











THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW



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"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

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

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# CONTENTS.

ART.		PAGE
<b>I. <i>Dangers of Democracy.</i></b>		
	1. Shooting Niagara and After? By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867	
	2. The Sphere and Duties of Government. Translated from the German of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, by JOSEPH COULTHARD, Jun. London: 1854. . . . .	1
<b>II. <i>Physiological Psychology.</i></b>		
	The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.	37
<b>III. <i>Two Temporal Powers.</i></b>		
	1. Ireland and her Churches. By JAMES GODKIN. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.	
	2. Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours. Par F. X. GARNEAU. 3me édition, revue et corrigée; imprimée par P. Lamoureux, No. 1, Rue Buade, Quebec: 1859.	
	3. La Convention entre la France et l'Italie, signée le 15 Septembre, 1864.	
	4. Lettre adressée par le Maréchal Niel, Ministre de la Guerre, au Colonel commandant la Légion d'Antibes. Paris: le 21 Juin, 1867 . . . . .	65
<b>IV. <i>The Church in Scotland: its Relation to the People.</i></b>		
	1. Antiquarian Gleanings. Aberdeen; 1859.	
	2. Celebration of the Ter-Centenary of the Reformation. Edinburgh: 1860 . . . . .	101
<b>V. <i>Extradition.</i></b>		
	1. On Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition. By Sir G. C. LEWIS. London: 1859.	
	2. The Law of Extradition. By EDWARD CLARKE, Esq. London: 1867 . . . . .	110
<b>VI. <i>The Origin of Electricity.</i></b>		
	1. Volta (Conte Alessandro), Memoir in Annales de Chimie et de Physique, vol. xl. 1801.	
	2. Davy (Sir H.), Memoirs in Philosophical Transactions for the years 1807 and 1826.	
	3. Faraday (Michael), Memoir in Philosophical Transactions for the year 1838.	
	4. Riess (P. T.), Die Reibungselektricität. 2 vols. Berlin: 1853.	
	5. Wiedemann (Gustav), Der Galvanismus. 3 vols. Braunschweig: 1863.	
	6. Akin (C. K.), Memoir in Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, vol. xi. part i. 1865 . . . . .	130



ART.	PAGE
<b>VII. <i>Indian Worthies.</i></b>	
Lives of Indian Officers, illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Services of India. By JOHN W. KAYE. London: A. Strahan and Co.; and Bell and Daldy. 1867 . . . . .	148
<b>VIII. <i>The Abyssinian Difficulty.</i></b>	
1. Parliamentary Papers relating to the Imprisonment of British Subjects in Abyssinia. Presented to the House of Commons, 1865.	
2. Further Correspondence relating to British Captives in Abyssinia. Presented to the House of Commons, August 10th, 1866.	
3. Further Correspondence, &c. (in continuation of foregoing.) Return to Address of the House of Commons, July 8th, 1867.	
4. Correspondence respecting the Abyssinian Expedition. Laid before the House of Commons, November, 1867.	
5. Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa. By Dr. J. L. KRAFF. New Edition. London: Trübner and Co. 1867.	
6. The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia. By Sir S. W. BAKER, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.	
7. Abyssinia Described; or, the Land of Prester John. London: J. C. Hotten. 1867.	
8. A Journey through Abyssinia in 1862-63. By HENRY DUFTON. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.	
9. The British Captives in Abyssinia. By CHARLES T. BEKE, Ph.D., F.S.A. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867 . . . . .	169
<b>IX. <i>The Land Tenures of British India.</i></b>	
1. Elphinstone's History of India. London: Murray.	
2. Marshman's History of India. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.	
3. Campbell's Modern India. London: Murray.	
4. Robinson's Land Revenue of British India. London: Thacker and Co.	
5. Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro. London: Bentley.	
6. Mill's History of India. . . . .	197
<b><i>Concluding Note to Art. III.</i></b>	
The Two Temporal Powers . . . . .	224
<b><i>Contemporary Literature.</i></b>	
Theology and Philosophy . . . . .	227
Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels . . . . .	246
Science . . . . .	261
History and Biography . . . . .	264
Belles Lettres . . . . .	285

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THE  
**WESTMINSTER**  
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**REVIEW.**

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JANUARY 1, 1868.  
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ART. I.—DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY.

*Shooting Niagara: and After?* By THOMAS CARLYLE.  
Chapman and Hall. London: 1867.

*The Sphere and Duties of Government.* Translated from the  
German of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, by JOSEPH  
COULTHARD, Jun. London: 1854.

IT has been attempted by some writers to draw an imaginary line between what they termed democracy "as a state of society," and democracy "as a form of government." We believe that in modern times, when the social and national life of European populations is becoming a far more preponderant power than the mere mechanical contrivances of government by which the physical force of the strongest part of the nation happens to be wielded, such a distinction is untenable. We believe that the state of society is becoming more and more the only exact expression of the form of government, that in nominal monarchies the evils usually attributed to democracy may happen to be far more vile than in the most democratic republic, and that in a state nominally governed by the people themselves, the alternate tyranny and anarchy usually held to be the unfailing accompaniments of unlimited monarchy may, by possibility, be found exulting and rampant to a degree never witnessed elsewhere.

It is not likely that there will ever be wanting a supply of fit persons duly qualified to celebrate the glories of popular government. There are many causes to explain the enthusiastic ardour with which the patrons of what are, not very precisely, [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. B

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termed "the people," advocate and believe in their cause. To the young neophyte, fresh from the History of England, and still thrilling at the first exhibition of the enrapturing drama of the French Revolution, a devotion to the interests of the mass of the community, individually obscure, a belief in their virtues and their capacities, a pathetic sympathy with their dull poverty, their lonely struggles, their tame and colourless fortunes, all go together to form a kind of sacrament of initiation introductory to the battle-field of political existence. Personally fortunate, it may be, in his surroundings, without a want, a fear, or a care on his own behalf, with every path open before him to all that is held great and honourable among men, courted, or not repelled, by the society of the wise, the polite, and the good, the young and generous patriot nevertheless turns away to gaze at the great bulk of his countrymen wandering as sheep having no shepherd, and he weeps over them. He solemnly consecrates his life, his cultured sympathies, his trained understanding, the swelling fountain of his noblest emotions, to the service of his neglected fellow-beings, and to their service alone. Like Hannibal at his country's altar, he registers a heart-vow that he will never, so long as life shall last, be a friend to their enemies, or an enemy to their friends. Severely hard and indiscriminately bitter is the temper in which he returns to review the government and existing institutions that tower aloft in hoary grandeur around him. Bearing about ever within him the ineffaceable impress of that first love, caring little how an institution may have arisen, what may be the danger of recklessly annihilating it, what even be its ultimate bearing, through an indirect chain of causation, on the welfare of the people themselves, if it do not manifestly and immediately promote that welfare as its main end and aim, he would batter it to the ground.

This is undoubtedly one type of political character which in different degrees of manifestation figures largely among the writers and thinkers of this day. It is impossible to question its nobleness and moral grandeur, while nothing is easier than to show its narrowness and intellectual poverty. The type, however, is a real one, and it is impossible to understand many of the political phenomena of the day without an exact apprehension of it.

In the second place, there are those who from the circumstances of their education, their moral and intellectual structure, their artistic sympathies, their social connexions, incline, even at the opening of their political existence, to side with the few against the many, the rich against the poor, the learned and polite against the unlearned and rude. It may be in general that the personal qualities which lead up to these proclivities

are less attractive and imposing than those which distinguished the class just considered. But it may be otherwise. A genuine belief (such as that of Mr. Carlyle) that in the struggle of national existence the best somehow always comes to the top, a delicacy of nervous temperament indisposing the possessor to consort with the coarse and unfeeling, and a loyal reverence for the personal bravery, untainted honour, and individual zeal which have never been wholly wanting in some individual members of aristocratic societies, are qualities which for excellence and beauty may well compete with the fairest constituent elements of human nature when seen at its best.

We have briefly noticed the two opposed germs of political feeling that spring, each of them, from certain natural and commendable instincts of man. It need not be said that these of themselves by no means supply a sufficient account of the whole phenomena. It may be, indeed, that at some times and in some countries the more generous motives above elucidated are wholly absent. In their place, or supplementing them, is found a spirit engendered by nothing else than the accidental opposition of existing political parties, or of the fossilized representatives of extinct parties, self-interest, real or apparent, a superficial reading of a limited number of historical facts, or an inaccurate observation of current facts operating upon minds merely frivolous and vain. It is remarkable how each of these causes has told in recent discussions, both oral and written, in this country on the subject of Reform. It is needless to point out how, apart from all legitimate conviction and all sincere enthusiasm, the cause of "the people," has been throughout inscribed on the banners of Liberals and Radicals, till, the symbol being found irresistible, it was at last inscribed on the banners of their opponents as well. Probably the number of the individuals in either camp of the House of Commons who honestly believed in their own war cry, and were sincerely prepared to encounter (as they must perforce encounter now) all the constitutional consequences it involved, might be counted on the fingers of one hand. For it is only too true that a belief in the mysterious virtues, the latent capacities, the undeveloped *morale* of the most uneducated and boorish classes of the community had passed through all the stages of being a hearty persuasion, a sentimental hope, a hard superstition, and at last a generally confessed and ill-concealed fiction. At this point legislation occurred, by which people were at least compelled to look their confession of faith steadily in the face, and inasmuch as every kind of spurious advocacy was exhausted on all sides, and nothing further could be spoken, it was held high time that something should be done. It might be perchance that facts, if nothing else, would bring something new to light.

The result was the Reform Act of 1867, which however advantageous its ultimate results may prove (as we believe may be the case), reflected in its conduct through the House the greatest discredit on English statesmanship, English morals, and English political science, of any important Act since the Revolution.

It is needless to pursue any further the analysis of recent political action and speculation in England. It would be well indeed if this past year constituted for the country not only an era of national existence, but also an era of political science. However the unlearned may scoff, it is beyond doubt upon the progress of this science that the future fortunes of England hinge. It is nothing else but a deep-laid and intelligent persuasion of the exactness and value of a true theory of government that can deliver us from our slavery to the formulas of party, the catchwords of interested sections, the dark, hovering shadows of imperfectly understood historical traditions and hearsays. Till we have the courage to dare to innovate upon popular maxims, and to burst free from the social fetters with which, even in England, all political speculations are hampered, we shall never see our way to remedy the multiform evils everywhere prostrating our national life. There has been a time in England when it required the spirit of a martyr to say or write a word on behalf of the people, as contrasted with and opposed to the governing body of the nation. In these days it demands a spirit scarcely less courageous to speak in favour of sovereign authority, as opposed to the subjects of that authority. But even when the courage is not lacking, nothing is more arduous than to apply the principles of genuine political science to the special condition of a particular country at a given epoch. The actual facts are indefinitely numerous, are confusedly interwoven with each other, are endlessly diversified in kind and in value. Furthermore they are so related to obscure moral and mental manifestations, that a complete enumeration of them in thought and still more in language is impossible. However, to recognise the peculiar obstacles besetting the science is a large part of the science itself, and it has been happily observed by Aristotle that there are facts which may be rendered in a form that is certain, though not in one that is precise.

It is our object (1) to arrive at a correct estimate of the actual political condition of the people of this country in consequence of recent legislation. The attempt will be made to do this without any partiality in favour of any class whatever of the community, however large or small, and at the same time without unfair depreciation of any class. The single object of inquiry will be the political condition of the whole people, or, in other words, the state of the whole people in special relation to government.

We shall then (2) sketch a general outline of the chief elements of national well-being in relation to government, such as would seem to be possible for the English nation to attain to, and which, more than all else, it seems desirable it should attain to. It will then remain (3) lastly, to point to some special dangers due to the novel constitution of the country, which menace the attainment of the amount of felicity just denoted, and thereupon to advert to the best and most available modes of obviating those dangers.

The (1) main and most obvious facts in the present situation of affairs are obvious to all, and admitted beyond dispute. The suffrage has been extended so considerably, and upon such principles, that not only are the numbers of electors enormously increased, but a far poorer, more ignorant, and generally uncivilized body of men have been admitted to the suffrage than, except under certain chartist programmes, ever so much as aspired to it before. These new electors are chiefly to be found in the large towns, and are of a class constantly bordering upon absolute poverty and the receipt of parochial relief. They are accustomed to active co-operation with each other, and this habit is notoriously exercised (not without a certain measure of success) in unscrupulous opposition to their employers, and simply for their own self-regarding advantage. Furthermore, their education, though, owing to their town experience, formally superior to that of country labourers, is of the narrowest and poorest description. As respects any loftier notion than is conveyed by a keenly apprehended sense of self-interest, all the best fruits of genuine instruction are wholly away. All sense of duty or responsibility, all conversance with the world that existed before they were born, or with the world topographically separated from them, all sympathy with nobleness, all rivalry with great souls in the past and present, is absolutely denied them. The limitations to these sweeping statements of course are important. In the first place the softening influences of family life, and the persevering labours of religious teachers of one sect or another, go far to ameliorate individuals among the class, and even occasionally radiate over a considerable area. Again, among those included in the new franchise will be found large bodies of artisans in London, Manchester, and other great towns, who may compete with any class of the community for virtue, intelligence, and even a rough kind of culture. These, however, are vastly in the minority.

Now no amount of rhetoric can gloss over the above facts. No eloquence based on the so-called democracy of Athens, with its 21,000 adult males, alone electors, and its 400,000 slaves, or on the panegyrics of Algernon Sydney, or on the ideal commonwealths

of Plato, More, or Harrington, can dilute a single one of the ideas that is irresistibly suggested by the above statements. The very hope that matters will improve is delusive, because it is quite possible, and only too probable, that untaught multitudes might impetuously operate on Government in a way for ever suicidal to their own improvement. It is just here, indeed, that the main danger to which we shall have to advert really lies. Nor is it of any service to hold out mystical anticipations that however ignorant, besotted, or immoral, may be the individual members of a constituency, yet when acting in a body they will be suddenly gifted with a wisdom and self-restraint of which no tokens whatever are at present discernible. It is true that a large body of men is more easily swayed for good through the communication of an inspiring impulse from a wholesome source than are single individuals amongst them. But it is also true that, through the communication of an opposite impulse, they are likewise more easily swayed for evil. If large communities have at times done nobler deeds than might have seemed possible for isolated members of them, they have just as often committed hideous crimes, from any distinct share in which the most vicious member of them would have personally recoiled. It has been alleged, indeed, by the most profound political thinker of modern times, that the authority of bare numbers is a safer source of power to rely upon than the authority of wealth. The former is said to imply a considerable amount of arduous organization, thereby entailing a large measure of mutual sacrifice; while the interests to be consulted are indefinitely numerous and various. But the polity here contemplated is based throughout on a very wide and pervasive system of national education, as well as on a prevalent consciousness of moral obligation wholly absent, at the present time, even from the best classes of English society.

It is as foolish as it is wicked to vilify any large sections of society about us; indeed, the temptation to do so is now fortunately withdrawn. It is no longer the question whether or no the suffrage should be extended to the classes now under consideration. For weal or for woe, the suffrage has been extended to them. The problem now is a new one, and it is, perhaps, more urgent than that one of old. Indeed, it seems to us fortunate that this so-called "leap in the dark" has been taken as it has, just for the reason that in no other way would the scrutiny ever have been entered upon as to how great is that darkness. The new problem, as to what is the actual condition of the **obscurer masses** of the population, and in what way this condition may be elevated, has now, at last, become one of vital concern. All that is best in English national life, all that is

most precious to defend, and most beneficial to promote, is now exposed to what might seem the hazard of the die. And yet it is less a hazard than it might appear. This is a case when, as with the gods, our dice must be loaded. We must circumspectly survey the enemies' country into which we have cast ourselves, so that we may at the worst secure our own position, and at the best, convert our very enemies into friends and allies. It is only from a careful calculation and avoidance of the inherent dangers of a democratic state of society, that the best gifts (if there be any gifts) of that state can, with impunity, be enjoyed.

Now it is not to be pretended that the large body of new electors are pugnaciously malicious, crafty, designing, or traitorous. It is merely alleged that they are ignorant, selfish, and destitute of all sense of moral obligation. This last count of alleged moral torpor, containing as it does one or two terms of rather indefinite signification, needs to be more distinctly explained. It encloses, indeed, in itself the gist of the whole accusation, and it is of the more consequence to bring it into strong relief, because it is concerned with a department of man's nature which political writers are very much given to leave out of account. The moral aspects of man as he presents himself while living in society have been either entirely neglected or only superficially alluded to from two opposing causes. One cause is the influence of religious teachers, and of the different church institutions which they represented. As men's ideas of a Supreme Being gradually became more elevated, the personal and social duties held to be most pleasing to that Being were ever more closely approximated to the like duties which the bent of human nature and the necessities of social intercourse were simultaneously revealing. "In this way the latter kind of duties which have been denominated "moral" became inextricably blended with the former comprised under the name "religious." This mixture or confusion was further promoted by the actual situation of religious teachers, whereby they progressively attained to be the chief educators of youth, and monitors of later life in the observance of all kinds of duties originating in what quarter soever. Furthermore, it became at the same time the natural practice of governments to throw their protection round one or more classes of these religious ministrants, from the belief that the personal qualities of the governed most servicable to government were the more assuredly secured by turning to account the sentimental instrumentality already in use among those ministrants. So long as the notions of conscience, duty, self-sacrifice, and reverence to superiors got to prevail among the people at large, it was of small import to governors whether those notions happened to be grounded on religious feeling or on some



other less transcendental basis. Of course the intermixture of ideas here considered was throughout facilitated and promoted by the concomitant tendency of acute metaphysical minds to be ever discerning beneath the feelings of religious and moral obligation a common and undistributed unity of sentiment bound up with the very nature of man. Such has been the effect of religion and religious teachers in confounding the simplicity and over-clouding the reality of independent morals.

But the pure conception of morality has, especially of late, been threatened equally from an entirely opposite quarter. The sensational and utilitarian school of philosophers, themselves ever men of the purest lives and most delicately set conscientiousness, have, in their attempts to rationalize moral phenomena, almost seemed to annihilate the object of their solicitude. The mechanical and physiological terms they were enforced to employ were so hard and cumbersome as to strangle their offspring in the very process of its birth. The best philosophers of this school have now seen their first error, and have been compelled by their opponents to retire step by step, till at the present the difference of expression between the leading representatives of the two opposed schools is infinitesimally small. The general result is that morality stands out, upon the confession of all, as an ultimate and independent fact in human nature, admitting, indeed, of decomposition in thought and even in the history of the human spirit, but none the less universally present as a real and indissoluble whole.

Now, to return to the subject immediately before us, it is here contended that the low moral condition of the new class of electors is at once an unquestionable fact, and opens out, unless remedied, a most alarming prospect. We have just seen that, departing from religious guides on the one hand and mechanical philosophic guides on the other, we are able to fix our attention without distraction on the moral qualities of men. What these moral qualities are, if completely enumerated, may be subject of incessant dispute. Every one, however, is agreed that any attempted enumeration must, at the least, contain such qualities as a stringent sense of obligation to others, severe truthfulness, in all its kinds and ramifications, and an effective spirit of gratuitous benevolence. The last covers a wider field of action than does a sense of mere obligation, however largely interpreted. The practical question arises to what extent these or any of these qualities are present in the average numbers of that large constituency who will shortly have the power of swamping all other classes in the country. It is in no temper of wilful exaggeration that we are compelled to assert that these qualities are one and all at the lowest possible ebb in every class of the

population, and, more than in all other classes, in that struggling body of men who hover between the receipt of weekly wages and a certain degree of personal independence with difficulty maintained.

Now it may first be noticed that the sense of moral obligation to others is imperfectly enough developed in all classes whatever of the English population. This is none the less true because in practice a number of other instincts or qualities go far to supply its place. Religious emotions, whether of love, hope, or fear, affection for family or friends, laws of honour protecting the character and interests of large castes, party zeal, and a certain dogged attachment to known and familiar persons, places, institutions, and things, all go far to counteract the self-regarding tendencies of large bodies of persons throughout the community. But wherever these exceptional influences happen to be wanting, or in regions of action where they cannot be called into play, the love of self (except so far as it is still accidentally controlled by associations already generated under the discipline of those influences) has unbounded licence. It need not be noted that the result is conspicuous enough to all capable of appreciating it. Our narrow and selfish patriotism finding its only natural outcome in an ignorant distaste for all persons and things not home-born; our universal callousness to the undramatic plague-spots of pauperism, poorhouse atrocities, and crime; our feeble and apathetic interest in the characters and lives of those about us, except in so far as we may hope to mould them for ourselves, after our own likeness, or to compete with them for mercenary rewards; the carelessness and heartlessness with which we grudge even a few moments' thought to the claims of enormous populations far removed in space, and of a posterity far removed in time; our social distrust and mutual repulsion till we are forcibly brought into personal contact—these, and a host of tokens like them, announce how little we care for others so long as we fail to project upon them some sort of image of ourselves.

Now this is a picture, not unfairly coloured, though terrible enough in its ghastliness, of the best classes of English society, where education and a thousand gentle influences have been from earliest childhood pointing the way to better things. If the general product is that only in a few chosen individuals is any large-minded sense of obligation to others elicited, what may be expected of those classes wholly destitute of anything deserving the name of education, and surrounded from their earliest years with everything that can dull the edge of noble sympathies, throw back the spirit upon itself and its narrow circle of daily necessities, and imprison the whole life and being within a pitiful region of selfish rivalries, brutal pleasures, and aimless indifference?

The very fact of ignorance is in itself necessarily incompatible with the presence of that generosity of sentiment of which we are in search. Where a man has never heard of those living out of his own neighbourhood, except through the dry and unfeeling pages of newspaper gossip; where he has been told nothing of times before he was born, and of states of society different from his own; where he has never come into contact, through his imagination at the least, with other sufferings, other hopes, other cares, other delights, than those familiar to his own experience, it is impossible that an interest in a world so alien to him can grow up of itself. It is equally impossible that, apart from such an interest, he can ever attain even to the germinal conviction that he has a call to do anything for the inhabitants of that other world. He cannot learn to live for others till he knows, in ever so small a degree, how others live.

But it is scarcely necessary to linger over describing a social condition which is palpable enough to the observation of all. The fact itself may often be kept out of view by the cropping-up of individual excellence here and there among the classes here denoted, due to numerous exceptional influences; but it is the general structure of the whole group that is alone of importance for the application of political science.

It would be possible, in the same way, to apply the test of truthfulness, and to allude, among other more general characteristics, to the recent revelations as to the persistent use of false weights and measures, and the levity with which the offence is regarded, to the universal practice of adulteration and trade-deceptions, to the ready and uncritical acceptance of scandalous libels, to the confusion of all notions of truth and honesty in the matter of bribery, and to the discreditable perversion of honourable feeling in the matter of impositions practised on the revenue. It is needless to say a word as to the absence of the third characteristic of morality—a genuine benevolence not dictated by any consideration ever so remotely connected with self. As a refreshment from such a melancholy survey we will make a short quotation from a work on political science, which, being written by a German, and not an Englishman, rightly treats the whole moral nature of man as deserving of profound analysis, preparatory to considering the true province of government. This passage opposes to the current standard, not only of the worst, but even of some of the best classes of our countrymen—an ideal which our state moralists have scarcely yet dimly conceived. The work alluded to is the celebrated treatise on "The Sphere and Duties of Government," by Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of the great naturalist, the publication of which, after the author's death, formed an era in political science.

"This very idea of perfection, towards which all his activity converges as to a grand, sufficient centre, so far from being a mere cold abstraction of the reason, may prove a warm and genial feeling of the heart, and thus transport his existence into the existence of others. For in them, too, there exists a like capacity for greater perfection, and this latent fitness it may be in his power to elicit and improve. He is not yet penetrated with the loftiest idea of all morality so long as he can be content to regard himself or others as distinct and isolated—so long as all spiritual existences seem not to him merged and united in the sum of perfection which lies diffused around him. Nay, his union with other beings of kindred nature with himself is perhaps only the more intimate, and his sympathy in their fates and fortunes only the more keen and constant, in proportion as their destiny and his own seem to him to be entirely dependent on him and them."

II. We have thus given a cursory sketch of the main defects in the moral constitution of those who go to make up what may be called the lower-middle classes of Englishmen, and we have confined our criticism chiefly to that department of morals which deals with what each man owes to all other men. We shall have to investigate further on more closely the specific dangers to be apprehended from the preponderant influence which these classes will henceforth assume in the English constitution. In order, however, to facilitate this later inquiry, and to bring the full relevancy of it into the clearest possible relief, there is an intermediate gap, which it will be better to fill up without delay. What are the main requisites for the greatest available efficiency of the social union in England, having respect to the possibility or desirability of interference on behalf of government, in order to promote that efficiency? It has been seen what is the general character of the classes into whose power, to a very considerable degree, the potent instrument of physical compulsion, termed government, has been handed over. In order to examine how these classes are likely to manipulate this instrument, it is necessary to notice the different objects which naturally present themselves, as enticing the application of the most irresistible machinery that happens to be at hand. Now all the objects for the promotion of which those who have ever wielded the authority of government have been tempted to employ that authority may be distributed under the heads of (1) security to person and property, (2) the material enrichment of the whole or part of the nation, and (3) the moral (including intellectual) advancement of the nation. As to the desirability in themselves of all these several objects there is no dispute whatever, and there never can have been. As to the mere possibility of government, or, in other words, a system of irresistible physical compulsion, regulated at the discretion of one or a few or all, promoting the

attainment, in some measure at least, of these several objects, there can scarcely be any doubt whatever. The main controversy in this momentous inquiry turns upon whether (1) government, by interfering in the promotion of certain of these objects, does not effect a greater ultimate loss, through striking at individual liberty, than can be made up in mere apparent and palpable results, however immediately advantageous, and whether (2) the attainment, through the medium of government, of some one of these objects, for instance, security, may not be of such transcendent moment as to justify government in promoting one or more of the other objects solely with a view of indirectly operating upon that which is, confessedly, the proper and peculiar province of government?

The extreme opponents of the principle of government interference, of which Wilhelm von Humboldt, already quoted, was at once the first and the ablest, would limit the operation of government severely to what directly and immediately relates to the security of person and property. The arguments with which this conclusion is supported are, we believe, impregnable, and there is no doubt that this is the goal to which all political speculations honestly conducted must ultimately arrive. The progressive extension of moral, and the limitation of physical machinery is the one general aim to which all the ablest thinkers in Germany, France, and even fitfully in England, are pointing with rare accord. Political science is, however, the least absolute of all sciences, and whatever may be the tendency of things in the future of England, an existing relation between government and the action of individuals is now in operation, which cannot be changed in a day. The English government, like most other governments in Europe, at one time held every interest of all its subjects to be providentially or fortuitously submitted to its parental control. From many departments it has slowly and almost reluctantly receded. The new principles of political economy compelled its retreat in reference to interference with trade, manufactures, and labour. The sectarian tendencies of the people in relation to religious matters constantly imposed fresh limits on its religious partialities. The Catholic Emancipation Acts, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the changes in the mode of relieving pauperism, the gradual abolition of religious tests, the general abandonment of capricious modes of taxation, regulations for civil marriages, and the like, are so many monuments selected at haphazard of a gradual change of policy in relation to non-interference. On the other hand, through an extensive interpretation of the phrase "security to person and property," the State has, no doubt, been of late making many inroads upon individual freedom never before so much as con-

ceived. Thus the Metropolitan Police and Traffic Acts, the Factory, Employment of Children, and Hours of Labour Acts, the parliamentary supervision of railways, the restrictions imposed on associations for purposes of trade, and the public subsidies for educational purposes, are all signs that the English government still holds that, in many departments, what the people will not do for themselves, it is right and proper that the government should do for them. The intervening evil of such things being delayed seems so gigantic, that even if, at length, they are done spontaneously and done better, and in a way more thoroughly acceptable to all, the price of waiting is held too vast an one to pay. But besides the departments of action from which the State has of late receded, and those on which it has encroached, are those on which, wholly irrespective of any regard to mere security, it still continues pertinaciously to hold its ground. Such are a patronage of a particular form of religion and a particular church embodying that form, a monopoly of the mail communication, the support of a public banking establishment, and an express favouritism of certain forms of succession to landed property. Now it is difficult to point out in a few definite sentences whether any distinct institution does or does not flourish best under State patronage. It is only a clear conception of the usual consequences of all such patronage that can qualify the mind of the candid thinker to apply the general reasoning, with such modifications as may be called for, to any given case.

It is impossible to make any way in reaching a clear view of the proper limits to interference on the part of the government with individual freedom without first clearing out of the path a host of obstacles with which the very idea of freedom or liberty happens accidentally to be beset. Owing to a series of fortuitous historical events, to the vague generalities of language in which metaphysicians and political writers have often too lavishly indulged themselves, and to the rapturous rhetoric of enthusiasts, there are probably no terms which are found of more plastic signification and have been more abused for opposite purposes than freedom and liberty. What with being "born free," "moral freedom," "liberty of thought," "liberty of conscience," "freedom of the press," "free governments," and the like, it is evident that these terms have always been treated as though they concealed some mystical virtue, which was one and the same under all its different forms and manifestations. Thus in a lecture on "Liberty of Conscience," which we lately heard delivered by a deservedly eminent professor of moral philosophy in one of our universities, it was declared that there could be no greater bondage for us than to possess the "liberty to do as we like." It is

transparent what was meant, and the moral truth conveyed is of the profoundest significance, though the form of expression is paradoxical and inexact. All that was really implied was that it is not of any service to relieve a man from one kind of pressure applied from without, if he immediately falls under another, that due to his own impulsive passions, bearing him down from within. This, of course, assumes a low moral condition in the man where his real liking is not yet consentaneous with his highest good. It is of course quite possible, in the case of a particular man, that there could be no more complete freedom in all respects for him than the "liberty to do as he liked."

