

¹⁵ "Dickens." By Adolphus William Ward. Macmillan & Co. 1882.

made England a pre-eminently dull country. His "solemn and continual conductorial injunction" to his coadjutor, Mr. Wills, was to "keep 'Household Words' imaginative;" and the mission that Dickens performed was to supply food and education for the fancy of that class of people who see nothing but the incidents of common life. And not only did he educate the fancy, but stimulated the powers of observation, and taught people to see for themselves the humorous and the comic in familiar scenes and everyday life. Mr. Ward writes in no spirit of adulation, though with a warm admiration for his subject. He says, indeed, that he cannot pass near London Bridge, the Temple, or a hundred other places, without instinctively recalling pictures scattered through Dickens' works. This admiration does not blind him to faults of style, to the artificiality of many of the characters, especially those of the upper classes, and to weakness in the construction of some of his plots, while it enables him to do full justice to the sentiment that pervades all Dickens' wrote—that sympathy for humanity which led him "to endeavour to knit humanity together by seeking to show the good in everything."

The illustrations to Dickens's works by Cruikshank and Browne harmonized more fully with the genius and methods of the writer than those executed by other artists for his later works; though, artistically, the latter, those in "Our Mutual Friend," for instance, are far superior. Both Cruikshank and "Phiz"¹⁶ caught Dickens's spirit of exaggeration, and method of labelling a character by some external peculiarity, though Cruikshank managed always to produce a sensation of ugliness, from which Phiz was happily free, no doubt owing to his more careful studies of the nude when quite a lad. He gained two prizes from the Society of Arts—one for an historical subject, and one for an etching of John Gilpin—and in later life exhibited constantly at the exhibitions of the British Institution and the Society of British Artists. It is, however, by his illustrations to Dickens and Lever that he will be remembered. The list of his works, given by Mr. Kitton, is confessedly incomplete, and does not even include those to Smedley's novels, which are among the best of his productions. A few reproductions of some of his illustrations to Dickens are inserted, and also some very humorous slight sketches from letters to his sons, and a collection of seventeen different heads for Mr. Dombey, none of which satisfied Dickens. Some of the discrepancies between the text and the plates in "Dombey and Son," and other of the novels, are accounted for by the author's habit of reading aloud to the artist the passages to be illustrated, and leaving him to work out his drawing from his recollection.

Roumania¹⁷ is an example of a country where thorough land reforms have been recently carried out with considerable success, and in view of the attempted reforms here and in Ireland, the process and

¹⁶ "Phiz. (C. Hablot K. Browne): A Memoir." By F. G. Kitton. Satchel & Co. 1882.

¹⁷ "Roumania: Past and Present." By James Samuelson. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

results are worth studying. About one-third of the Boyards' estates were given to the peasants at prices fixed and paid by Government, to be repaid by annual instalments. This was in 1864, and about twelve years after State lands were allotted to 50,000 peasants who had grown up since the former emancipation. Thus all the peasants are proprietors of their holdings, which they are prevented by law from alienating for thirty years, lest they should become the prey of money-lenders. The result of this prohibition is that the indolent, or unfortunate, are forced to sell their labour for one or more years to their landlords, and consequently about one-third are practically serfs on their own farms, while the remainder are doing well, and even buying additional land. The real test of the experiment will be after the thirty years period is elapsed, and then it will be seen whether the peasant proprietors will be able to continue, or whether a new class of moneyed landlords will eventually take the place of the hereditary Boyards. Meanwhile it works well, in Mr. Samuelson's opinion, and he appears to have studied the subject carefully on the spot. The noticeable points of the process, are, the giving the tenant a portion of the soil at a fixed price, with no land court, or litigation of any kind. The fixed price carried with it some element of injustice to individuals, the quality of the land not being taken into account, but the certainty and speediness of the process would save law expenses, and almost compensate for slight inequalities. The state of the peasantry is also improving. Their half-underground houses, originally built for concealment, are becoming obsolete, and more healthy cottages and farm houses erected. Then the compulsory gratuitous education of the people, though not very efficient now, will be developed and improved in course of time. There were in 1878 over 2,000 primary schools for a population of about five millions, the annual cost of each child being £1 8s., but the payment of the State teachers is insufficient, and tempts them to take engagements as private tutors to the injury of their regular work. The present state of society in Bucharest is incomparably better than what it was sixty years ago, if Consul Wilkinson's account, written in 1820, is at all to be depended on. Another point in which Roumania sets an example to older nations, is the method of making justice pay for itself by utilizing convict labour. Some of the salt mines are entirely worked by convicts, who, besides paying for their keep, are supposed to receive a portion of their earnings themselves, but Mr. Samuelson doubts whether the prisoners always get the benefit of the law. In addition to an account of the country as it is, Mr. Samuelson has put together a very readable sketch of the history of the kingdom from the Roman invasion to the election of the present King Charles, in 1881, who was crowned with a diadem made from guns taken in the Turkish war. A charming photograph of his Queen graces the volume, in the National Roumanian costume. Her poems, under the *nom de plume* of "Carmen Sylva," are known to many persons in England. At home, she has just been elected member of the Roumanian Academy of Science,

and either has or will deliver an address to the Society on her admission. The frontispiece consists of a photograph of the Cathedral of Curtea d'Ardges, which was built early in the sixteenth century. The style is Byzantine, with much that is Moorish in the decoration. Two of the towers have curved and sloping windows, which produce a most curious effect, probably unique.

Sir G. W. Cox has issued a new edition of his well known work on Aryan mythology,¹⁸ which first appeared about twelve years ago. The theories which he then put forward, that the mythological stories and epic poems of the Aryan nations are merely founded on imaginative descriptions of the natural phenomena of the heavens, have been supported by the study of the religious systems of Assyria, Phœnicia, and Egypt by other scholars. As to Babylon, Mr. Sayce is convinced that all the great deities, two, perhaps, excepted, are solar. In the case of Phœnicia and other Semitic nations, the deities appear to be cosmical, rather than phenomenal, and to the idea of revolutions in infinite space and rhythmical movement Sir G. Cox attributes the dances and orgiastic ceremonies of the Semitic religions, which came in contact with the Aryans when the cult of Dionysus was brought to Greece. His plan does not admit of his discussing the real nature of the movement, whether there was any real religious or moral principle at the bottom of the enthusiasm, but the mere worship of cosmic deities seems hardly sufficient to account for the influence of the new religion, both in Greece and Italy. Though Semitic theology hardly comes within the author's scope, he points out the effect on the Jews of contact with Iranian dualism during the captivity at Babylon. Previously, the prophets and priests were monothœistic, the people more or less polythœistic; but after that event, polythœism died out, and Satan, who had in earlier times been a minister of God, became an almost equal opponent to God, like Ahriman to Ormuzd. Christianity has not yet abated his pride of place, though Teutonic humour has made him a laughing-stock. In fact, a selection from Christian writings, from the earliest centuries to the present day, might be quoted to show that on the whole he is victorious, or, at all events, the stronger power; but now comparative mythology explains him away. The science has done much good, in a scientific point of view, by collecting and arranging, and to some extent explaining, phenomena which are common to all nations, and in a mental and moral point of view, by clearing men's minds from some superstitious modes of thought. But in the endeavour to find a basis for all mythical stories in natural phenomena; the love of men, whether savage or civilized, for story-telling, is too much overlooked. The recurrence of certain plots which have an obvious dramatic interest is analogous to that of some decorative patterns. Neither case is necessarily evidence of a common origin, but rather of the similarity of treatment of a similar material by the human mind.

¹⁸ "The Mythology of the Aryan Nations." By the Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, Bart. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

The President of Boston University has endeavoured to solve the mysteries of H \ddot{o} meric Geography¹⁹ by suggesting that the Greeks, and other ancient peoples also, believed this world to be spherical. The upper hemisphere, exposed to the light of the sun, was the known world inhabited by men, Oceanus, a belt of sea round the equator, and the lower hemisphere Hades. This was surrounded by a hollow sphere, in which the sun, moon, and stars moved, of which the upper half was Olympus and the lower Tartarus. The explanation of the pillars of Atlas as the axis running through the globe, and touching the heavens both above and below the earth, is very ingenious. The chief difficulty is that Oceanus is spoken of as surrounding Europe and Asia, being in fact on the same plane with them, while in Mr. Warren's scheme, it does not come near Europe at all. The theory deserves to be worked out more carefully than the few pages of a pamphlet allow; for, however unhistorical the poems of Homer may be, the geography is doubtless based on real geographical traditions and scattered scraps of information which were current in Greece and Asia, and thus embody what is really historical.

Mr. James Simson, author of several publications about the gipsies,²⁰ is very much concerned that his suggestion that John Bunyan belonged to that race, made twenty-five years ago in *Notes and Queries*, has not been universally accepted. He considers it entirely owing to prejudice, and speaks of "the storm of indignation" that the theory has raised: but as the indignation "is so great that it has not yet found expression," one wonders how he has discovered its existence. It is impossible to discuss the theory seriously without studying his previous works on the subject; but as he considers the descendants of Englishmen by gipsy mothers to be gipsies, a surname is of course no evidence, and nothing can satisfy the requirements of the case but distinct statement of pedigree. Bunyan's name is probably a corruption of Bon Johan, a name which occurs here and there in England in the Middle Ages, and is no doubt of Norman origin. As to the origin of the race, he believes that they are descended from the "mixed multitude" which accompanied the Hebrews out of Egypt, and asks what objection can be advanced against the hypothesis? Even dabblers in history must learn that it is not the question what objection can be advanced against an hypothesis, but what evidence can be produced in its favour.

Mr. Chalmers is not content with the result of his previous publications in detracting from the merits of Sir Rowland Hill,²¹ though he has succeeded in procuring an alteration in the inscription on the proposed statue to the Post-Office Reformer, and has issued another pamphlet on the same subject. The points which he desires to establish are,

¹⁹ "The True Key to Ancient Cosmology and Mythical Geography." By Wm. F. Warren, S.T.D., LL.D. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

²⁰ "John Bunyan and the Gipsies." By James Simson. Baillière, Tyndall & Co. 1882.

²¹ "The Position of Sir Rowland Hill made Plain." By Patrick Chalmers. Effingham Wilson. 1862.

that the penny-postage for letters was not invented by Sir Rowland Hill, but copied from a recommendation of the same rate in the case of prices current, made in the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Post Office Inquiry, in 1836, and that the adhesive stamp was invented by James Chalmers, the writer's father, a bookseller of Dundee.

BELLES LETTRES.

THIS volume¹ contains a collection of tales which bear the stamp of being what they profess to be: "Legends of the Wigwams." They owe little to the manner in which they are told, the style being faulty and lacking that poetic grace which is a prevailing characteristic of "Hans Christian Andersen Stories," and also the *couleur locale*, which lends illusion to all the fables of La Fontaine, in which animals are the actors. Here the animals act and speak simply like ordinary human beings. They are wolves, buffaloes, &c., merely in name. Scattered throughout the book are many of the incidents with which we are familiar in Longfellow's "Hiawatha"—*e.g.*, the transformation of a man into a beaver, and various other animals, the hero each time suffering from having been, at the promptings of his own vanity, made "ten times larger than the others." Again, the last story is the beautiful legend of the "Wrestling with Mondamin," which results in the gift to mankind of the Indian corn. The spelling, division of words, and, very often, the wording are, we conclude, American. Certainly such divisions of words as "broth-er," such spelling as "center," and such expressions as "he was obliged to live off of such roots, &c., are not English.

Another of Messrs. Sonnenschein's series of fairy tales is a reprint of Crofton Croker's "Irish Fairy Legends."² They are too well-known to need much comment. Their humoristic turn is thoroughly Irish, and gives them a characteristic charm not found in the fairy lore of any other race.