The real meaning of freedom or liberty, which are convertible terms, is simply and solely absence of constraint. This constraint may be of different kinds, and it may be applied to different parts of a human life and action. Thus the constraint may be of the nature of physical compulsion, bribes, persuasion, other than a simple appeal to reason and spontaneous feeling, and of the use of manifold unnoticed influences operating through persons or institutions. These different modes of constraint again may be brought to bear, according to their respective adaptation, upon the acts, the thoughts, the feelings, or the speech of men. In this way a man may be free in one respect and under constraint in another. He may be at liberty to act as he chooses; but his thoughts and feelings may be severely controlled by the influence of friends, by inducements in the way of profit, by religious hopes or fears, or even by imperfect bodily health. On the other hand, as in the case of an educated slave, like Epictetus, he may be free for every purpose except for acting and speaking.

Having thus obtained some clear conception of what freedom means, we may go on to establish the proper relation of all governments at all times, and then, more especially, of the English Government at this day, to the freedom of men in their thoughts, feelings, words, and acts. It is not necessary to distinguish between the use of the different forms of constraint. If it be an evil to compel, it is a worse evil, because a more surreptitious one, to bribe or to persuade. If it be necessary to compel, it is nothing but weakness and hypocritical cunning to rest content with inducements of minor force and distinctness. Thus the principle may be laid down at once, that to whatever objects it be held expedient that government constraint should extend, the sole way in which such constraints should be exercised is physical compulsion. All inducements by way of persuasion, all indirect favouritism of one set of opinions, or feelings, or modes of life, as opposed to another, have the pernicious effect of perverting the very springs of moral life. They do this by leading people to

imagine they are free from constraint all the time that in reality they are being bent and twisted by forces from without, which a life-long familiarity teaches them to overlook. Thus a man gradually becomes so demoralized as to persuade himself he is loving what is good and true, and alone really lovable, while, in fact, he is, without knowing it, only loving what it is most convenient and safe and generally advantageous to love. In this way the whole moral life of the country becomes gradually disorganized. It is impossible to gloss over the fact that, whatever may be the apparent and transitory advantages of patronizing a particular church or particular system of morals in a country, the true tendency of all such patronage is in the end universal spiritual paralysis. There is no room for question that such a paralysis has long been spreading far and wide in England with a force of self-diffusion proportionate to the growing interest of the people in matters relating to their inner life. It will hereafter be pointed out how one of the most imminent dangers to be apprehended from the preponderance in the State of a large but narrowly-educated class of the community is an extension of government interference in favour of certain moral or religious notions accidentally in vogue amongst themselves.

It is confessed on all sides that, till some great change takes place in human nature, of which no symptoms are as yet disclosed, government will be indispensable, at least, for the purpose of maintaining civil order among the governed. But it has been further and rightly alleged that it is the moral character of the citizens that mainly determines the state of order or disorder prevailing throughout the community. Therefore, it is argued, it were better to go at once to the fountain-head and throw all the overwhelming authority of the sovereign power into the scale of virtue, honesty, and religion. The practical suggestion that results is, that the efforts of government ought to be directed as much to the prevention as to the repression of crime, to the education of the whole people rather than to the punishment of isolated offenders, to the relief of the poor rather than to severe castigation of crimes, which are nothing but the normal results of poverty.

Now, this reasoning, which has become very popular of late years, and certainly bears about it a charitable and attractive dress, rests on the presumption that the alternative lies between these philanthropic objects being effected by the violent interference of sovereign power, and their never being effected at all. This presumption is natural enough when it is recollected that all governments have hitherto from their first origin lost as little time as possible in laying their hands on every engine of usefulness that existed, or might have otherwise emerged, among their



subjects, and have never left room for the experiment so much as to be tried as to how things would have gone on apart from such rude interruption. The proposition that every good work must needs be done by government, may easily be resolved into the slightly different proposition that governments have seldom left or allowed any good works on a large scale to be undertaken by any one but themselves. The reasoning in question has a further historical argument in its favour, inasmuch as in all European governments, up to very modern times, it universally happened that the best and most sagacious members of the community really were at the head of affairs. With the exception of religious teachers, these were the only men in the country who had any care or knowledge whatever relating to the highest wants of the whole people. Thus it was excusable for the same men to try and operate on the moral state of the people with the best machinery they had at hand. This consisted of the forces of government.

This state of things is now everywhere changed under the progressively advancing democracies of Europe at the present day, and chiefly in England with her free press; all such assumptions on the part of statesmen of superior enlightenment and patriotism would now be, it is sufficiently clear, monstrous anachronisms. The people and the acting governors are gradually becoming amalgamated into one. The question in England now is not so much whether it be the sovereign governors or the subjects of government who ought to have a care for the moral and material condition of the whole nation, as whether the sovereign people should, on behalf of their own moral and material interests, employ the irresistible instrument of government in place of resorting to nothing else than individual effort, and private, or perhaps even national association. We have no scruple in pronouncing emphatically in favour of the latter alternative. Whatever may have been the case during the pupilage of the nations of Europe, there is at this day equally diffused throughout every country all the elements of material wealth and moral improvement. Political economists have proved over and over again, what every year's national statistics more fully establishes, that any and every kind of forcible interference with trade, manufactures, and the labour-market, blights and dwarfs the national resources. However wisely (and it is pretty sure to be anything but wisely) such interference may be undertaken, its arbitrary and capricious character is of itself alone sufficiently damnatory. Men can study the laws of nature and of ordinary human acquisitiveness, and are thereby enabled securely to adapt their production and enter upon their contracts in view of the normal prospect of the markets. But any wilful and incalculable in-

fluence forcibly obtruded from without converts the whole mercantile system into chaos. What a few gain by an unexpected favour of fortune, more lose by disappointments which no foresight could have avoided, while the sense of uncertainty and irregularity extends on every side to the confusion and numbing of the volatile spirit of commerce.

It is a like story, though a more painful one, when the weight of government presses on the moral and intellectual energies of men. There is no quality more indispensable to the development of a great people than an universal habit of self-reliance. The power of willing for one's self is by no means a common or easy acquisition. Nothing but long habits of associating the exertion of will with the actual execution of the act willed can avail to elaborate this artificial power. It is only by learning through long experience that what we want we must do for ourselves, that we have done it for ourselves once, and can do it for ourselves again as often as we please, that we gradually leave off leaning on other people, and attain to a lordly sense of superiority to chance and casual assistance of all sorts, softened by a genuine respect for those qualities in others which we are conscious of possessing in a high degree ourselves. Between this condition and that of the man whose whole course of life and thought and action, or any part of them, except the minutest, is mapped out for him by any authority not to be questioned, there is all the wide chasm that separates the master from his slave. We cannot describe the state to which we refer in more adequate and emphatic language than in that of Wilhelm von Humboldt:—

“His unalterable dependency on the capricious mutations of fortune no more daunts and dismays him: comparatively indifferent to external joys and privations, he regards only what is purely moral and intellectual; and no mere freak of changeful destiny has power to disturb the calm inner life of his soul. His spirit is exalted to a proud height of independence through its perfect sense of self-sufficingness—its lofty superiority to external vicissitude—the rich and overflowing fulness of its own ideas—the profound consciousness of its internal, deep-seated strength. And then when he looks back to his eventful journey in the past, and retraces its onward progress, step by step, through doubt and difficulty; when he sees with what varied means and happy application every separate circumstance was made so happily focal to the whole, and with what a regular series he arrived at what he now is; when he learns to perceive in himself the complete union of cause and effect, of end and means, and, full of the noblest pride of which finite beings are capable, exclaims,—

Hast du nicht alles selbst vollendet,  
Heilig, glühend Herz?

How will dark and despairing thoughts—the thoughts of his lonely and unsolaced life—of helplessness, of failing support and consolation, vanish from before him,” &c. &c.

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. C

Now it is no doubt possible, by government administration discreetly exercised, to attain certain apparent moral results among the population, which in themselves are not without their value. It is quite possible to conceive a nation in which drinking, gambling, all questionable diversions, and even lying, were effectually repressed by law. If an overwhelming majority of the people were already indisposed to these practices, legislation on the subject would have little influence one way or the other, except as a public record of the national sentiment. But if the people had not really attained to such a stage of self-restraint or elevation of tastes, the mere formal compliance with law on the part of the recalcitrant would be not merely worthless as a symptom of national health, but would go far to prevent the steady formation of those habits of self-command which are the main or only source of true moral life. It is in no other way than through reiterated failures and desolating experiences that a large society gradually attains to a condition of true independence. There is the absolute demand, in the first place, of an effective and most extended system of education, whereby the value of the best spiritual products may become fairly rated, and the means essential to the creation of these products made familiarly known. But in addition to mere knowledge, there are needed all the tentative efforts, the chilling disappointments, the incomplete successes, the progressive corrections, and irrepressible aspirations which are the true characteristics of a state of national, as of individual discipline. The very principles of association for worthy purposes require to be instilled by tardy familiarity before they can really be taken to heart. To know what is the part to be enacted by individuals, and what by corporate bodies, what can best be done alone, and what together, what are the most convenient modes of electing and supervising subordinate officials, and of obtaining and circulating correct information, at what junctures associated bodies ought to modify their original objects, or enlarge their scope or dissolve their own existence, are all practical problems which the members of a State are better for learning through the gradual teachings of personal experience, rather than through the intrusive presence of spasmodic and inelastic State machinery.

It may be said that it is impossible to construct so much as an elementary system of criminal law without reference to moral principles, and that here, at any rate, is to be found a department in which the State is under the necessity of evincing a predilection for one class of moral principles as opposed to another. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency is ready at hand. The government, in taking thought for the personal security of the governed, is led to look around in order to discern the quarters.

from which that security is principally threatened, and also to devise means the most likely to operate effectually upon the persons who threaten it. At any given epoch in the existence of a particular society tolerably homogeneous in its construction, it is generally found that some unwritten code of popular morals happens to be exclusively circulated, and that actions are daily being weighed, and characters determined, simply by reference to this code. Thus for all purposes of social intercourse, it becomes the manifest interest of individuals to comport themselves in a manner conformable to the demands of this code, whether the code itself do or do not square with some other body of moral rules drawn from some other source. Hence it comes about that the persons who are most indifferent to the opinions and feelings of their fellow countrymen, and who, therefore, are the most likely to outrage public security, are found to be generally the very same men who, by the public voice, are, or would be if recognised, already branded as transgressors of the popular canon. The criminal law then conveniently adopts this canon as its standing test, and in all its distinctions takes as its point of departure the character of the moral sentiments existing among the people at the time of legislation. No doubt, over and above the requisitions of this policy, legislators have naturally been led to refine upon the popular morals, and to colour their definitions with the results of their own (generally) superior enlightenment. The above investigation explains why a criminal law too much in arrear or too much in advance of popular morals would equally fail of its mark. Thus in criminal legislation, as in all else, the principle is still preserved intact that it is in the highest degree unfavourable to ultimate moral achievements for governments to declare their avowed preference for one class of sentiments on the ground of their intrinsic value in preference to another.

The principles which should regulate the relations of government to the affairs of the governed have thus been broadly laid down, and it has further been endeavoured to show what is the actual tendency among existing nations with respect to marking out the province of government, and what is the highest ideal to which our most sanguine anticipations may legitimately point. The problem, however, which presents itself in England and other countries in Europe is a less simple one than the one hitherto investigated, although the consideration of that more general and abstract problem is the fitting or only basis for the solution of those that now press on our attention. It is a matter of fact that in all European nations government interference is at present by no means confined to any such restricted region as the maintenance of security to person and property; on the contrary, there is scarcely a department of human affairs

to which, even in England, government does not, directly or indirectly, lend a hand. It is natural that it should be so. When first a savage or rude people become consolidated into some embryonic form of national existence, the main craving on the part of all men is for stability and order. The sovereign ruler provides these, thereby conferring so vast a boon on his subjects, that no price of personal servitude or dependence is held a disproportionate remuneration. Indeed, at such an epoch the real independence being very considerable, its ideal value is estimated at the smallest possible rate. If the ruler be far ahead of his subjects in knowledge and culture, which the very practice of the arts of government easily dispose him to be, he is naturally led to take the initiative in the furtherance of all such objects as he thinks to be for the material or moral welfare of his people. He builds bridges, employs labour, provides for the sick and the aged, supports one or more classes of religious teachers, often even prescribes to his people particular fashions of dress, hours for meals, days for holidays, and even lays down the minutest instructions for the intercourse of family life. The half-military character of a primitive people, situated in the midst of rude enemies, naturally favours this personal predominance of the chiefs of the nation, as well as leads to the pre-occupation of the thoughts of the whole community in other regions than those of political disquiet. Between this era of absorption into itself on behalf of government of all species of control, and that final stage above indicated, when the only control left to government is that necessitated by the need of protecting security to person and property, there is a long, struggling history of tyranny, seditions, revolutions, changes of dynasties, popular emancipation, government feebleness, terminating at last in an intelligible compromise by which governors and the governed recognise their several functions, and neither side expends further energy in disputing the pretensions of the other.

Now nothing would be more undesirable than to precipitate unduly the evolution of this natural course. For governments to withdraw at once from all the fields of action which they will hereafter no longer retain would be simply to introduce a reign of chaos and political helplessness. There is no question more perplexing to the conscientious statesman than whether the time has arrived in the growth of the people for the government to resign the occupation of any particular field. The simplest form in which this question is constantly presenting itself is in reference to the protection of native products. It was held not so long ago, even by enlightened economists (though the view is now generally and perhaps rightly abandoned by all), that at the

origination of a new colony, poorly furnished with natural advantages, and settled by a small and struggling population, it might not be inexpedient to encourage the first cultivation of the soil by arbitrary imposts upon imported grain or manufactures. It is not easy to see how these imposts could be carried into effect by any other mechanism than that already in the hands of government for the ordinary purposes of imperial taxation. But a time would come when this provisional favour shown to the early settlers for the single purpose of giving an impetus to the first improvements of the country, would be converted into a tyrannical privilege enjoyed by a few rich monopolists, as opposed to the interests of the large body of impoverished labourers. A wise statesman would not wait till this iniquitous opposition of interests had actually arrived, but would remember that government interference was, from the first, introduced for an exceptional purpose never to be presented again in the career of the colony, and that the restriction must, at the earliest moment, be decisively removed.

It must not be forgotten that the formation of habits of self-dependence and active co-operation for useful objects can only be very gradual. Where the people of a country have long been in a state of comparative dependence, even on the removal of their fetters it will be long before they can walk at ease. A good instance of this to take is the system of relieving the poor, as existing in England at the present day. Now so long as (from whatever removable or irremovable causes it comes to pass) the class of paupers is so large as it is at present no one can doubt that the maintenance and care of these paupers is a legitimate object of national concern. It is obvious, too, that this maintenance demands extensive and complicated machinery, and that no other authority immediately presents itself to the notice as capable of employing that machinery with a safe and discreet hand than the sovereign power. It may be admitted, too, for the purposes of this argument, that the sovereign power in this country does in fact do its work in this respect with a fair amount of efficiency and success. Now, let the case be supposed of the sovereign power, induced either by our arguments or other considerations, deciding on a sudden to abstain for all future time from any interference in the way of relieving the poor, to permit no more taxes to be levied for that object, and to ignore all obligation on its part to appoint or supervise any kind of poor-law officials. The immediate consequences would be disastrous and painful in the highest degree, such, indeed, as no ulterior gain could compensate. Private individuals would have, all in a moment, a work cast upon them for which they were intellectually without skill, morally without heart, and physically with-

out strength. A capacity for association would at once be demanded of the country, of which not so much as a vestige is at present visible. Panic, horror, and paralysis would seize on the whole nation. Thousands would have perished before the first shock of surprise and indignation had subsided. And yet it can scarcely be denied, that were the relief of the poor ultimately abandoned to voluntary efforts, the moral results to the whole nation would be infinitely superior to anything discernible now. Every good quality and amiable impulse, every kind of capacity for organization and management, would at once be brought into play throughout the whole population; the problem of poverty, its meaning, and its modes of cure, would become topics, no longer of unfeeling commonplace gossip, or dry philosophical analysis, but of real, vivid, and personal concern to every man and woman throughout the country. There is no room for doubt that a national generosity of sentiment and wisdom of prevision would be gradually nurtured into being, such as is sought for in vain in the national character now. The personal energy that would thus be stirred into action by the call that was made upon it, would soon result in removing the very occasion of that call. In a generation or two pauperism would be a thing unknown. Now this instance has just been selected to show that it is not by the immediate, but by the remoter, effects that the true consequences of a change of the relations of government are fairly measured. It appears from this illustration how inconvenient would be an extemporaneous policy, operating by jerks, which, with the best possible designs, might for a time bring about the most calamitous misfortunes. This last consideration is of great importance to the main purport of our inquiry, because one of the chief dangers of democratic government is a certain impetuosity and intemperateness in legislation, due to the sudden infusion of new convictions into minds unprepared to receive them. The great difficulty that the classes now admitted to the franchise in England will be under will be to understand the necessary limitations in the values of the best political theories, due to the complex facts of human nature. The subjects of political science are human beings, who act by habit, and take a long time to form or change their habits. New patches are, it is true, generally better than old rents, but the process of fitting the new piece to the old garment is a very delicate one, and one of which husting-orators are only too likely to underrate the difficulties.

There are in England some departments in which, even on the principles here advocated, owing to special historical circumstances, it might seem wise to extend rather than contract the sphere of government interference. Such, for instance, are the

management of the railway traffic of the country, and national education. This is not the place to examine all the arguments to be alleged for and against the policy of handing over to government these fields of action. In the case of railways there is the alarming fear of a number of corporate bodies coalescing together, possessed as they are of interests in direct opposition to those of the rest of the community, yet exempt from all responsibility to that community. These bodies have already largely availed themselves of the compulsive forces of government to wrest land from its owners, and have in fact driven all competing carriers from the field. The extension of the principle that security to person and property is the legitimate field for government action to such an enormous institution growing up in the country with anti-national pecuniary interests, may be, even on the principles here advocated, sufficiently justified.

As regards education, the evil of nothing being done is great, and the evil of what is done being done by government is great likewise. Inasmuch, however, as all other improvement in the country turns on a moral resurrection among the people at large, which must rest ultimately on education, it seems essential to make a beginning somehow or other. Later on we shall find grounds to make a still more vehement appeal on behalf of educating the people. If it should be found, in the present condition of the English population, expedient in the last resort to apply the physical power of government to this end, it will be essential to keep ever in mind that such anomalous interference is only entailed by the shortcomings of the past, and is in every way undesirable in itself. In the meantime measures must not be neglected which shall make such interference merely provisional by the erection of permanent institutions throughout the country, and by the largest possible use of moral and voluntary influences.

In investigating the limits of the true province of government, and applying the results of that investigation to the existing condition of European countries, and especially of England, we have confined ourselves exclusively to estimating the more subtle and indirect consequences of government control. We have tacitly assumed throughout that this control is exercised by rulers not grossly negligent, or designedly mischievous, or wholly destitute of the rudiments of political knowledge. This assumption, however, is far too favourable an one to represent the actual state of the case. Of the comparative value of what is done by government on behalf of the people, and by private individuals on behalf of themselves, in point of economy, efficiency, and despatch, an overwhelming mass of evidence might be, and has been elsewhere, adduced which of itself would seem to pronounce in unmistakable terms the condemnation of government



interference. Whether in making architectural improvements, and thereby restricting the liberty of private contract between owners and builders, in paving and cleansing towns, in constructing ships of war, and inspecting ships of commerce, in providing for the relief of the casual poor, and for the care of the sick poor in the hospital wards of union houses, in the execution of such large works as canals, dockyards, harbours, and barracks; in maintaining an army and navy qualified at all times to be called into service without delay or impediment; in regulating and disciplining a civil force sufficient to meet unexpected emergencies, without spasmodically disturbing public quiet and menacing the personal freedom of innocent citizens; or lastly, in carrying on correspondence and conducting official interviews with private persons for legitimate purposes, and on proper occasions,—the English Government has certainly of late years, in the teeth of a rigid parliamentary supervision, shown itself in all respects conspicuously less diligent, less punctilious, less efficacious than the most ordinary mercantile association, or even the most unpretending individual carrying on an enterprise on his own account. This could easily be proved by considerable detail, were it necessary for the present purpose to do so. The almost universally acknowledged facts are only alluded to here in order to establish that, whereas it has already been seen in what way the extension of government machinery is disastrous in the extreme to the growth of independent habits and elevated moral sentiments among the population, so there is nothing whatever in the successful operation of such machinery, as it has hitherto worked, so much as to make even a plausible pretext for any further attempts at such extension.

III. Such then being the functions, and such the only sound limits of government, it becomes time to take account of the kind of view which the new constituencies of Great Britain are likely to take of these functions and these limits. We have already made a general inquiry as to what the general intellectual and moral state of those constituencies actually is. It was seen that those constituencies were formed of men who are, in fact, and from the outer circumstances among which they have been trained must necessarily be, devoid of aught but the most lukewarm sense of obligation to others, of the elementary instincts of truthfulness, and therefore of justice, and still more of the philanthropic benevolence which revels in a wider sphere of exercise than that to which the most exacting sentiment of mere duty might conceivably reach. Into the hands of such men, struggling as they are with the assaults of poverty on the one side, and the overpowering allurements of material self-improvement on the other, is suddenly thrust an instrument of tremendous potency, capable,

through a little interposition of speech-hearing, polling, and electing, of doing all their bidding. This instrument of government, appearing only in the guise of the policeman, or the tax-collector, has been hitherto for them nothing more than some stupendous prodigy borne in upon their obscure life from an outer and unknown world, aweing their simple imaginations, and hemming them severely in from every quarter. The better-informed amongst them may have caught more precise glimpses of this wizard force through the cheap newspaper press, and even occasionally through the wild declamations of mob orators and fanatics. The political education of the people has been carried one grade higher by noisy appeals to sign parliamentary petitions, by incessant challenges on the part of demagogues emerging from classes of society very little raised above their own, to claim the rights of freemen and Englishmen, and by a progressive system of political gymnastics disciplining them obediently to take part in monster processions, and to frequent, for hours together, at an indefinite distance from the speakers, interminable meetings. In such a way have the mass of the future electors of England been taught how to use their future privileges, and, as a reward for their dutiful submission to the bracing culture, they are now told that the franchise is theirs. Now, in view of this portentous fact, prophecies of all kinds, whether those of Micaiahs who always prophesy evil, or of their rivals who always prophesy well, may easily be multiplied according to the imagination of the prophet. There is, however, no need here to throw forth dark oracular utterances of weal or woe in this matter. Very few and very simple facts, acknowledged on all sides, will suffice to tell their own tale. For the abundant confirmation of this tale, the experiments already tried in other countries will give the most copious materials.

It is obvious, that inasmuch as the new class of electors have many wants and many personal and class prejudices, their natural and first desire must be to satisfy these wants and consult these prejudices. Such a tendency to seek primarily for what is wanted most imperiously is an indisputable fact in human nature, and is only rendered invisible in the case of more cultured spirits from the personal desires entertained by these being habitually absorbed into, or rather rendered coincident with, a magnanimous concern for the interests of others rather than of themselves. In view of this prevalent disposition, it is evident that it will immediately occur to the more prominent leaders among the new electors that one obvious way of immediately obtaining their narrow ends is to employ the engine of government. Wherever troublesome reasoners interfere by obtruding their tedious and obsolete logic, wherever an un-

manageable minority, actuated by opposite interests, still obstinately holds out, wherever a larger spirit of patriotism and absurdly remote fears or hopes counsel hesitation and delay, there is one way at least of at once getting what is wanted—that is, cutting the knot by the use of physical force. Opponents will understand the sheriff, the policeman, and the bayonet, if their morbid “casuistry” and ridiculous taste for looking at a subject on more sides than one cannot be got rid of in any milder way. If we ourselves suffer from over-drinking, and we chance to be the majority, we will prevent ourselves and everybody else from drinking at all. If we ourselves are bad workmen, and only a small minority in the country are good, we will compel all workmen, of what skill soever, to work just so many hours as we choose to work ourselves, to work as badly as we do, and to earn no more a day than we can. If we ourselves are manufacturers, and are more numerous than our agriculturist co-electors, we will have laws protecting the products of our looms; if we are farmers, we will go back to the good old days, so soon as ever we can outnumber our friends in the north, and call again for a tax on corn. If we, the majority, are poor, all taxes whatever shall henceforth fall on the minority, who are rich.

Now this is no mere melancholic horoscope. All we know of the habits of mankind points to such conduct as this, and there is not visible any counterpoise whatever. There are only two quarters from which such a counterpoise could possibly be looked for: one is a greater knowledge, which would lead the people to see that in the narrow and selfish policy here contemplated they would not in the long run provide even for so much as their own advantage, even were that advantage to be measured by the coarse standards most agreeable to their tastes.\* The other quarter, is such a degree of concern for the welfare of others besides themselves, as would induce them to forego any temporary self-aggrandizement at the price of unjustly overbearing all others who, however they might revolt against the tyranny of numbers, were yet impotent to resist it. It has been already demonstrated that in all such knowledge and high-toned self-restraint, the large mass of those who will shortly be able to wield the resources of government are notoriously wanting. It has been pointed out that with the training they receive this cannot be otherwise, and therefore it is of no use to sit still and feebly deplore it. It is true, beyond all possibility of question, that the only kind of knowledge possessed by this mass of the population is a keen-sighted perception of what tends to their own immediate gain. They cannot be made to understand, and very few have as yet so much as tried to teach them, that all forcible interference with production, trade, and the wages of labour, only impoverishes the

country, diminishes the fund for the payment of labour, and will shortly fall back with a tremendous recoil upon the heads of those who were the first to devise it. They cannot know by instinct that a long chain of political consequences, each of them differing from the rest in complexion and importance, is always appended even to the minutest political change in legislation. Suffice it for them, that the grand palpable result within the succeeding few months is seemingly in their own favour. Even if they are far-sighted enough to trouble themselves about the obscure future of even the following year, the problem of possible contingencies becomes too intricate for them to grapple with. Sullen indifference, rash expectations, and a buoyancy of hope due to the very trifling interests each individual among them really, after all, has at stake, take the place of reasonable foresight and confident dependence on the ordinary sequence of human events. This is the condition of ignorant persons gifted with political power. Where ignorance is accompanied, as it must always be, with the pestilential brand of apathy towards the interests of others, and a persistent concentration of tenderness upon their own, the consequences are even still more gloomy and desolating. The nation becomes converted into a herd of beasts of prey, each citizen's hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. Every sentiment of honour or public feeling which might go to arrest the speedy course towards self-destruction, and would speak in gentle but irresistible accents of nobler claims and a loftier life, is in process of extinction. Government becomes viewed as a patent invention for turning to the greatest possible account one portion of a whole people for the material enrichment of another, and is no longer loyally cherished as an indispensable supplement to general morality, to be discreetly handled for the truest welfare of all. Honour, patriotism, national credit, justice, and the like terms become exploded from the language, only to be from time to time reproduced on the arena of political struggles to cover a grosser hypocrisy, or give wings to a more adventurous fraud.

It may be, indeed, that the advent of such a dark era may be for a time concealed, through the popular cries reverberating with what sounds at the first hearing as if it spoke of better things than mere personal enrichment. It may be said that the Sunday question, the proposed prevention of the sale of spirituous liquors by law, the exaggerated schemes abroad of compulsory education, the floating notions of subjecting private morals to the censorship of an inquisitorial police, and such like not badly-intentioned, though fallacious, expectations on the part of large classes of the community, are healthful symptoms which deserve being spoken of in other and better terms than

those indiscriminately applied above. We are inclined to think just the opposite of this. We rather believe that so far from this phenomenon being a mitigating sign of the evils of government by ignorant majorities, it is rather an aggravation of these evils. So long as the region of morals and intellect is left unattacked, there is still hope for the nation. It is still possible that the voice of truth and of justice may yet be heard, the claims of the weak, and the virtue of self-sacrifice responded to and echoed in unexpected quarters. The very crush of self-interested factions will go far to teach the lesson that no power is so available, even for the worst ends as knowledge. With the bare knowledge of the facts of human life and of external nature, at first alone in general demand, will be necessarily interwoven so as to defy disentanglement, the mysterious doctrines of duty and the ennobling stories of patriotic self-devotion. Thus we believe that, in however long a time, and after a series of dramatic calamities however terrible, a political reconstruction may yet in some distant day be reasonably looked for. Not so, however, if the sources of life themselves be dried up by the furnace blast of state coercion fanned by the fatal energy of spurious enthusiasm. All the forces still latent in society which might have created all things new, are thereby extinguished at their fount. Morality itself invites all her true followers to desert her unnatural rival, the government of the country, and rank themselves with rebels and traitors. Religion, pure and spontaneous, also calls off all her genuine adherents, and the management of the national fortunes is left in the undisputed possession of knaves, hypocrites, and fools.

This is no mere phantasmagoric ideal that we have been conjuring up for the purpose of spreading alarm and exciting distrust. Our aim is simply to paint in the truest, even if these must be the severest and gloomiest colours, the obvious danger besetting the democratical rule about to be inaugurated in England. It is not by ignoring unmanageable facts and calling to our aid the figures of a sanguine rhetoric, that we can hope to battle with an emergency such as never yet occurred in our national history, or indeed in the history of any other people. For the concession of such enormous constitutional influence to a population so destitute of everything deserving the name of knowledge or culture is a fact utterly without a precedent. The course now before all true patriots is to deal sincerely and energetically with the facts as they are: not to extenuate their true significance, nor to enervate public zeal by dealing in unreasonable anticipations, seeking grapes of thorns or figs of thistles; still less to exaggerate that significance, and so lead the weak and cowardly to despair of their country. If there are dangers,

there are also safeguards, and it is only in order to call urgently for the latter that we are now endeavouring to describe, in real and unmistakeable terms, neither swerving to the right hand nor to the left, what is the actual nature and extent of the former.

The arguments with which Mr. Lowe delayed the passing of the Reform Bill of 1866 are in the memories of all. We believe, and have believed throughout, that these arguments were bad. The premises, however, were true, though the conclusion was false. The dark colours in which he sketched, in speech after speech, the hideous results of government by immoral, ignorant, and therefore tyrannical majorities were not a shade deeper than the facts of human nature and Mr. Lowe's own experience in the Australian colonies amply justified. To argue from this that, inasmuch as so deplorable a condition as that of the large mass of home and colonial populations is for ever unchangeable, government must always be in the hands of the few and not of the many, we believe to be inconsequent and unsound. It is only when government is actually in the hands of the many, after being strictly retained within those of a few, that the necessity of educating, moralizing, and ennobling the great mass of the population becomes of such imperious moment as forcibly to take precedence of every other interest whatsoever. Where, as in England, the new electors are merely ignorant, and not yet brutalized by a long and selfish exercise of supreme power, the work of leavening them by communication of the best fruits of culture to be found in other sections of society is a possible and comparatively easy one. At a later time, when the people have finally shaken themselves free from all the loyal associations contracted towards the supreme authority under a different régime, and have learnt at once to exert and narrow their faculties in the most contemptible of all directions, that of material self-enrichment, the problem is taken out of the hands of the best and ablest patriots still surviving, and becomes such as nothing short of some frightful cataclysm can ever felicitously solve. Such seems to be at the present moment an exact representation of the state of things in the colony of Victoria. It was the ultimate prospect of such a condition of government as now prevails there, presenting all the opposite evils of tyranny and anarchy under the forms of constitutional rule, that lent to Mr. Lowe at the time of his leaving the Australian colonies much of the indignant vehemence with which he has since deprecated any modification whatever in the existing constitution of England. *Absit omen!*

It is now twelve years since the population of the colony of Victoria framed for themselves, through the medium of universal suffrage, a constitution professedly modelled after that of the

mother-country. There was to be an Upper House, and a Lower House, the former limited in number to thirty members, and the latter to seventy-eight. The Upper House, or Legislative Council, was of a plutocratic and oligarchical constitution, the Lower, or the Legislative Assembly, was established on a strictly popular basis, the members being elected for the several districts by universal suffrage and the simplest possible conditions (which are in fact generally evaded), as to residence in the district and the colony, being imposed on electors and candidates. The ministerial system and the relation of the two Houses to the colonial governor, was an exact copy of the constitution of this country. It is important to notice that the population of the colony, now numbering a little over half a million, were from the first well skilled in the rudiments of general knowledge, and were good specimens of what would be in England the well-to-do members of the lower middle class, such as small shopkeepers, tenant farmers, and skilled workmen in manufacturing towns. Having given this sketch of the ground facts of the existing government in Victoria, we shall go on to give in detail an account of the way in which this democratic constitution is working at the present day. This account we have had authenticated from a quarter of unimpeachable veracity, but inasmuch as the facts are accessible to all, and, indeed, in their general character are too notoriously familiar to all, there is no need to linger over the nature of the evidence. It is necessary, however, to state, by way of prelude, that we would not be understood as attempting to draw any direct comparison between the forms of democratic excesses in a new country like Victoria and those likely, unless arrested, to be witnessed in England. Our only object is to announce the existence of some simple and isolated cotemporaneous facts, as illustrations of the principles we have already laid down, especially of that principle on which we have dwelt so anxiously, that it is possible for a tyrannical majority to acquire the art of governing so selfishly and immorally as to care for no other interest whatever but the advancement of their own pecuniary fortunes.

It is notorious that the great question of the day in Victoria is, and has been for some time past, that of Protection. We have already stated the grounds upon which some economists have attempted to justify the temporary application of this obsolete doctrine to the few opening years of a colony's history, under the supposition that the situation of the colony and the colonists might be of so special a nature as plausibly to justify so artificial and generally obnoxious a system. So far, however, from even this limited view of the expediency of Protection being resented, the government of the country, which is

completely under the control of the masses of the population, is invoked to enforce constantly increasing protective duties. It is well known that the recent dead-lock in the execution of government was due to the device of the Legislative Assembly tacking a bill for a protective tariff on to a money bill, which induced the Upper House to refuse its assent to both. The two great parties there are those advocating and those deprecating these protective duties. The anomaly, however, is that it is the so-called Democrats who are the Protectionists, and the so-called Conservatives who advocate Free-Trade. The desire to protect native products is gradually extending to every kind of manufacture, and, as was the case in England, is associated with every conceivable form of kindred errors in economical science. Thus we are told that there is a growing dislike to send the native gold out of the country, and manufactures for which the country is obviously unfitted are recklessly supported and extended. The result is that sheep farming is largely decreasing, and it is probable that, in vainly attempting to compete with other countries in productions for which those countries have conspicuous advantages, Victoria will soon lose that rightful pre-eminence in the wool market which she has long maintained.

This last-mentioned feature of the Protective mania is allied to another curious outcome of the suicidal selfishness which is the besetting sin of short-sighted governments, and especially of those of a democratic constitution. There is a wide-spread jealousy abroad of any persons becoming eminent for wealth or other distinctions, so as to overshoot the average popular standard. The Government Land Act, passed a very few years ago, was framed in a great measure in order to gratify this feeling, and so to restrict the efforts of individuals in the way of indefinitely ameliorating their own condition. The effect of this Act was to leave it entirely at the option of government, that is, of the ruling majority of the people, whether or no any person should become a purchaser of a freehold in the public soil. For the first five years a leasehold only could be obtained, for which a small yearly rent was payable. If, at the termination of this time, the proprietor had made the requisite improvements, and otherwise complied with the government regulations, it then rested entirely at the discretion of a State official to grant or refuse a freehold estate in the soil. The result is said to be that a freehold in the soil is only obtained with considerable difficulty and at great inconvenience. The same policy was still more overtly carried out in the provisions for apportioning the land by lot, whereby no man could obtain more than 125 acres in a single lot, and, owing to the mode of conducting the process of allotment, it was just as likely as not that, if a man took more portions than one, his



property might be scattered in places far remote from one another. It is evident that the discouragements to good farming and to taking extensive sheep-walks were extreme. It need scarcely here be interposed that the land question in old and small countries like England and Ireland, with their overflowing populations, is quite a different one from that presented in a new and thinly-peopled colony. Whatever is said here on this point is only introduced in order to illustrate the spirit in which the government is administered, not to discuss (except incidentally) the whole policy of the particular laws in question.

Another symptom of the ignorant contempt in Victoria of the best established principles of political economy is the discouragement to immigration that has lately become habitual; the population has, in consequence, long been stationary. This is a good illustration of that easy repose upon superficial reasoning which is the natural characteristic of those who never think and never learn. It is held in innocent confidence that there are a certain number of good things in the country, and that the more there are to divide them, the less there will be for each. It exacts too great an expenditure of connected thought to go on to reflect that in a new and undeveloped country every additional labourer implies a far more than proportionate increase of the national wealth; that the larger market in the colony created by multiplying the population attracts the commerce of the world in a constantly enlarging ratio; and the life of an early society depends, above all else, for its geniality and intensity upon the mere numbers of its constituent members.

Such will suffice as an outline of the existing views on politics prevalent among Englishmen who have made for themselves a democratic constitution in another land. There is a still sadder and more hopeless side of the picture which yet remains to be unveiled. There is too great reason to fear that in this colony whatever is implied in the words, "political morality" is absolutely wanting. If this be true—and there is too abundant evidence at hand for the truth to be matter of dispute—there could be no baser superscription written over the national annals. All political vitality is condensing itself on every side into a vulgar scramble for place and pelf. The only sentiment which colours the relation of the people to their government is a misty feeling that they are blessed in having an institution at hand which, by dexterous manœuvring, may be made to pour its currents of good things in the direction of the pockets of the majority, and away from those of the minority. The most discreditable stories are afloat, but which nothing but the public profligacy they imply can lead us to doubt, as to the illicit contracts made with representatives in respect of monies granted

by the State for the use of the districts represented. These representatives, we are told, are wont to receive, as their acknowledged due, a bonus from the district they represent, proportioned to the amount of the grant for public works and services they contrive to extort from the national exchequer. Much as practices such as these must excite our contempt and sorrow, they certainly do not affect us with surprise. We only seem to see reflected in them, as in a severely truthful mirror, the expressed essence of moral disorganization which appears to be sapping the life of the whole community. We would not leave this topic without adverting to two quarters in which residents in Victoria discern glimmerings of hope. The one is the fixed attachment to England, as the mother-country, which would appear to be the last residuum of sentiment abiding among the people. The other is a probable pressure to be experienced, at an early day, at the hands of the diggers who, while drawing no advantages from the existing state of things, suffer, above all others, through the exorbitantly enhanced price of food, implements, and all the necessaries of existence brought about by the system of protection that is gradually making way. We need not stay to discuss the relevancy of these two circumstances, or the validity of ground for hope which they are alleged to disclose.

We might go on to tell again the story of democracy in America. We only abstain from doing so because it is a subject upon which the thoughts of the best political thinkers of these days have long been turned, and the general results of their speculations are familiar to all. The late American Civil War, and the constitutional questions which have emerged since its termination, seem to point to the presence of some wholesome ingredients in the democratic constitution of the United States which are likely to stave off, at any rate for a time, such a moral disintegration as has been brought about in the colony of Victoria. Among the less subtly concealed of these health-giving elements are, possibly, the peculiar institution of the Presidency, the Federal Union among the constituent states, and the fact of the more slow and organic growth by which the whole people have become gradually qualified for the exchange of English for American institutions. Even, however, upon the most sanguine view of American politics, there are social and political changes due to the democratic form of government, which are akin to the most menacing ones visible elsewhere. The corruptibility of public officials, the regard for sinister interests which lies at the root of all political energy, the fallacious reaction in favour of protective duties, the hatred to all personal eminence, even when resting on the most irreproachable basis, the mean commonplace level to which it

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—*NEW STATES*, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. D

is sought to reduce the manners, the attainments, and the aspirations of all men, and the ignorant spirit of national self-glorification, united with a painfully sensitive regard for the goodwill of foreigners, all go to show that the characteristic tendencies of a democratic state of society are none the less manifested in America because they are resisted by many better and more elevating influences. These influences were brought out into conspicuous relief during the late war.

It is time, however, to cease from further illustrations of the universal proclivities of democracy under whatever variations of place, time, and social condition it may become the basis of government. To provide against the possible effects of an institution is a less unprofitable employment than, after an institution has become an inevitable necessity, to waste words in denouncing it. The favourite panacea, up to very late days, for all apprehended excesses on the part of rulers was the weakening and complicating of all authority whatsoever by providing a system of constitutional checks. Now, it is the distinguishing feature of members of democratic states to have a loathsome aversion to all such devices. They will not tolerate the interposition of any obstacle, however ingenious and artistically complete, between themselves and the immediate wielding of the supreme power. Their self-knowledge is not greater than their knowledge of other things, and the conception that they may, by possibility, do to-day what they will regret to-morrow, that they are liable to tumultuous passions and unjust prejudices hastily conceived, that they need time to look at a proposition on all sides and hear it temperately debated, is unwelcome and odious. Each artificial impediment is only suggestive to them of treasonable chicane, and it is only a matter of time when every affected constitutional barrier becomes effete in practice, or is rudely hurled out of the way. Thus, in view of the dangers we are now contemplating, we are so far from advocating a strictly conservative policy, while opportunity for it still survives, that we would rather, in a spirit of openness and generosity, abandon freely at once much of what we must otherwise one day have wrenched out of our grasp, and exert all our energies in fields where those energies can excite no suspicion of self-interest and are likely to be productive of unmistakeable good.

What is to be done in averting the dangers we have described must be done (1) by personal influence, (2) by direct education, and (3) by indirect education.

IV. Mr. Carlyle seems to rely, so far as his lurid vaticinations can be, without impropriety, translated into cold English, on the personal influences of what he calls the Aristocracy of Nature, "the small

nucleus of invincible "*Ἀριστοί* fighting for the good cause, in their various wisest ways, and never ceasing or slackening till they die." This aristocracy seems to mean, partly the better kind of the nobility and landed gentry, and partly the better kind of merchants and monied men. Now it is no doubt a fact of inestimable moment that the accumulated influence of high social feeling handed down by long family traditions, of wealth, and of general culture is so great in this country at the present time that, even under the most democratic constitution imaginable, it will long be able to oppose a formidable barrier to the worst excesses of the ruling populace. This accidental flood-gate, however, cannot be relied on to stand for ever. New laws of succession, protective duties, legislative restrictions on the accumulation of capital, and discouragements to freedom of thought and speech, would soon tell in the diminution and final decay of all those privileged classes. Their only hope is to make to themselves, in this their day, friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, not by obstinately opposing, but by genially instructing the classes they fear by pointing out to them on all possible occasions what are their own truest interests, and by assisting with all the weight of their authority the promotion of those interests. All this they must do, not without showing from day to day in their own personal conduct, their family life, their patriotic self-sacrifice, that there is indeed an infinity of meaning still in such words as duty and responsibility, and that no immediate gains the people may seem to snatch hold of, will ever repay them for obliterating these terms from the national speech.

But, after all, it is in the conscious and organized education of the masses that we must place our main hope. What this education should consist of, and how it should be undertaken, are deep questions which, at the close of such an inquiry as the present, cannot be entered on. We can only call on all those who fear and who hate the people to rest not day or night till they have devised some scheme which may open out the prospect of the great bulk of the people ere long being alive to the elementary truths of political science, and responding to the solemn claims made upon them by their fellow-countrymen and by posterity. We call too on those who love the people as their own souls to help them in setting about what, did the people know what it meant, they would lose no time in setting about for themselves, and so to inaugurate an era in English and even in general political history, when the mass of the people shall for the first time obtain for themselves all the best gifts that Government can give, and, better than all such gifts, by learning to need no pressure themselves, shall abstain from needlessly oppressing others, every individual throughout the nation living for others

and the whole nation living for him. In speaking of the people being indoctrinated in the elementary truths of political science, it may seem to some that we are indulging in utopian speculations, graceful and magnificent enough to the eye of the enthusiast, but likely never to attain an approximate counterpart in actual life. To these faint-hearted critics the very term political science has a mysteriously daunting significance, as though it locked up in itself some ineffable principles, into full communion with which nothing short of protracted ablutions and an imposing ritual could initiate the devotee. The truth is that as the people gain, as they necessarily will, in cunning and quickness of apprehension, political opinions of some sort or other they must and will imbibe. The object of education is to take care, as far as may be, that these opinions be sound instead of fallacious, and that they be formed with some little regard to the perplexity of the topics involved, instead of being recklessly caught up at the mouth of the first ready talker that presents himself on the political platform. Surely it is possible to get even a simple-minded person, whose days are fully occupied in manual toil, to understand that there is a difference between knowledge and ignorance, sincerity and insincerity, between good public men and bad. It must be possible to accustom the merest children to look a little beyond the present day, and to take thought for the other inhabitants of earth as well as for themselves. It cannot surpass human ingenuity to instil, even in the very young, the notion that it is not to the laws of their country, or to the makers and administrators of these laws that they must look in order to become good and industrious and self-restrained, but to themselves. The laws are not to be made for righteous men, and the people must gradually attain to be "all righteous." A very slight sketch of English history, honestly taught and intelligently understood by the teacher, will go far to drive home the lessons that governments are not made but grow, that government is a great and awful engine of weal or woe, stationed at the centre of the national life, and that it is ill for that king, that aristocracy, or that mob, who ventures to lay hold of it with an impious hand in order to direct its myriad forces in pursuit of selfish ends. Such an education too as we point at will be the main conductor to the heart of the nation of the best thought and the most hallowing influences diffused by the luminous spirits of the day. The commonest and rudest will learn to ascend into an ideal world, far removed from the lowly sphere of their daily toil, and to tolerate a bracing atmosphere of exalted motives, delicate sympathies, and self-sacrificing resolves, to which they are at present entirely untrained. Beautiful and entrancing as is the prospect of all our national sins and selfish-

ness crouching back to eternal darkness before the dawning rays of instruction and knowledge, it is no delusive mirage, but, if we only will it, we ourselves may live to see the English nation thus verily and indeed born in a day.

We call then, lastly, on the religious teachers of the people, those to whom the spiritual life of that people should be doubly dear, to merge all their differences in one common aim, that of developing for the whole nation one grand moral life. There are those among you who are not unworthy of their post. Away with your speculative tortures, your greedy proselytism, your jealous inquisition of the souls of men. The national spirit is this day cast into the crucible. It may rest with you whether it comes forth a weltering mass of corruption or an eternal jewel fitted for the Master's use.

Nor must the writers of the daily press and the authors of books be unequal to the solemn call of the times. It is from them above all others that civilizing or degrading influences most constantly flow. Be it their stern purpose to write "no line which dying they could wish to blot;" be it theirs, by exhibiting what is honesty in criticism, what is accuracy in fact, what is blameable and what is estimable in human conduct, to train their millions of readers to venture forth into a sea of glory, and no longer to suffer themselves to be hemmed in by the empoisoning atmosphere of occupations, struggles, and amusements, less befitting the living than the dead.

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## ART. II.—PHYSIOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

*The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind.* By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.

"**A** MAN'S body and his mind, with the utmost reverence to both I speak it, are exactly like a jerkin and a jerkin's lining;—rumple the one, you rumple the other." Such was the philosophy of a shrewd observer of men a century ago, a contemporary therefore of Berkeley, of Hume, and of Reid, and it may fairly be doubted whether he had not approached, after his own fashion, at least as nearly to the truth as any of the professed metaphysicians. To say that psychology has been and is unprogressive, that amongst all the progress and advance in other departments of human knowledge, this, the most interesting of all, the most important of all in its scope and in its con-

sequences, remains to this day where Plato left it, has become a mere commonplace. Or if indeed we flatter ourselves that this science too has in our day at last begun to move forward, like so many other branches of knowledge stationary hitherto, we are told that it owes its advance not to the metaphysicians or psychologists *ex professo*, but to the physiologists, not to introspection or the interrogation of consciousness, but simply to the scalpel and the microscope, the reagent and the balance; in other words, that if we have learned anything at last of the human mind it has been learned from the side of the body, by giving up the attempt to study mind as such, and working at the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system. Such is, in the main, the doctrine which Dr. Maudsley puts forth in the work whose title heads this essay. In the main we believe it to be true, and our object in what follows will be to put forward, in the first place, a short statement of what appears to us to be the present position of our knowledge of mental physiology, and of the method of studying it which promises the best result at the present day, and finally, to show how far our conclusions agree with Dr. Maudsley's, and in what points we differ from him.

Before, however, we enter upon this task, there are two remarks which we feel called upon to make—one in justice to Dr. Maudsley, the other for the purpose of defining our own position. In the first place, then, it is only right to say that Dr. Maudsley's book is written with a double aim, and has two quite distinct characters. The first part is a treatise on the physiology of mind, and it is to this almost exclusively that we intend to confine our attention, but the second part may, in the author's words, "stand on its own account as a treatise on the causes, varieties, pathology, and treatment of mental diseases, apart from all question of the proper method to be pursued in the investigation of mental phenomena." It is to be understood, therefore, that it is not because we undervalue this portion of the work that we leave it almost unnoticed on this occasion, but simply because we have taken quite enough in hand in the above programme without it, and to enter fairly upon the questions of the pathology and treatment of insanity in addition would lead us too far afield.

The other purpose for which we desire to detain our readers for a moment further is to enter a protest in plain terms against any deductions in theological matter which may be made from propositions which we lay down in physiological. We decline in the most positive terms to look at these questions from a theological point of view, or to admit that any facts which we may point out involve any theological conclusions whatsoever. "*Da fidei quæ fidei sunt*;" neither religion nor science has ever profited, or ever will profit by a half-hearted and dishonest habit of estimating facts not exclusively and fairly according to their

own value, but always with a collateral view to their effect upon some dogma of the schools much more warmly cherished than clearly understood. Science has not profited, for to this habit we owe all those demi-scientific attempts to reconcile geology with Genesis, &c., which have done so much to foster a thoroughly unscientific tone of mind among our countrymen; and still less have the interests of religion been advanced by it since the successive collapse of such attempts has given rise to the notion of a perpetual antagonism between religion and science, in which the former is being gradually driven from each successive line of defence. No proposition which can be advanced about the relation of mind and matter can ever be more subversive of popular theological notions in the nineteenth century than were the astronomical propositions of Galileo of those of the sixteenth; yet we doubt not there have been as good Christians since Galileo's time as ever there were before, and we would further remind our readers, in the words of Sir W. Hamilton, that "religious disbelief and philosophical scepticism are not merely not the same, but have no natural connexion."\*

In discussing the right method to be followed in the study of mind, Dr. Maudsley makes himself merry with the divergent results at which philosophers have arrived by the methods of interrogating consciousness, whether introspectively or psychologically. Whether he is justified in so doing must be determined by the success or failure of the positive side of his argument. If he can show that by the use of a new method more consistent results may be obtained, he is so far justified in asserting that the older one is worn out and discredited, but to bring forward the differences of professors as a general reason for discrediting the branch of knowledge which they profess, is to employ a weapon which turns every way, and is most undoubtedly a very efficient bar against all real approach to the tree of knowledge.

It is but the most elementary facts in any science which meet with immediate acceptance, or at least in any science which has not reached the deductive stage; and the physiologists are not less obnoxious to such reproach, if reproach it be, than the psychologists themselves. Of the truth of the charge, however, as applied to the latter, there can be no doubt. While all alike agree that the witness of consciousness must be received as final, there is a never-ending dispute as to the facts to which it bears witness. One school of philosophers hold with Hamilton that consciousness testifies directly to the existence both of the *ego* and the *non ego*—the mind itself and the external world; others affirm with Mill that we are conscious only of the modifications

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\* Appendix to Lecture, i. 394; see also Mill upon Hamilton, p. 139.



of the mind itself; and others again, like the late Professor Ferrier, look upon both these opinions as untenable, and indeed, as self-destructive, reject all analysis of perception, and hold a view almost indistinguishable from that of Berkeley—viz., that matter, and the perception of matter, cannot be divided in thought.

If results so divergent as these, and these are but a small portion of what might be produced, are all that psychology can give us, we may at least reasonably look round to see if physiology cannot do more for us; and if any further justification were needed, it might surely be found in the phenomena which the most superficial observation of facts around us brings under our notice, almost whether we will or no.

The very slightest consideration of such facts is sufficient to show us, not merely the intimate relations which subsist between bodily conditions and what are commonly spoken of as states of mind, but, further than this, how precisely analogous mental results may be produced by conditions which we hear called in one case purely mental, in another purely physical, and might therefore serve to suggest that something might be learned from the side of the body as to the conditions at least of the operation of the mind. Thus we perceive that the imbibition of a given amount of alcohol produces exactly the same effect on a man's mental state as does the reception of a piece of good news; or again, that the sudden announcement of a terrible calamity will affect some persons much in the same way as will a heavy blow on the head, or an overdose of opium; or again, that a nauseous smell or a disgusting sight will bring about the same condition as a rapid loss of blood. Coming to instances slightly less obvious than these we may remind our readers of the existence of well established cases in which raving madness has resulted from the presence of a splinter of glass in the foot or the absorption of a poison by the blood. Of this class of instances some of the most remarkable and suggestive may be found in those cases which have been known to physicians ever since the days of Sydenham as occasionally occurring in districts affected with marsh miasm, in which, instead of the ordinary symptoms of intermittent fever, persons have been attacked with perfectly well marked mania which has intermitted and recurred with the same regularity as the ordinary ague, and has yielded to the common remedy with as much readiness as the fever itself in the other cases in the neighbourhood. Sometimes, too, the attack of insanity begins after the ague has lasted some time; the ordinary symptoms of ague suddenly disappear and the maniacal attacks come on at the precise intervals at which the paroxysms of fever should have appeared. In such occurrences as these we see two

effects, a physical and a psychical one, brought about by the same material agent, and the one taking the place of the other with a regularity and completeness which remind one of nothing so much as of that substitution of one elementary substance by its equivalent of another which occurs in a chemical decomposition. We will mention one other instance of affection of the mind by the condition of the body, because, while even more familiar to most persons than some which we have already noticed, it is pre-eminently one in which no other than a purely bodily cause can be assigned for the production of a mental effect. It is a matter of common experience that while persons affected with certain classes of disease suffer the most terrible depression of spirits and dejection of mind, those subject to other complaints are almost invariably cheerful and hopeful. Thus while a consumptive patient is almost always hopeful to the last, and generally in good spirits throughout his illness, another suffering from diseased liver and jaundice adds much to his own sufferings by perpetual depression and gloomy forebodings. Now, in the cases which we have supposed, and which are so common as to be almost proverbial, there is simply no difference in psychical conditions to which we can refer the obvious difference in psychical results. The pain and uneasiness to be endured in the one case may be by no means less than in the other, the prospects of recovery may be far worse in the pulmonary than in the hepatic disorder, yet the result remains the same; the man ill of the former will be, as a rule, cheerful, the one suffering from the latter will be, as a rule, wretched and despondent. Now, however much of the pathology of such diseases may yet remain to be discovered, of this we can have no doubt—viz., that the constitution of the blood is altered in both cases, and altered differently in each; and from this alteration of the bodily conditions it results that while what make up ordinarily the psychical circumstances of the two patients, *i.e.*, prospects of recovery, social and pecuniary condition, family affection, domestic comfort, freedom from anxiety, &c., remain the same, the psychical phenomena presented by the two will differ, and differ withal in accordance with a fixed law which admits of being in most cases predicted when we only know the name of the disease to which they are victims.

If, then, such facts as the above are open to ordinary observation, and they might be indefinitely multiplied, it is only surprising that philosophers should have been detained so long from undertaking the study of mind from the side of physiology, and that they should admit the conclusions arrived at by physiologists so tardily and grudgingly as they have hitherto done. Into the causes of this reluctance on the part of philosophers to

make common cause with the physiologists we cannot now inquire at length, but we may enumerate three which appear in different ways to have conduced greatly to this result. 1st, The natural conservatism of mankind by which all but men of real power, on the one hand, or mere coxcombs on the other, are constrained to follow in the road which has been already well worn before them; 2nd, Another cause which we believe has had no little influence in this matter is the ease and comfort with which a man can sit in his easy-chair, and read books, and spin theories, and write annotations, as compared with the labour and discomfort, and the many disgusting incidents with which he must be prepared to meet, if he will ever become practically acquainted with the researches of physiologists, and far more if he will devote his personal efforts to extend the boundaries of the science. 3rd, Another cause remains more potent by far even than these, and that is the morbid dread of theological error to which we have before adverted.

Having now indicated very shortly a few of the phenomena within the range of every observer, which serve to demonstrate the close interdependence which subsists between the condition of the body and the action of the mind, and to suggest, therefore, that something may be learned concerning the latter by a careful investigation of the former, we proceed to place before our readers the results, in the shape of observed facts and legitimate inferences from those facts, which the careful study of the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system has actually added to our knowledge.

Anatomy, then, has shown in the first place that in all animals whatsoever, which possess a nervous system at all, whether in the simplest or the most complex form, that system consists of two elements, both in structure and in function diverse from one another. There are (1) white matter consisting of fibres of a peculiar structure, and (2) other matter of a grey colour,\* consisting of a mass of granules and cells of various shapes and sizes, the latter having numerous branches thrown out in all directions, and now known to become, in many instances, continuous either with similar branches of other cells, or with some of the strands of the white fibres already noticed. It is further shown that the white fibres are to be found in all parts of the nervous system, that their office is simply internuntiant, and that

\* We have used throughout the term "grey matter" in speaking of the vesicular nerve matter. It is the term in common use among anatomists, and is sufficiently correct when vertebrate animals are spoken of; but it is necessary to note that the vesicular matter is not by any means distinctively grey in invertebrate animals, a fact which adds considerably to the difficulty of observation upon the nervous system in the lower creatures.

no fresh force is ever generated by them. The grey matter, on the other hand, is placed in masses of various size and form in definite portions of the nervous system. It is highly probable that wherever such matter exists, there is a true centre of nervous force, and quite certain that where it is not there is no such centre; no fresh nerve force is ever produced without the agency of the grey matter. To employ the well-worn illustration of the electric telegraph, than which none better can be used, the grey matter resembles the battery at the station, and produces force of a particular kind and degree, the white fibres are precisely analogous to the telegraph wires which propagate the force generated by the battery to a distance, but produce no force themselves.

In order to render this portion of our subject intelligible to those of our readers who are not anatomists, it is necessary to attempt a slight sketch of the principal forms of the nervous system, as it exists in various classes of animals. It is of course impossible to render this complete, and it may be well here to state that we omit all reference to the whole of those very various and dissimilar forms of life which make up Cuvier's sub-kingdom radiata, as well as some of the lower forms of mollusca. This we do, not because these creatures are destitute of a nervous system in all cases, but because our space is limited, as no doubt is also the patience of our readers; and also because the nervous systems of many of these are still doubtful, the observation of them is extremely difficult, and it can hardly be said that enough is certainly known about them at present to render it obligatory upon us to take them into consideration in forming any general conclusions in regard to the physiology of the subject. It is, however, only right to remark that indications are not absolutely wanting of possible discoveries in this direction, which might necessitate considerable modifications in the views generally entertained as to both the development and the physiology of the nervous system. In many creatures of the classes of which we now speak (*e.g.* in planaria) there are eye spots; these we can hardly suppose to be other than more or less rudimentary organs of special sense, and it is hard to conceive the discharge of the functions of special sense without the existence of a nervous system. It has even been suggested by an eminent physiologist, that the nervous system is developed gradually, as it were, to meet the occasion for its use, and that the order of its development is from without inwards. Thus, in for instance the infusoria, where there is no distinct differentiation of tissues, there are to be found certain granules of pigment which must manifestly be affected by light in a different manner from the remaining mass of the animal's body. In other instances in the

same class, we find a small transparent highly-refracting body—in fact a lens—in the midst of the pigment granule, and the next step, as it is suggested, would be the differentiation of a portion of tissue in immediate connexion with such bodies, in order to take cognizance, as it were, of their affection by light, and communicate it to the organism at large; the tissue thus differentiated would be in fact a rudimentary peripheral nervous system, and thus the whole creature would become more sensitive to the stimulus of light, and be raised in the scale of organic life. Now if we suppose further that the particles of matter upon which such creatures live, are more numerous in light than in dark portions of water, or that the light, as it is reflected from them, will, if it can be perceived by the animalcules, be a guide to the portion of water in which they abound, we have at once a reason, upon Darwinian principles, why such an advance in organization should gradually take place.