We have also received a volume of "Old Norse Fairy Tales."³ They are by no means striking; a wearying sameness prevails both in the incidents and the wording; nor is there much of that atmosphere of antiquity which comes of the incidental mention of bygone customs and ways of living, thinking, and feeling. Yet we might have ex-

¹ "Hiawatha, and other Legends of the Wigwams of the Red American Indians." By Cornelius Matthews. London: W. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Row.

² "Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland." By Crofton Croker, Esq. New edition by T. Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. London: Sonnenschein & Co.

³ "Old Norse Fairy Tales gathered from the Swedish Folk." By G. Stephens and A. Cavallius. London: Sonnenschein & Co.

pected to find this, for the preface assures us that these "are genuine folk tales of unknown antiquity transcribed from the mouths of the Swedish peasantry."

A book somewhat akin to these in its subject, though widely different in its treatment is "Lancashire Folk Lore."⁴ It is divided into two parts; the first treating of superstitious beliefs and practices, the second of local customs and usages at various seasons. In the first division, the best chapter is that on "Boggarts." The word is derived by the authors from the Anglo-Saxon "burgh" a town, or bar, the local term for a gate, and just Anglo-Saxon for "spirit." Thus "boggart" would mean "gate-ghost," or "town-ghost." But the Scotch "bogle," and the Cumberland "boggle," throw some doubt on this etymology. Be this as it may, Lancashire swarmed until very recently with "Boggarts." Not an old hall, and they abound in Lancashire, but had its legendary spirit, which at nights amused itself and terrified the inhabitants by carrying out the established ghostly programme, drumming on oak chests, rattling chains, &c. &c. At present the belief in "boggarts" is dying out. According to one aged unbeliever, since the introduction of "Owd Ned" (the steam engine) "factory folk have summet else t'mind nur vanderin' ghosts an' rollicking sperrits." Under the head of the Devil, Demons, &c., we find an interesting bit of etymology, indeed many such are scattered throughout the volume. In speaking of the Devil as "Old Nick" (a synonyme, by-the-by, by no means peculiar to Lancashire) people have little idea that they are using one of the names of Odin. We learn, however, that "Nick, Neck, Nikkar, Nikur, or Hnikar, are names assumed by Odin, when he acts as the evil or destructive principle." "Nick or Nickar being an object of dread to the Scandinavians, propitiatory worship was offered to him; and hence it has been imagined that the Scandinavian spirit of the waters became, in the Middle Ages, St. Nicolas, the patron of sailors, who invoke his aid in storms and tempests." This belief is confirmed by the number of churches situated near the sea, which are dedicated to St. Nicholas, notably, the Old Church at Liverpool, consecrated in 1361. Among the "Miscellaneous Folk-lore," a point worthy of mention is the discovery in Lancashire of Druidical rock basins, such as have been long known to exist in Cornwall and Yorkshire. Among the local customs at various places and seasons, the most worthy of notice is perhaps the Pace Egging at Easter, which it seems is still observed at Blackburn. It also still exists in some parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland. Just before Easter—derived, we are here informed, from the Saxon goddess Eostra, whose feast was celebrated in April—a band of young men, or often of children, variously and grotesquely disguised, goes from house to house begging for Pace (*i.e.* Easter) eggs. The characters have varied with the times,

⁴ "Lancashire Folk Lore." Compiled and edited by John Harland, F.S.A. and T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. Manchester and London: John Heywood, Paternoster Row.

from St. George and the Dragon to Lord Nelson, who in modern days takes the place of the patron saint of England; but the comic man of the company, the jester and butt of the others, still remains under the name of Toby Tossput, with blackened face and vermilion-tipped nose, dressed in incongruous rags, sometimes in female attire. They sing a song in Westmoreland (though in the account of pace-egging at Blackburn this is not mentioned), the tune of which never varies from year to year, and which has a verse introducing each of the characters. To sum up, the main fault of the book is that it contains an overwhelming proportion of irrelevant matter. If the author had merely said what he has to say on Lancashire Folk-lore, his little volume would be reduced to a mere pamphlet.

We next have to notice an amusing collection of stories and talk by Mark Twain.⁵ He is one of the very limited class of writers who can amuse, and who thereby deserve to be regarded as benefactors of their species. Amid all the dull books with which the world is flooded, each with some high aim, often ill-defined and rarely attained, it is a relief to find a man who boldly avers that he has no higher aim than that of amusing his readers, and who, at the same time, has the gift of succeeding. "The Stolen White Elephant," which gives the volume its title, occupies but few of its pages. It is a clever skit upon the modern detective system, with its elaborate appliances, its costliness, and too often its utter failure. Most of those who have had recourse to renowned detectives must have passed through the feeling here described—beginning with admiring confidence, and ending in blank disappointment, though probably both the thing lost and the sums squandered in vain attempts to recover it were on a less gigantic scale than in the case of the stollen elephant. But hyberbole is the soul of American wit. The sketches that follow are all clever—made up of grave humour with occasional touches of pathos. It is difficult to choose where all is good, but perhaps the "Gossip about old Captain Hurricane Jones of the Pacific Ocean," and the "Invalid's Story," are the most irresistibly funny of all. Towards the end of the volume are some remarks on the "American Language," which call for a few words of comment. Mark Twain maintains that the American is a distinct language from English. "The languages (he admits) were identical several generations ago, but the spread of our people far to the south and far to the west, have made many alterations in our pronunciation, and have introduced new words among us, and changed the meaning of many old ones." We agree as to the fact, whatever we may think of the causes that have brought it about. English as written, and still more as spoken, by Americans, is no doubt another thing from native English. The difference is even greater than Mr. Clemens is aware of. In his own writings there are scarcely half-a-dozen consecutive lines of what we should call pure English. The divergence is no doubt inevitable and regulated by

⁵ "The Stolen White Elephant," &c. By Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens.). London: Messrs Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly.

a natural law. Unhappily, the modifications which differentiate "American" from English are for the most part vulgarisms, which, while they heighten the effect of comic writing, are blots on more serious productions. At the same time, real as the differences are, they seem hardly sufficient to constitute a separate language; indeed, so long as the Americans continue to lay claim to their part in the inheritance of our great English classics, so long as they and we find in those classics our common standard of style and diction, it is difficult to see how the two languages can become separate. When we are further told: "English people speak through their noses; *we do not*," we can but reply, "He that is giddy thinks the world turns round." We would appeal on this point with confidence to the arbitrament of any continental nation familiar with the respective peculiarities of English and American speech. But, when the author goes on to say, "We say, 'know,' English people say, 'nao,' we are compelled in candour "to own up," as he would say. If an Englishman is introduced as a character in a French vaudeville, or opéra comique, the first words he is made to say, are "Aoh, nao," to announce as it were his nationality. This impurity in the sound of O is undoubtedly a vice in our pronunciation of our own language. We should do well to look into it, for it is ridiculed wherever we are known in Europe, and now, it seems, in America too.

Mr. Cotterill's "Introduction to the Study of Poetry"⁶ is, he tells us, taken from a course of lectures delivered by him, first, in England, and afterwards to an English audience at Dresden. His programme is somewhat ambitious, commencing with the origin and nature of literature, and proceeding to the discussion of art creation, with special reference to poetry, illustrated by extracts from certain English poets and sketches of their lives. We cannot say that Mr. Cotterill is very lucid in his exposition of the origin of literature, though he carries the matter back to the origin of language—a subject which he dismisses with a few crude sentences. He then launches (fortunately at no great length) on metaphysical questions of "sensation and consciousness," wandering from them to hieroglyphics, Chinese picture-writing, and so on to the modern alphabet. We hear a great deal about "the higher reason, by which we are conscious of ideal truth." "All true existence," we are informed, "is due to the presence of this ideal truth; and the only true products of art are creations or 'entireties' dependent for their real existence on the idea which they symbolize." In explanation of this "ideal truth," we are made acquainted with the "doctrine of appearances; of an outer, material, sensible world, which exists merely as a manifestation of an inner sphere of realities," &c. But who shall explain this explanation? The author's theory about poetry, the standard by which he judges it, are perhaps most tangibly set forth in the following lines, culled from a later portion of his work. The only reality "is perfection: the only true belief is

⁶ "An Introduction to the Study of Poetry." By H. B. Cotterill, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square.

the certainty of the existence of perfection, and the only true work is work in that direction." This theory leads him to depreciate all such poets as treat of mere mundane matters. Of Shakespeare he says: "But the new questions of life and all its mysteries, the solution of which we so eagerly crave for, are scarcely touched by Shakespeare. He paints men as they lived and felt. As to their inner and future existence, as to that final goal whither they are tending, he does not introduce them into that picture of human nature which his plays reflect. . . . You remember Hamlet's dying words, 'The rest is silence.'" In fact, Shakespeare erred in writing about things he knew, rather than of those of which he, like the rest of mankind, was in total ignorance. The verdict on George Eliot is still more terrible. "I cannot but think," says Mr. Cotterill, "that the highest teaching of the writings of George Eliot amounts to nothing more than a lofty and mournful agnosticism." "The mysterious web of life is woven for us, perhaps more deftly and in more vivid colours than by any other writer, with the exception of Shakespeare. But we are left gazing at the tangled maze of things, while the writer seems to smile at us with sad lips, and to say, 'This is all, the rest is silence.'" Mr. Cotterill thinks that "the poet has yet to be born who will tell us what life means." In this we quite agree with him! The volume closes with a detailed account, interspersed with quotations, of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound." The author's theories concerning ideal truth, "poetic vision," "the higher reason," &c., lead him to regard the subject of this poem as "the loftiest, the most celestial of all subjects," and Shelley being, in his opinion, the greatest poet who has treated such a subject; "we must allow that he is the greatest poet of the highest class of poets." It is a pity that our author cannot clear his brain of vain imaginings and misleading theories, for he possesses a guide in the choice of poetry safer than any theory—namely, that subtle instinct of discernment which French critics call "le flair." His sketches of the lives of the poets Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Keats are well done, and a great part of his book is pleasant reading.

In Mr. Dowden's "Studies in Literature," we travel once more over nearly the same ground: the subject matter is substantially the same; but the treatment is widely different. There is more breadth and grasp, and, above all, more common-sense. The author applies the historical method conscientiously and intelligently, but as it seems to us, at too great length. There is no necessity, even if space permitted, to give a detailed analysis of the contents of the volume, for most of the Essays have already appeared in the WESTMINSTER, the *Nineteenth Century*, and other leading reviews. In the Essay headed *The Scientific Movement and Literature*, Dr. Dowden notices the influence which the theory of evolution is beginning to exercise on literature, adducing in exemplification the later works of George Eliot; but he has the air of not being quite at home on this topic.

† 7 "Studies in Literature, 1789-1877." By Edward Dowden, LL.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square.

He accepts evolution without applying it, and while holding in his hand the key to all the mysteries of existence, prefers to seek the *mot de l'énigme* in transcendentalism. Nor has he apparently a suspicion that evolution cuts the ground from under the feet of the transcendentalists by finding in heredity an intelligible and natural explanation of the mysterious innate yearnings and aspirations, on which they found their beliefs. We picture him standing before a locked door; the key, he knows, is in his hand; but fie! on such an unworthy and commonplace mode of entrance! He prefers to stand indefinitely where he is, repeating a mystic and (must we say it?) an interminable "Open Sesame!" He talks, too, of the "moral order" as of an established fact, like gravitation or any other natural law. In short, his theory of the universe may be summed up as being the direct opposite of that so boldly and eloquently expressed by a modern French poet (Jean Aicard—"Miette et Nore"):

" C'est la force et non la justice
Qui tourne sur l'étrange essieu,
Tendresse, pitié, sacrifice,
Sont verbes inconnus de Dieu !"

Of French poets Professor Dowden has a good deal to say, but there is more of stricture than of appreciation in his criticism. No doubt it is difficult thoroughly to enjoy poetry written in a foreign tongue. To feel all its charm and music, there is required an intimate and practical acquaintance with the pronunciation, rhythm, and intonations of the language, which is rarely possessed by a foreigner; but all allowances on this score fail to account for the startling assertion that Victor Hugo is wanting in intellect. The following are Dr. Dowden's own words: "Intellect, which in the highest poets co-operates with the affections and imagination, in Victor Hugo is deficient." Such criticism as this, only to be characterized by the French word "baroque," cannot be treated seriously. In another random criticism, thrown out parenthetically in a foot-note, Dr. Dowden denies to M. Taine the possession of a "delicate and flexible intelligence." He is, apparently, not acquainted with M. Taine's brilliant "*Etude sur les Fables de la Fontaine*," in which these qualities shine more conspicuously than in any of Dr. Dowden's "*Studies in Literature*."

"The Parthenon Frieze, and other Essays,"⁸ addresses itself to but a limited circle of readers. The general public cannot be expected to arbitrate on a question purely archæological, nor to take a very vital interest in the subject of the Parthenon Frieze. Mr. Davidson's style is, however, so lucid and so free from technicalities; the ancient authorities he brings forward in support of his theory are so much to the point, and at the same time so interesting, that the book is by no means without charm for the general reader. He undertakes to prove, first, that the subject of the Parthenon Frieze is not, as has been hitherto supposed, either the Peplos procession or the Sacrificial pro-

⁸ "The Parthenon Frieze, and other Essays." By Thomas Davidson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1 Paternoster Square.

cession of the Panathœnaia; and second, that its real subject is what he terms "The Dream of Pericles"—i.e., a Thanksgiving procession of the Athenians, and the other Greek States (the Doric more especially), in honour of the victory of Salamis, the ulterior object of Pericles being to bring Sparta under the hegemony of Athens. The scheme of the joint sacrifice fell through from the natural jealousy of the former; and so the Frieze remains the only result of the "Dream of Pericles," just as the column at Boulogne is the sole surviving trace of Napoleon's meditated invasion of England. Such are, in outline, the points which Mr. Davidson seeks to establish. We cannot, of course, give even a *résumé* of his arguments, but we must allow that to us they seem solid and convincing. Not so convincing is Mr. Davidson when he would persuade us that a new era in dramatic art has been inaugurated by the performance at Harvard University of "an ancient Greek tragedy in the original language," and that Sophocles is superior to Shakespeare, "whether as regards construction of plot, delineation of character, or finish of workmanship."

"Northern Cloisters,"⁹ is a charming book. It is pure and lofty in its teaching, the chief personages having a sincere and earnest purpose in all their actions. But there is more self-sacrifice in the hero than is reasonable; and, as self-sacrifice generally does, it turns out not only useless but mischievous. William Milton, who is a fine high-minded man, *sans peur et sans reproche*, loves a girl whose tutor he has been from her childhood. She is both lovely and lovable, and her heart never swerves from him for a moment. But he imagines that others more worthy are aspiring to win her, and renounces all hope of her. He says of himself pathetically, that he must for ever stand on the brink of Bethesda. So, in this way, he is always making mistakes, and withdraws, even at the very moment when he might be happy. At last all doubts are cleared away, and he comes back from his self-imposed banishment to find his Althea nearly dead for love of him. But she recovers, and all is explained between them. Several other characters in the book are delightfully drawn; but there is something forced in the style, and great carelessness as to names, notably, the Canon, who is most happily portrayed, is called by his wife sometimes Thomas and sometimes Edward. The descriptions of places are excellent. The serene and sleepy cloisters, so beloved by their inhabitants, and the lovely coast of North Devon are equally well and charmingly depicted.

Mrs. Francis Lean (Florence Marryat) had much better have left unwritten the very unsavoury book with which she has presented us. The story of "How they Loved Him"¹⁰ has no redeeming quality. It is written in bad taste, bad style, and bad English. If she ventures on a French phrase it is generally incorrect, and she talks of the *Engaldine* (Engadine) with a crass ignorance which is surprising in

⁹ "Northern Cloisters." By the author of "Alustis." 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place.

¹⁰ "How they Loved Him:" a Novel. By Florence Marryat. 3 vols. London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand.

an author who has written so much, and many of whose books are deserving of praise. Mrs. Francis Lean had better lay down her pen than repeat such a production as "How they Loved Him."

"The Burgomaster's Wife"¹¹ is a translation from the German. It treats of that stirring period of Dutch History when Leyden made so glorious a stand against an overwhelming Spanish force, and, after enduring all the horrors of starvation, with its attendant plagues, was finally relieved by the heroic expedient of cutting the dykes, and admitting the sea to roll once more over the rich and highly cultivated lands which had formerly been so painfully reclaimed from its domain. But this costly sacrifice enabled the "Gueux" to bring their ships under the very walls of the closely beleaguered city, and they in concert with their staunch ally, the sea, compelled Alve to hastily raise the siege, thereby laying the foundation of the independence of Holland. The characters are tolerably well sustained, but the book is not very vivid; it doubtless suffers from being translated.

"Democracy"¹² is a thoughtful book, well written, and, especially at the outset, very striking; but its promise seems to us greater than its performance. It is distinctly a political novel, and, as such, its chief merit is that it shows an intimate knowledge of the machinery of American politics. It portrays with keen unsparing touch that hideous system of corruption, which is the bane and disgrace of American democracy; but the author, like the senators and politicians who figure in his pages, seems to regard the abuses as inseparable from the system. He admits no possibility of reform, nor does he indicate any other system of government by which the cynical venality which he lays bare might be checked or prevented. Indeed the following remark, worthy of quoting because absolutely true, seems to close the door on any hope arising from mere changes of form. It is The Honourable Silas P. Ratcliffe, the "Prairie Giant of Peonia," himself a senator and one of the chief upholders of political corruption, who is speaking; "my reply is," said Ratcliffe, "that no representative Government can long be much better or much worse than the society it represents. Purify society and you purify the Government, But try to purify the Government artificially, and you only aggravate the failure." So the author, while scorning American democracy, seeing all its shams and incongruities, yet accepts it as inevitable. The story is slight, but the personages are all very real, and the reader cannot fail to be interested in their fortunes. It is hard to pronounce whether the author is English or American, but his perfect acquaintance with American manners, speech and sentiment, together with occasional slight peculiarities of diction, seem to point to the latter supposition.

In "Unknown to History"¹³ the pen of Miss Yonge has lost none of

¹¹ "The Burgomaster's Wife: a Tale of the Siege of Leyden." By George Ebers. Translated by Clara Bell. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹² "Democracy: an American Novel. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹³ "Unknown to History: a Story of the Captivity of Mary of Scotland." By Charlotte M. Yonge. London: Macmillan & Co.

its fascination. Her treatment of historical romance is remarkable for its originality, and in her handling of the characters of children she is singularly successful. It is needless to expatiate on the purity and wholesomeness of her writing, for these are universally admitted. Her fanciful weaving of delightful stories out of the bald records of mediæval history, is a talent all her own. The character of the Queen of Scots is not made too captivating. It is neither as attractive as in the absorbing pages of the Abbott, nor as repulsive as it appears in the prose of Froude, and the poetry of Swinburne.

"Christy Carew,"¹⁴ like all others by the author of "Hogan, M.P.," is lively and well written. It describes Irish society in a way which is new and amusing to an English reader. What may be called the secular aspect of the rivalry, in a narrow circle, of two different forms of religion, is very clearly shown. The assumption by the members of the recently disestablished church, of a kind of social superiority, and the matter-of-course commonplace description of Roman practices, and ideas are told in a way that shows real knowledge of the subject. Father Considine is an interesting character, and so are the two heroines, and the story throughout, though very simple, is natural and unaffected.

The story of "Dick's Wanderings"¹⁵ is very readable, and now and then rises to be interesting. But the character of Dick is painfully defective. Born to a good position and great wealth which comes to him early, on the death of his father, Dick fancies all the world at his feet, and that he is to set all wrongs right, and take care of everybody. This vain-glory leads him into all sorts of blunders. He estranges his mother, whom he adores, by cutting off the entail of his property. He goes to the East with a view to buying land, and colonizing on the best European principles. A wild fantastic tutor who worships him and thinks him perfection, accompanies him, and a young cousin of unsteady weak character, whom Dick intends to look after and reform. In his travels he meets a young American girl of perfectly guileless nature, and sweet manners, but he is for ever suspecting her of flirting with him, and abruptly breaks away from her. In England matters are no better; he finds that the borough for which he has been urged to sit does not seem to want him. He calls on the principal tradesmen, and they, one and all, attack him upon their *bête noire* co-operation. In endeavouring to explain his views he manages to offend butcher, baker, and candlestick-maker, and comes away thoroughly disgusted. But such a good fellow as Dick is sure in the end to correct all his own mistakes. The story develops itself very agreeably, and in the end Dick goes to fetch his American bride, and no doubt they live happily ever after.

A novel that is not amusing fails in the very purpose of its existence,

¹⁴ "Christy Carew:" a Novel. By the author of "Hogan, M.P.," &c. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹⁵ "Dick's Wanderings:" a Novel. By Julian Sturgis. 3 vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.

and can only be placed in the same category as leaden razors and wooden nutmegs. On this score alone "Sweetheart and Wife"¹⁶ must be pronounced a failure. But it is worse than dull; it is foolish and immoral. We are assured that the heroine's standard of right and wrong were so high that she could not forgive herself for indulging a mad passion for a married man, and entreating him to fly with her. And the author asserts that some characters can never be perfected, or show a noble example, were it not for remorse for the errors they have fallen into. It is hard to believe that one must be false before one can be true, base before being noble, immoral before being virtuous. There are endless descriptions of gorgeous upholstery, fancy ball-dresses, and luxurious living, interspersed with religious sentiments, which altogether form a jumble which is both tiresome and improbable.

The novel we have next to notice derives its name, "My Lady Clare," from the restitution by the heroine of the family property to her cousin, whose father had been fraudulently dispossessed of it by her parents. Almost all the interest of the book depends on the plot, which, though extremely complicated, is not sufficiently new or ingenious to be worth analysing. The characters are not by any means striking. Dollie, the "Lady Clare" of the book, is first introduced as a wilful child running away from school; and a wilful child she always remains. Amidst all the serious events in which she plays the chief part, she never seems to grow up. The book is not by any means one of Mrs. Eiloart's happiest productions.

In a very humorous preface, Mr. Anstey apologizes for his little book on the score that it "has the unambitious and frivolous aim of mere amusement." If so, "Vice Versa"¹⁷ has perfectly attained its object. If it is fooling, it is very clever fooling. The opening event, on which the whole story turns, is indeed an utter violation, not merely of probability, but of possibility. In this respect the book resembles M. Edmond About's clever tale, "L'homme à l'oreille Cassée;" and the parallel may be carried further; for, in both, after the one miraculous event, without which none of those which follow could have occurred, is to the last degree realistic. The characters are not only admirably sustained, but each one is a type, and has the air of being drawn from the life. And, crowning merit! there is not a dull page in the whole volume.

"Traseaden Hall"¹⁸ is certainly above the average of contemporary English novels. The plot develops too slowly, and the action perhaps extends over too long a period, but these defects hardly strike the

¹⁶ "Sweetheart and Wife:" a Novel. By Lady Constance Howard. London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand.

¹⁷ "My Lady Clare:" a Novel. By Mrs Eiloart. London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand. 1882.

¹⁸ "Vice Versa; or a Lesson to Fathers." By F. Anstey. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Waterloo Place. 1882.