Returning from this digression, we will begin our review with the simple case of the nervous system as it exists in one of the lower mollusca, the ascidian, or common squirter. This consists of a small mass of vesicular matter, or ganglion, as it is called, with two simple cords of white fibre. The mode of action of this simple arrangement is as follows. When any neighbouring body touches the tissues in which these cords are distributed, one of them, called the afferent cord, instantly propagates the irritation upwards to the ganglion of grey matter; thence it is reflected back along the other or efferent cord to the muscles to which that cord is distributed, and by these the movements required for the benefit of the organism are forthwith performed. And this structure and function, simple and mechanical as it appears, is repeated through all the varying forms and complexities of the nervous system, from the lowly mollusc up to the most highly organized of the vertebrata, and reappears in man himself unaltered in any essential particular, but with some new structure and new function superadded as the increasing complexity of the several organisms requires. In such action as we have described it is hardly necessary to say that nothing like sensation as we understand it is implied, far less consciousness, which does not evidently appear till we reach a far higher level in the scale of animal life; it seems indeed to be but one degree removed from the irritability which occasions the shrinking of the stamens of a barberry or the contractility displayed by the cut end of a muscle when stimulated by the electric current.

If then we trace the arrangement of the nervous system in its gradually increasing complexity through the various classes which make up the molluscous division of animals, as for instance from the ascidian or common squirter of our sea-shores, through

the oyster, the cockle, the slug, the snail, up to the nautilus and the cuttle-fish, the most highly developed of them all, we find a gradual advance upon this simple type, of which the general features are as follows :—

(1) With each additional structure subserving a new function there is an increased development of ganglionic or grey nerve matter.

(2) The ganglia as a rule show a tendency to become concentrated into a few comparatively large masses in somewhat close approximation to one another, and also to the gullet of the animal as the latter ascends in the series.

(3) Where organs of special sense (sight, hearing, &c.) are developed, there are developed *pari passu*, not internuntiant nerve fibres only, but also special ganglia to which these nerve fibres may be traced, till in the cuttle-fish and its allies we find a great central nerve mass situated in the head, and bearing a very close analogy to certain nerve centres within the cranium of the vertebrata, and among them, of man himself.

If now we trace the same system through the other great division of the animal kingdom, the articulated or segmented animals, through, that is, the leech, the earthworm, the caterpillar, the moth and the spider, the lobster and the crab, we find that though the nervous system is arranged upon a different plan in accordance with the different position which these animals occupy in the world, and the proportionately greater development in them of the locomotive apparatus in comparison with the vegetative system which is so highly developed in the mollusca, yet that to a great extent the same general laws of advancement prevail. The general plan of the nervous system in articulated animals may be said to be that each ring or segment into which the body of the creature is divisible, possesses a ganglion, or a pair of ganglia, from which nerve fibres are given off; and thus each segment appears to have the same arrangement of cords and ganglia which constitutes the whole nervous apparatus of the ascidian mollusc. In addition to this, however, in all articulata there are two longitudinal cords which run the whole length of the body, connecting together the ganglia of the several segments, and thus bringing them all into relation with one another, and with the head of the animal. Here also we find that with a general advancement in the type of the animal and an increased development of the organs of special sense, there is the same gradual increase in the mass of ganglionic matter, the same tendency to concentration of it in masses around the gullet, as we have seen in the parallel division, the mollusca.

In order to make this portion of our subject intelligible to those of our readers who are more conversant with psychological than with physiological literature, we must here depart from the

natural order of our subject, and pass at once to a sketch of the nervous system in the vertebrata, not as it exists in the lowest members of that sub-kingdom, but in the highest—viz., in man himself. Now subducting for the present that which is called the sympathetic system—viz., a set of ganglionic bodies distributed over the viscera and connected by internuntiant cords both with each other and with the nerve centres, the nervous system in man may be said to consist of the following parts:—(1) The spinal cord, lodged within the canal formed by the vertebræ, which together form the backbone, and extending from the base of the skull to about the place of origin of the lowest rib. (2) A small but important portion of nerve matter known to anatomists as the medulla oblongata, which is to outward appearance a continuation of the spinal cord within the head, but which, as we shall presently see, has special endowments of its own. (3) Several masses of nerve substance arranged in pairs along the floor of the skull, and known collectively as the sensory ganglia. (4) A further mass of matter situated above and behind the medulla oblongata, and called in the language of the ancient anatomists the cerebellum or little brain; and (5) finally, two large lobes of nervous substance plicated and convoluted apparently for the purpose of economizing space in the accommodation of the largest possible quantity of grey or ganglionic matter. These form the cerebrum or great brain. They are superimposed upon all the other nerve centres just enumerated, and in man are of so great size that when the brain is looked down upon from above they cover the whole of the others, including the cerebellum. Such are the nerve centres as they exist in man, that is to say, the organs in which grey nervous matter is to be found, and which are capable alone of originating fresh nerve force. All these centres are thus divided for purposes of description, and though functionally distinct are bound together into one great system, which we may call collectively the cranio-spinal nerve centres, and from them or from certain parts of them arise (speaking anatomically, not now physiologically,) the nerves themselves in the following manner. From the spinal cord are given off thirty-one pairs of nerves, each arising by two roots from the cord itself, which combine immediately upon leaving the bony canal in which the latter is lodged, and are then distributed to the muscles and the skin of the body and limbs, and serving the functions of locomotion and sensation, including the special sense of touch. Above these, and having their origins in the upper part of the spinal cord, in the medulla oblongata, and in some of the sensory ganglia, are twelve other pairs of nerves, which minister to the actions of breathing and swallowing, which supply common sense-

tion and motion to the skin and muscles of the head and face, and which further subserve the special senses of smell, sight, taste, and hearing. The same essential features are preserved in the arrangement of the nervous system throughout the vertebrate sub-kingdom, only we find it less elaborated, less fully developed, less complex, as we descend through the several divisions of beasts, birds, reptiles, amphibia, fishes, down to those lowest representatives of this sub-kingdom, the cyclostome fishes, whose nervous system presents little if any advance upon that of the highest invertebrata, though still in point of structure formed upon the vertebrate plan.

The most remarkable and distinctive feature of the nervous system of the vertebrata is the cerebrum or brain proper. This organ, of which no certain analogue can be shown to exist amongst the invertebrata, is present in all but the very lowest vertebrate animals, and, though small and to all appearance comparatively insignificant in fishes and amphibia, constantly increases in size, complication, and importance as we ascend the scale, until in man and in the higher mammalia it presents a degree of complexity and a preponderance in size which mark it out as forming the most important part of the whole organism.

We may state here parenthetically that though we use the word series, and speak of ascending in the scale of the animal kingdom and so on as a matter of convenience, yet we beg our readers to bear in mind that the relation between one organism and others is not that of the links of a chain, or the rounds of a ladder, but rather that of the mesh of a net with those which surround it on all sides, or of the cell of a honeycomb with the rest of the structure.

We may now escape from these details of structure which, however, were necessary to make the rest of our argument intelligible, and beg our readers to follow us for a few minutes through a short statement of the chief facts fairly made out as to the functions of the nerve centres which we have been describing, and the kind of evidence by which these facts have been established. The lines of evidence then are mainly as follows:—

1. Comparison of the nervous system of various animals with each other in regard both to structure and to function.
2. Observation of the effect of disease or injury upon men and animals, and comparison of the alterations thus produced in the structure of their nervous systems with the functional derangement observed; and
3. Direct experimentation, whereby observations similar to the last are made, only with the difference that in this case special lesions are produced artificially with a view to throw light upon those portions of nervous function which anatomy and observation have left undiscovered. As our chief business



in the present article is with the brain or highest portion of the nervous system as the organ of the mind, we shall very briefly run over the chief results which physiology has attained in regard to its other parts.

It may be regarded then as established that the nerves, including for the moment those of special sense, subserve two distinct purposes, and that the individual fibres retain their special endowments from their origin in the spinal cord to their termination in the skin or in the muscles, although fibres of both kinds are frequently bound up in the same strand. These two endowments are those of sensation and motion, and it is found in the case of the spinal nerves which arise, as we have already said, by two roots from the spinal cord, that the posterior of the two roots serves the purpose of sensation and the anterior of motion, but that after they have combined together as they emerge from the spinal canal, the compound nerve trunk which they form possesses both these endowments.

The spinal cord itself is a true nerve centre; it contains a large amount of grey nerve matter in its interior portions, which is brought into close connexion with the nerve roots, while the outer part consists of longitudinal white fibres, which there is every reason to believe serve to bring the different portions of the cord itself into harmonious action with each other, and also as cords of connexion between it and the still higher nerve centres within the skull. It is at once a true nerve centre in function, and also an internuntiant cord of communication between its own nerves and those higher nervous centres, that is to say, it has a power of either originating nerve-force within itself in response to a stimulus from without, and reflecting it immediately through the motor nerves, or passing on the effect of that stimulus to the centres within the head, and as it were receiving orders from them, to be immediately passed on to the efferent nerves. This is proved by innumerable experiments and cases of disease; thus, if the spinal cord in man or any animal be divided in the neck, below the point at which the respiratory nerves are given off, it is found that he immediately loses both the power of moving his legs, and also all sensation in the skin of those parts. Meanwhile, however, if the skin of one of his feet be touched with the finger, or with a feather, the leg is at once drawn up, though the man himself, unless informed of the fact in some other way, is not aware either of the contact or of the action. This one instance, and such might be multiplied indefinitely, is enough to establish both the functions which we have assigned to this portion of the nervous system, since the cessation of sensation and of voluntary motion coincidently with the injury to the upper part of the cord is proof that this is the ordinary channel

of these functions, while the persistence of action in response to local stimulus serves to demonstrate the independent action—reflex-action as it is called—of the uninjured portion as a separate centre of nerve force. It is hardly necessary to add, that if the injury, instead of affecting the cord itself, affects the nerves which supply the limb immediately after they leave the cord, while sensation and voluntary motion cease, as in the former case, no reflex-action is established, inasmuch as there remains no nerve centre to which the stimulus can be conveyed by the afferent nerve. In this manner it may be demonstrated that each segment of the spinal cord, with its double nerve attached, resembles essentially the whole of that simplest form of nervous system which we found in the ascidian mollusc, or that portion of such a system which exists in each segment of an articulated animal.

Proceeding upwards, a very similar train of experimentation and reasoning serves to convince us that the medulla oblongata, while serving as the connecting link between the spinal cord and the brain is also in itself the independent centre of the actions of swallowing and breathing; for it is found that while a frog will live and breathe when deprived of the whole of its nerve centres both above and below this one, yet it dies as soon as that is injured, and similarly that a man in whom this part is crushed or damaged instantly ceases to breathe. There is reason also to believe, as Schroeder van der Kolk has shown, that some portion of this nerve centre is brought into action for the purpose of combining the various muscular actions which are employed in speech. When we get to the nerve centres completely enclosed within the skull the evidence as to their function is neither so plentiful nor so conclusive, and in particular the function of the cerebellum has ever been a difficulty to physiologists. At present there seems reason to believe that it serves either for the harmonious co-ordination of muscles which are actually moved by means of other nerve centres, or that it is the organ whereby the condition of the muscles as to tension, relaxation, &c., is made known to the mind. The view upheld formerly, chiefly by the phrenologists, that the cerebellum is the seat of the sexual passion, appears to have no valid evidence whatever, and is directly contradicted by many unquestioned facts. With regard to the functions of those nervous centres known as the sensory ganglia, all the above lines of evidence are open to us, though in this case especially the testimony of direct experiment is to be received with some reserve, inasmuch as it appears to be nearly impossible to separate in the observed phenomena the results due to the intentional lesion from those depending upon the violent character of the operation necessary for effecting it.

That the small masses of nerve matter, known to anatomists as the corpora quadrigemina, are really the nerve centre of the sense of sight, may be looked upon as almost certain, inasmuch as blindness has been found to result from their destruction, whether by disease in man or by extirpation in the lower animals. But that the larger portions of the sensory ganglia, those known as the corpora striata and the thalami optici, "constitute," in the words of Dr. Carpenter, "the real sensorium," that is to say, the portion of the brain by and in which the mind becomes conscious of common sensation, cannot be looked upon as *proved*, although there is evidence enough to make it highly probable. Thus, the fibres forming the anterior and lateral columns of the spinal cord, and thus in somewhat close connexion with the anterior or motor nerve roots, can be traced through the medulla oblongata and other portions of the encephalon directly into the corpora striata, but *not* through these bodies to the cerebrum itself; and similarly, those forming portions of the posterior, and the posterior part of the lateral columns of the spinal cord, are traceable into the thalami optici. And thus if there is, as we shall presently show, some reason to believe that an organ of sensation and motion exists distinct from that of volition and thought, it appears also reasonable to believe that these nerve centres are its seat. To the probable functions of this portion of the brain we shall find it necessary to return presently.

Meanwhile, we proceed in the next place to consider what are called the cerebral hemispheres, or brain proper, the organ, as is now universally believed, of intellectual action and volition. If we inquire, in the first place, what evidence there is that this portion of the brain, or indeed any portion or the whole of the brain, is such an organ, we shall find that it belongs to the class of inferences, and not of observed facts; the inferences, it is true, are such as to most minds are nearly irresistible, but they are inferences, nevertheless. First in order, we may take the following facts in anatomy and zoology, viz., that in the lowest known vertebrated animal, the amphioxus, no structure answering to the cerebral hemispheres exists, and its nervous system ends with those centres known in higher animals as the sensory ganglia. Proceeding upwards to the osseous fishes, we find in them a cerebellum developed, and also faint rudiments of cerebral hemispheres. In some of the higher fishes the hemisphere is first clearly differentiated from the representative of the corpus striatum below it, but even in these it is far smaller than the optic ganglion which in man bears something the same comparison to it in size that a hazel-nut does to a cocoa-nut. So also through the reptiles, birds, and mammals, does the cerebrum gradually increase, not in size only, as

compared with the other portions of the nervous system, but in complexity of structure also, until it reaches in the anthropoid apes a structure and a degree of development second only to that which it attains in man. It would be difficult enough no doubt, or rather indeed impossible, to establish any constant relation between this gradual advance in type of brain and an equally gradual advance in psychical development; but yet, practically, no one doubts that a bird is more intelligent than a tortoise, a dog than a bird, or an ape than either, and the difficulty which we find in following up the development of intelligence through all the classes of animals may be charged much more fairly upon our imperfect acquaintance with the psychical phenomena of animals in general, than upon any want of correspondence between their intelligence and their brains. Another anatomical fact of some significance in this relation is, that no nerves of sensation are connected directly with the cerebral hemispheres, nor any nerves of motion given off directly from them. Coming now from anatomical to experimental evidence, we find that animals deprived of their cerebral hemispheres may continue to live for a length of time, and if supplied with food will eat and drink; they can also stand and move about, and even avoid obstacles placed in their way, and their special senses are not affected, but beyond these they display no evidence of psychical life, and remain when undisturbed tranquil and unintelligent, as if fallen into a deep sleep. It is further proved by the evidence of experiment that no common sensation exists in this portion of the brain, which may be sliced away without the smallest evidence of pain being manifested during the operation. The results of disease and injury in man both seem to establish some of the same facts and to give further information also; and though many pathological phenomena are quite unaccounted for by our present knowledge of cerebral physiology, these are not such as to warrant us in concluding that such knowledge is worthless. This line of evidence then confirms the last fact stated, viz., that the hemispheres of the brain are themselves insensible to pain. In cases in which accident or disease has laid open the brain in man, it is found both that wounding the organ itself produces no pain, and further that pressure upon it from above downwards abolishes for the time all sensibility and consciousness, which moreover are instantly restored on the removal of the pressure.

Other points which seem tolerably well proved, are these—viz, that no acute or general disease of the cerebral lobes occurs without great disturbance of mental functions, nor indeed any disease which affects a considerable portion of *both* hemispheres: that normal intelligence cannot subsist with a brain greatly

undersized, or of obviously imperfect development ; and that, on the other hand, animals, and even human infants, are capable of living and performing the functions of vegetative life, in which no vestige of either cerebrum or cerebellum is found to exist. On the other hand it must be admitted that very considerable disorganization of either hemisphere is often found without any previously observed intellectual defect at all commensurate with the amount of brain disease ; that grave intellectual disturbance does exist in many cases in which no corresponding lesion of brain can be discovered ; that no constant relation is yet made out between special lesion of the cerebral hemispheres and special mental defects ; and finally, that the brain has a wonderful power of adapting itself to pathological changes, that is, that a small amount of disease or injury occurring suddenly, will produce vastly more functional disturbance than will a much larger amount if it be produced gradually and slowly. In reference to this last point it is worthy of remark, that it is analogous to what takes place in other organs of the body, for instance, in the lungs. Thus it is well known, that the sudden cessation of function in a small portion of a lung will produce an amount of distress and suffering far greater, at the time, than is often suffered by a person who from chronic consumption has gradually lost the use of a very much larger portion of lung tissue. And so far as this is the case with the brain, it goes to disprove the opinion now very generally held, that different portions of the brain are localized, and as it were *fold off* for the performance of different mental functions. Were this really the case, we should reasonably expect that, in the case of acute local disease in a portion of the brain substance, some particular mental function would at once be disturbed or lost, and the rest would hold on their course little if at all affected. In fact, however, exactly the reverse is found to be the case.

We come now to consider, in the next place, what all the evidence, of which we have thus pointed out the main lines, can be taken as establishing, as to the difference of function between the sensory ganglia, so called, and the cerebrum, and as to the claims of either or both to be looked upon as the organ of the mind, and to be studied with the hope of learning more than we at present know of the *modus operandi* of the latter.

The best account with which we are acquainted of the nervous system of man, as a whole at once the most elaborately worked out and the most consistent with the facts, is to be found in the fifth edition of Dr. Carpenter's work on the "Principles of Human Physiology." His theory may be shortly stated as follows:—The nervous system in man consists of several distinct centres of nerve-force—viz., those above described—

1. The spinal cord, including the medulla oblongata.
2. The sensory ganglia.
3. The cerebellum.
4. The cerebral hemispheres, or brain properly so called.

Excluding now the cerebellum, with which we shall not be further concerned, each of these remaining three organs has a double function. It may act either as an independent and immediate centre of nerve force, or it may act in connexion with the other nerve centres above or below it, or both above and below it. In the normal and healthy condition, the action of each centre is limited and controlled more or less by the others, and in man that of the inferior centres is so considerably under the control of the cerebrum, that it is only after a certain amount of strict examination of the subject that we are able to recognise the fact, that the lower centres still have, even in health, their own independent action, as well as that which is combined and subordinate. In diseased conditions this is often obvious enough. That it is so in the case of the spinal cord when separated from the brain we have already shown sufficiently, and here it is only necessary to remind the reader that the independent or reflex actions of the spinal cord, are purely, to use Dr. Carpenter's language, *excito-motor*—i.e., they are a mere response to external excitement, and quite independent of volition or sensation. In the normal state they may be observed in the case of the movements of respiration and swallowing, which go on continuously or intermittently without either consciousness or control of our own. In general, therefore, it may be said that all the actions which are indispensable to the continued life of the organism from moment to moment, and independently of what may be needed to supply its wants or avoid dangers, belong to this class of action. It remains a matter of doubt how far other actions, as the movements of the limbs in walking, which require to be set going by means of a higher nerve-centre, do or do not become referrible to this class after they have become habitual or secondarily automatic. But there is another class of actions which appear to be equally independent of volition, but not by any means independent of sensation, and these form the sensori-motor actions, and are referred by Dr. Carpenter to the reflex action of the sensory ganglia. In man, at least in a healthy condition, these actions are few and comparatively unimportant, but in certain states of disease they become prominent phenomena, and even in health they may be easily observed. Such are, for instance, sneezing when the olfactory nerves are irritated, closing the eyelids when suddenly brought face to face with a bright light, and the action of vomiting produced by a nauseous odour.

These are all actions which take place in immediate response

to a sensation, and over which the will has but a very limited control. Another instance which serves to show the power with which this kind of nerve force can, in certain cases, be manifested, is seen in the fact that whereas the movements of respiration belong to that class of spinal reflex actions over which volition has scarcely any power, yet they can be interfered with to a very great extent through the medium of sensation in certain conditions. Thus, if a man has an attack of acute pleurisy, or a wound in one side of his chest, so that the slightest movement gives rise to severe pain, it is found that his respiratory movements are almost entirely confined to the sound side, while during health the utmost efforts of the will fail to disturb the balance which naturally subsists between the two sides. This same class of actions also shows well the dependence of one nerve centre upon the healthy condition of another for the due performance of its own functions. For though all the actions which we have named in this class are originated in the sensory ganglia, yet the muscles by which these are performed have to be set in motion through the agency of the spinal cord and medulla oblongata, and thus depend upon the integrity of these centres of force for their due performance.

We now come to consider the function of the cerebrum, or brain proper, viz., emotion, volition, and thought. The evidence upon which such functions are assigned to these special nerve centres, consists mainly of those considerations already brought forward, by which they are localized in the encephalon, together with the fact that nearly all its other functions have been already traced up to their appropriate centres; and the anatomical considerations which show us on the one hand that the cerebral lobes are parts superadded to the organism for some ulterior purpose not essential to its existence, and on the other hand, that, speaking generally and roughly, we may trace their gradually higher development *puri passu* with the general rise of the animal in the scale of creation. There remain, however, some few other points to be noticed, which will bring out a peculiar relationship between these bodies and the sensory ganglia; whence it will appear that the latter are, in all probability, not only the necessary instruments of sensation and the starting point of all voluntary motion, but also the true sensorium, the portion of nerve matter that is, by and in which the mind takes cognizance of sensation, in short the seat of consciousness. It will appear also that the cerebrum, like other nerve centres, has a reflex action of its own. The first of these two conclusions is rendered probable by consideration of the anatomical and developmental relations subsisting between the sensory ganglia and the grey matter of the cerebral lobes on the one hand, and some of the organs of special sense on the other. Thus, for instance, the retina or nervous expansion

behind the eye, on which the image is thrown in vision, consists, in part, of a layer of vesicular nerve matter, in all respects resembling that found in the convolutions of the brain. This grey matter of the retina is brought into relation with the sensory ganglia by means of nerve fibres, that is to say, the optic nerves; and, as we have seen, it is proved almost to demonstration that it is in the sensory ganglia that we become conscious of vision, though the retina affords the machinery by means of which it becomes possible. Now the anatomical relation of the grey matter of the cerebral convolutions to the sensory ganglia is very similar to that of the retina to the same nerve centres, the cords of connexion between the two being in this case the large number of radiating white fibres which spread out from the surfaces of the ganglia, and form the internal portions of the hemispheres of the brain; and the slight presumption thus raised of a similarity in their functional relations also, is indefinitely strengthened by the fact that, in the early stages of development, the grey matter of the brain proper originates as an offset from one portion of the sensory ganglia (*viz.*, the corpora striata), just as the retina does from another (*viz.*, the thalami optici). On the whole evidence we may, therefore, fairly assert that it is at least highly probable that these ganglia do form the portion of nerve substance in which consciousness takes place; and if this be admitted, there is of course no reason to assign consciousness also to the cerebral lobes themselves, inasmuch as these are in immediate connexion with the sensory ganglia by means of the radiating fibres just mentioned, and inasmuch too as since no nerves are given off or received directly by the cerebral lobes, it is only through the intervention of the sensory ganglia that they can be brought into relation with the external world at all. Thus, if we admit that the cerebrum proper is the organ of the mind, the maxim "*nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu*" is true no less physically than psychologically. As to the *modus operandi* of the cerebral lobes in the performance of intellectual operations we know positively nothing, but this is also the precise amount of our knowledge concerning the *modus operandi* of the simplest reflex action which goes on in the nervous system of an ascidian mollusc. In the latter we know the fact that, given a certain arrangement of nerve matter, an external irritation applied to the peripheral end of an afferent nerve will produce certain movements in the body of the animal, and that this effect is produced by the intervention of the vesicular matter of the ganglion and the efferent nerve, but of what kind the change may be which is thus produced, and is thus able to give rise to other changes, or of what nature those other changes may be, we are absolutely ignorant.

That this last and highest of all the nerve centres resembles



the others in possessing an independent automatic action of its own, is rendered probable by the following, among other considerations which are urged by Dr. Carpenter, who has brought this portion of nervous physiology into deserved prominence. It is difficult, except upon some hypothesis of this kind, to account for such cases as those, for instance, of Coleridge or Mozart, men whose power of determination and application was the feeblest conceivable, and who produced many of their best works almost unconsciously to themselves. Again, there are instances within the personal experience of almost every one in which a name or a circumstance, which no effort will enable us to remember, suddenly recurs to the memory, after the attention has been wholly withdrawn from it, and devoted to some different subject. Most of us too have often experienced and been struck by the fact that an intellectual difficulty, which has perhaps baffled us during a whole morning's work, is sometimes found to have disappeared, as if by magic, when we next sit down to the particular work in which it arose; an argument which we had failed to follow will become plain, the relations between a set of phenomena will become clear, and we are inclined to wonder how we could possibly have failed to see before what appears so obvious to us now. All these phenomena Dr. Carpenter explains by the hypothesis that the cerebral lobes carry on intellectual processes just as automatically as the medulla oblongata carries on the respiratory movements, and that, since consciousness resides not in the cerebrum but in the sensory ganglia, we are not aware of the facts until we again, voluntarily or by suggestion from without, direct our attention once more consciously to the same subject.

The above is but the merest sketch of the arrangement of the nervous system, and of a few of the chief facts known in regard to its physiology. Any reader who may wish for fuller information on the subject, will find the best account of it on the whole with which we are acquainted, in the work of Dr. Carpenter, already referred to. Whoever does so, will find that a vast number of other facts exists for which we cannot here find space, but which tend to support the views already stated. He will certainly also find other facts which do not so easily come into the theory, but on the whole, perhaps his chief conviction will be that so many more facts remain still unknown that at present all theory is premature, except so far as it is necessary as a hypothesis, by means of which new courses of investigation may be tried and fresh discoveries made. Very little can be learned on any subject which has advanced beyond quite its early stages without the help of some hypothesis to point out the direction in which the investigation is to work; and the true difference between the legitimate inductive inquirer and the mere theorist is

to be found in the fact that whilst the latter bends his facts into accordance with his theory, the former is ready to modify his hypothesis, or to abandon it if need be, as soon as it proves irreconcilable with well attested facts.

If now we endeavour to appraise the value of the facts and inferences which we have enumerated, we must first note that in this as in other cases nature makes no abrupt transitions, but advances in all cases *paulatim et graduatim*, by almost imperceptible degrees, so that you cannot at any moment put your finger on a particular spot and say, "here one class of structure ends and here another begins." Just as there is, as we have seen, every degree of complexity in the arrangement of the nervous system, from the ascidian up to man, but the same essential elements appear to be in operation throughout, only becoming more and more complex in their arrangements, and more and more dependent upon one another, for the conditions necessary for the perfect performance of their several functions; so we find in regard to the functions themselves, that there is one essential character throughout them all. In every case there is first of all stimulus conveyed to a nerve centre, and reaction set up in that centre and reflected out from it, and producing its various effects, some obvious to the senses, some very far to seek. Here, as in the case of structure, there is no one point at which we are enabled to say, here physiological action ends and here psychological begins. The nerve-cells of our cerebral hemispheres are as completely dependent for that excitation of force which constitutes intellectual action upon the stimuli conveyed to them through the sensory ganglia from the organs of sense, as are those of our spinal cords upon the stimuli conveyed to them either from the superior nerve centres or from the peripheral irritation of an afferent nerve. Such, that is to say, is the normal condition of such cells, though both equally may be roused into activity by any stimulus directly applied to themselves, as indeed they constantly are in disease by altered conditions of the blood or the presence in it of alcohol or other poisonous matter.

Now it appears to us that a review such as this which we have taken of the structure and function of the nervous system, hasty and imperfect though it be, does go far to justify the opinion expressed at the beginning of this essay, that it is from the side of the body that we have lately increased our knowledge in regard to the action of the mind, and further, that it is still in the same direction that we have most reason to hope for its further increase at the present time. Nevertheless, it is hardly needful to say, all that we have so far learned does not put us into a position to make any assertion whatever as to the intimate

or essential nature of mind. Nay, more, it does not even bring us face to face with the question, which is for us, at least at present, a perfectly idle one. There is a not unnatural temptation at the present day to overrate the advances which science has made in certain directions, and in this instance, to believe that because physiology has made marvellous progress during the last hundred years, therefore it has everything within its grasp. Writers who compare in a jubilant tone the progress of physiology with the stationary character of psychology, are bound to remember that if it be true that while the latter has not moved a step since the days of Berkeley and Hume, the former has been steadily advancing since those of Bichat, it is no less true that before that time physiology was in a truly abject condition, and even philosophers could talk of the pineal gland as the seat of the soul. As we make real progress in this as in other branches of knowledge, we gain a clearer view of that which remains to be done, not only before our knowledge becomes complete, but before it becomes consistent and continuous. In its actual condition, our knowledge of nervous physiology may be compared to a bird's-eye view of an intricate line of road winding through a wooded and mountainous country. Here and there we can trace it for a considerable distance clearly and distinctly, then it becomes partially buried in woods, and we can but doubtfully make out the direction in which it tends, then it is lost utterly behind a mass of intervening rocks, and when it emerges once more into full view, we can only make a doubtful guess at the course which it has traversed in the interval; and finally, as it winds its way onward, it becomes lost in the mist and the distance, and we can only conjecture its ultimate destination from what appears to be the general direction of those parts of its course which we have been able to observe with some accuracy. While then on the one hand we are in no condition to dogmatize concerning the condition and the engineering of the road, on the other hand there can be no good reason why we should undervalue the knowledge which we have gained, or think it no greater than what we had before we had climbed the hill from which we look down.

It is worth while in this place to point out some few of the subjects which require illustration at the present moment in relation to our knowledge of the physiology of the nervous system.

1. Of the actual functions of the various nerve centres enumerated above, those only of the spinal cord and medulla oblongata, perhaps also of the corpora quadrigemina and the olfactory bulbs, can be said to be beyond dispute. Those of the other sensory ganglia and the cerebrum itself may be looked upon as *probably* determined in a general way. While those of the

cerebellum are confessedly still *sub judice*, and those of certain smaller masses of matter within the encephalon are almost entirely obscure.

2. The course of the fibres forming the cords of communication between the various nerve centres is far from being accurately determined.