¹⁹ "Traseaden Hall." By Major-General Hamley (late Royal Engineers.) 3 vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1882.

reader; he floats on, down a gentle stream of rational and agreeable reading which, though never very exciting, is never either frivolous or morbid. The scene is laid partly in a country town in England and partly in Spain and Portugal. The time extends from the commencement of the Peninsular war to the peace so dearly won at Waterloo. The representation of the country town life is photographic rather than pictorial, thereby sometimes recalling Miss Austen; but regimental life, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, is painted out of a fulness of knowledge which permits of idealization without any sacrifice of accuracy. The story is far too long and too complicated to enter upon here; we have perhaps said enough to show that it is well worth reading.

In "Fetters of Memory"²⁰ we note the same refinement of style and tone which has distinguished the author's other novels. The story, though interesting, is set in the minor key throughout, so that its perusal is calculated to depress rather than to amuse. The mottoes at the heads of the chapters are well chosen, and here and there are some pathetic snatches of poetry, which embellish the writing and add a grace to what would be otherwise too grave a book for pastime.

"Coals of Fire"²¹ is a collection of short stories, from the first of which the book is named. The stories are of unequal merit, but all are readable. "Coals of Fire," "The Showman's Ghost," "Mr. Bowker's Courtship," the first three tales in the first volume, are especially good.

Mr. Payn has long ago established a certain reputation as a romance writer. His strength lies in the narration of wild and more or less impossible adventures. But when, as in "For Cash only,"²² he comes before us as a painter of men and manners, he is far less successful. He wastes a good deal of virtuous indignation on a recent well-known novel, whose title he thinly veils under the pseudonym of "Butterflies," but in so doing he loses sight of the old proverb about people who live in glass houses, &c., for the picture of morals with which he himself presents us, is little, if at all, less revolting than that which he condemns with the aggravating circumstance of being infinitely more vulgar.

"A Loveless Sacrifice"²³ is a story which forms a practical refutation of the proverb that "Two of a trade can never agree," for the hero and heroine, who are both journalists, fall in love with each other over the sick bed of a child—the hero's son—and finally, after many obstacles to the course of true love, the greatest being a mystery

²⁰ "Fetters of Memory:" a Novel. By Alfred Leigh. 2 vols. London: Remington & Co., New Bond Street. 1882.

²¹ "Coals of Fire." By David Christie Murray. 3 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1882.

²² "For Cash Only:" a Novel. By James Payn. 3 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1882.

²³ "A Loveless Sacrifice." By Juan Leon Cassilis. 3 vols. London: F. V. White & Co., Southampton Street, Strand. 1882.

in the life of the heroine—of course, explained to her honour—they marry, and we may hope, agree admirably. The writing is good and the tale fairly interesting. "A Noble Error," the second and shorter story, is not nearly so good.

We have to notice two volumes of the Parchment Library,²⁴ one of which contains four plays of Shakespeare, and forms the first instalment of a convenient and charming edition.

The other is a well-chosen selection of Eighteenth Century Essays.²⁵ The notes, too, at the end, will be welcome to readers who are not sufficiently versed in the literature of the period to comprehend the allusions in the text.

In the little volume before us²⁶ Mr. Sidney Colvin has, perhaps, done as much as was possible to popularize a writer, who, though deservedly regarded as one of our English classics, is hardly known to the general public, except by name. Both the poetical and prose extracts are judiciously chosen, and present great variety in a small compass.

In the Clarendon Press Series, Mr. Papillon's new Edition of Virgil.²⁷ deserves notice. In orthography he has kept a judicious mean between the scientific restorations, which have all the air of innovations of the modern archæological school, and a too close adherence to the familiar but arbitrary spelling of the Renaissance. In the copious notes, to which the second volume is entirely devoted, he has again pursued the same course. On the one hand he has avoided a continuous translation—unnecessary, and often unwelcome to scholars, and to students a pernicious facility—while on the other hand, his annotations are sufficiently copious to be of use; not, as is too often the case, leaving the really difficult passages unexplained, while painfully disentangling and analysing phrases which every one understands.

Another recent publication in the Clarendon Series is a small brochure containing the first Canto of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel,"²⁸ with an introduction and notes by Professor Minto.

The reader of average education is not likely to receive much instruction from the perusal of Mr. C. Yonge's "Seven Heroines of Christendom."²⁹ If, on the other hand, he opens the book in search

²⁴ "Shakespeare's Works." Vol. I. (Parchment Library.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1882.

²⁵ "Eighteenth Century Essays." Selected and annotated by Austin Dobson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

²⁶ "Selections from the Writings of Walter Savage Landor." Arranged and edited by Sidney Colvin. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

²⁷ "P. Virgii Maronis Opera." Virgil, with an Introduction and Notes. By T. L. Papillon, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Henry Frowde, Paternoster Row.

²⁸ Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel." Canto I. Edited with Preface and Notes by W. Minto, M.A., Professor of Logic and English Literature in the University of Aberdeen. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1882.

²⁹ "The Seven Heroines of Christendom." By Charles Duke Yonge, Regius Professor of Modern History, Queen's College, Belfast. London: W. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. Paternoster Row. 1882.

of amusement, he will be "the more deceived;" for it reads like a dilution of an old-fashioned history for the use of schools; a mere précis of leading events, without any of the minute personal detail which, when touched in by a master hand, can make history as vivid and thrilling as romance. But perhaps it is really written for the use of schools, and intended not so much to delight as to instruct the youthful reader. If so, it comes half a century too late. Nowadays our most elementary primers teach history in a more critical and philosophic spirit; certainly, in none of them would the French Revolution be spoken of with the wholesale and indiscriminating reprobation lavished upon it by Mr. Yonge.

Mr. A. W. Pollard's English translation of "Sallust"³⁰ is a tolerably close and faithful version of the Latin text; but the question arises, Is it to be regarded as a literary work, or as a key for the use of students? If the former, we cannot speak warmly in its praise. It is too perceptibly a translation, and the meaning of many passages is vague, from too close an adherence to the Latin form, not so much of words as of thought. But if it is only meant for what is technically called a "crib," it may be pronounced fairly successful; for it is often more literal than are many of the professedly "literal" translations.

Mr. Swinburne's "Tristram of Lyonesse,"³¹ cannot be dismissed with a few hasty words: it has many and great faults, but, nevertheless, it is a genuine work of art, deserving of careful study and not less careful criticism. One of the most conspicuous faults is a certain amplification of striking thoughts or situations, which begets undue lengthiness, degenerating sometimes into downright tediousness. When a fine idea has been sufficiently and happily expressed, so far from being laid aside as complete, it is taken for the theme of complicated and endless variations, tortured and twisted, enlarged upon and reiterated, in language always melodious, often eloquent, but also often obscure and forced, till at last it looks so small, amid the sea of sounding words whereon it floats, that one is tempted to exclaim, "Oh monstrous! one halfpenny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." We have used the word "obscure" advisedly. Obscurity, which sometimes seems studied, is a blot on Mr. Swinburne's style. But the greatest blot of all is his inveterate tendency to hyperbole. In his descriptions of scenery this is carried to such an excess, that the most familiar landscapes become so gorgeous as to be unrecognizable. But it is in depicting the emotions, and above all, the emotion of love, that this sin of exaggeration is most glaringly displayed. As an example, take the love scene at pages 54-55, where Iseult entreats her lover to slay her, that she may not survive so much bliss. This seems to be a favourite idea with Mr. Swinburne, for the same entreaty, couched in nearly the same words, occurs in

³⁰ "The Catiline and Jugurtha of Sallust." Translated into English by Alfred W. Pollard, B.A., St. John's College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

³¹ "Tristram of Lyonesse, and other Poems." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly. 1882.

one of his earlier poems. He would do well to remember that violence is not strength, and that there is such a thing as "tearing a passion to tatters," and "o'erstepping the modesty of Nature."

It is perhaps impossible to read of the deeds of Tristram of Lyonesse without being reminded of Mr. Tennyson's "Idylls," and almost involuntarily of drawing a comparison. Undoubtedly there is much in Mr. Tennyson's pictures of Arthur and his paladins, for which we look in vain in the poem before us. We shall not find in "Tristram" those sharp keen touches which in a few winged words embody a complete personality, or an entire situation. One misses, too, that subtle glamour of romance, that intangible something which gives a strange wild sweetness to the "Idylls." But still Mr. Swinburne's poem has high qualities of its own, which suffer from no comparison. Though in no one memorable phrase is Tristram's personality revealed as by a lightning flash, still by other means the result is no less surely and perfectly attained, and when the poem ends, Tristram stands before us, no mere legendary shade, but a living man, a true creation. He is cast, indeed, in heroic mould, as befits his time and surroundings, but none the less is he thoroughly real and human; a man to love, to admire, and to respect. The two Iseults—Iseult the queen, and Iseult of the white hands—are also both instinct with life; their characters finely drawn and well contrasted. Even Tristram's hound, Hodein, is touchingly and naturally portrayed. The poem does not lend itself to short quotations, and our space does not admit of any other. We will conclude this notice, which has already run to an undue length, by saying that we consider the last division of the poem, "The Sailing of the Swan," by far the finest; to us it seems throughout little less than perfect, from the magnificent address to Fate with which it opens, to the closing lines where Tristram and Iseult are left sleeping side by side beneath the sea.

"In the wrecked chancel by the shivered shrine :
Nor where they sleep shall morn or sunlight shine,
Nor man look down for ever : none shall say,
Here once or here, Tristram and Iseult lay :
But peace they have that none may gain who live.
And rest about them that no love can give,
And over them, while life and death shall be
The light and sound and darkness of the sea."

"Cædmon's Vision and other Poems"³² is a little volume of religious verse—we will not say poetry—before which we feel ourselves quite helpless. Criticism is impossible, but we append a couple of stanzas as a specimen :—

"But, no! The Powers that dwell on high
Heard echoes of their singing,
And 'God! God! God!' was Cædmon's cry,
'God' through the blue air ringing!

³² "Cædmon's Vision, and other Poems." By Sarson C. J. Ingham. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square. 1882.

"And 'God! God! God!' the first Great Cause
Of all the love and beauty!
The Ultimate of Nature's laws,
Of human life and duty!"

In Mr. Leedham White's rendering into English verse of Schiller's tragedy of "Maria Stuart,"³³ we have literary work of a high order. The English is pure and idiomatic, and the style noble and poetical, while a comparison with the original text—placed opposite to each page of the English version—proves the extreme accuracy with which every line is translated. We look upon Mr. White's "Mary Stuart" as a valuable acquisition to English literature, and at the same time as a *tour de force* of the translator's art.

The facsimile reprint of George Herbert's Poems³⁴ is exceedingly well done, and the antique form, so perfectly reproduced in the type, paper, and binding, is, for once, in perfect keeping with the contents. There is a very graceful introduction, by the author of "John Inglesant," Mr. J. Henry Shorthouse, who seems to have a special fitness for the task, for he evidently is, like Herbert himself, a whole-hearted Church of England man, almost a rarity among the manifold "Phases of Faith" of the present day.

"A Birth Song and other Poems"³⁵ is not, on the whole, a very remarkable collection of verse, but it contains some pretty pieces; as such may be cited "Helen," "Hercules," and some others, which please by their simplicity, combined with occasional felicity of expression.

We have received a fine edition, in splendid large clear type, of all the poetical works of Shelley, edited by Mr. Forman Buxton.³⁶ The annotations and various readings of the Library edition by the same editor are omitted, leaving only "the *ipsissima verba* of the master in what has the best claim to be considered as their ultimate development." "The present edition," Mr. Buxton goes on to say, "contains every poem or fragment of verse by Shelley which has ever, as far as I am aware, been published."

The latest additions to Messrs Macmillan's excellent series of Elementary Classics are the 18th Iliad of Homer,³⁷ edited by Mr. Sydney R. James, and the "Hecuba of Euripides,"³⁸ by Messrs. J. Bond and A. S. Walpole.

³³ "Mary Stuart," a Tragedy by Schiller. Translated by Leedham White. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square. 1892.

³⁴ "The Temple." By George Herbert. With Introductory Essay, by J. Henry Shorthouse, author of "John Inglesant." A Facsimile reprint of 1st edition, 1633. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 17, Holborn Viaduct. 1882.

³⁵ "A Birth Song, and other Poems." By William Freeland. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1882.

³⁶ "The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley." Edited by Harry Buxton Forman. In 2 vols. London: Reeves & Turner, 196, Strand. 1882.

³⁷ "Homeri Iliados." Liber XVIII. The Arms of Achilles. By Sydney R. James, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

³⁸ "The Hecuba of Euripides." By the Rev. John Bond, M.A., and Arthur Sumner Walpole, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

We have also received the third volume of Mr. John Ogilvie's "Imperial Dictionary."³⁹ It is in all respects a most complete and scholarly work.

We have also to acknowledge four more volumes of Messrs. Black's magnificent new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."⁴⁰ We hope to notice them in our next number.

³⁹ "The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language." Vol. III. By J. Ogilvie, LL.D. New edition. Edited by Charles Annandale, M.A. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin: Blackie & Son. 1882.

⁴⁰ "Encyclopædia Britannica." Ninth edition. Vol. XIV. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1882.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA.—The chief event of the past few months in Afghanistan has been the arrival at Cabul of Lieut.-Colonel Mahomed Afzul Khan, British agent at the Court of the Amir. The selection is allowed on all hands to have been a good one, Afzul Khan having given proof of tact and ability during the Afghan war and in the negotiations preceding the accession of the present Amir, and the cordial reception accorded to him by Abdurrahman, augurs well for the subsistence of the present friendly relations between the two countries.

It must be allowed that since the Amir's victory at Candahar, and still more since the removal of Ayub Khan from Afghan soil, the country in general has enjoyed a repose to which it had been a stranger for years. Herat under the rule of Abdul Kudus Khan appears to be undisturbed whether by foreign or native intrigue, and at Candahar matters are equally quiet. Afghan Turkistan is a province which both by reason of its geographical position and of its mixed population stands conspicuously apart from the region south of the Hindu Kush. The Amir has as yet been unable to visit this remote and rather inaccessible portion of his dominions, and it may be owing to this that the Khan of Maimana, a State never over-subservient to Cabul, has commenced to open relations with his Turcoman neighbours, is laying in a supply of firearms, and by an uncompromising attitude is evidently desirous of making himself independent of the Cabul Durbar. There is no doubt that the annexation of the Akhal Tekke country by Russia, and their reported levy of a Turcoman contingent from the late formidable roving robbers of the Central Asian desert, have enormously increased the prestige of that past Empire in the East. The illness of the Amir of Bokhara, again, warns us that the annexation of that country may not long be deferred, and this impending event cannot but have a disquieting effect on Abdurrahman's pro-consuls in Afghan Turkistan. With Bokhara as a Russian province, the territories of the Czar will march with the Oxus from its source to its mouth, or in other words will have reached the limit between the two countries fixed by Lord Clarendon in 1872. It is highly desirable that no question should *then* arise as to the independence of Afghan Turkistan, and that the attitude of Maimana should form no excuse for a reconsideration of the northern boundary of Afghanistan. In the interest of peace therefore we may well hope that the Amir will be soon enabled by personal influence exercised on the spot to conciliate the Khan and strengthen his rule in this outlying but important province.

The absorbing topic of the past three months in India has undoubtedly been the hostilities waged in Egypt, and the brilliant share borne by the Indian contingent, a force numbering some ten thousand men under the command of Major-General Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., K.C.B., in the general victory. These events are so fresh in the recollection

of all readers that a recapitulation thereof in these pages would be unnecessary; but from an Indian standpoint it is impossible to help being struck with the profound effect produced on the Native population of India by the rapidity of the military movements, and the facility with which a powerful Mahomedan rising has been crushed. Many of the principal Indian Princes and Rajahs have freely come forward with offers of assistance, in the shape of troops and money, towards the organization of the Egyptian Expedition. Among these princes may be mentioned the Chiefs of Nepal and Cashmere, the Begum of Bhopal, the Nawab of Bhawalpur, and the Rajahs of Patiala, Kapurthala, and Malerkotla. In the case of the Afghan war, similar offers were in some instances accepted; but on the present occasion, the distance of the scene of action has interposed difficulties. Such offers are, no doubt, gratifying as an exhibition of loyalty, but it is doubtful whether the Government would be justified in accepting any really substantial aid of this character until the relations between the British Crown and the Native States, in respect of the powerful armaments which the latter are at liberty to maintain, are better defined. The matter is one of delicacy, and more than one Native ruler is said to be jealously sensitive on the subject. Still, the aggregate of the troops maintained by the Indian Native States cannot fall far short of 315,000 men, with 3,500 pieces of artillery; and if these large armaments are to be maintained in their entirety, it is undoubtedly a matter of necessity that the note of warning sounded by Sir Lepel Griffin, on the occasion of the dinner given to the Maharajah Scindia in July last, should be heeded, and that a scheme should be devised for enabling those trained forces to be of some use, and join in the defence of the Empire when occasion may require it.

The extended employment of Natives throughout all branches of the public service in India is a matter which has been strenuously impressed on the local Government by more than one Secretary of State. That the reiterated expressions of this view have borne fruit will be apparent from the figures cited by Major Baring, on the introduction of the Budget, when he showed that, out of a total of 4,082 appointments composing the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services of the Crown in India, 2,024, or as nearly as possible one-half, were held by Natives. Still, it was held as a grievance by the Native community that they were practically debarred from the higher and more honourable posts, and these complaints have, from time to time, found vivid utterance. Lord Ripon has happily removed this suspicion of partiality, and has proved, in the most conspicuous manner, that personal fitness and not race is to be the guiding consideration, by the appointment of Mr. Justice Romesh Chunder Mitter as Acting Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, during the absence on privilege-leave of Sir Richard Garth. The appointment, though a temporary one, is one that has been hailed with delight by educated Natives in India and Great Britain, prompted, as it is, by the same liberal spirit which conceived the scheme of local self-government, now being elaborated throughout India.

Indian railways are an important actor in the development of our Eastern Empire, and the excellent report annually prepared by the Government Director of Railways in this country is a document which is always perused with interest, not the less on the present occasion because the duty of preparation will in future devolve on officials in India. From this paper we derive an instructive *coup d'œil* of the various policies which have prevailed in reference to the construction of railways in India. The system owed its origin to Lord Dalhousie, who delegated the construction to companies under guarantees which, from the present standpoint, may appear too liberal, but which at the time were practically the best terms that could be secured. Under this system very nearly one hundred millions sterling have been raised for the construction of 6,122 miles of lines, and the net revenue thereby produced is £6,210,775. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence a change was set on foot in 1870 by the introduction of a system of State lines, and as the 5 feet 6 inches gauge was considered needlessly large, a lighter description of railway with a metre gauge (3 feet 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches) was decided upon for such lines. The capital for the most part has been raised by Government loans at rates of interest varying from 3 to 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and the construction and management have been vested in the hands of Government officers. It was hardly to be expected that lines such as these, constructed with the object of providing the people in the sparsely populated districts with a crying want rather than as purely commercial speculations, would pay in the same proportion as the guaranteed railways, and the result is that while the cost (including that of 1,583 miles still under construction) has been over £34,000,000, the net revenue in 1881-82 was only £741,939. The latest development of railway policy has been a return to the agency of companies, but the conditions under which Government support is now accorded are far less onerous on the State than before, a sure sign that Indian railway enterprise is beginning to pay its way.

These various methods of encouragement have succeeded in establishing a magnificent network of railways from Peshawar in the extreme North-West, to Assam and the confines of China in the East, and from the foot of the Himalayas to Tutikorin, near the southernmost extremity of the Peninsula. The influence which this vast reform has produced on the social condition of the people will be realized when we note that the number of passengers conveyed by rail last year amounted to over fifty-two millions, and the merchandize to eleven and a half million tons. That these railways have been largely instrumental in promoting the general well-being of the population cannot admit of doubt.

The expansion of Indian trade leads one naturally to consider the prospect of fresh markets for Indian goods, and within the last few months public attention has been drawn to three different regions with which closer commercial relations may be profitably established. To the north of the Himalayas, the favourable conditions for trade obtained under their recent Treaty with China has enabled the Russians to establish a consul at Kashghar, to which place as well as to all the

other towns of Eastern Turkestan, their goods will now be admitted free of duty. The trade between India and Kashghar is not large at present, the physical obstacles of the Karakorum and Changeheimo routes being of the most stupendous character—Passes sixteen and seventeen thousand feet in height are not unfrequent—but even in the face of these difficulties, the cost of transport of a hundredweight of cotton goods from England to Eastern Turkestan, is less than it would be from Moscow. A far easier route is however known to exist, *via* the Niti Pass and Polu, and if a better understanding were once established with Tibet, the exports of tea, sugar, cotton goods, spices, &c., by this road might be expected to develop largely. Russian influence is, however, so entirely protective and hostile to other producing countries that their presence will undoubtedly have a very prejudicial effect on our existing trade with Kashghar. The Indian Government realizing the importance of this, are meditating despatching an Envoy to Kashghar, with authority to negotiate with the Chinese Government. In such an event, their choice would not improbably fall on Mr. Ney Elias, British Commissioner at Leh, who paid a visit to the same region in 1880, and whose knowledge of the Chinese language, and experience in Central Asian travel—he gained the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1872 for his remarkable exploration in Mongolia—combine to make him the fittest person for such an undertaking.

Beyond Assam and towards Western China, a promising opening for trade has lately presented itself. The idea is not a new one, the late Mr. T. T. Cooper and others having endeavoured to find a route through the Mishmi Hills, but it gains point from being applied in a new direction where circumstances seem to combine most favourably for the project. Mr. Charles Lepper, a planter, resident near the frontier, has had the opportunity of investigating the question for years, and he proposes to open a route by an easy pass across the Patkoi Hills, and through the Singpho country, a tract of strictly *neutral* ground, amenable to neither India, Burma, nor China, up to the borders of Western China. While the Khamptis, the Mishmis, and the other frontier tribes to the north, are more or less hostile, the Singphos, as Mr. Lepper can testify by personal intercourse with them, are quiet and essentially friendly. The project, however, does not appear to have commended itself to the Government of India, whose dread of being compromised by the risk incurred in such expeditions is perhaps natural. At the same time, the prospect is altogether so promising that the Secretary of State, while loth to overrule the local authorities, has commended the project to them for reconsideration.

The third direction in which Indian trade is seeking an outlet, is the most important of all—*i.e.*, Australia. The Melbourne Exhibition of 1880 afforded a good opportunity for the display of such goods as India could undertake to supply to Australia, and in the case of tea the chances were favourable enough to lead to the formation of a syndicate of merchants, whose efforts have happily met with success in starting a regular and apparently increasing trade in that commo-

dity. Other products, such as indigo, coffee, spices, oils, and tobacco would find a ready sale in Australia, but the "want of finish" which has characterized all specimens hitherto exhibited has militated against their chance of finding general favour. When Indian manufacturers are thus clearly made aware of the cause of dissatisfaction, they will incur a grave reproach if they fail to take warning thereby, for India is so favourably situated in her proximity to Australia that she should effectually shut out many more distant competitors.