3. The peripheral termination of the nerve fibres, whether in the skin, muscles, mucous membranes, or viscera, still present many difficulties.

4. The function of the sympathetic system of nerves is still in a great degree unknown, as well as its exact relations to the cranio-spinal system.

5. The intimate structure of the nerve centres, and their mode of connexion with the nerves, is not yet made out, although it is now engaging the attention of many careful observers in England, France, and Germany, among whom none have done more signal service than our distinguished countrymen Professor Beale and Mr. Lockhart Clarke.

6. Finally, of the normal mode of action of the ganglionic nerve cell, and of its mode of nutrition, nothing positive can be said to be known. Two widely-diverging theories are held. One, the mechanical theory, which looks upon nerve matter merely as a peculiar arrangement of material through which when force is manifested it takes the form which we are accustomed to call vital force, because it is associated in our experience with the actions of living organisms; the other the directly vital theory of Dr. Beale, which looks upon nerve force as a form of vital force, and upon vital force in general as something *sui generis*, only manifested in living organisms, and in them only in that germinal matter which he regards as forming the truly living portion of each tissue: the portion, that is, which forms the central part of each living unit (cell) and which alone has the power of assimilating nutrient matter to itself. Thus, according to Dr. Beale, all organized tissue consists essentially of two parts only, *viz.* germinal matter and formed material, of which the former only is truly living, the latter being that which has formerly lived but is now merely inert. Upon this theory it will be seen that all the formed material which makes up the exterior portion of every cell in each living tissue, has been germinal matter before it became formed material, and that it takes on the qualities of each special tissue in consequence of the special endowments of the germinal matter in each case. Each of these two theories finds its defenders; it is needless to say that the former is at the present time the more popular. The chief objection to it seems to lie in the facts connected with the continuance of living beings on the earth. The fact that, so far as we know, no other source of living

to be found in the fact that whilst the latter bends his facts into accordance with his theory, the former is ready to modify his hypothesis, or to abandon it if need be, as soon as it proves irreconcilable with well attested facts.

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sorium commune, and uses language throughout which leads the reader to suppose that he holds Dr. Carpenter's view given above, yet, at p. 118, when speaking of the relation of consciousness to ideational activity, we find him saying :

“ The persistence for a time of a certain degree of intensity of energy in the ideational cell, would certainly appear to be the condition of consciousness. Accordingly, when the process of reflection is going on quietly and rapidly through the regular association of ideas, there is no consciousness of the steps; in the train of thought one idea calls another into activity without being itself attended to, so that the result may appear as if sudden and accidental, and it may be very difficult or quite impossible to retrace the steps or take up the successive links by which it was evolved. In the course of a day how many thoughts or ideas do thus start into consciousness, or, as we may say, suddenly strike us! The activity of one ideational cell would seem to be communicated immediately to another, and the energy thus to run through a series by a continuous transformation with no residual persistence at any of the intermediate stages.”

This language, as we understand it, would seem to imply Dr. Maudsley's belief that the “ideational cell,” and therefore the cerebral hemispheres, are the seat of consciousness, an opinion which involves the further consequence that either there must be two organs of consciousness, viz. the sensorium and the cerebral hemispheres, or that sensation and the consciousness of sensation, are two separate phenomena.

The leading idea of the last four chapters of Dr. Maudsley's book, those viz. on emotion, volition, the motorium commune, and memory and imagination, is that of what he calls the organization of residua. This may be thus stated. The faculties of the nerve centres, as they exist in a grown man, are not innate, but are the result of actual changes produced in the nerve cells themselves, and these appear to be effected somewhat as follows. When any stimulus is propagated along a nerve to the spinal cord, the whole force of it may be transmitted upwards to the higher nerve centres, or the whole of it may be reflected outwards in reflex-action, or finally a part of it may be retained, and may serve to modify the cells of the spinal cord itself, in such a manner as to render them more fitted for the production of the action required in response to that particular stimulus. This modification of the nerve cells is called in by Dr. Maudsley to account for the acquisition by the nerve centre of the power of doing with greater ease after repetition actions which in the first instance were done with difficulty. He extends the notion to all the nerve centres upwards from the spinal cord, applies it to stimuli proceeding from higher nerve centres as well as to those propagated along the afferent nerves, and employs it to account

for the progressive power of combining movements, to the gradual development of sensation, to the phenomena of volition and of association of ideas, of motion, and of memory. In speaking of the association of ideas he uses the following language :

“The anatomical connexions of a nerve-cell in the cerebral ganglia do, of a necessity, limit the direction and extent of its action upon other cells ; for it may be deemed tolerably certain that as the conduction in nerve-fibres demonstrably does not pass from one to another except by continuity of tissue, so the activity of one cell cannot be communicated to another except along an anastomosing process. Besides this necessary limitation in the constitution of the nervous centres, there is a further determination of the manner of association by the individual life experience.”—(p. 121.)

Now it appears to us, that in this passage, and in many others equally explicit, Dr. Maudsley has exceeded the bounds of legitimate inference. We have, as we have seen, every reason to believe that certain functions are localized in certain ganglia, and that the intellectual faculties in particular have their seat in the cerebral hemispheres. We may also conclude very fairly that every mental act, as well as every muscular contraction, and every act of secretion or digestion, involves the destruction and necessitates the repair of a certain amount of tissue. This, indeed, is scarcely more than a legitimate deduction from the simple fact, that a given amount of food is required daily in order to keep the body up to its normal weight, and is rendered practically certain by the consideration of the mental phenomena produced by an insufficient supply of arterial blood to the brain, &c. But we undoubtedly have not knowledge enough of the processes by which this tissue change is effected, or of the nature of the change itself, to justify us in affirming that it is such as to change the anatomical relations of the nerve-cells. That it really does so seems not improbable with our present amount of information on the subject ; but we are as yet so far from being able to prove it, that such statements are of very little value, and should be put forward avowedly as speculations only.

These four chapters, then, may be described as containing an epitome of psychology grafted upon the doctrine of residua, and the general character of that psychology may be given in Dr. Maudsley's own words, thus :—

“What we call the ego is in reality an abstraction, in which are contained the residua of all former thoughts, feelings, volitions—a combination which is continually becoming more and more complex.”—(p. 159.)

And again—

“The history of a man is the true revelation of his character : what he has done indicates what he has willed ; what he has willed marks

what he has thought and felt, or the character of his deliberations ; what he has thought and felt, has been the result of his nature then existing as the developmental product of a certain original constitution, and a definite life experience."—(p. 159.)

The whole character of the man then as we find him may be said to have been built up by the following processes. He comes into the world as an infant, with a nervous system in a comparatively undeveloped state. This nervous system as it exists in infancy is the result of the combination of the two original constitutions of its parents, plus the effects of their life-experience upon them ; life-experience meaning the modifications effected in the original constitution by the whole circumstances of the whole existence of the individual. And having come into the world thus constituted, the man's character is modified again by circumstances as he also grows from infancy to manhood, and the final result is *the sum of the effects which these modifications are capable of producing on his original constitution*. That a conclusion such as this is that to which the present state of physiology seems not indistinctly to point, we think can hardly be denied. The facts which meet any thoughtful person in daily life all tend in some such direction, or at least are not irreconcilable with it. Talk as we will and think as we will of the freedom of the will, of moral sense and of moral responsibility, we cannot deny the obvious influence of purely physical agents (to use the current phraseology) upon purely mental phenomena ; we cannot pretend that we have any experience of mind or mental action independently of matter ; we cannot ignore the modifying effects of different courses of life upon the elements which go to make up character, we cannot draw a line between what we may please to call merely nervous phenomena and mental action ; above all, we cannot escape from the great overhanging cloud of hereditary influences, the fact that moral and intellectual traits follow down a race from father to son, or reappear in more remote descendants, exactly as do peculiarities of feature or diseased states of bodily constitution, such as scrofula and gout. But it is one thing to admit that the facts of which we are in possession *point towards* certain conclusions, and another to look upon them as ready to be marshalled into a system which assumes those conclusions to be true ; and, while we think that Dr. Maudsley has done good service by bringing out the psychological side of physiology, and drawing attention to the fact that the study of mind can, in these days, make but little progress except by the help of that science, we cannot but think also that he has allowed himself to be led somewhat beyond the safe ground of fact by his desire to systematize results which are not yet ripe for the purpose. The true relation of physiology to psychology at the present time, we take to be very much the same



as that of the same science to medicine. Every year that we live we see men becoming more and more convinced that a scientific system of medicine must be based upon physiology, but still there remains between the two a great gulf fixed, and assuredly he would be not only an inefficient but a most unsafe practitioner of medicine who should discard all empiricism, all the results of earlier experience, however unscientific, and claim to base his treatment of diseases upon physiological science alone. So too, while we are entirely convinced that scientific psychology must ultimately rest upon a physiological basis, we conceive that such a science cannot at present be constructed. To this extent we are content to adopt the words of a distinguished writer, with whom in some other points we are unable to agree:—"It may very well be, that he "who wishes to know all that can be known about the mind and "its operations, should study physiology; but it still remains true "that physiology is one thing and mental philosophy another."\* There are, and there will probably continue to be, two totally different views which it is possible to hold of this subject. One, which we have suggested above, which looks upon mental phenomena as the final achievement of organization—the roof and crown of all vital manifestations, the ultimate term, as it were, of organic evolution, which looks down the whole range of living beings, and sees that as there is no break in the chain between an ascidian and a human being, neither is there between the simple action of the ascidian's simple ganglion and the most elaborate intellectual process of the human being's brain, and concludes that the latter is but an immeasurably higher development of the same forces which produced the former. The other takes a different standpoint,—asserts that the man—that is, the ego—is something different from his intellect, from his emotions, and his passions, no less than from his muscles or his bones, and calls consciousness as witness to the truth of the assertion. Certainly it is impossible with our present knowledge to establish the truth of either beyond the possibility of cavil. Each man is at liberty to choose for himself. Only it must be remembered that the difference between the two is this, that while the first is at least in harmony with a vast range of facts, and accords with those many suggestions which they throw out to the effect that all the variety of nature is but the stages in one uniform process of evolution; the other is supported by no fact whatever *which is capable of being demonstrated to a second mind*, those upon which it does rest are facts of consciousness, that is, facts of each man's individual consciousness. Yet consciousness is a strong witness, and one which a man can always

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\* "Inaugural Lecture," by H. W. Chandler, M.A., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, p. 35. Rivingtons: 1867.

call to his aid—if he chooses—in the last resort. A third course is perhaps still possible, viz., to reject both these opinions as insufficiently supported by facts, and to content one's self with studying facts themselves and drawing such inferences only as they will absolutely sustain, leaving the final generalization to an undefined and illimitable future. Which of all these is the best course to pursue we do not care to take upon us to decide.

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ART. III.—TWO TEMPORAL POWERS.

1. *Ireland and her Churches.* By JAMES GODKIN. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.
2. *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours.* Par F. X. GARNEAU. 3<sup>me</sup> édition, revue et corrigée; imprimée par P. Lamoureux, No. 1, Rue Buade, Quebec: 1859.
3. *La Convention entre la France et l'Italie, signée le 15 Septembre, 1864.*
4. *Lettre adressée par le Maréchal Niel, Ministre de la Guerre, au Colonel commandant la Légion d'Antibes.* Paris: le 21 Juin, 1867.

WHENEVER the expression "Temporal Power" is used the thoughts of Englishmen revert to Rome. They too often forget that it is not in other lands only that a church exists whose temporal status is opposed to the wishes and liberties of the great majority of the people in whose country that church is established. The temporal power of an ecclesiastical body imposed upon an unwilling nation by force excites the warm disapprobation of Englishmen; they see and condemn such a system in the case of others with that clearness and force which usually characterizes persons when judging, not their own defects, but those of their neighbours. Far be it from the writer to deny the justice of such a judgment. But should not we English do well, while condemning the temporal power of the Roman Church in Italy, not to forget the temporal power accorded to the Anglican Church in Ireland? When we ourselves cease to impose by force of law a Protestant Establishment upon a Roman Catholic country, we shall prove by the most effectual of all means—that of example—our sincerity in condemning others who are maintaining by force the temporal power of *their* church in opposition to the will and liberties of an entire people. When [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. F

we have cast out first the beam out of our own eye, we shall see clearly to pull out that which is in our brother's eye. Beginning then at home, let this subject of the "Temporal Power" be first considered as it exists in connexion with the Church Establishment in Ireland, and afterwards as maintained in Rome. Such is the twofold aspect presented by this important question which it is now proposed to examine, so far at least as can be done within the limits accorded to a review article.

It is a noteworthy fact that tithes were first introduced into Ireland at the time of the conquest of that island by Henry II. in 1156—a conquest made with the approbation of the reigning Roman Pontiff, Pope Adrian IV. The present Lord Primate of Ireland, in a charge delivered to his clergy in 1864, said :—

"To the clergy of the early Irish Church tithes were *not* paid, though it appears by some ancient canons attempts were made to establish them. In the year 1127 St. Bernard complains of the Irish, 'they pay no tithes;' and in the year 1172 Pope Alexander III., in a letter dated 20th September, states, among other abuses of the Irish Church, 'the people in general pay no tithes.' English influence, however, in that year sufficed to introduce them at the Council of Cashel. They formed part of the splendid bribes which Henry II. gave to the Irish clergy to induce them to conform to the usages of the English Church and acknowledge the Papal supremacy."

However, then, ecclesiastics may dispute about the condition of the early Irish Church as regards its dogmas or relationship to the See of Rome previous to the English conquest by Henry II., it becomes quite clear that by that conquest the tithe system and the Roman Catholic Church were established together; and further, that the tithe system was so established for the benefit of the Roman Catholic clergy.

The great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, known as the Reformation, separated both England and Scotland from the Church of Rome. The result of their conversion to the Protestant faith was the establishment in the former country of the Episcopal Church, and in the latter of the Presbyterian.

This change, however, was not effected in Scotland without a bitter struggle, on account of the wicked attempt made by the English Government to force upon the Scotch an Episcopal Establishment. The attempt was successfully resisted, to the lasting benefit both of England and of Scotland. For had an established church distasteful to the great mass of the Scotch people been forced upon them, it would assuredly have created and perpetuated all the innumerable evils necessarily arising from so execrable and anti-Christian a policy.

The reformed doctrines were not accepted by Ireland; her people remained faithful to the Church of Rome. Then it was

that the English Government established by force in Ireland a Protestant State Church, handing over to it, without demur, the tithes which had belonged for 400 years to the Roman Catholic Church. Then it was that to old feuds springing out of conquest and antipathies of race were superadded those arising from religious differences, of all roots of bitterness the bitterest. Then it was that England's Government, in their endeavours to force Protestantism upon Catholic Ireland, set (during two centuries) its hand to a work as full of oppression and injustice as ever darkened the world's history or disgraced the Christian faith. Yet, despite all the efforts made, nothing resulted but ignominious failure. Of this no better proof can be given than the fact that, whereas, according to Sir W. Petty, the Protestants in Ireland numbered in 1672, 300,000 and the Catholics 800,000 ; in 1861 the Protestants were 1,293,702, and the Catholics 4,505,265. Thus there had been a relative decrease of Protestants during that period of nearly 200 years. It must be further borne in mind that of these Protestants rather less than 700,000 belong to the Established Church, which possesses an income of half a million sterling, while the Roman Catholic clergy depend for their daily subsistence upon the voluntary contributions of their flocks.

The history of Ireland from the Reformation until towards the close of the last century is, speaking generally, that of oppression on the one side and resistance on the other. It would, however, be an exaggeration to say, either that there was no good attempted or performed by the English Government in Ireland during that period, or that the Irish were wholly blameless as regards the ills which came upon their island in the shape of conflicts, rebellions, confiscations, and slaughters, which desolated the land and its inhabitants with the sword, the famine, and the pestilence. Still the great general characteristic of that sad and lengthened period was the misery arising from the wrongful and persevering attempt to force upon Catholic Ireland the church and the rule of the Protestant minority. At length, towards the close of the last century, the cruel penal code which had long been in operation was relaxed in various ways, and the suffrage was accorded to the Irish Catholics, in whose Parliament, however, Protestants alone could sit.

It was after the suppression of the rebellion of 1798, that Mr. Pitt determined upon a policy whose large and liberal scope would have cut at the root of Irish grievances, had he been allowed to carry it out. He proposed to abolish the Irish Parliament as a separate body, and by uniting the Irish, Scotch, and English representatives in one assembly, to be called the Parlia-

ment of the "United Kingdom," so to effect a complete legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. He desired also to emancipate at the same time the Catholics from civil disabilities, and to make a State provision for the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. Unhappily the policy of the great minister was stultified by the narrow bigotry of George III. The union with England, the least popular part of the scheme in Ireland, was carried out. To the rest the King and his friends absolutely refused to agree. In consequence Mr. Pitt resigned. It is sad, indeed, to read this page of our history, which exhibits the melancholy spectacle of the just and liberal designs planned by such an intellect as that of Pitt, brought to nought by an intelligence so petty and so poor as that of George III. The emancipation was not granted for nearly thirty years, and then only on compulsion, the Duke of Wellington declaring that if it were refused he could no longer answer for the tranquillity of Ireland.

Thus this great act of justice lost nearly all the benefit that might have been reaped from it, on account of the tardy and ungracious manner in which it was bestowed. The college of Maynooth, for the education of students designed for the Roman priesthood, was established by Mr. Pitt in 1795. The Protestant Dissenting ministers continued to enjoy the *Regium Donum*, a grant the origin of which appears to have come from sums given by Charles II. out of the "secret service money." It was not, however, until the reign of William III. that the grant was publicly conferred and enlarged. It has been continued ever since, and increased from time to time; its present amount being about 40,000*l*.

But the tithes, and all other ecclesiastical property, were, from the Reformation downwards, appropriated to the exclusive use of the small Protestant Episcopal minority and their State Church. Mr. Pitt's scheme of paying the clergy of both Churches may doubtless be considered less good, and certainly less suitable to our own days than that of paying no Church. Still it was a just and liberal policy, which, if adopted, as it might have been in his day, would have been an immense improvement upon the injustice of forcing Catholic Ireland to maintain a Protestant Establishment for the sole benefit of a wretchedly small minority.

But this injustice was greatly increased by the way in which the tithes were collected, even up to so recent a date as the year 1832, when the Irish Tithe Commutation Act was passed. That Act was only at length wrung from the Legislature, when the aggravating and oppressive mode of collecting the tithes in Ireland had produced such violence and such resistance, such

bitter hatred and such fearful outrages, that it had brought about a state of things so nearly bordering on general insurrection as to be called the "Tithe War."

It will, perhaps, be asked, why refer to these circumstances which no longer exist? Firstly, because it is well that we English should remember that such a system, so fraught with evil, was in actual operation only thirty-five years ago; its memory therefore rankles still, it may be, among other past wrongs, in the hearts of the Irish (as it would in our own had we been subjected to it), and therefore in some degree accounts for the ill-feeling still only too prevalent in Ireland. Secondly, because we should never forget that although the oppressive mode of collecting tithes alluded to has been abolished, the injustice itself of compelling Catholic Ireland to pay tithes in support of a Protestant Establishment still exists; tithes whose history is inseparably connected with the recollection of conquest, and which, when first imposed, were imposed for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic Church, and so continued for 400 years; after which lapse of time it seemed good to England, because she chose to become Protestant, to oblige Ireland, who chose to remain Catholic, to pay those tithes, and to hand over all other ecclesiastical property, to the Protestant Anglican Church, thus by force established and maintained even to this day. Therefore is it that we English should be reminded of these things; we who boast so often of equal laws, of ancient liberties, of the rights of conscience; we whose Protestant faith proclaims the freedom of private judgment.

But it has been said that after all the Irish State Church is only a "sentimental grievance." A very few questions will dispose of that assertion. If at the time of the Reformation Ireland had been the strong country and England the weak one; if England having become, as she did, Protestant, Ireland had imposed or maintained by force a Catholic Establishment upon England; if at this hour to such an establishment (hateful to the great mass of Englishmen) they were yet obliged to pay tithes; if while our English bishops and clergy (ignored by the State) depended on voluntary contributions, while Archbishop Manning and his brother prelates inhabited palaces, enjoyed large or comfortable revenues, and graced with their presence the House of Lords—should we English describe the existence of that Papal Church Establishment in Protestant England as merely a "sentimental grievance"? Some object to the abolition of the Irish Protestant Establishment on the ground that it would do little or nothing to pacify Ireland. Even if this could be proved before the event, which it cannot be, it would be no sound argument against abolishing the grievance in

question. "Be just, and fear not," is a good moral maxim, and not a less good political one. To do right without being deterred by a consideration of consequences is as wise and Christian in public as in private life. There is, however, no occasion to take up time with mere argument, because there lies at our doors a *fact* which throws no little light upon this matter. There exists a province subject to England, the great majority of whose population is neither English nor Protestant, yet there is no county in Great Britain more loyal or more attached to England's crown than that province of Lower Canada, Catholic though it be by religion, and French by origin. It was the writer's good fortune, while in America ten years ago, to make an expedition from Quebec down the St. Lawrence and up the Saguenay river in company with several Canadian Catholic priests. The conversation turned chiefly upon Canada, its condition and politics, a subject which led the priests to speak in the highest praise of the English Government, while bearing testimony at the same time to the good feeling prevalent throughout Canada towards England. Yet but some twenty years before Lower Canada was, and had been for a lengthened period, discontented with the manner in which it was governed. This discontent more than once broke out into open violence, and even actual rebellion. Now, no one who has sought impartially to investigate that unhappy condition of things can rise from such investigation without being convinced that its chief cause lay in the attempt to maintain, more or less, the ascendancy of the British Protestant element over the French Catholic element. Nor is it less evident that the Clergy Reserves were also a great source of discord. These Clergy Reserves were created by an Act of the English Parliament in 1791, which directed that in respect of all grants made by the Crown a quantity equal to one-seventh of the land so granted should be reserved for the clergy. This apple of discord did not fail to produce its natural effects, by giving rise throughout Canada to dissensions between Protestants and Catholics, Churchmen and Dissenters. Not until after many years of dangers and conflicts of every kind between the colonies and the mother-country, as well as between the various national, political, and religious sections of the colonists themselves, was the system changed. At length the attempt to override one class or section by another was abandoned, the Clergy Reserves were swept away, and a system of perfect religious equality was inaugurated. From that time discontent died out, peace and order flourished. And so it has come about that loyal attachment to England pervades the whole of our North American colonies; nor are those feelings anywhere stronger than in Catholic Lower Canada, the language and customs of whose

people still denote their French origin. Let English statesmen profit by the lesson, and do without more delay in Ireland that which has borne such good fruit in America.

The question of what has to be done with the tithes when the Irish Establishment ceases to exist, though a question requiring serious consideration, is not one presenting insuperable difficulties. It can only just be touched upon here, owing to want of space. If nothing were left but the choice of either continuing the present system, or of simply abolishing the legal obligation to pay tithes upon the death of the incumbent of each parish, the second alternative would certainly be by far the least of the two evils. There are, however, other modes of dealing with the monies derived from the tithes. That of handing over a certain portion of them to the Catholic priest can no longer be entertained, both as being repugnant to the principles of many Protestants (especially to those of the Protestant Dissenters), and above all because the Catholic clergy refuse such aid. These ideas are set forth in a resolution of the "National Association," of which most of the Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland are members. The resolution, adopted in December, 1864, was as follows:—

"That we demand the disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland, as the sole condition upon which peace and stability, general respect for the laws, unity of sentiment and action for national objects can ever prevail in Ireland. And in making this demand we emphatically disavow any intention to interfere in the vested rights, or to injure or offend any portion of our fellow-countrymen, our desire being rather to remove a most prolific source of civil discord, by placing all religious denominations on a footing of perfect equality, and leaving each church to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of its members."

These principles have been very recently affirmed afresh by the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. By thus abolishing the Establishment, the incomes arising from tithes would lapse to the State as benefices became vacant. It would be for Parliament to decide to what purposes such revenues should be applied. It is pretty clear that no better use could be made of them than by applying them, in great part at any rate, to educational purposes.

The recent refusal of the Catholic prelates to receive State aid was no doubt wise. It is also a course that deserves the approbation of all the friends of perfect religious liberty. Thus the Irish Catholic clergy renounce all support of a temporal character conferred by a temporal power. Having taken up this position they may still (from their point of view) say to their people—We possess no legal means of enforcing your support, much less of wringing support from those who are not of us; we have no



temporal arm to call to our aid, neither do we possess temporal power, for "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal;" we stand before you as the ministers of Christ's Church, not as the paid agents of the State; we serve the Altar and we are content to live only by the Altar; we ask nothing of Cæsar and we receive nothing from Cæsar; we have neither rich revenues nor sumptuous palaces; we have no other blessings to offer but the ministrations and consolations of the Church—her teachings and those of her Lord; these gifts and these alone have we to bestow—"silver and gold have we none."

Surely such a position and such language are those most really in keeping with the character of the ministers of Christ, who refused all temporal power, who said, "my kingdom is not of this world," who used no other means of propagating or maintaining his teaching save those of awakening the conscience, convincing the judgment, and converting the heart. Can similar language be used by the bishops and clergy of the Anglican State Church, whose temporal power and position is established and maintained by the strong arm of the State in opposition to the wishes and religious liberties of Catholic Ireland? That Church Establishment contains numbers of benefices whose populations, varying from 500 up to 7000, very rarely include 100 churchmen, and often the number is far less. The incomes of those benefices run from 100*l.* up to 500*l.*, 600*l.*, and even 900*l.* per annum. Only a very few examples can be given here, as both our space and time are limited:—

Benefice.	Population.	Church Members.	Income or Value of Benefice.
Garrycloyne . . . . .	3427	38	£866
Donoughmore . . . . .	3999	84	662
Clonmult . . . . .	621	9	174
Kilworth . . . . .	5000	144	516
Inchigeelagh . . . . .	4020	55	297
Knockavilly . . . . .	1155	64	438
Fethard (7 parishes) . . . . .	5972	192	985
Kilbehenny . . . . .	2348	16	299
Aney (7 parishes) . . . . .	7076	30	398
Prebend of Killandry . . . . .	963	7	291
Kilmastulla (2 parishes) . . . . .	2611	53	554
Moyne (2 parishes) . . . . .	1431	41	364

The actual number of those who are members of the Irish Church Establishment is only 693,357, while its annual revenues amount to 559,763*l.* Parliamentary returns give the public



As in Great Britain, so throughout her numerous colonies, peopled by English, Scotch, and Irish, by Churchmen, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, there is nowhere to be seen in operation this evil principle of imposing by force the church establishment of the small minority upon a large and unwilling majority. In Ireland alone is such injustice perpetrated, and in Ireland alone is discontent chronic. In England and Scotland the Establishment is at any rate that of the most numerous Church; and in both countries much of the spiritual teaching of the State Church is in harmony with that of those Protestant Dissenters who, with the members of the two Establishments, form nine-tenths of the whole population of Great Britain. In none of England's colonies does an established church exist. That which the Catholics of Ireland demand at the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is not even, as in Great Britain, the establishment of the church of the majority, but the yet fairer system of being burdened with no establishment whatever, as in the case of all our English colonies. Were Parliament wisely to adopt that system by abolishing the payment of tithes to the Irish Episcopal Church as its living ministers died out, by a gradual (if not immediate) withdrawal of the Regium Donum given to Dissenters, and also of the grant to Maynooth, there would within a comparatively small number of years be inaugurated in Ireland that just system described by the Irish "National Association" as "placing all religious denominations on a footing of perfect equality, and leaving each church to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of its members." If such a course were adopted in the sister island, one source of discord at least would be put an end to, and thus a hope might dawn of seeing commenced in Catholic Ireland some such happy change as that which has occurred in Catholic Lower Canada. It is said, however, by some that it will never do to abandon the Irish Establishment, because if that be done the English Establishment must fall also. These persons hope that by uniting the fortunes of the two they will save both. Are they quite sure that that will be the result? May it not happen that instead of the English Establishment saving the Irish, the Irish will be the means of dragging down the English? A good swimmer has ere now saved a bad one; but, on the other hand, often has the former not only failed to do so, but has himself been drowned in the attempt, and so both have perished together. It is often wise to lighten an overladen vessel before the storm is at its height; nay more, it is often the only hope left of saving the ship. Some may think an all-or-nothing policy wise, and even heroic; they will, however, do well to remember that it may prove most disastrous to their cause. Very recent events have shown that those who

are loudest in refusing comparatively small concessions one year, may find themselves forced to give large ones the next.

Happily, to England's people has just been accorded a great extension of the suffrage. This affords much hope as regards Ireland, for the English people are bent upon doing justice to their Irish brethren. There are no doubt, besides the ecclesiastical question, others of the very utmost importance to Ireland, which urgently require speedy and fair adjustment. Englishmen desire earnestly to co-operate with their Irish fellow-countrymen in settling them satisfactorily. They cannot, however, be entered upon here, as space does not permit of it; neither do they fall within the scope of this article.

It is indeed unhappily true that in all probability no abolition of wrong systems, no wise reforms, will conciliate those extreme members of the Fenian plotters in Ireland, who seem bent upon the hopeless and criminal attempt to separate her altogether from Great Britain by revolution and armed violence. Yet that sad probability is by no means a reason for not sweeping away institutions founded on injustice, or for neglecting to carry out wise reforms. On the contrary, it is a strong argument for so doing. Because by thus acting the Government of the United Kingdom would commend itself to the consciences of its own people, as well as to those of the enlightened men of all civilized nations. It would render its moral and legal position impregnable if, while firmly putting down every attempt to overthrow its just rule and authority by armed violence, it at the same time carried out a vigorous policy of reform as regards every wrong, great and small, of which Ireland can still complain. It is not too much to expect that such a policy, inaugurated without delay and steadfastly maintained, would ere long rally around it a large public opinion in Ireland itself, and detach from the ultra-leaders of Fenianism many of the Irish who now have more or less sympathy with it, owing to the recollection of past injustice, or to the existence of such as still continues to afflict their country. Justice demands that all those evil relics of evil times be swept away, and wisdom counsels prompt and wise legislation upon such important matters as education and the tenure of land. As regards these last two questions our legislators will do well to consider, not so much what is done in England and what works well *there*, but what is best for Ireland, what is most likely to work good *there*, and what is most suited to her wants and to the character of her people. Differences of law and custom are often good, because though incompatible with a hard outward uniformity, they very frequently strengthen that which is really essential—namely, a sound and living unity. Thus there are great differences in the customs and legal pro-

cedures, as well as in the ecclesiastical state systems, of England and Scotland, yet nothing can be more perfect than their cordial union, so beneficial to both. Indeed, it may be said that any attempt to make the two countries absolutely uniform in the matters referred to would only impair their living unity. In legislating for Ireland this principle should be borne in mind and practically applied.

It may here be permitted to say a few words touching the criminal attempts of the Fenian leaders to bring about the secession of Ireland by an appeal to arms and violence. From the constitutional point of view the case is clear. No portion of the United Kingdom, whether it be Ireland, Wales, Scotland, or England, has any power or right to make any law for itself, much less to secede from our Union, except with the consent and concert of the people of the United Kingdom, to be given through its national representatives in the two Houses of Parliament, and sanctioned by the Crown, in conformity with the provisions of the constitution of the United Kingdom. The Fenians may indeed use those, but only those, lawful means which our free constitution gives, to work upon the public opinion of the whole nation, so as to try to persuade its majority, and thereby the majority of its representatives, to sanction the secession of Ireland, and its erection into an independent republic. If they kept thus strictly within constitutional bounds they would be wholly blameless, and as legal in their course of action as any political association which has ever aimed at effecting political changes by constitutional means. The Anti-Corn-Law League is a notable example of such a mode of action crowned with splendid success.

But if because the Fenian leaders cannot persuade the majority of the people of the United Kingdom and their lawful representatives to agree to the secession of Ireland, or because they feel it to be hopeless even to attempt such lawful persuasion, they therefore seek to compass their object by armed violence or war, then they must be firmly put down by that executive power whose duty it is to protect, by force if necessary, the rights, laws, and liberties of the United Kingdom. The principles thus laid down are essential not only to order but to freedom. For if it be once admitted that a minority has a right to appeal to force because it cannot persuade the majority to adopt a given line of policy, then all free government is at an end, and liberty (whether it take the form of a united constitutional monarchy, or a united federal republic) is simply rendered impossible, and must give place to anarchy. Nor can we fail here to remind popular and democratic politicians of all countries that this very line of argument was used and enforced by the Government of

the United States when the Southern Secessionists sought to secede by force of arms from the Federal Union. Most memorable are those words addressed, at Mr. President Lincoln's bidding, by Mr. Seward to certain Secessionist leaders, in March, 1861, that no State could withdraw from the Federal Union "in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the constitution of the United States." Let all politicians ponder well those words, and remember how they were enforced, and justly enforced, by one of the very freest Governments that has ever existed. Now the great majority of the people of the United Kingdom (not, alas! of its upper classes), especially the intelligent artisans of our great cities, cordially sympathized with the Government and people of the United States during the late Secessionist war. They can therefore have no hesitation with regard to any attempts at bringing about secession at home by armed violence, unless, indeed, they would fly in the face of the very principles they supported, and which many well-known men amongst them vindicated with great force of argument throughout the late American war. As to those who in England espoused, more or less, the cause of the Southern Secessionists, it is to be hoped that they see by this time, at any rate, the error of their ways. In this matter our conscience is clear; for as, from first to last, we blamed and abhorred the armed Secessionist movement in the United States, so assuredly not less do we hate the like criminal movement in the United Kingdom. For whatever may be their national faults or the defects of their constitutions (which while different in form are yet both based on the principle of free self-government) these two great nations are nevertheless respectively, in the new world and the old, the depositaries and guardians of well-ordered yet free systems of the utmost value to mankind as well as to their own people. Therefore any attempt on the part of any section of their subjects to change those systems by other than constitutional means is blameable; while any attempt to break them down by armed violence cannot be too strongly condemned, and should ever be promptly and firmly repressed. The great majority of the people of the United States supported their Government in so doing, and such in similar circumstances will ever be the course adopted by the great majority of the people of the United Kingdom.

But to return, though only for a moment, to the Irish State Church, which forms the subject of the first part of this article. It seems clear that in Great Britain the conviction is ever increasing that the wrong of an ecclesiastical establishment, hate-

ful to the great majority in Ireland, yet forced upon her, and maintained by force, can no longer be allowed to exist. Nor should it be forgotten that this injustice is one which lowers our country in the eyes of foreign nations, who justly reproach us with it, being, as it is, in flagrant contradiction with our principles of civil and religious liberty, and the freedom of private judgment proclaimed by our Protestant faith. It produces evils which affect all parties alike, both those who perpetrate the injustice and those who are compelled to endure it. It is a wrong to Ireland, a disgrace to England, and a dishonour to her Protestant faith. So long as it shall exist, so long will it continue to produce, as in the past, those evils which naturally spring from it. Only when overthrown will there be some hope of substituting for those evils the blessings of concord, peace, and contentment. May the first use which England's people make of their newly-acquired liberties be that of applying efficacious remedies to the ills of Ireland. And who can deny that one of those ills which *must* be put an end to, is that great ecclesiastical injustice which in the sister island still tramples down the sacred rights of conscience, and makes the term "religious liberty" a cruel mockery when applied to Ireland? When that wrong shall be undone, and not till then, can the hope arise, that these Islands, whose ancient sceptre is swayed so gently and so well by England's Queen, may become of a truth, and not be by legal title only, a "*United Kingdom*."

The same frankness which has been used in dealing with the temporal power and position of the Protestant State Church in Ireland, must now be applied to the temporal power of the Roman Church as exercised by the Pope, who is also its spiritual head. That spiritual headship is willingly acknowledged by all Catholics, however much they may differ upon the question, whether the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff should be restored to the position it held previous to the formation of the Italian kingdom, or be limited to a far narrower compass, or be completely abolished. That such differences of opinion do exist amongst Catholics upon this subject is a simple fact. To deny it is as futile as to deny that different views are taken by English Churchmen upon the question of inspiration, and by English statesmen upon that of the Irish Church Establishment. Yet inasmuch as this temporal power touches matters more or less connected with the religious convictions of devout Catholics, care should be taken in discussing it to avoid giving any unnecessary pain to their feelings. The discussion should be earnest and serious, as well as free and searching. It is in such a spirit that the writer desires to treat (with all due respect to

the convictions of others, yet with freedom and sincerity) this question of the Papal "Temporal Power," which is now exciting such deep interest throughout the world.

It is not possible to have investigated what has been going on in Italy for many years past without seeing how hopeless a task has been that of France in endeavouring to awaken the Papal Government to the necessity of ruling in accordance with the feelings, the progress, and the necessities of the times. Thus, in 1849, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a despatch dated Paris, 9th May, 1849, urges the Pontifical Court, then at Gaeta, to proclaim some clear and tangible concessions in order to prepare the way for its return to Rome, and so give some security to its future government by awakening well-grounded hopes in the minds of the Romans. In one place the minister writes:—

"Besides, can it be thought a matter of indifference to reassure that numerous portion of the Roman population whose moderation, while detesting a régime of anarchy, fears almost equally the return of that which marked with so sad a character the reign of Gregory XVI.—of that régime which on the death of that pontiff rendered a change of system absolutely necessary?"

It is worthy of special remark that this minister, who is considered one of the French statesmen the most favourably disposed to the Papal power, should thus pass a distinct condemnation on the reign of the preceding pontiff, thereby showing that the ill adaptation of the Papal temporal rule to present times is nothing new; and he further warns those who were about to resume its direction in Rome against following so fatal an example. Again, on the 6th June, 1849, M. de Tocqueville, who had succeeded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France, wrote a despatch to the French Minister at the Papal Court, in which he insisted on the necessity of "not re-establishing those institutions and forms of the past which have given rise to complaints;" declares the earnest wish of his government "to assure to the States of the Church institutions really liberal;" and says that "France, in return for the sacrifices already made, has a right to expect that the conditions necessary to the existence of a government liberal and worthy of the enlightenment of the age should not be refused." On the 18th August, 1849, followed the celebrated letter of the Prince-President, now Napoleon III, to Colonel Ney, dwelling upon the same theme. "I resume thus," says the writer of that letter; "the re-establishment of the temporal power of the Pope, a general amnesty, secularization of the administration, Code Napoleon, and a liberal government."

Thus every attempt was made, but unhappily in vain, to pave



the way for a better state of things upon the restoration of the Papal temporal-power by French arms. During the years which elapsed from the time of that restoration to the year 1859, the Imperial Government of France constantly warned and expostulated with the Pontifical Government; still, throughout the period mentioned, little or nothing was done in the way of necessary improvement. The administrators of the temporal power remained deaf to all advice, and persisted in a policy of the most reactionary and retrograde character; maintaining, at the same time, their rule in Rome by the aid of French soldiers, and in Bologna by that of Austrian. In *those* days Austria was the perfection of absolutism and so-called divine right in church and state; nor did she fail to use all her influence in sustaining those principles in Rome, whose government was only too happy to follow such advice. What terrible disasters the Viennese statesmen who pursued this wretched policy brought upon their unfortunate country, as well as upon the Papal temporal power, has been made manifest to the eyes of all men. But while we touch upon that dark and melancholy period, we cannot but for a moment refer to the brighter present, in which an absolutely opposite policy gives the hope of seeing the whole Austrian empire regenerated by the operation of constitutional liberty and progress. Cordially do all the friends of freedom hail the change which has been thus inaugurated in Austria by men so eminent as M. von Beust, Count d'Andrassy, and last, but not least, the patriot statesman of Hungary, Francis Deak. Englishmen of all parties and classes watch the progress of this noble work with joyful hope, and give to the constitutional Austro-Hungarian State of to-day their warmest sympathy and heartiest God-speed.

But to return to the subject in hand. When the great events of 1859 overtook the Papal Government, its weakness became manifest. The moment the Austrians withdrew from Bologna, and so liberated the populations of the Romagna provinces from foreign occupation, they at once declared against the Papal temporal rule, and overthrew it. Nothing occurred at the time in those provinces to bring about this change, save the withdrawal of the Austrian troops. Neither French nor Piedmontese appeared upon that scene; Garibaldi was away in the mountains of North Lombardy. Such was the effect in the Romagna of the cessation of that foreign aid which had there been for years the sole support of the temporal power of the Holy See. Besides, it must not be forgotten that this proceeding and the annexation it led to, like that of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, took place in spite of French diplomacy: the Emperor Napoleon at the peace of Villafranca having expressed his desire to see the old authorities restored in all those provinces—a desire which he, however,

refused to realize by force, and which he forbade others to attempt by that evil means.

When the marvellous exploits of Garibaldi in Sicily and Naples had made it clear to Italy that the establishment of an united Italian State had been changed from an idea into a possibility actually within their grasp, the provinces of Umbria and the Marches showed manifest symptoms of desiring to share in the great national movement, despite the presence of a papal army, composed chiefly, then as now, of French, Swiss, German, Belgian, and other foreigners, commanded at that time by the late French general Lamoricière. As soon as the provinces just named were freed from the foreign soldiery who maintained the temporal power, they declared, like their brethren of the Romagna, for annexation to the new Italian kingdom. Indeed the fact that the Pontifical Government has long been unable to exist save by foreign support in one form or another, is an overwhelming proof that its temporal power rests only upon mere force—the force of foreign bayonets, ever destructive in the end of the very power they support, because rendering it unspeakably odious to its own subjects. This odium only increases in proportion to the number of bayonets and to the length of time during which their detestable agency is employed. No more striking proof of this truth exists than the case of the Bourbons, restored in 1814-1815 to the throne of France by the allied armies of Europe. It may truly be said that the unfortunate princes of the Bourbon line have never got over the fact of having been restored to power by such means. Again in 1852, the election of the present French Emperor to the imperial throne was probably in some degree due to the fact that such a choice by no means harmonized with the general views of the powers who had made the treaties of Vienna, one of whose most special objects was the overthrow of the first Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. Indeed, it appears that some of those powers determined at the time (1815) that *no* Bonaparte should ever again be recognised as ruler of France. The French profited by the occasion offered in the year referred to (1852) to settle the point once for all by electing the present Emperor, and calling upon Europe to recognise him. More than this, the Emperor purposely took the title of Napoleon III., thereby maintaining in the face of the world the principle of the continuity of the Bonaparte dynasty; thus vindicating at the same time what he considered to be his family claims, as well as the incontestible right of the French people to choose whatever temporal rule seemed good to them. The result was that Europe bowed its head to the will of France and of her Emperor, to the immense satisfaction of both.

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. G

In the name, then, of what principle does this same France impose or maintain by force, upon Italians or any other people, a temporal power of any kind which they desire to get rid of, or greatly to curtail and modify? Is it because that people are comparatively weak? Is it from a selfish fear, the offspring of a despicable jealousy, which dreads to see in the future a united Italy growing in strength and prosperity, and so emancipating itself from what a powerful neighbour is pleased to call his *just* influence? Can it be that such unworthy motives, such unjust pretensions, are really in harmony with the feelings of the French people, who, whatever may be their faults, have often deserved to be called great and generous, and often done much for the liberties and progress of mankind? To the conscience of France these questions are addressed; from her conscience let the answer come.

But there are those who say that it is for the sake of religion—the religion of Christ—that the temporal power of the Roman See must be maintained at all costs, even by absolute force, and the aid of foreign soldiers, other means failing. The employment of these violent methods, in opposition to the national will and aspirations of the people upon whom this temporal power is thus by force imposed, is justified on the ground that the conservation of that power is necessary to the independence and due exercise of the spiritual authority of him who claims to be on earth the Vicar and representative of Christ. When these or similar assertions are heard or read, the minds of reflecting men instinctively recur to the evangelical writings which narrate the life and death of the holy Jesus. There it is told how full of love and gentleness he was, how meekly he bore all injuries, how he repelled not violence by violence, how he rebuked his disciples for wishing to call down fire from heaven upon those who would not receive him, saying, “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of;” how he refused all temporal power, departing when he “perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king;” how he declared “my kingdom is not of this world.” In propagating and maintaining his spiritual teaching and authority he used no other means save those of awakening the conscience, convincing the judgment, and converting the heart.

And yet to-day we are told that foreign aid, foreign soldiery, the newest and most improved weapons for destroying human life, war with all its bloodshed and horrors, not only may, but ought to be employed in order to impose upon an unwilling people the *temporal* power of him who proclaims himself to be the Vicar and representative of that very Christ. In all seriousness we ask those Catholics who hold such opinions, is it by such signs that we Protestants are expected to recognise the true head

of the Christian Church on earth, the chief pastor of that faith which proclaims "peace on earth and good-will towards men;" whose golden rule bids us "to do unto others as we would they should do unto us?" Is the spectacle of Catholic France forcing Catholic Italy to accept the temporal power of the Pope calculated to give Protestants a pleasing idea of that catholic unity and brotherly love which is so often boasted of by members of the church of Rome? Is it not more likely to make us heretics thank the Reformation for having freed England from connexion with Rome, and so having preserved us from those quarrels about the papal temporal power which set Catholic against Catholic even to the shedding of their brother's blood? Can those who enjoy and maintain that temporal power by means of foreign aid and foreign soldiers, duly armed with a Chassepot rifle, which "does wonders" in its bloody work of death and slaughter, say—We serve the altar, and we are content to live only by the altar; we ask nothing of Cæsar, and we receive nothing from Cæsar; our "kingdom is not of this world;" "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal?" If such things continue to be done, there will be no difference between the manner of upholding the temporal power which exists in Rome and the temporal power which exists in Warsaw; between the means employed to maintain the earthly crown of the Pope in Italy and the earthly crown of the Czar in Poland; unless it be that the former is obliged to have recourse to foreign aid, while the latter is able to do without that degrading expedient.

Do not Catholics perceive the immense danger which such a policy creates of alienating the Italian nation from the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as from its temporal power? This latter power, indeed, is already odious to the great majority of Italy's people, nor are all the bayonets of France able to restore it; nay, they but increase that odium in proportion to the number employed against Italy, and to the duration of their stay within her limits. When then Italians, finding the temporal power the one remaining obstacle to the realization of their country's perfect union and freedom under a constitutional sovereign of the nation's choice, are at the same time told that such temporal power is absolutely necessary to the due maintenance of the spiritual authority, there is no little danger of their confounding both in one common hatred. Where to-day would be the religious influence of England's clergy if they favoured the maintenance of a Prussian garrison in London for the sake of maintaining the temporal power and position of their Church? Where would be that of the French priests if they openly advocated the maintenance of an Austrian or Spanish garrison in Avignon for the sake of maintaining there the Papal

temporal power which actually existed in that city for centuries, and was only finally swept away by the great Revolution in 1791? What would France have said, at this or any other period of her history, if her bishops and clergy had opposed her formation into one national kingdom because they affirmed it to be incompatible with the interests or necessities of the Church? Such a course would have caused irreparable damage to her in France, and no other result can be expected in Italy. Surely, then, this maintaining of the "temporal power" of the Pope at all costs, and by every means, even the most violent, endangers his spiritual authority, and brings not only dishonour, but even peril on the Church herself. Such, or at least very similar, appears to have been the opinion of one who was no heretic, but a devout Catholic in all religious matters—of one who ranks amongst the mightiest geniuses of the world, whose name sheds imperishable lustre upon his age, his Church, and his country; for it was the illustrious Dante, who, nearly 600 years ago, seeing how fatal an adjunct to the spiritual authority of the Roman Church was the temporal power, how hurtful to her the union of the two within herself, wrote those lines, never more true than to-day:—

"Di' oggimai che la chiesa di Roma,  
Per confondere in sè duo reggimenti,  
Cade nel fango e sè bruta e la soma."

*Purgatorio*, xvi. 127-129.

Say henceforth that the Church of Rome,  
By confounding within herself two régimes,  
Falls in the mire, defiles both herself and the burden she bears.

And again,—

"Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu madre,  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,\*  
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre!"

*Inferno*, xix. 115-117.

Alas! Constantine, of how great ill was the mother,  
Not thy conversion, but that dowery,\*  
Which from thee accepted the first rich father.

Who, indeed, can look to-day on Italy or Ireland without seeing what fearful wrongs and evils the Christian Church has inflicted both on herself and others by accepting temporal aid and temporal power, so calling in the secular arm to help her, as she vainly imagined, in her spiritual work?

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\* Dante here alludes to what was believed in his days, viz., that Rome and the territory around it, called the Patrimony of St. Peter, were given by Constantine to Pope Sylvester.

Perhaps some such feelings and ideas were mingled with those of a more worldly character which made Napoleon III. desirous of withdrawing his troops from Rome. For he well knows, that being, as his soldiers now are, the only foreigners in forcible possession of Italian soil, a cause of perpetual irritation is thereby kept alive in Italy against France, which is destructive of the natural ties that would otherwise unite them together. He appears to have hoped to put an end to his occupation of Rome by the Convention made in September, 1864, with the Italian Government. That hope he has not, however, realized—a result by no means surprising, when the discussions about the instrument itself which occurred between the two Governments, and the general circumstances of the case, are fully considered. The Convention stipulated that Italy should promise not to attack the present territory of the Pope, and “even prevent by force” any attack proceeding from the exterior; that France “should withdraw her troops” from the Papal States within two years; that the Italian Government should make no protest against the organization of a “Papal army even composed of foreign Catholic volunteers,” provided such a force did not degenerate into a means of attack against the Italian Government. Italy further declared herself ready to enter into an arrangement for assuming a proportional part of the debt of the former States of the Church. A protocol regulated the transfer of the Italian capital from Turin to Florence. Such were the leading features of the Convention. No sooner had it been signed than a good deal of discussion ensued between the French and Italian Governments as to what would or ought to be the line of action pursued respectively by the contracting parties in case eventualities arose which were not provided for in the Convention itself. That such eventualities might arise was clear enough; thus, there might be an internal revolution in Rome itself, or the Italian Government might fail in its endeavours “to prevent by force” a hostile incursion into the Papal States. The Cabinet of General Lamarmora (then in power) pointed out, amongst other things, the immense difficulty of successfully and completely “preventing by force” such attack, even when employing for that purpose a large army; because it was almost impossible really to cover such a frontier as that of the Papal States, which is but a mere line, and is open in all directions to the incursion of hostile bands. In case, then, these or similar circumstances arose, what was to be done? After no little discussion, it was finally determined that as it was impossible to foretell and therefore provide for all future eventualities, it would be better for both the contracting parties to reserve their liberty of action as regarded any future circumstances not positively provided for in the Convention itself. Thus there was left,

unfortunately, as it has turned out for all concerned, no slight danger of future complications.

The Papal Government received volunteers chiefly from France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. Amongst its defenders, however, was a corps named "The Antibes Legion," whose formation calls for special remark. A French writer of position and ability refers to it in these words:—

"France furnished to the Pope, under the form of volunteers freely enrolled from the ranks of the religious party, the corps of Pontifical Zouaves; the Zouaves were the contingent of the clerical party in France. Apart from this spontaneous movement the French Government took the initiative of a more important combination. It favoured the creation, for the military service of the Holy Father, of a corps which was called the Antibes Legion. The manner of recruiting this Legion was peculiar. We do not know how it could be justified as being in conformity with our military laws. In any case it cannot be disputed that it bore an irregular appearance. The soldiers of the Antibes Legion are soldiers of our army; they are commanded by French officers, who during the time of their service in the Legion preserve their rights of promotion. Our military contingents are determined by the laws voted by the national representation, and affected exclusively to the service of the country. It is difficult to understand how any fraction of those contingents can be legitimately detached from the service and authorized to pass into the pay and under the flag of a foreign state."

A little further on the same writer remarks:—"The journey of General Dumont to Rome, and above all a letter of our Minister of War (Marshal Niel), gave to the Antibes Legion a meaning more marked and more disquieting to Italian susceptibilities." The French General mentioned went to Rome and inspected the Antibes Legion in July, 1867. It was affirmed that he went officially; then it was said by the *Moniteur* of 1st August, 1867, that his mission was of quite a private character. The French blue-book, however, published at the end of November, under a paragraph headed "Mission of General Dumont to Rome," says he was *sent* to ascertain the causes of discouragement in the Legion, and to reanimate the spirit of the corps. In the speech he made to the soldiers of that corps he is reported to have told them in so many words that they were "French soldiers;" then it was said that the reports given of the General's speech were not accurate. It is difficult to arrive at the exact truth in the matter; but at any rate, the General certainly saw those in high official position before being *sent* from Paris to Rome. That fact, connected with what he did say to the soldiers of the Antibes Legion (whatever may have been the exact words used), roused—as well such circumstances might

—the susceptibilities of the Italian Government, which in consequence asked for explanations from the French Government touching General Dumont and his inspection of the Antibes Legion. Throughout Italy generally this matter produced much irritation, which certainly was not to be wondered at, for it looked only too like a breach, of the spirit at any rate, of the September Convention, which stipulated that the Imperial Government should withdraw its troops from Rome. But whatever Italian susceptibilities General Dumont's mission naturally roused, it was, "above all," the letter of Marshal Niel, the French Minister of War, to Colonel D'Argy, the commander of the Antibes Legion, which gave Italy just cause of complaint. This letter ran as follows:—

"Paris, 21st June, 1867.

"My dear Colonel,—My attention is too seriously fixed on the Roman Legion to allow of my ignoring the grave facts which for some time past have taken place in reference to it. How can this desertion, not individual, but collective, which threatens to reduce your effective force to nothing, be explained? The soldier has no reason to envy the troops of the mother country; he is commanded by French officers who hold suitable positions (*convenablement posés*) in our army; he serves a respectable cause which he has asked to serve; he has before him that which has always inflamed the French soldier, an enemy to combat, a danger to face; and yet he shamefully deserts the flag which he has freely chosen, and, yielding to culpable enticements, he abandons his chiefs in order to follow despicable foreign seducers (*de misérables embaucheurs étrangers*).

"It is not the desire of again seeing his country which is an excuse; for he knows well that so soon as he has entered France he is sent into a disciplinary African corps (*un corps disciplinaire d'Afrique*), where he remains until the expiration of his time of military service. I deplore this state of things, my dear Colonel, because it is a stain on our army, which, wherever it is represented, ought to preserve its prestige of honour and courageous abnegation. Notwithstanding these sad incidents, my dear Colonel, I do not lose the hope of seeing the good elements which your Legion still includes, efface by dint of devotion and perseverance, the memory of these last times. Your energy is well known to me; the Government of the Emperor and that of the Holy Father know that it will not fail. It is of importance that your officers, upon whom you firmly count with just reason, give confidence to the troops by their bearing, by their language, by that military spirit which is, amongst us, the source of such great things. Amongst men of all ranks in your Legion, I shall be happy to signal to the Emperor all those who make themselves remarked by their conduct. I know that you are to present to me Serjeant Doussin and two of his soldiers. I shall examine their claims with great interest.

"Tell your Legion plainly, my dear Colonel, that we have our eyes upon it, and that I suffer deeply as regards everything which is an affront to its flag, so justly venerated. I confound it with the corps



(*les corps*) of our army in everything which touches its military honour and the necessities of its organization.

“Receive, my dear Colonel, the assurance of my most affectionate sentiments.

(Signed) “Le Maréchal de France, NIEL.”

Such is the letter of the French Minister of War to the Colonel, himself a Frenchman, of the Antibes Legion. Let the facts thus gathered from these various French sources be now summed up. They clearly show that this Antibes Legion was composed of the soldiers of the French army, who were permitted, if not induced, to enlist forthwith into the Legion. Their officers are French officers, “who, during the time of their service in the Legion, preserve their rights of promotion.” No wonder the French writer, when commenting upon these most unprecedented arrangements, calls such a mode of recruiting “peculiar,” doubts much its “being in conformity with our military laws,” and describes the whole affair as “disquieting to Italian susceptibilities.” But what says Marshal Niel, the Minister of War? What light does his letter throw upon the subject? After lamenting over the desertions which had taken place among the soldiers of the Legion, he says distinctly that they are “commanded by *French officers* who hold suitable positions in *our army* ;” that is, who as such continue to preserve their rights of promotion in the French army. Soldiers who so desert, adds the Marshal, cannot be led to commit that grave offence from wishing to return to France, because when found there they will be sent off into a disciplinary African corps; that is, punished by the French military authorities for such desertion. The Minister of War deploras this state of things in the Antibes Legion as “a stain upon *our army*.” He expresses his willingness to point out to the Emperor any soldiers of the Legion who may duly distinguish themselves; and as a proof that he really means what he says, he mentions by name a worthy serjeant, whose claims, with those of two of his men, he will “examine with great interest.” Once again the Marshal declares how deeply he suffers from every dishonour inflicted on this much-loved Legion, and then concludes with these astounding words:—“I confound *it* (the Legion) with the corps (*les corps*) of *our army* in everything which touches its military honour and the *necessities of its organization*.”

Let those who are versed in the military code of France decide whether such arrangements infringe it or not. But it is in the name of common sense and common honesty that the question must be asked, How is it possible to justify such proceedings and such language in the face of the distinct stipulation contained in the September Convention, that “French troops” were to be

withdrawn from Rome? Let quibblers split what hairs they will, but upright and impartial men will not fail to say that all such doings assuredly broke the spirit, if not the very letter, of that stipulation. Now when a strong power makes a compact with a weak one, the former is specially bound by every honourable feeling not to permit anything to be done on its part which appears even like tampering with that compact to the disadvantage of its weaker partner. The French Government has not acted in conformity with this principle in the case of the Antibes Legion and the various circumstances connected with it. Imperial France has thereby laid herself open to just and severe censure. None can help contrasting the complete and absolute manner in which French troops were, according to promise, withdrawn from Mexico, and the very incomplete and questionable manner in which the like promise of withdrawal was kept as regards Rome. Nor will the Imperial Government do well to say that the two cases are different, because its enemies will quickly reply, Assuredly, all the difference of the distance between Toulon and Civita Vecchia, as compared with that between Brest and Vera Cruz; all the difference between Italy, alone and weak, and Mexico, *not* alone, but warmly befriended by the great Republic of the United States, with victorious generals, tried armies, and well-equipped fleets at its command. Be all that as it may, one thing at least is certain, that with these matters of the Antibes Legion, Marshal Niel's letter, and General Dumont's mission, known to the whole world, the French Government will do wisely to make no allusion to Italy not having been successful in its attempts to prevent by force, last autumn, an attack upon the Papal States. A very common proverb bids people who live in glass houses not to throw stones. What share all these proceedings of the Imperial Government had in rousing Garibaldi to direct an armed attack against Rome, thus reopening violently that question, and defying the September Convention which French authorities had so flagrantly tampered with, we have no means of knowing; but that those proceedings did influence the course taken by Garibaldi and those who acted with him, can scarcely be doubted, and is not to be wondered at. The following facts are, at any rate, indisputable:—That immediately after the Convention was concluded, the Antibes Legion was formed in the manner described; in the summer of 1867 came, first, Marshal Niel's letter; then General Dumont's mission; and in the autumn of that year followed the Garibaldian attack directed against Rome.

It was about the middle of September that Garibaldi, taking counsel only of his own patriotic aspirations, put himself at the head of the volunteers who were assembling at his bidding to

attack the Papal States. The Italian Government had forbidden all such proceedings, and placed troops to guard the frontier. Before the month closed, Garibaldi was arrested and sent to Caprera. There he was closely watched by the vessels of the royal navy, who at first succeeded in preventing his return to the mainland, but at length he eluded their vigilance and made at once for the Papal frontier. Despite the efforts of the Italian Government, the volunteers continued to get into the Papal territory, and were continually reinforced; among them were Garibaldi's two sons. The General himself now joined them, and led them against the Papal forces, whom they beat at Monte Rotondo: this place, occupying a strong position, was taken by the Garibaldians. Rome itself was in much danger. Already one or two collisions had taken place between the garrison and some of those within the walls. It was at this critical moment that the French Government intervened by sending a considerable force to occupy Civita Vecchia and Rome. Upon hearing of this, the Italians urged their Government to intervene. Those at the head of affairs appear to have vacillated much upon this momentous subject, involving, as it did, hopes and aspirations, dangers and risks, the magnitude of which language can scarcely exaggerate. Vacillation is always a mistaken policy, but in this case it is scarcely to be wondered at, though it must be censured, for rarely, if ever, has any government been surrounded by difficulties and dangers of a greater and at the same time of a more opposite kind, than was that of Italy on this occasion. Postponing for a few moments further observations upon such and other kindred matters, this question only shall *here* be asked: Who, after all, are most to blame—those whose devoted but rash patriotism creates a crisis necessarily fraught with the utmost danger to their country and her noble cause, or those at the head of affairs, who, after wisely endeavouring, at the outset, to dissuade the leader of that rash patriotism from entering on a course so full of peril to his country, fall at last themselves into the error of vacillation, or commit other mistakes, while doing their best to steer the ship of the state safely through the fearful perils which that rash patriotism created?