The all important subject of education is now occupying the forefront of public attention in India, owing to the proceedings of the Commission on the subject appointed by the Government in February last. The magnificent and comprehensive scheme elaborated by Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) in 1854, professedly aimed at a basis of elementary instruction crowned by a system of higher education modelled after the pattern of our English universities. It is generally acknowledged, however, that this design has not been so fully carried out as could have been wished by its architects, while it is also clear that more has been done in proportion for higher than for elementary education. As Lord Hartington remarked to an important deputation of the General Council on Education in India, which waited on him in April last year, it is only a very small proportion of the population in India, which takes any interest in education, and that proportion is distinctly in favour of higher education. At the same time it is no less the duty of the state to make adequate provision for the many millions who have at present no opportunity of getting taught at all. This urgent need was accordingly specially commended to the attention of the Government of India, and the result has been the issue of a Commission composed of Mr. Lea-Warner, Mr. Howell, several missionary clergymen, and some Native and other gentlemen conversant with the various phases of the educational question. The whole is under the presidency of Mr. W. W. Hunter, C.I.E., L.L.D., a gentleman whose ability, energy, and varied experience acquired by service in almost every province of India, singularly fit him for investigating a task at once so intricate and yet so extensive. The principal objects of the Commission have been explained at some length by the Government of India in a resolution, and may shortly be summarized in the directions given to inquire particularly (subject only to certain limitations) into the manner in which effect has been and may more consistently be given to the principles enunciated in the despatch of 1854. During July and August, the Commission have been actively engaged in prosecuting their investigations at Simla and Aligarh with regard to the state of education in the Punjab and the North-West Provinces respectively. With regard to the former much controversy prevails, as it is strongly contended that the whole system of education is unsatisfactory throughout the province, and that the number of primary schools has greatly decreased within the last few years with a corresponding loss to the cause of education. On the other hand the work of his department is stoutly defended by Colonel Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction. The question of the needs of this large province is likely to form one of the most important considerations of

the Commission, which has since adjourned to Jabalpur in the Central Provinces, and is now at Poona, in Bombay.

The past few months have, unfortunately, not been free from disturbances within the area of our territories. In the chiefship of Kalahandi or Karond on the western slopes of the Eastern Ghauts, a hostile feeling has for some time prevailed between the Khonds, the aborigines of the soil, and the Kultas, a class of Hindu cultivators on whom the agriculture of the country is mainly dependent. This ill feeling, which in January last had broken out into acts of depredation and looting committed by the Khonds on Kulta villages, took the more serious form in May last of wholesale murders. At least one hundred Kultas were put to death with circumstances of extraordinary barbarity, and had it not been for the energetic action of the civilian in charge of the district, assisted by a few police, the massacre would certainly have assumed more terrible proportions. The appearance of a regiment of the Madras Native Infantry on the scene effectually disconcerted the Khonds, who only ventured to face the troops on one occasion, when they were quickly dispersed with a loss of about twenty killed. Colonel Ward has since been appointed as Special Commissioner for the districts affected, and he has full authority to investigate and settle any grievances which may exist.

In Salem (Madras) riots arose from a different cause. The Hindus and Mahomedans there appear to be on very indifferent terms with each other, and the numerical inferiority of the latter, who form only one-twelfth of the entire population, has often led to acts of annoyance and aggression being committed on them. Towards the end of July riots broke out in consequence of the Mahomedans obstructing a Hindu funeral procession which was passing the mosques with music. One or two lives were sacrificed and people wounded, but the prompt arrival of troops from Bangalore stopped the affray. About the middle of August an organized attack was made by the Hindus on the Mahomedan community, and acts of the most fearful atrocity, compared by an eye-witness to what must have occurred during the Bulgarian massacres, were perpetrated. Corpses were seen lying about in every direction; the principal mosque was raised to the ground, and its rich furniture and chandeliers completely destroyed, and dead pigs were thrown into the wells with the corpses of Mahomedan children. The military precautions have prevented a renewal of these terrible scenes, but there can be no doubt that, throughout India, Mahomedans have been profoundly incensed at the events, and the trial of the rioters arrested, who number 163, will be watched with the keenest interest by both races. One serious feature of this unhappy business is the grave suspicion thrown on the action of the Municipality, who are believed to have purposely incited a Hindu procession to take a route specially obnoxious to the Mahomedan inhabitants. The Municipal Commission is constituted on the elective system, and fails to include among its members a single Mahomedan, a circumstance which has occasioned considerable mistrust in the scheme of local self-government now being elaborated in the various provinces.

It is impossible to conclude this brief review of events without a

reference to the recent abortive Burmese Embassy. The relations between British Burma and its inland neighbour are far too extensive and valuable for the present state of tension to be indefinitely prolonged. The despatch of the embassy was a satisfactory sign, indicating an apparent desire to redress existing grievances, and to place the relations between the two States on a decent and amicable footing. Divergent views on such points as the "shoe" question, the question of a British representative with a fortified Residency and escort at Mandalay, and other points were naturally evoked; but it was hoped that a reference to Mandalay would enable these differences to be adjusted. As it is, the peremptory recall of the Embassy proves that no satisfactory progress can be made in negotiating after the manner of civilized countries with a dissipated and fickle barbarian like King Theebaw. We practically "fired our last shot" in the strong remonstrance addressed by Lord Ripon's order to the Foreign Minister of the Court of Ava on the subject of the trade monopolies grievance. The despatch of the Embassy was a proof that the Burmese were so far alarmed. As matters stand we are now left without means of redress, and things will subside into their normal condition of disquietude, till the Government of India is compelled to resort to some display of force to make its demands respected.

THE COLONIES.

Last quarter we alluded to that most important question, the setting in order the war-strength of the whole nation. Since then has occurred one of the most successful, and, at the same time, more than usually important, of our "little wars." The episode has once more brought conspicuously to the front the true Imperial spirit of the nation. This is no false or petty insular idea of bombast or aggression, but the right idea of mutual assistance and of co-operation all over our wide national Empire. From Canada we have this telegram:—"Montreal, Sept. 17. Thanksgiving services were held to-day in all the churches of this city for the recent successes of the British troops in Egypt."

From the uttermost ends of the Empire we learn of the pride taken in the pluck and skill of the men and officers of the national army. World-wide have been the rejoicings at the complete success of the national military operations. And this is not mere friendly feeling or kinship congratulation. All admit the responsibility, and those called upon afford crucial help. Australia takes prompt measures to be ready in self-defence against eventualities. And from India comes most prompt and most effectual assistance. What has been done in this war is plain proof of what can be done, if the need unfortunately arise, by the existence in various parts of the world of powerful British communities—not only able of their wealth, but eager of their patriotism to uphold the national cause. A thoroughly well-equipped force of 10,000 men, provisioned, armed, disciplined, and commanded after the most approved fashion of the day, is landed promptly in Egypt without any call whatever on the home resources of

the mother-country. Had we had to face any European Power in addition to the Egyptian rebel forces, the advantage of such Imperial co-operation would have been very much more evident. And, even as it is, the economy of such a source of supply is at once evident. The Government, however, committed the grave error of not intelligently utilizing, to the full, the opportunities of their position. The effect of the summer climate of Egypt on men and horses fresh from England, was naturally a severe discount on the general success. This might have been in great measure avoided had Government adopted the advice that was given them to draw the bulk of the European troops, and especially the European cavalry, from the regiments ready acclimatized in horses and men in India. Their place in India could have been easily supplied by the cavalry that was sent to Egypt direct from England; and there would have been a great saving in loss of men and of horses and in efficiency.

This war has altogether had a very marked effect in improving public opinion on this question of Imperial defence. So far has this gone that the *Times* itself attempts to reflect current opinion in terms that are only ahead of the actual state of affairs:—

“Our peculiar strength is, and might be even more than it is, that whatever spot on the globe may be the scene of agitation, we have near it some possession or other which can furnish in most instances troops, and in all an advantageous station for ships and stores. We are, therefore, in a better position to strike suddenly than any other nation. Our system of organization has lately been brought into condition to give effect to this peculiar quality of Great Britain and her Colonies, and it is worth while to remember that if, when the hour of action arrived, it became manifest that we could occupy Alexandria sooner than any other Power, although the whole of Europe lies between us and it, much more could we be the first in the occupation of places in other parts of the world no nearer to the rest of Europe than to ourselves. Nor should we forget the overwhelming advantages which our Colonies give us in another particular. Not only were the troops of our Mediterranean stations nearer to Egypt than those of any other Power; not only is our fleet superior to that of any other nation; we have also the enormous advantage of possessing all over the world depôts of coals, stores, and provisions, and rallying-points in case of difficulty. When comparisons are made between the power of England and that of any other nation for war, this fact should not be lost sight of. A force despatched by us does not need to spend months in forming depôts on its lines of communication with the mother-country; the depôts exist already. The web of England is spread over the surface of the world. Wherever its tracery exists an English force can move safely, while that of a foreign enemy attempting to do so would soon find itself caught in the toils. It is this and the great wet ditch surrounding our islands which enable us to dispense with entangling alliances, with conscriptions, and with a disproportionately large army. Successful action of England at Alexandria and on the Suez Canal shows among other things the great value of our Colonial Empire in time of war.”

The *Times* boldly assumes that “our system of organization has lately been brought into condition to give effect to this peculiar quality of great Britain and her Colonies.” As a matter of fact, all we can do at the moment is to hope this assumption of the *Times* may become an accomplished fact ere long. We have not yet, however, inaugurated any definite scheme that shall secure this network, that un-

doubtedly exists, against destruction in detail. Our "depôts of coals and stores, and provisions and rallying-points, in case of difficulty," are all without doubt in existence; but, as was so well shown at the last meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, no definite scheme for the defence and maintenance of these centres of defence has as yet been formulated in official quarters. We gave last quarter the points of the comprehensive and definite scheme formulated by Mr. Baden Powell, but it is a scheme that has not yet been avowedly adopted by the authorities. Nevertheless, when we find the *Times* quietly assuming "the great value of our Colonial Empire" and the "overwhelming advantages our Colonies afford us in war time," we may rest assured that the beginning of the end is at hand, and that we shall shortly see tangible and final endeavours to lay the foundations of a scheme that shall be at once lasting and efficient.

Many individual Colonies are evincing a growing interest in what is popularly known as the "Frozen Meat Trade." Hitherto the great drawback has been the absence of any efficient means of communication between the consumers in England and the purveyors. The need for action has been acknowledged; and squatters in Australia, no less than Rancho owners in the Canadian North-west, will be glad to hear that at last definite steps are being taken to "place" their "frozen" wares for sale in the very centre of the crowded four millions of Londoners. From the *Engineer* newspaper we quote the following full account of the latest doings in this direction:—

"For some time past the Great Eastern Railway Company has been carrying out works which are perhaps without a parallel in any part of the United Kingdom. We refer to the conversion of the area below the old terminus at Shoreditch into a meat, fish, fruit, and vegetable depôt. In the midst of a densely populated district, the establishment of such increased facilities for the disposal and distribution of provisions cannot fail to be of immense importance to the metropolis A very important feature in connection with this depôt will be the establishment of large cold dry-air storage chambers by the Great Eastern Storage and Refrigerating Company. This company has leased two of the largest arches near to Wheeler Street and Bethnal Green Road, the cellars of which are to be immediately fitted up for the preservation of all sorts of meats, fish, fruit, vegetables, and dairy produce by the cold dry-air process. There will be eight large chambers, insulated with a new material, by which a saving of nearly 6,000 cubic feet of space will be effected over what would have been available with the non-conducting substances generally in use. Two dry-air refrigerators, together capable of cooling 100,000 cubic feet of air per hour, are to be erected at first, and these are to be driven by a pair of double-cylinder gas engines, indicating nearly 200 horse-power, which will be specially constructed by Messrs. Crossley Bros., of Manchester. The company proposes to receive and store fresh meats from all comers, and either to sell to wholesale buyers on the spot, or to deliver to the metropolitan market, or other centres of consumption, certain quantities daily, as required, so as not to overstock the market, thus acting as an insurance against loss to those using the stores. The company will also act as consignees and agents, when required, at inclusive rates, and will take in and dispose of produce, whether from America, Canada, or Australia."

The English farmer will naturally look with anxiety for reports of

the American harvests. From *Canada* he will derive some comfort. Crops all round are below the average; and population is increasing faster than ever and consuming more and more of these crops locally. Wheat is considerably above the average, and a magnificent crop was spoiled by heavy rain at the moment of harvesting. Much wheat consequently sprouted. On the other hand, the fruit crop, and especially the apples, are in many districts a failure; corn, also, is not anything like an average crop. Barley and oats will hardly reach the average. The hay crop has been severely damaged by the rain. Thus the wheat, and especially the sprouted wheat, will be more than ever used up in Canada itself. The English farmer, in the face of good harvests in most countries, will naturally expect low prices, but he may glean this crumb of comfort that Canadian "competition" will this year affect prices but little.

The rapid increase of population has, naturally, very much to do with this. In Manitoba, during the season, over 40,000 new arrivals have been registered. Over these new districts the population seems to be increasing at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum. An "army" of 10,000 men is at present at work on the Canada Pacific Railway. And incidental proof of the prosperity of this rapidly increasing population is the fact that when, six years ago, all appropriate wants were met by one daily and two weekly newspapers, now there flourish four daily, two semi-weekly, and sixteen weekly newspapers.

This increase of population, consuming so much that is grown locally, does not, however, solve the Canadian farmers' great difficulty—the want of labour at reasonable prices. The English farmers will care to know that his *confrère* even in Ontario has to pay as much as £12 a month for good farm hands at harvest time, with liberal board included. The lowest wages in any of the ordinary labour trades rarely reach the downward limit of seven shillings the day. Indeed, the navvies in the far West are getting nine shillings a day. In Canada, however, piece-work very largely prevails. And thus good work tells; the mechanic, the artisan, and the labourer is thus not only more independent, but he also escapes the loss of that margin of profit which always exists between the good and the bad workman. The consequence is that good men by piece-work nearly double the amounts made by wage-work. "Living" in Canada is, however, of a high and expensive order; 11s., 12s., or 13s. a week is no uncommon price for board for working men. They pay this, and expect and obtain meat twice a day, and tea three times.

And with all this, labour continues scarce. In many trades wages are said to be 20 per cent. higher than two years ago. This appears to be due to two causes. In the first place, the supply of labour is by no means equal to the demand. Population is moving steadily westwards. But it is moving, and little inclined to lag in any one place even for the sake of earning the very high wages offered. There is a great deal of labour in the Dominion, but the time is a time of unrest and of eagerness to be among the first to profit by this opening up of the new and fertile North-west. A second cause of this increase in the nominal amount of wages is a decrease in their purchasing power. Prices seem to be rising. How far this is due to

a sudden flood of prosperity, enabling producers and purveyors to trade upon the somewhat speculative and often unaccustomed wealth of consumers, and how far it is an indirect effect of the high tariff, cannot at present be precisely determined.

The tariff is indeed giving unwelcome signs of its evil effect on the country at large, by the recent discovery of extensive smuggling operations. In various of the Provinces serious cases have been brought to light. It was hardly to be expected that "enterprise" of the kind only too prolifically produced in new countries, should hesitate to inaugurate that particular and profitable branch of contraband trade which flourishes inevitably under the fostering ægis of any high tariff.

There is a serious stagnation in the Lumber Trade—one of the great articles of export. The crops do not on the whole afford much prospect of any considerable increase in their export. So that Canadian foreign trade is likely to be much upset during the year. It may no doubt right itself in the long-run, but the high tariff will of course be all against a natural and easy re-establishment of the equilibrium.

The Governor-General and the Princess in determining to visit British Columbia, have done the whole Dominion a good service. That distant Province will thus be, as it deserves, put before the world even before the Canada Pacific Railway penetrates the Rocky Mountains. British Columbia in ten years' time will be of enormous strategic importance to the Empire. It will guard the Pacific or western end of that new railway, which is to be by far the shortest railway from the one sea-board of America to the other, and which is to be altogether in English hands. And again, with the opening of the Panama Canal, which is to place England nearer to China and the far East than any other country in Europe, British Columbia will provide the British naval station and depôt nearest to that Canal in the Pacific. It is to be hoped these anticipations will inspire the Governor-General in the inspection he will make of this Colony.

Turning to the *West Indies*, we find that the exports of sugar from *Barbados* have this year exhibited the novel feature of a large percentage gone to the United States ports. This is significant in more ways than one. It proves that Protection in the United States in the matter of the sugar industries is at war with itself. The refiners at present have the best of the fight, and are obtaining the raw material at low cost from the favoured West Indies. Meanwhile the sugar growers of Louisiana and the South find themselves unable to compete altogether with these sea-borne supplies. The average cost of negro labour, being nearly double in the Southern States to what it is in the West Indies, has much to do with this. There is also the fact that, in many of the sugar districts on the American continent, frost and other climatic severities at times cripple the crops.

A rather severe drought in Barbados has again brought forward the question of water-supply. There is a significant sentence in the

Governor's speech at the opening of the Houses of Legislature: "In passing the Loan Act of 1881, you have endorsed the principle that public works of this nature ought not to be paid for out of current revenue." No doubt in years gone by current revenue has been altogether inadequate in Barbados to pay for the installation of any general scheme of irrigation. But plenty of rain falls on this favoured island, and agricultural land is valued at close upon £100 the acre. It would seem only reasonable to suppose that capital invested in securing such valuable property against the only danger of droughts should yield handsome returns.

The Governor's strenuous exertions altogether to reform sanitary arrangements have met with very great success. There has been this year no return of the yellow-fever epidemic which recently visited the island with such fatal effect. The Governor has also introduced some very salutary fiscal reforms. He has reduced the number of items for the Customs tariff from sixty-eight to thirty-four; and has taken a great step towards making Barbados a free port, with the single exception of increased taxation of wines and spirits. Lying directly in the fair-way between North and South America, this liberal Customs policy will attract steamers to make of Barbados a port of call.

From *Trinidad*, blessed for the time with a continued kindly spell of good weather, the chief news is as to the practically baneful influence of the Chinese community on the morals of the place. The question of Chinese immigration is, of course, a "burning" question in many of our Colonies. And the plea that the Chinese, in many ways so excellent, are in other ways so hurtful, receives practical exemplification just now in Trinidad in the vicious spread among the younger Creoles of a spirit of excessive gambling, developed in the gambling establishments so energetically "worked" by the Chinese.

From *British Guiana* we have such favourable accounts of weather that the coming sugar crop may be confidently expected to be much above the average. At the same time, this vigorous planting community are not slackening their public-spirited enterprise in securing all the aid they can from science. The newly organized Botanic Gardens are now pronounced a great success. The local Royal Agricultural Society has started a half-yearly journal; and in the newspapers is reflected this wider application of scientific knowledge to the business of life in the Colony. It is to be hoped that, warned by their own history and by the experience of other similarly circumstanced communities, the planters of British Guiana will not put all their eggs into the one basket of sugar. Cocoa and cotton, not so long ago, were the chief exports from Demerara. There is no reason why these and coffee and india-rubber (the demand for which the spread of electricity is rapidly increasing) should not be largely grown, and add to the certainty as well as to the bulk of the planters' profits.

It is interesting to read that in Georgetown a concert was given recently in aid of the funds of the Royal College of Music. This tells

no uncertain tale of the firm hold the national idea has on the national mind over the whole globe—a hold each year seems to increase. That the bonds of nationality should not only be strong but increasing in strength, is certainly due to the fact that they are bonds woven of community of interests by the various communities themselves. They are not those imposed by any despotic mother-country. They are the bonds of free and willing and interested co-operation.

A pleasant incident in *Jamaica*, and one entirely confirmative of the view we have consistently taken of Jamaica affairs, is the reception accorded to the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, on his return to the island after a brief visit to the United States. At a public meeting, in the Town Hall of Kingston, an address of congratulatory welcome was presented; but to it was appended a "Memorial of the Inhabitants of the City of Kingston and its vicinity," praying the Secretary of State "to recommend her most gracious Majesty the Queen to extend his Excellency's administration of the Government of Jamaica for at least a few years beyond the period of service usually allotted to colonial governors." This is highly satisfactory, not only as a well-merited compliment to the Governor, but especially as evidence that Jamaica is herself confident that she has definitely turned the corner on the road to prosperity. It would, however, be contrary to the best traditions of Colonial policy to swerve from the general rule of six years' tenure of the office of Governor.

The raising of the import duties, chiefly in order to obtain revenue, has, however, not proved a success. In fact, there was a falling off of no less than £7,000 in the last quarter's receipts as compared with last year. And Jamaica's foreign trade, except in the single untaxed item of fruit, is declared to be at the moment in a very unsatisfactory condition. Indeed, there are rumours that extensive fiscal reforms may become necessary at no very distant date.

Passing across to our Eastern tropical Colonies, from the *Straits Settlements* we have excellent news of good progress. The opium question is naturally still vexing men's minds, but the rapid development of opium-growing in China itself, is not only lifting from our shoulders a moral burden, but replacing it with a commercial difficulty which will affect seriously most of our Eastern revenues. It is analogous to the falling off of the revenue from alcohol in the mother-country. It is at once matter for congratulation and matter for anxious thought as to how the deficit is to be made good. A *Times*' correspondent has introduced into the argument the fact, that the taking of opium so widely prevalent among our fellow-citizens of Chinese descent in the Straits Settlements does not in any way seem to prevent their being a contented, well-to-do, busy, and cleanly people. We have thus the less reason to hasten a movement which seems itself setting in the right direction.

The latest advices from *Ceylon* speak very well of the staple exports as compared with last year. Chinchone and tea had both doubled in amount, and there was an increase of over 30 per cent. in the amount

of the coffee exported. But there is considerable movement in regard to other crops. Rice is to be cultivated on a large scale; some Ceylon cocoa has fetched what is reported as the highest known price in the London market; and the manufacture of various essential oils from a variety of tropical plants is assuming important dimensions. Altogether, the prospects of Ceylon seem to have taken a decided and more permanent turn for the better.

Vigorous efforts are being most properly made in *South Australia* to provide better dock accommodation. The other Australian colonial capitals are each of them fortunate in being situated on the shores of particularly fine harbours. Adelaide stands away from the sea in the midst of a great plain, and even the neighbouring sea-coast affords no harbour at all comparable with those of the other Australian capitals. It is therefore none too soon for the men of Adelaide to improve what Nature has left all too inadequate. The special proposal now on foot is the construction of some extensive docks, with 32 feet over the sill and wharf frontage of 70,000 feet, into which Ocean steamers may come direct from sea, and where they may be berthed in quiet waters and in safety. Victor Harbour, the newly forming port at the mouth of the Murray, is already attracting a great deal of trade.

The Egyptian war has inevitably raised once again the question of defence. The South Australians are not only setting their forts in order, but determining on organizing a permanent Artillery corps, and even ordering a vessel from England for coast defence purposes. With this development of the spirit of self-defence it will probably become recognized that the most economical method of securing the best effects will be by the formation of a central or Imperial garrisoning force. Even now the Australian Colonies would do far better were they to have their forts manned by drafts from the Imperial Artillery. And the same is the case with manning, and above all with officering, the coast defence ships. Constant relays of men and officers supplied for these purposes from the central and large establishments of the English army and navy, would ensure for the Australian defences the best skill, drill, and scientific knowledge of the day. And these could not be supplied but at far greater cost by each Colony for itself.

In *Victoria* the measures taken for defence are of a most satisfactory magnitude; £200,000 are to be expended in new fortifications during the next two years; and £100,000 on the purchase of gunboats, torpedo-boats, and material. A paid Militia is also to be organized; and the Victorian Government is very wisely in negotiation with the Home Government as to the supply of officers.

The practical nearness of Australia to England in these days of telegraphs is well exemplified in the fact that the night of the bombardment of Alexandria there was actually a debate in the House of Assembly in Melbourne on the policy England was pursuing. It is needless to add that much natural enthusiasm was exhibited. The Premier, Sir B. O'Loghlen, took a most statesmanlike view of the situation, and

whilst pointing out that Melbourne itself was well protected, he also explained the further measures the Government were adopting to secure security for the future.