The Ratazzi Cabinet resigned, and after some delay, owing to General Cialdini failing to form a government, the arduous task was finally undertaken and performed by General Menabrea. Not until after the French had landed in Italy did the Italian troops cross the frontier, taking at the same time every precaution to guard against a collision with the French, while pressing messages were sent to Garibaldi to try to persuade him to abandon his now hopeless enterprise. As soon as Rome had been secured by the soldiers of Imperial France, 2000 of them, armed

with the new Chassepot rifle, together with 3000 Pontifical troops, well equipped and accompanied by artillery, marched out against the Garibaldians. The two hostile corps, each numbering, as it seems, 5000 men, met at Mentana. Garibaldi and his men, generally badly armed and poorly clothed, fought with such determination and courage that the conflict continued to rage fiercely from one in the afternoon until dark, and though the French and Papal troops had gained decided successes by nightfall, they were not able to complete their success before it was actually night, but had to wait until the next morning. Such a defeat reflects, indeed, the highest honour upon Garibaldi and his brave men, for opposed to them were 2000 regular French troops, who, armed with the Chassepot rifle, which "did wonders," evidently turned the fortune of the day. But despite the courage and devotion displayed by the Garibaldians, ultimate success against such forces as those opposed to them was hopeless. Gradually driven back, after much hard fighting, they retreated under cover of night, having suffered heavy losses, and leaving many prisoners in the hands of the enemy. When within the limits of the Italian kingdom, Garibaldi was taken by its authorities, and sent to the fortress of Varignano, in the Gulf of Spezia. He might have resisted, but, to his honour be it ever said, he would permit of no resistance, because he never will allow his own person to be the cause of armed conflict between Italians. Such a conflict, willingly and intentionally brought about, would be not an error, but a crime. For whatever differences may exist among them as to the best means of attaining the great object all have in view, the whole nation is *one* in its firm determination to attain that object, which is the just and legitimate one of freeing for ever their native land from the presence of foreign soldiery and the wrong of foreign interference. Their neighbours, French, Swiss, and German, have attained that result, and Italians are steadfastly determined to do likewise.

After the French had landed in Italy, the Italian troops had, as just mentioned, crossed into the Papal territory. This passage of the frontier gave great offence to the French Government. For what reason it is hard to say, except that the French are inclined to be much too easily offended if anyone, except themselves, ventures to do anything. This same kind of touchiness some of them have lately shown most unwarrantably towards Germany, with whose work of internal reorganization no other nation whatever has the slightest right to interfere. But happily the Germans are very numerous and very strong. It is to be hoped that that fact, coupled with their absolute right to do what they please in their own country, will ever be sufficient to protect them from the wrong of foreign interference while

engaged in reconstructing the government of their great fatherland.

The circumstances connected with the crossing of the frontier by the Italian army fully warranted such a step on the part of the Italian Government, for they clearly belonged to those future eventualities not expressly provided for in the September Convention—eventualities concerning which each Government had reserved its “freedom of action.” When, then, the Imperial Government made use of that freedom of action (as it had a right to do) to enter the Papal territory, the Italian Government was perfectly justified in doing the same. Not only would Italy have had good ground for occupying Rome jointly with France, but that would have been by far the most politic and equitable arrangement. Instead of that, the Imperial Government became very indignant with the Italian for having ordered its army to cross the frontier at all, and appeared (though it seems almost incredible) inclined to pick a wolf-and-lamb quarrel with its weaker partner. In all this the French Government acted most unfairly. Nor has it a right to utter a syllable about the Italian Government having been unsuccessful in their attempts at preventing the Garibaldians from entering the Papal territory, because success neither had nor could be stipulated for; on the contrary, the Italian Government had pointed out from the first (in 1864) the immense difficulty of successfully doing so. But there was another and far more powerful reason which should have made the French Government hold altogether a different tone to the one it affected—namely, that scarcely had the Convention been signed when the Imperial Government began to tamper with its spirit, if not its letter, in the matter of the formation of the Antibes Legion, as has already been plainly shown. No wonder, under these circumstances, that this high-handed conduct of Imperial France to a weaker neighbour caused her enemies to draw many a biting comparison between her bearing towards Italy in the Roman question and her bearing towards the United States in the Mexican; nor did they forget to remark sarcastically on the quiet and proper manner in which the Imperial Government accepted the perfectly just, but most decided refusal given by Germany to listen to any proposal for the rectification of the Rhine frontier. As to the acclamations with which French telegrams announced the reception of French troops in Italian towns, not only are they at variance with the testimony of independent witnesses of the receptions given, but they were at the same time in complete harmony with the official announcements (made during some two or three years) of the rapturous reception given to French troops in Mexico. Yet no sooner did French bayonets cease to uphold that Mexican State

which they had temporarily called into existence, than it fell hopelessly and utterly within a few weeks. Not only have Mexicans given no sign of love to France since, but they have, by the cruel execution of the poor Archduke Maximilian, flung in her face the most terrible insult that ever one nation offered to another. The French Emperor will do well to bear in mind that these things are remembered and freely discussed, if not in France, at least in other countries. Nor can the truth be concealed that though the citizens of free nations may deem Garibaldi's course unwise or inexpedient, yet assuredly their sympathies were *not* with those who, on Mentana's field, handled the "wonder-working" Chassepot, but with those who faced it with heroic courage, animated by the "wonder-working" love of freedom and of country.

As soon as the Papal territory had been evacuated by the Garibaldians, the Italian troops withdrew from it also. This step was taken by the King's Government of its own accord, though it would be folly to deny that in taking it they were uninfluenced by the hostile attitude unjustly assumed by France. At the same time, it would be unfair to the rulers of Italy not to admit that if they were greatly influenced by prudence in avoiding all risk of war with a neighbour so immensely powerful, they were also influenced by gratitude from a recollection of the generous aid afforded by France in 1859. Yet this latter power should remember that generosity at one time is no excuse for injustice and overbearing conduct at another. It is sad, indeed, to see the noble work commenced in that memorable year, endangered and delayed by an uncertain and changeable policy, creating general distrust, because its author will persist in the vain attempt to support at the same time two hostile systems and serve two hostile masters.

When the immense dangers and difficulties of every kind which surrounded the Italian Government are taken fairly into account, its conduct in thus giving way to France, and so avoiding all present danger of a conflict with a neighbour so immeasurably stronger than Italy, is, to say the least of it, excusable. Certainly, her rulers took in this matter the prudent rather than the heroic line. In consequence, there have been some English writers who have, when commenting upon this subject, spoken of the Italian King and Government in the harshest terms. Surely such critics will do well to be more considerate, if not for the sake of Italy, at least for that of England. For when foreigners read such very severe criticism, coming from such a quarter, they will be tempted to ask, Did not England, despite all her vast power and resources, finally take, in the Danish question, the *prudent* rather than the *heroic* line? Can we English deny that that

prudence was preceded by a great deal of what our American cousins amusingly term "tall talk?" That having been the case, Englishmen will be wise not to judge over harshly a young country, infinitely less powerful than their own, which, in circumstances of far greater danger, followed, like England, the counsels of prudence rather than those of heroism. As to Italians, however bitterly they may feel just now at having been forced to give way to Imperial France, however much the rash amongst them may have wished that their sovereign had defied her to the uttermost, at whatever risk, they will not allow themselves to be so blinded by such feelings as to listen to designing persons who, in their folly or their wickedness, seek to turn the hearts of their countrymen from their honest king. Italians will not forget that for eighteen eventful years Victor Emmanuel, whether as King of Piedmont or of Italy, has ever been true to his people's rights and liberties, has ever faithfully preserved them when the rulers of neighbouring nations were trampling those of their people in the dust. They will remember that, in the cause of Italy, he has more than once risked life and crown. Under his honest rule their native land, which scarcely ten years ago was but a downtrodden slave, has not only broken the old yoke, but made greater strides towards becoming a free and united nation than was ever effected in the same brief time by any people in the world's history. It is not too much to say, that the unswerving devotion of Victor Emmanuel to Italy's righteous cause, and his honest faithfulness to his people's liberties, have been as efficacious in bringing Italy so far forward on her way as the genius of the great Cavour, or the burning patriotism of Garibaldi; for without such a king, the illustrious statesman would never have risen to power, and the great patriot would, in all probability, have passed his life, from 1849 to the present day, as a comparatively unknown exile. Italians cannot but feel sure that what their sovereign has done at this time he has only done because he honestly believed (rightly or wrongly) that it was, on the whole, the best that was possible amidst the unspeakable dangers of a crisis brought on by Garibaldi's movements. Well are they aware that none regret more than the King himself, his country's not yet being equal to the great military monarchies of Europe which have grown to their present strength in the course of centuries. It would indeed be a miracle if Italy were so, considering she numbers scarce seven years of national existence. And none but wild fanatics can suppose that such a miracle could have been wrought by Italy's adopting any other form of government, or being ruled by any other class of men whatever. Granting, then, that the rulers of Italy have, in the last terrible crisis, made mistakes, failed to take the best course, or preferred prudence to

heroism, who shall on that account fling at them the first stone? Shall England? Thoughts of Denmark, if nothing else, will stay her hand. Shall France? Is Mexico so soon forgotten? If then, in circumstances far less difficult, two of the greatest nations in the world must own to a policy whose results were anything but flattering to their pride and self-esteem, Italians may well pardon (while freely, within the limits of their constitutional liberties, pointing out) the mistakes of their Government. This is the course they will pursue, while at the same time rallying closely around their King and Parliament, and so by firm union, and careful preparations of every kind, become better able in the future to enforce, if necessary, their just rights and claims; for by acting otherwise they would but play into the hands of their country's bitterest enemies. Nor will Italians forget that some of those amongst them who have been loudest in demanding that Italy should plunge headlong into an unequal contest with France, have been but lately the loudest to cry out for the reduction of their army to the lowest possible point, and *that* just when the French Emperor (without any sufficient cause) was devising fresh plans with the object of strengthening his military system. The inconsistency of such men needs only to be mentioned to be exposed. Of two things one—either Italy may ease her finances by cutting down her army to the utmost, and then she must abandon all idea of resisting an overbearing neighbour of ten times her strength, who persists in doing the contrary; or else her soldiers must be very numerous, thoroughly well-armed and equipped, and then Italians must consent to a taxation in proportion to the expenditure necessitated by maintaining so large a force. The fault of such a state of things must not, however, be laid at Italy's door, who, like her German neighbours, simply asks to be let alone, and left to regulate her own internal affairs as she pleases, just as Germany does and has a right to do. Happily this latter country is strong enough to keep meddling neighbours from interfering with that right. The fact is, that the huge standing armies which disgrace our age and civilization are caused chiefly, if not wholly, by the imperial government of France. For by maintaining and strengthening the huge military establishments which it persists in keeping up, it compels its neighbours to be well if not equally prepared. Yet France has no need for such an overgrown army as that which weighs down her people with an ever-increasing taxation; while the capricious foreign policy of her government entails the burden first of one and then of another military expedition, abundant in cost but certainly not in glory. Such a policy keeps all the world in perpetual alarm, to the detriment alike of France and other nations, from the uncertainty and misgiving to which



it naturally gives rise. This conduct of the imperial government is without excuse, for no one menaces France, none do her dishonour (unless it be Mexican Juarez), none seek or wish to deprive her of any fraction of that which is hers, neither do any of her neighbours possess so much as a single village which has the least desire to belong to Imperial France. Were her government to prove its love of peace by a policy of strict non-intervention in the concerns of other countries, instituting at the same time large and obvious reductions in its huge military establishments, instead of merely protesting in words its peaceful aspirations, the present state of uncertainty would soon pass away, and there would be some hope that over-taxed Europe would see a diminution at least of the standing curse of standing armies.

The actual crisis through which Italy, not to say Europe, is passing, cannot be considered without making a few observations upon the course pursued by Garibaldi. Burning with a devoted patriotism that knows no bounds, ever exposing himself to all the dangers incurred in the carrying out of his audacious plans, Garibaldi will ever command the sympathy of all those who believe that every people have a right to struggle against foreign interference, whether it take the form of threats or of force backed up by bayonets. But it does not necessarily follow by any means that the mode of proceeding adopted by him is therefore the wisest or the best. That must depend upon quite other considerations, themselves depending upon a variety of circumstances well worth a few moments' serious attention.

Garibaldi is to-day the subject, indeed one of the representatives of the Italian kingdom, not yet completed, but assuredly deserving the title of free within its actual limits. At its head is a sovereign faithfully carrying out constitutional principles, under him are really responsible ministers answerable to the freely-elected parliament of a people who possess the most substantial liberties—amongst others those of the press and of public meetings. Now the question arises, which is best for Italy, that Garibaldi, keeping himself within the limits of action which a free state necessarily (as in the case of England or Belgium) prescribes to all its citizens, should unite himself with the governing powers of his country in the arduous task of solving the last great question which still impedes the completion of Italy's union and independence; or whether he should take a course which almost of necessity brings him into collision with those at the head of affairs? Nay, what is far worse, brings his country into only too possible collision with Imperial France, for whose power he must know that Italy is and can be no match; for no political machinery can even be conceived which could possibly in six or seven years make a people, who have

long been down-trodden and divided, equal in arms to a military nation whose strength is the growth of centuries. Surely if Garibaldi were as wise as he is patriotic in heart and courageous in deed, he would in the altered condition of Italy, being as it is so widely different from what it was in the days of his earlier career, see the expediency and wisdom of altering his own course according to the altered circumstances of his country. For her sake he would do well to curb his too daring ardour, and help her honest king and free parliament in their endeavours to solve the Roman difficulty, instead of causing embarrassment and danger not only to them, but even to that noble Italian cause which since 1859 has made such gigantic strides towards its destined goal—that great consummation of Italy's complete union and independence, which is the earnest desire not only of her own children, but of all who love national freedom, and hate foreign interference in whatever garb it clothes its odious form. Again, Garibaldi seems to believe that the French Emperor is the worst of men, and in his heart a hater of Italian freedom. Assuming, for the sake of argument, this to be true, does not the old hero perceive that his own conduct gives that very Emperor a handle for employing the worst kind of interference, that of bayonets and Chassepots? To say that France has no more right to maintain by force of arms in Italy any temporal rule whatever than Italians have to do the like in France, is unquestionably true; but unfortunately (not only for Italy and Europe, but for France herself) she has the *power* to do so, and is only too much inclined to exercise it. This fact is incontestible, and when Garibaldi, choosing to disregard it, gives by the course he pursues an excuse to Napoleon for interfering in Italy, the imprudent patriot only plays the game of the very man whom he declares to be Italy's worst, because most insidious enemy.

Moreover, the citizen of a free country is not justified in endeavouring to force his government by *extra*-legal means to pursue a given line of policy or conduct, instead of employing only the many legal means of doing so which are at his command, thanks to the constitutional liberties such a country bestows on its people. When then any citizen pursues such an erroneous course he endangers the liberty he loves, because he breaks down those proper and legal bounds which in all free lands must and ought to be preserved, as being absolutely necessary to their freedom. Thus acting such a citizen (whatever may be his past services or intrinsic merits) does wrong, imperils his country and her cause; therefore he must be blamed. To say that Garibaldi's character and services are such that the above rule is inapplicable, cannot be admitted. That

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. H

character is noble, those services immense ; they may be pleaded in extenuation of the course he took last autumn, but considering the actual point at which Italy has arrived in the establishment of a national and constitutional system of freedom, Garibaldi's proceedings were not, under the circumstances, really wise or justifiable, for that system offered him other, better, and safer ways of devoting himself to his country's service. It will perhaps be said, that what he has just done will, after all, help on in the end the cause of Italy. Very possibly, but that does not therefore make the particular way in which he acted necessarily commendable. Yet whatever Garibaldi's faults and errors—for neither popular nor royal heroes are exempt from them—his name is, and ever will be, loved wherever freemen dwell, as expressing in a single word life-long, undying devotion to the sacred cause of his country's rights and independence.

Among the thousand arguments and reflections to which the mighty work of Italy's union and regeneration gives rise, but few indeed can here be even touched upon. There is one assertion, however, which must not be forgotten. It is sometimes said that the Papal Government only desires to be left quietly in Rome. This is wholly contrary to the fact. What it has ever, hitherto at least, demanded, is that all its former provinces be restored to it ; in other words, that the Italian kingdom be broken up. It says to Italy, Your existence as a free and united nation is incompatible with my temporal rule, I therefore demand your destruction. What would be the reply of France, England, or any other nation, if, being in the position of Italy, such language were addressed to them? Again, the chief of the Papal Government hurls his anathemas at Italy for adopting a variety of laws which are not only demanded by modern progress and civilization, but which Catholic France and Belgium have already adopted, and which the free Austria of to-day is hastening to adopt. Who amongst enlightened men does not sympathize with the work which is now being carried on by the Austro-Hungarian diets and statesmen? With what disgust would not every friend of justice and freedom see to-day Vienna or Pesth in the hands of a temporal power maintained by foreign bayonets, anathematizing and impeding at every turn the great work of national regeneration, liberty, and progress now being carried on in the Austro-Hungarian State? Assuredly such a spectacle would be hateful in Vienna or Pesth, and assuredly it is not less hateful in Rome.

There is a desire often expressed by many of the most inveterate enemies of the Roman Church, which Catholics will do well to consider. It is this: that the temporal power of the Pope may continue to be prolonged by forcible means, because thereby

the greatest possible damage will be inflicted upon his spiritual power. These bitter foes of the Holy See will certainly read with joy of the Roman Pontiff blessing and decorating the foreign soldiers who have fought for the shred of territory still left him—soldiers whose Chassepot rifle “did wonders” in its murderous work of death and slaughter. But what answer can be given to those inveterate enemies when they ask, pointing to the hecatomb of mangled corpses which strewed Mentana’s field, Are these the bloody tokens by which the Papal-king would have mankind believe that he is indeed the true representative on earth of the gentle and loving Jesus who refused to be made a king—who was named the Prince of Peace ; who “came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them?”

Those who, in examining this double question of the “temporal power” of the Roman Pontiff in Italy, and that of the Anglican hierarchy in Ireland, look only to the vast material strength of France and England, will perhaps come to the conclusion that the “temporal power” of the two Churches, which those mighty nations respectively uphold, is in no danger of being brought to an end, or even of being greatly modified. But those who observe the direction in which the current of civilization and progress is running, who watch the onward flow of civil and religious liberty in all directions, who mark the successful vindication of national and individual freedom, even in countries hitherto most opposed to all such principles, will come to a very different conclusion. The ruined and decaying remains of a vast armoury of weapons by which arbitrary statesmen and bigoted ecclesiastics sought to sustain and strengthen, as they imagined, the cause of religion, are to be seen lying broken and disused on all sides. Such instrumentality belongs to the past, whether its outward forms were to be seen in the stake and torture of ages long gone by, or in those civil disabilities and offensive oaths which were abolished but yesterday. The attempt to maintain by force the temporal power and position of an ecclesiastical body, in opposition to the will, the liberties, and the progress of a whole people, is but a vain endeavour to preserve the last remnants of the old system, which sought in a thousand ways to shackle the liberties and consciences of men by compelling them to accept, or at least support, some form of religious belief which their brother men believed to be the truest and the best. Those last remnants will be as surely swept away as those around which the present generation can remember the battle raging, but which are now gone for ever. More time may yet have to be lost in the struggle, that struggle may blaze forth for a moment hotter and fiercer than ever, but the ultimate result is inevitable. France may be the greatest of military

powers, while Italy has not yet organized the undeveloped resources of a nation whose birth-throes we have witnessed and yet are witnessing ; England possesses might and resources such as may well make the strongest shrink from rousing her to hostile action, while Ireland may be said never even to have known an existence at once independent of others and united within herself. Yet when Italy and Ireland demand the cessation of the temporal power and rule of an ecclesiastical body which weighs down their liberties, stops their progress, and poisons their whole national life, it is with them that the final victory will rest, despite all the strength of France and England, who respectively uphold in Italy and Ireland the temporal power of the Roman and Anglican hierarchies ; for while the former nations have on their side, in this matter, only the material strength of Chassepot rifles and Armstrong guns, the latter have with them the whole current of modern civilization and progress, united to the divine power of justice, liberty, and right, now as ever numbered amongst the best gifts which God has bestowed on man.

If, moreover, a glance be directed from the old world to the new ; whether to the vast dominion of the great American republic, or to the rising communities of England's colonial empire—those free nations of a no distant future—the system of absolute religious freedom and equality will there be seen reigning unquestioned, none having the least desire to disturb, in those countries, that universal settlement which, to the benefit of State and Church, leaves both unhampered, thus realizing the idea of a free church in a free state—“*Libera chiesa in libero stato,*” as said Cavour.

Such facts, when connected with the manifestly increasing tendency of the more enlightened and powerful European nations to put in practice the principle of complete religious freedom, reveal clearly to every thoughtful observer what must be the final result. Is such a result to be dreaded ? Is it indeed to be lamented that the prospect opens of a time when no temporal power of any church whatever shall thwart the independence and progress of a whole nation ; when no country shall be compelled to support a church hateful to the great majority of its people ? Surely the fall of such systems, not less unworthy of an enlightened age than of the Christian faith, should be hailed with thankfulness ; while at the same time due preparation should be made so to meet that salutary change as to turn it to the best possible account, for if well and wisely profited by, it will usher in the full reign of absolute religious freedom and equality. Then shall all those who share a common faith, and “*reverence their conscience as their king,*” follow its dictates without let or hindrance, without paying tax or tithe to any

other creed save that which reigns in their own hearts. Thus shall religion rest upon conviction, its only sure foundation, and so the sacred claims of man's spiritual life be brought into harmony with the no less sacred rights of freedom, truth, and conscience.\*

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ART. IV.—THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND: ITS RELATION  
TO THE PEOPLE.

*Antiquarian Gleanings.* Aberdeen. 1859.

*Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Reformation.* Edinburgh. 1860.

THE position of the Church in Scotland, and its adaptation to the wants of the people, are discussed with increasing interest; and some recent manifestations are regarded by those who contemplate them from a distance as altogether inexplicable. The lack of sympathy between the people and their spiritual instructors is admitted on every hand; and those who look beneath the surface perceive that the breach is widening. The Church is losing its power as a terror over the thoughtless, and its hold as an embodiment of religious truth and a centre of worship on the thoughtful. This double process is to be seen in various ways, gradually developing, acquiring form and definiteness. It is notably exemplified in the incessant and increasingly bitter attempts which are being made to restore repressive measures, and secure by compulsion that uniformity and subservience once looked upon and expected as the necessary out-come of unquestioning conviction. Indeed, there appears in many quarters a disposition to return to the bondage of a bygone age—an ill-concealed desire to undo the liberalizing and enlightening work of the past century. Take up any newspaper in Scotland, or, far better, mingle with the people, and illustrations of this will be found, significant alike in their number and character. Here, in one Scotch town, a model for ecclesiastical organization, a meeting of clergymen and heads of families is held, to consider the state of morality among the inhabitants and “take steps accordingly.” Speeches are delivered; the prevalence of profane swearing and blasphemous conversation, particularly among boys, is deplored; the want of interest in spiritual things is dwelt upon; and resolutions are adopted practically calling on all in authority to enforce restrictions and unite in putting down by the strong arm of the law abounding iniquities. In another, the head-quarters of orthodoxy and respectable religious profession, the civil law is publicly invoked to put a stop to the

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\* See a concluding note to this article at page 224.

sailing of pleasure boats, and running trains on Sundays, with their "consequent debauchery;" and loud appeals are made to restrain the growing laxity—the sacrilegious attempts to open public gardens on Sundays, the "pernicious and unholy" practice of allowing domestic servants to get-out on Sunday afternoons, and like deplorable indications of degeneracy. No suspicion appears of the inevitable deduction, that if the people crowd in thousands to the Sunday boats and pleasure grounds, finding enjoyment only in "scenes of debauchery," the Church must have a sad account to give of her stewardship; and, of course, Mary shut up in the kitchen is a better person than Mary with a companion, or walking amid the flowers and fruit-trees! In a city where it might have been expected that vast industrial progress would have helped in breaking down the narrowest forms of priestcraft, a workman is cast out of the Church's communion for setting up on Sunday evening part of the newspaper which his devout pastor reads at breakfast on Monday morning. In the same place, a minister—there is little respect to persons when orthodoxy is at stake—a man of robust piety and fine sensibilities, declares in the course of his teachings that we are living now, not under the austere formalism of the Old Testament, but under the new dispensation, with its law of liberty and its spiritual advancement; and he is forthwith dragged before presbyteries, and synods, and assemblies, and plainly told that if he do not retract or explain away his heresies, he will be visited with the sternest punishment these august bodies can inflict. Again, even a great leader—one beloved here and wherever his name is known—has, for saying that the Fourth Commandment need not now to be carried put with Judaic severity, to meet his co-presbyters, and make a statement, or "explain away" his obvious meaning; for if one can honestly assert that he did not intend to strangle Moses, or crucify Christ anew, he may be allowed to pass for the first offence! Departures from the strict letter of the recognised standards—adopting printed forms of prayer and kneeling-boards—the introduction of instrumental music and hymn-books—are visited with vials of Presbyterian wrath, and over the heads of the daring innovators is held that ever ready resort—the threat of excommunication and deprivation of bread.

The language in which this crusade against progress is carried on, and the immediate results, are not less suggestive than is the fact itself. The charity which thinketh no evil is unknown. Men who dare to think for themselves—to look at doctrines and practices in the light of experience and modern discovery, refusing to accept their beliefs as a hereditary possession, are set down as heretics or reprobates, and their opinions are, for the most part, denounced in equally explicit terms. The danger of admitting the

thin edge of the wedge—a cry which meets us on the threshold of every change, every proposed or possible improvement—is repeated with nauseating iteration, in complete and almost ludicrous obliviousness of the fact that the typical wedge is already admitted, and far more likely to be “sent home” than abstracted by this feeble and foolish maundering. The indifference of civic authorities, and the loose legislation of Parliament, are bemoaned with overweening sanctimoniousness; and their aggressive acts, the faint glimmerings of full freedom of conscience and real personal liberty, are denounced with unmeasured indignation. The war goes on, increasing in bitterness as the church loses its power, or finds that its power when so far effectual is treated with indifference, if not with positive contempt. And through this strife there runs a ceaseless lamentation for the “purity and consistency of our forefathers,” and a restless longing for the “good old times.”

It is worth while looking into the past of which we are ever being reminded, and out of which has come this narrow and overbearing spirit. It supplies the background of the picture we have seen, and will help us rightly to estimate the present relationships of the church and the people. But whither shall we look? Not into modern religious books, for there this past shines forth chiefly as one unbroken chain of devotion to the church and resistance of error—of heroic service and martyrdom for truth—a very Arcadia of orthodox consistency and harmonious co-operation. To get beneath the surface—into the inner and real life, we must turn from such books to the registers of Kirk Sessions, the minute-books of Town Councils, and ancient chronicles; or to the collective results of researches which have brought to light some of these strangely instructive records. In this way we can see things as they actually existed; the church as it grasped and tyrannized, the people as they lived and hoped and struggled; the springs of action are laid bare; men appear in their everyday attire; the genuine articulation is heard; and from this, the only true standard, we can mark the progress of events, and with insight and justice trace the steps of a brave and invincible, though rude and bigoted people, rising into a measure of enlightenment and mental freedom.

We are ever being referred to the glorious Reformation; and certainly the middle of the sixteenth century forms a stand-point in the social history of Scotland. Whether the review be prospective or retrospective, we must look from, and rightly estimate, this ever-memorable event. But to do so is not to look with blind zeal at the bright side incessantly held up for approval and imitation, or re-echo the unqualified and often ignorant adulation in which, on such occasions as the significantly abortive attempt to celebrate its tercentenary, it is fashionable with



Scotchmen to indulge. The Reformation has another side, at which amidst all this glorification it might be well to look. It was not a sudden, nor was it a thorough change. One stage in a great struggle, the reckoning with a hard master, asserting the principle of man's inherent rights, it was but the dawning of a brighter day. The sun had appeared, though sadly bedimmed ; the light only shone through the darkness. A nation was not to be born in a day ; the birth process was progressive. Undergoing some great transformations, naturally averse to change, we find the people now and afterwards essentially the same, manifesting in one way those principles and tendencies which had been checked in another.

However heroically the now dominant party may have contended for personal liberty, the spirit of persecution did not cease at the Reformation ; it only changed its instruments and assumed a somewhat different form. The "excommunicate Papist" was what that term implies. Cut off from all religious rights and privileges (according to his own faith), his property was confiscated, his life was in danger, he was imprisoned or driven penniless "forth the kingdom." If he remained in safety, it was only by crushing conviction, or playing the hypocrite ; nay, anyone who admitted the obnoxious Papist to his house, or gave him the slightest aid, was himself in danger of being "excommunicate" and imprisoned. With increasing light came a truer conception of liberty, but all down through the seventeenth century, and beyond it, we trace the stern hand of Episcopal and Presbyterian—of *Protestant* persecution. Little more than a hundred years ago—in 1756—one Hugh Macdonald was charged before the High Court of Justiciar in Edinburgh with being a Jesuit Priest and "trafficking Papist." Refusing to "purge himself of Papistry," and declaring that he was not "at freedom in conscience" to take the legal formula, he was sentenced to depart out of Scotland, never to return, being still a Papist, on the pain of death. This was no isolated occurrence. In one form or another, the active proscription of every form of dissent, or grinding into submission reactionary adherents, we see the same spirit in constant operation, and the Church and the Court congratulating each other on their vigilance.