It is commonly asserted that Sir B. O'Loghlen's Government has enjoyed so unusually quiet a tenure of office because, though in itself representative of no very particular views or party, it enjoyed the quasi-support of two Oppositions. The two leading parties in the Colony opposed to each other are neither of them strong enough at the moment, either in the House or in the country, to provide a Government. Be this as it may, the present Government has actually administered affairs for so long that it may fairly claim to be representative, for the time, of the will and wishes of a majority of the people.

The Tariff Commission still pursues its investigations. It is now making circuit of the Colony, and it will thus make itself acquainted with the various local views. The records of their investigations are already producing a crop of "wheat and weeds and tares" all tending to choke one another. On one side are complaints from farmers of the inferiority and the high price of the implements they are forced to work with. A colonial maker of steam-engines and machinery boldly declares himself in favour of a free port, and gives detailed reasons as to the vexatious prohibitions on the import of parts and materials. The brewers cunningly asked for a rebate of duty on all imported barley that was converted into malt. The farmers stoutly object, as they consider the duty on barley to be their only protection against the competition of the better barleys of New Zealand. Every class and interest is seeking for Government aid for itself, but objecting to others receiving similar treatment. The Commission may report which way they will, but the body of evidence collected will form a noteworthy chapter in the history of fiscal policies and their effects on industry.

Among others, the Stock Tax has come prominently forward. The proximate cause of this has been the tapping of the great Riverina district by the railways of New South Wales on the one hand, and the railways and steamers of South Australia on the other. It may well be asked why these two longer routes to the seaboard should with any success compete with the far shorter route *viâ* Melbourne. The answer can only be found in the fact that trade will always follow those channels where there is least obstruction. As one farmer well put it—from his farm in Victoria where he was using an engine that cost him £310, he could look across the Murray and see a farmer in New South Wales using a precisely similar engine that had only cost £270. Squatters and all residents in Riverina, so soon as railway communication is opened, find better opportunities and cheaper supplies, and more variety, in free-trade Sydney than in protected Melbourne.

The Stock Tax is one means adopted to "protect" Victorians from competition. It has been shown that this tax seriously raises the price of meat to consumers in Melbourne. It has been shown to have seriously hampered the new meat-preserving industry. But the agitation for its repeal, culminating in the enlightened proposal submitted to

the House of Assembly by Sir J. O'Shanassy, that this tax should be repealed, has up to the present been a failure.

Another effort to counteract these evil influences of high or prohibitive import duties is the general desire to extend the railway system. The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce opened the ball by demanding lower rates for goods as a *sine quâ non* of successful competition with the Sydney railways. But the Sydney railways have been built quite recently with navvie's wages at less than half the prices paid when the Melbourne railway was constructed. This lessened interest on lessened cost is a great advantage to them.

An outcome of all this has been a determination, on the part of the Government, to inaugurate afresh a vigorous railway policy. There is much that is purely political in this. Voters are very partial to that side which makes railways through or to their districts. The Government schemes embrace no less than fifty-six new lines. The most important portion of the scheme is the proposal to "tap the Murray" at three new points. It is not very obvious, however, what this "tap" is to produce. For along the Victoria bank of the Murray runs a great rampart of heavy duties, and behind this all industry and enterprise is weighed down by the high prices "fostered" by protection.

These new railways are to cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions; and, as Victoria proposes to appear in the Home Market with a request for a four-million loan during the winter, it will be well for intending investors to satisfy themselves that there is good prospect of there being something or somebody for these new railways to carry. The more hopeless Protectionists, led by Mr. Berry, are eager to have all the new material made in the Colony. This will make matters hopelessly bad. The rolling stock will be in every way more expensive and all the material dearer than that in use across the border; and how this fact is to help Victoria to compete Protectionists alone can explain.

The Government is also making a very clever bid in Land legislation. Hitherto all has gone wrong with land policies in Victoria. The homestead law drove capitalists into becoming large purchasers: the so-called land-tax checked all purchase; and now the whole land scheme is to be reorganized on a more liberal basis. One hoped-for effect of this will be to increase the income from the sale and rent of lands. If this new income be seized upon as a pretext for a reduction of the tariff, Victoria will place herself again at the side of the other Colonies in their present rapid advance. If, on the contrary, Victoria continues to hamper herself with these heavy duties, she will only have herself to blame if she steadily fall behind her wiser and freer sister Colonies.

New South Wales is very well satisfied with the result of the new railway extensions. The increased facilities of intercourse are being at once largely utilized; and as the raising of the revenue is arranged so as to interfere as little as possible with the free course of interchange, and as there is no realization in New South Wales of any system of class protection, new profits are being made that will even increase the present great prosperity of the Colony.

Here also vigorous measures have been taken to secure immunity from external attack by any possible foe. Sydney will, however, become to a certain degree a head centre of the Imperial navy on the station; and, in return for the surrender of all its claims over land in the Colony, the Home Government is to have a residence for the Admiral and the necessary buildings and space for a navy yard, and storehouses on Dawe's Point in Sydney Harbour.

Energetic measures are being taken to enable New South Wales to make an impressive show at the forthcoming Colonial Exhibition at Amsterdam. It is confidently believed that the wool exhibited alone will make a very great impression.

Queensland is becoming very prosperous. Sugar-growing is fast assuming the proportions of one of the leading industries. This fact should not alarm either West Indian or Mauritius growers. In both cases all the sugar they can grow will be absorbed, as it has been any time of old, in the European, Indian, and American markets. The growing of sugar in Australia will not for years be able even to supply the new Australian market.

We have long ago pointed out the incongruity of making the one Brisbane Government rule the entirely different communities that reside within and without the tropics. A great line of demarcation must always subsist between communities which do, and communities which do not, employ "black" labour. The movement in favour of the separation of Northern Queensland gathers strength day by day. Things are gradually tending to make of the whole tropical and northern coast of Australia a new separate Colony, arranged on the idea that "black" labour will be necessary.

In *New Zealand* the Maori question has probably been laid for ever by the judicious treatment of the arrested leaders Te Whiti and John. They have, indeed, been treated as Cetywayo was treated. Arrested and taken out of their own country, they have since then been placed in charge of a magistrate and carried at the public expense all over the islands of New Zealand; they have been shown all the evidences of the overwhelming strength and great growth of the Pakeha power; and have had all these signs duly explained to them. There is little doubt but that were Te Whiti restored to his village he must expound the signs of the times to his kith and kin with far different convictions than when he sat there, and in his ignorance believed the Maori tribe more numerous than that of all the pale-faces put together.

The *Cape* Government have done well definitely to establish in London an Agency-General. They have also selected for the post of Agent-General Captain Mills, C.M.G., formerly Under Colonial Secretary at the Cape, and a man in every way well qualified to fill so responsible a position. The Cape Colony in its recent rapid development has assumed an importance in both the political and commercial balance of the Empire that will give to its Agent-General not only a necessary but a powerful prominence in the London world.

The small-pox epidemic in the neighbourhood of Capetown has proved unaccountably severe. The Malay and coloured population are suffering most. Energetic measures have been, and are being, adopted to stamp out the disease, and also to relieve the distress occasioned by the visitation.

The various Chambers of Commerce are agitating in favour of a western telegraphic cable to England. At the present the local Government does not see its way to assist. The Egyptian war has brought the question forward, and it is pointed out that such a cable, if continued to India, would be of the highest strategic importance to the Empire. It has been pointed out that the neutrality of the Indo-European telegraph line was religiously observed during both the Franco-German and the Russo-Turkish wars; and that therefore England need have little fear for her telegraphic communication with the East. But it is probable tapping, if not destruction, would be certainly resorted to if England was actually at war with those countries through which that telegraph line passes; and therefore in the interest of the defence of the Empire, this alternative route is recommended. Before long there will probably be a cable from England to Bermuda and the West Indies; and with Ascension and St. Helena as halfway houses there would seem every chance of a cable being laid down to the Cape. The continuance of the line to the Mauritius and on to Australia would probably be necessary for commercial success as well as highly desirable, as affording to Australians a perfectly independent alternative route to Europe and America.

There is a growing conviction in the Cape Colony that the glory of Empire over native districts is in the long-run a delusion and a snare. A late phase of the difficulty is an irruption of Dutch squatters into Tembuland, openly disregarding and defying the land regulations set up by the Cape Government. In the meantime but little progress is made towards the final adjustment of affairs in *Basutoland*. Indeed, at the moment the chief result seems to be the keeping of a precarious peace by playing off the various chiefs one against the other. Thus, in regard to the hut tax, the chief Leshuburn was threatened by Lerothodi that if he did not pay up his hut tax to Government he should be "eaten up." But then, on the other hand, Masuphu threatens precisely the same treatment if he does pay up the hut tax. It is, however, satisfactory to learn that many who have hitherto refused are now paying the tax in token of yielding. *Basutoland* at present costs £10,000 a year, and unless local taxes are paid this comparatively large sum has to be paid out of the Cape revenue. People are beginning to ask whether there are corresponding advantages accruing from this somewhat expensive and hazardous enjoyment of the pleasures of Empire. Dutch squatters, English settlers, and natives are equally troublesome elements. There is an idea of inducing the loyal natives to settle elsewhere, and thus leave *Basutoland* to arrange its own affairs. It is a serious matter for the whole of South Africa, and unless the Imperial Government see fit to step in and create some definite form of self-supporting Government for these native

districts, there is but a poor chance of their advancing in civilization or becoming prosperous by the arts of peace.

In *Natal* everything has given way to the great question of the restoration of Cetywayo. The majority of the colonists are strongly opposed to the policy. This is the more disinterested on their part, seeing that the restoration being an independent act of the Imperial authorities, throws all the consequent responsibilities on the Imperial shoulders. The disbanding of the Stanger Border Rifles is a sign that this conviction is firmly held by the colonists. What will follow will be the result of the vacillation and change that has marked the conduct of South African policy since Mr. Gladstone assumed office in 1880. How far these were necessary or not we are not now questioning: but the fact of their effect remains. And the colonists of *Natal* are apparently clearly justified in washing their hands of the whole defence question. This will throw a serious responsibility on the Home Government.

It seems certain, however, as we have before now pointed out, that the only hope for Zululand is some settled form of centralized government. Whether this is to be English or native remains the great problem. Cetywayo has no doubt now a clear conception of the forces at the disposal of the English. He will respect these forces. But if we give him independence we must not prevent his securing his own authority more or less in his own way. Naturally enough, there is unrest and disturbance in Zululand. But the return of Cetywayo will bring matters to a head. Lord Kimberley's definition of the policy to be pursued is as follows:—

“Her Majesty's Government have determined to consider the possibility of making arrangements for the partial restoration of Cetywayo to Zululand, with proper safeguards and conditions. Some portion of the country, to be hereafter defined, will be reserved in order to meet obligations to those of the appointed chiefs and people who may not be willing to return under Cetywayo's rule. A British Resident will be maintained in Zululand, and Cetywayo will be required to enter into engagements similar to those by which the thirteen appointed chiefs are now bound, which specially include a prohibition to revive in any form the military system formerly prevailing. No portion of Zululand will be annexed to British territory.”

“The supply of proper safeguards,” no less than the keeping Cetywayo to the “conditions” and “engagements” agreed upon, will fall to the care and the charge of the Home Government. We are distinctly setting up our authority in Zululand. We have divided the country according to our own views of what is best. We have set up kinglets of our own choosing. Among them we have placed Cetywayo. We have done all this in direct contradiction to the opinions of the neighbouring European communities. We are thus binding ourselves to bearing all the responsibilities involved. All this may be for the best, but we must none the less keep our eyes open to the fact that we are undertaking these responsibilities. And it is to be hoped the common sense of the colonists will enable them to see the matter in its true light, and pass judgment accordingly.

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