The blending of the civil and religious, and the dominancy of the ecclesiastical element, are features in the social history of Scotland which to some have irresistible charms. For a long period, and to this we are plainly asked to return, the Church was everything and everywhere. Not merely in her legitimate sphere, but in civil government and every evolution of private life, the church was a present and all-dominant power—cutting down and squaring up, admonishing and "horning." Policeman, prosecutor, witness, judge, nay, executioner, it is far from inviting

to mark the stern, perverted, and often violently oppressive exercise of her authority. Even in the management of her own special work, the enforcement of discipline, the Reformed Church was scarcely a model in the form and severity of its punishments. Not satisfied with admonishing, and the dreaded power of excommunication, which meant something more in those days than the withdrawal of church privileges, it was sought to put down moral transgression and beat out original depravity by fines, ignominious exposure, and physical applications. For many years after the Reformation—and the same spirit may be seen to-day—the church sought in this way to carry out her mission; regarding man as a machine to be belted and chained, spurred or restrained, as interest or caprice might dictate. It was a pitiable and hopeless struggle then as now, for notwithstanding the watchfulness and rigour, at every stage is to be heard deep and awe-striking lamentation over the “fearful abounding of iniquity in this land.”

The strict observance of the Sabbath, and regular attendance at Church, were contended for with a zeal and in a manner which should afford much encouragement to the good men who are now struggling so hopelessly for the attainment of the same great ends. At the behest of the Church, Town Councils enacted the “gude and godlie” statutes ordaining that all heads of families should repair to their “parochie kirkis,” and attend sermon afternoon as well as forenoon, with the sermons on week-days, “and not depart therefrom till the end thereof.” This latter provision was rigidly enforced; officers were appointed to mark and restrain those who sought to depart; and what the allusion to week-days comprehended may be gathered from other statutes by which every citizen was bound to make Monday a “pastime day for eschewing the profanation of the Sabbath,” attend service in church on the forenoons of Tuesday and Thursday, and on the latter day have a “catechetical meeting with his family,”—a very modest, and surely a very improving ordeal! Fines were imposed for non-attendance, and if the money value indicate the degree of guilt, we have it in 14s. 4d. for Sabbaths, and 6s. 8d. for week-days! Husbands were held responsible for their wives, and masters for their servants, and one class were set as spies over the other. The organization was inimitable in its completeness. Two of the kirk session, with “ane bailie,” had to go through the streets every Sabbath, search the houses, visit places of public resort, and take down the names of transgressors—for such there were, even under this iron system—so that they might be brought up to receive their due chastisement. In the early part of last century—a fitting precedent for those who are now imploring the interference of civil authorities—sheriffs and magistrates were empowered to hold courts for “taking notice of vice

and immorality, fining the guilty, and rewarding informers ; and military officers were specially enjoined to see that those under them submitted to church discipline. With a dread of inquiry which it is pitiful to see re-appearing in only less ludicrous forms, the clergy ordained that there be no disputation or debating on the scriptures, and that "nae flyting or chiding be at time of meat under pain of two shillings !" And in many parts of Scotland at this day, free discussion on religious questions, and the reading of "heretical books," are as effectually proscribed ; not to mention the eagle-eyed vigilance with which every word written or spoken by ministers is watched by the formidable band of heresy-mongers to be found in every denomination. But the intermeddling of those forefathers whom we are urged to imitate, did not end with putting down free inquiry ; it went into the minutest details of every-day life. Slanderers, back-biters, and railers, which often meant only uttering a complaint against the corruption and tyranny of the church, were dealt with in a manner equally summary and repulsive. For the first offence they had to ask forgiveness in presence of the congregation ; for the second to be put in the "cukstuli" and say "Toung ye leid ;" and for the third they were banished from the town—the way appointed for all incorrigible gossips and grumblers. It was deemed an essential of every well-regulated burgh to have in readiness that peculiarly edifying instrument of ecclesiastical torture, the "branks," or "Scots bridle." Persons guilty of swearing, if unable to pay a fine, were to be sharply punished with a palmer on the hand ; and one poor sinner was made to undergo penance every Sunday, haltered no doubt by the "branks" to a huge stone at the church door, from the tenth of December to the sixteenth of March, 1656, for "feigning repentance by putting sneishin in his een to mak them tear !" But we forbear. This dreary chain of bigotry and intolerance—of fines and chastisements—of selfish and grinding tyranny would be laughable, were it not, rightly considered, too sad for mirth.

The mere thought of any return to the life here imperfectly indicated is in the highest degree absurd ; it is simply, and beyond question, impossible. Yet out of this has come the narrow and intolerant spirit which we see on every hand in Scotland, and the desire to enforce submission to theological dogmas, which is every day becoming more impatient and decided. Here, too, can we trace the origin of causes which have helped in no small degree to produce the effects now universally, but from different stand-points, deplored—a Church destitute of vitality and lacking influence. The supremacy of the Church in all things, civil and social, as well as religious and ecclesiastical, has become a settled principle with the clergy ; an overbearing dispo-

sition has been engrained into their nature, and the corrupting tendency of despotic sway is still visible in nameless forms. The stereotyped creed for which they have contended with fatal success is getting more cramped and formal and purposeless. What life was in it has been burned out, and all attempts at reinvigoration have been like pruning the leaves of weeds, or have met with effectual and remorseless opposition. A mechanical and uninquiring uniformity, secured by the repressive agencies we have indicated, could not continue; there were always some who asserted their independence; and any measure of active harmony that existed gradually disappeared, leaving a miserable chaos—spiritual and intellectual wreck. In a silent and circumscribed, yet, to those who care to discern it, a clearly out-lined struggle, the few revolted against the bondage in which the Church sought to hold them, and the majority, with mind deadened and conscience blunted by the ordeal to which they were subjected, sank into ignorant acquiescence or stolid indifference. In this state the majority remain, going to Church or not, observing the sacraments or not, as circumstances prompt them, but in any case destitute of vital interest in, and active sympathy with, both the dogmas and teachers of the Church. Now and again there comes a spasmodic effort at life, assuming the form of resistance to the compulsory support of "religious ordinances," the liberty to choose a minister, or a "revival" of religion; but it is partial, temporary, superficial; and the multitude inevitably relapse into their former state under the withering control of the clergy and the creeds. But there are unmistakable indications that a change is not far distant, that the work of the Reformation is soon to be visibly carried forward another, and it may be a more decisive step. The number of earnest and thoughtful men, of all classes, within and without the Church, is increasing; and the clergy are alarmed, if not yet fairly aroused. On every hand we hear the cry that places of worship are poorly attended, that ordinances are neglected, that error fearfully abounds. And the alarm is well founded. Even the force of habit, of strong national prejudice, and a still formidable example, cannot secure any approach to that religious uniformity which was once the distinguishing characteristic of Scotland. The educated class, the lowest residuum sunk in ignorance and vice, the large body of intelligent artisans, are almost equally beyond the pale and the influence of the Church. The clergy are wilfully oblivious to the real causes of this alienation; it is all attributed to the corruptions of human nature, or the pernicious tendencies of popular literature and modern speculation. And as they spend so much of their time in telling others their defects and duties, one might be permitted to whisper into their ear some of the reasons why so many, while holding fast to

the Christian faith, or having no positive disbelief in it, are receding so rapidly from them and their dogmas. We have partially failed in our purpose if this has not already been so far accomplished ; but the reasons are manifold, and a few which must be obvious to every one who has seriously and without bias looked into the question, may now be brought a little more closely home.

Systems, it is admitted, should not be judged altogether by their teachers, but here the deciding element is distinctly admissible. Ministers, it is felt, are often very far from what they should be—from what the Book which they profess to follow, and they themselves declare is required in him who would worthily fill the "holy office." They are in the way, especially when invited to a wider field of usefulness and a larger stipend, of speaking solemnly about their "call" to the ministry, but the "calling" does not always come out clearly to secular eyes. The process is something like this:—A boy is sent to school ; he shows some aptitude for Greek and Latin, and it is forthwith settled that he is to be made a minister. At home he is kept rigidly at his catechism and the routine of Sabbath observance, church-going, and the like. There is no question and little room for discovery yet as to personal aptitude or liking. He attends college, takes a bursary, leads a studious, or more likely a mildly roving, life. At the Divinity Hall he is ground into systematic theology, and probably somewhat more sedate habits. For some time, regulated by his popularity as a speaker or his influence with patrons, he teaches a school. He is then invited or presented to a church, and ordained by a few clergymen ; gets married, and settles down to his life-work. On Sundays he appears in the pulpit with flowing robes and grave countenance—tells the people that they must live holy lives, and engage in works of charity and goodness—that they must "give of their substance to the Lord," and above all beware of "damnable heresies." He visits a little, starched and dignified, and speaks to "his flock" in the language of the pulpit. But draw aside the curtain, as thinking men will do and are doing, and what is to be seen? Not unlikely a worldly, narrow-minded, grasping man, with no heart-interest in his work, and little care for the spiritual well-being of those over whom he is placed. You may see a man of unimpeachable virtue, or you may see one whose character and life are far below the world's standard of morality. Too often there is no common interest, no mutual understanding, no binding-link of sympathy between the minister and the people. Time was, after the stern system of compulsion had broken down, and some were able to perceive that a new order of things was required, when the minister tried to win the affections of his flock by other and kindlier agencies. Dr. Hamilton, of London, in language which,

coming from such a quarter, is specially note-worthy and hopeful, finely describes this relationship as seen in his father's Scotch manse, and laments its disappearance. "There occasionally came to the manse," he says, "distinguished visitors, but the more usual visitors were not distinguished. They were neither members of Parliament, nor makers of mighty books, but plain parishioners, or people equally plain from other parishes." Though neither great nor learned, "they had sense, they had vigour of mind, they had force of character, they had knowledge of their Bible, they had deep religious feeling." And, it is well asked, "Can you wonder that between such pastor and parishioners there was the closest and most confiding sympathy? Can you wonder that even those who disliked the doctrine, or who had the most reason to dread his reproof, never felt for a moment that there was any *hauteur* or isolation in the man? Can you wonder that nearly all the parish came to church, and that those who came looked up to their minister in respectful love, as the father of the parochial family? All this is well-nigh gone. Few ministers would care to entertain such guests, and few such guests could now be found."

Then, the services of the Church are often felt to be uninteresting and profitless. The formal, undevotional, sermonizing prayers; the inharmonious singing of less harmonious Psalms; the jumble of feeble commonplaces and passages of Scripture quoted and re-quoted, and applied in so many ways that they have long since lost all definite meaning, are to most minds an insufferable weariness. There is nothing to touch the heart or win the affections; nothing to satisfy the spiritual longings or prompt on to higher attainments; nothing in harmony with the intellect or with the experiences of life. In a word, the narrow and stereotyped doctrines of the Church on the one hand, the dread of progress, the spirit of repression, and the lack of enlightened interest in popular movements among the clergy, on the other,—these and kindred causes have produced a breach which, as men look for themselves into the Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture, is widening and deepening. Intellectually and spiritually, an increasing number are growing away from the Church and the great body of the clergy, and if no change take place will ultimately leave the one a mass of lifeless and exploded dogmas, and the other alone amidst empty pews.

Among the religious teachers in Scotland there are many noble exceptions; men who bring to their great work spiritual insight and broad sympathies, who rise above the creeds and have the power to draw, to awaken, to instruct. And where one comes to say what is in him with simplicity and earnestness, to speak as a man to men, the multitude as of old hear him

gladly—all the better if he speak from a platform or a stage. But if the Church is to become a living power, and to retain the element of good she has more or less consistently represented, if the thoughtful are to be brought into active sympathy with her institutions and the masses reclaimed to her fold, there must be a decisive and speedy change—a change which will liberalize and broaden, and will remove a galling control.

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#### ART. V.—EXTRADITION.

1. *On Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition.* By Sir G. C LEWIS. London: 1859.
2. *The Law of Extradition.* By EDWARD CLARKE, Esq. London: 1867.

A DISCUSSION in the House of Commons, shortly before the prorogation, upon our Extradition Treaty with France, touched on one of those many points on which our law still awaits the hand of reform; and the debate, if it did not show that the Legislature was at present prepared to deal with the subject, had at least the merit of calling public attention to it. That subject is a plain one. It has been generally laid down by the jurists of continental Europe that every State is bound by a sense of comity and justice, if not by the positive obligation of international law, as far as that law can be obligatory, to surrender to the other States their fugitive criminals. Notwithstanding the adverse authority of Lord Coke, it was at one time the prevalent opinion among our own lawyers also, that if a foreign murderer or robber fled to our shores it was a matter of course to deliver him up to his pursuers. Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Justice Heath, and Serjeant Hill on different occasions thought it clear that Government had the power to seize and send such a visitor for trial to the country in which he had committed his offence; and the great American chancellor, Kent, even went the length of laying down that the duty of extradition was of so high and imperative a nature that, in the absence of municipal laws for its enforcement, it was itself a law which judges were, by virtue of the nature of their office, bound to recognise and administer. But these views have not prevailed. It is now recognised both in England and America that the municipal law is in both countries defective in this respect, and that however imperative may be the international duty in question, neither the judicial nor the executive departments are invested by that law with the requisite powers for enforcing its performance. It

remains therefore for the Legislature to supply the defect. Now, it ought not, surely, to be a task of great difficulty or delicacy to provide that when a criminal flies from the scene of his crime to any part of our dominions, he should not find there immunity from punishment; and yet it may be feared that he who would undertake it would find arrayed against him not only the usual shy reluctance and trepidation with which reforms of the law are approached in this country, but some of the old-fashioned dislike and distrust of foreign nations and governments, and some prejudices and misconceptions in addition. On the other hand, however, it is not to be doubted that the worship of anomalies on account of their antiquity is fast decaying among us, and recent experience justifies the belief that they have now no longer a great party to pronounce them pillars or corner-stones of the Constitution. The opinion, too, is happily beginning to spread in the country, that honesty is the best policy of States, as it is of individuals, and that a powerful nation acquires a greater and better influence among other nations by acting with justice and courtesy towards them, than by the old methods of grasping at their colonies and destroying their commerce. It is not unreasonable to hope, therefore, that some degree of attention will be given to this subject, which affects at once our law and our foreign relations.

In speaking here of crimes committed abroad, it is advisable to observe *in limine* that only those acts are referred to which violate the moral sense as well as the criminal law, and incur the reprobation of the mass of mankind as well as the judgments of their tribunals, but not political offences or petty misdemeanors, or breaches of fiscal or local regulations, or violations of laws which themselves shock the moral sense, such as those which legalize slavery, or even breaches of the criminal law necessarily committed in violating such immoral laws, as when a slave kills his pursuer or steals a horse to gain his liberty, if such acts, under such circumstances, can be called crimes. In truth, the proscribed politician is no more a criminal in the eyes of those who are not his countrymen, than the runaway slave or the unauthorized wearer of a foreign uniform, such as that M. de Longchamps whose surrender the Government of Louis XVI. gravely demanded of the United States, for so grave an outrage on the majesty of France. The libeller, and even the smuggler, may be included in the same category. The crimes spoken of here are those which usually occupy our assize courts, such as murders and other violent outrages on the person, and the criminal destruction or appropriation of property in every form, and other offences of the like heinous character.



With the exception of piracy, which is the common property of the criminal tribunals of every nation, crime is in the eye of our law, save where it has been modified by legislation, cognizable exclusively by the judicature of the State within whose territory it was committed; and for this purpose public ships, whether on the high seas or in port, and private ships on the high seas, are considered as part of the territory of the nation to which they belong. Committed on a foreign soil, consequently, a crime is not, at common law, cognizable by the Queen's Courts, and the perpetrator of it who succeeds in reaching our territory is, therefore, safe from prosecution in our tribunals, whether he or the party injured be a subject or a foreigner. But further, he is equally safe there from the pursuit of the State whose law he has broken; for he cannot be delivered up to that State, for the same reason that a slave was free on English ground even in days when the proposal to abolish the slave trade was scouted as a revolutionary measure, because no public officer or private person has authority to deprive him of his liberty. Thus, then, any person who commits any crime in a foreign country would find himself, under the régime of the common law, effectually sheltered from all human justice as soon as he touched British soil.

Though this is still the general rule of our law, it has not been left intact. Parliament has provided that in some cases the fugitives shall be delivered up to the aggrieved State, in some others that they shall be tried in our own courts. Let us see what has been done in both these directions.

In 1842, 1843, and 1862 treaties were made with three nations—the United States, France, and Denmark—for the mutual surrender of fugitives, charged with certain offences; and as treaties have not here, as they have in America (where, however, the sanction of the Senate is essential to their validity), the force of law, Acts of Parliament were passed to give to the Government, the magistracy, and the police the requisite powers to arrest, investigate, and surrender. A fourth treaty was entered into in 1864 with Prussia; but as no Act has been passed to give similar effect to its provisions, it has remained a dead letter. The treaty with the United States applies to charges of murder and murderous assaults, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery, and the utterance of forged paper; that with France is confined to murder and murderous assaults, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy. Neither treaty makes any distinction between subjects and foreigners. The Englishman who commits in America or France any of the offences comprised in them, is as liable to extradition by us as an American or a Frenchman, and the subject of any other nation is equally liable to be delivered

up to the offended State. The treaty with Denmark comprises the same offences as the French convention, but the subjects of the power on which the requisition is made are excluded from its operation. Thus, if an English clerk forges his employer's name in New York or Paris, he would be delivered up to the American or French Government; but if he committed the crime in Copenhagen, he would find himself safe in England, or, nearer still, in Heligoland, from the pursuit of the Danish police. The three Acts of Parliament passed to give effect to the above-mentioned treaties have thus so far modified the general rule, that for a few crimes a fugitive criminal is liable, whether he be a British subject or a foreigner, to be surrendered to the United States and to France, and is also similarly liable to be surrendered to Denmark if he is not a British subject. But for all other crimes committed in these countries, and for all crimes whatsoever committed elsewhere, the protection accorded to criminals by the common law from the vengeance of foreign States remains unimpaired.

If we thus refuse to surrender persons accused of having committed offences abroad, how far do we undertake the task of trying and punishing them ourselves? If the accused are foreigners, they are deemed, on general principles of public law, to be not subject to the jurisdiction of our courts for such offences. If they are British subjects, they have been made amenable to them by the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1855 and 1867, for any offence committed in a foreign port on board an English ship, or on board a foreign ship to which they do not belong. They are also punishable by our law for offences committed in countries where extra-territorial jurisdiction has been granted, such as Turkey, China, Japan, and Siam; but, under other circumstances, the only offences, it is believed, for which they are liable, when committed abroad, are treason, treasonable felony, breaches of the Foreign Enlistment Act, burning of the Queen's ships or magazines, homicide, slave-dealing, and bigamy. If an Englishman murders a negro in Brazil, he may be hanged for it at the Old Bailey; but if he will only confine his savage instincts to wounds or mutilation or torture, he may gratify them amply without fear of that or any other British tribunal. If he buys a negress there, he will find penal servitude in store for him in his native land; but he may with absolute impunity, as far as the law of his country is concerned, outrage her person or do her any other injuries except take her life, or, if he or she be already in the bonds of holy matrimony, marry her. The woman who is entrapped at Boulogne into a marriage with an already married Englishman, may pursue him in every part of the British empire; but if he obtains possession of her person by force instead of the fraud of a marriage ceremony, he is neither

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. I

amenable to his own law nor liable to be delivered up to the authorities of the country in which he committed his crime.

Those who would support such a state of the law as just and wise must contend either that duty requires, or that policy recommends that we should make our territories the asylum of malefactors. It is difficult to believe that this would be urged seriously. As far as the claims of justice in the abstract are concerned, if it be just that a criminal should be arrested and brought to trial, it must be equally just whether he has run one mile or a thousand before he is caught, and whether he is caught on the territory of the State where the crime was committed, or on that of any other ; for crime is not expiated by fleetness of foot, or divested by a change of clime. If he takes refuge with any person in the country where the misdeed was done, it is the duty of that person to deliver him up to the officers of justice ; and if, instead of doing so, he screens the culprit from their pursuit, he becomes an accessory, or participator in the crime. But if this be, as it unquestionably is, a serious offence in a private person, it cannot be presumed to be a commendable act on the part of a State. The presumption is the other way, and it is therefore incumbent on those who defend such a course of conduct to show that either interest or honour requires or justifies it. What interest of Great Britain can possibly be promoted by it ? Is the presence of the fugitive an advantage ? On the contrary, it is manifestly a detriment. The presence of criminals, at large and unmolested, is a danger and a contamination to the inhabitants of the country which receives them ; and the spectacle of crime unpunished and triumphant is always a scandal and evil example. But farther, the refusal to surrender a malefactor is a just cause of irritation to the State whose law has been broken, and not only tends to foster, and in some measure to justify those national antipathies which education and mutual intercourse are doing their best to obliterate, but leads to retaliation, the nation which denies the demand for justice being naturally, if not wisely, denied it in turn. All nations have a common interest in waging war on crime, and a common interest in assisting each other in waging it. The State which surrenders a criminal to-day will need the same service to-morrow, and on that account alone should make the surrender. But this mutual help, readily and willingly accorded, like every other act of friendship, has a good effect on the relations of the two States ; and the State which confers the favour gains the additional advantage of ridding itself and its subjects of a dangerous member of the community. However, it is not necessary to dwell further on views which would probably be questioned by

but few persons, for, as above shown, the principle of the absolute impunity of fugitive criminals is no longer maintained.

Regarded merely as a want of justice to foreign nations or their subjects, this state of the law might disturb many of us but moderately; but what should we say of it when we shifted a little our point of vision, and contemplated it as it affected ourselves? If we see with indifference the Swede or Spaniard, who but a month ago murdered his fellow-countryman in his own streets, haunting our parks, theatres, and taverns, shall we bear with equal patience his presence among us when his victim was an Englishman? Though we may boast that a Frenchwoman has power to prosecute in any part of the British dominions an Englishman who committed bigamy in marrying her abroad, what shall be our feelings on reflecting that an Englishwoman has no redress in her own country either against her own countryman or against a foreigner, if the crime is rape? We were once taught that every Briton, even such a Briton as Don Pacifico, was a *civis Romanus*, and might count on protection from wrong or reparation for it, all over the world; but we shall not fully estimate the value of this assurance until we apply our law to ourselves in such a case as the following. An English gentleman travelling with his wife and daughter in the South of Italy, or in Sicily, or Greece—it matters not which—fell, like Mr. Moens, into the hands of brigands. They were plundered and stripped, and, we grieve to add, they were also outraged and tortured with a brutality and cruelty known only to such banditti; but at last, after a long captivity, they were ransomed at the price of half their fortune. Shortly after their return to London they learned that their captors, eluding the pursuit of a military force which had been despatched against them, had reached an English vessel on the coast which had carried them safely to Malta, and that they were then actually living in the next street and faring sumptuously on their booty. The gentleman hurries off to Bow-street and applies for a warrant, but he is told that, as the crimes and the criminals belong to a foreign soil, they are not justiciable by British courts, and that any British magistrate or British policeman who ventured to molest them would have to answer for it to a British jury in an action of trespass. Doubting the magistrate's law, he ventures to remonstrate, but his worship reiterates his refusal to interfere, quoting, in order to satisfy his mind, from Lord Coke's third Institute that "it has ever been holden and resolved, that divided kingdoms, ruled by several kings, are the sanctuaries for subjects flying from one to the other, and that they ought not to be delivered up." Learning, on further inquiry, that some of the gang are Maltese, he returns to the magistrate, and claims that justice may be done on *them*, at

all events, they being British subjects. But fresh disappointment awaits him. "If indeed they had murdered you," says the worthy functionary, "or if it was bigamy which they had committed on your wife and daughter, they would have been accountable to the majesty of the law of England for it; but as you have only lost your ears and your property, and the outrages on the ladies of your family were not preceded by a bigamous marriage, no offence has been committed against it, and no redress therefore can be given to you by any British tribunal." Thinking that he may obtain from Italy what is refused him by England, he flies from the judicial officer to the Secretary of State, and prays that justice may be demanded of the Government of Victor Emmanuel. But here again the door is shut against him. In the first place, the statesman tells him, Italy has not demanded the surrender of the men; in the next, we could not recognise her right to make any such demand, for she has not any extradition treaty with us; and further, if she had, we should be unable, as in the case of Prussia, to comply with her request, for no act of Parliament empowers us to arrest the criminals, or even to turn them out of the street where their presence is such an intolerable insult and humiliation to you. "Can nothing then be done," exclaims the baffled applicant, "to bring these monsters to justice?" "Nothing legally," replies the Minister; "Mr. Seward, I am aware, delivered up to Spain two or three years ago, a wretch named Arguelles, accused of having sold a hundred and forty negroes who had been landed and set free in a district of Cuba, of which he was governor; but Mr. Seward was threatened with a vote of censure in Congress for his exploit, and, much as I honour him for his breach of the law, I fear too much the double danger of a virtuous Opposition and of an indignant Middlesex jury to venture on following so unconstitutional an example." What course remains open to our *civis Romanus*?—to take into his own hands that law which no human power will wield for him? or to merge the memory of his wrongs in admiration of the magnanimity with which his native land offers rest and peace to all human villany?

If it should be asked is this story true, or a mere invention, we would ask, in answer, shall we wait until it is duly authenticated in the columns of our newspapers with full particulars of the names, ages, personal appearance, and social standing of the victims, before we awaken to a sufficiently lively sense of the necessity of putting our law in a condition adapted to deal efficiently with such a case? If not, it would be well to set at once about this task.

*Primâ facie*, the general principle that a person charged with a crime ought to be tried for it in or near the place where the act was committed, is most consistent with justice and convenience. The

witnesses, not only for the prosecution, but for the defence, are most likely to be there: their attendance at the trial can be better enforced there, and they can attend without enormous inconvenience to themselves and enormous cost to those who require their testimony. Thus, accuser and accused are benefited, as well as witnesses; while to delegate the trial to a foreign tribunal is not only to impose a comparatively heavy burden on the public purse which pays for the prosecution, and an intolerable grievance to the witnesses, but in many cases a denial of the means of defence to the prisoner. The place of the crime, too, is the most suitable place for its expiation as well as for its investigation. It is there that the cry for justice is loudest; it is there that the example of retribution overtaking crime is most needed. It is, besides, to the offended State that not only the right, but the burden of inflicting the retribution belongs. For all these reasons it is *primâ facie* desirable that the offender should be delivered up to the State in whose territory he committed the crime.

All this may perhaps be conceded when the fugitive is a foreigner; but if he is an Englishman, is he too, it will be asked, to be delivered up to the foreign State in whose territory he committed the crime? Why not? It is the law of that country, not ours, which he has violated. To it he is, beyond all question, responsible. An Englishman has no more right to claim immunity from it than a Frenchman or Prussian would be entitled to question the jurisdiction of the Old Bailey to try him for any crime which he had committed in London. Does he acquire a moral claim to immunity from it by crossing the Channel? If the foreign law which he has violated does not arrest him on our soil it is not because justice, but because power, fails it; and it is our duty to come to its aid, unless it can be shown to be our duty to stand by every ruffian who can claim to be our fellow-countryman, and to screen him from the just vengeance of another State simply because he is a fellow-countryman. The question which we should then have to ask ourselves would be not whether there were grounds for believing that the fugitive had committed a crime, but whether he was born *intra* or *extra quatuor maria*. But should national sympathy, however worthless its object may be, be stronger than the love of justice, the hatred of crime, or that disappointment which is felt when justice is baffled and crime is triumphant? Sympathy for a fellow-countryman is a very laudable sentiment, but unless it is to deaden us to those other and higher feelings, it can require or justify no more than that we should protect him, under such circumstances, against injustice and barbarity. We are bound to see that he is treated with humanity, and that he is tried with expedition and justice, and that if innocent he is restored to his

country ; but we have no just right to ensure him immunity from punishment. If, indeed, the procedure of the offended State was grossly unjust or inhuman, such as was that of most Continental States, up to the time of the French Revolution, where torture was applied to the accused, we might reasonably refuse to deliver up a fellow-subject ; but we should with equal justice extend the same protection to all other persons without distinction of nationality, for it would not be national but human sympathy which would prevent us from abandoning them to so barbarous a Power. On this ground the surrender of any fugitive criminal to such Powers as China, for instance, would be refused ;\* but it would not justify a similar refusal to most of the States of Europe. There may be much in the criminal procedure of those States repugnant to English opinion or feeling. Those who admire the solicitude with which a prisoner is warned, in English courts, against making any statement lest it should be used to his prejudice, stand aghast at seeing him cross-examined by the judge on the bench ; and if they are lawyers they shudder also at the utter disregard displayed by that functionary of all those rules of the law of evidence which they hold most sacred. But assuming that our system is superior in these and other respects, it does not follow that the procedure which is in force among the most enlightened nations of Europe, without incurring the general reprobation of those among their subjects who are most competent to judge of it, is so wholly barbarous, that to expose an accused person to it is a greater evil than to screen a criminal from punishment. A Secretary of State in a former age might reasonably have objected to deliver up even the *Fra Diavolos* of our story (see p. 115) to courts which proceeded by rack and wheel and thumb-screw and red-hot pincers ; but what would now be said in leading articles

\* For this reason, also, it has been usual to engage those Powers by treaty to abandon all criminal jurisdiction over the so-called civilized criminal who commits any offence in their territories, and to leave the task of punishing him to the State to which he belongs. That such treaties are necessary in the present condition of the laws and judicial institutions of these countries is not questioned, but that they have often led to great abuses is still less doubtful. Mr. Stanley rendered an important public service in directing attention to this subject in his excellent volume of essays called "*East and West.*" He mentions, for example, a case where an English official in China sentenced an Englishman to a penalty of five hundred dollars and banishment from China, for deliberately discharging a revolver three times into a crowd of Chinese, and at the third shot killing one of them. This is but one instance out of many, illustrative of the mockery of justice which has been sometimes perpetrated in the East in the name of England. Such judgments bring our name into greater disrepute and hatred than even the crimes on which they are pronounced ; but it is to be hoped that the recent establishment of a regular court for China and Japan will prevent the recurrence of such scandals in those countries.

of a statesman too philosophical or tender-hearted to expose them to anything so frightfully un-English as an examination? With what temper should we receive the refusal of a foreign Power to surrender to us a fugitive criminal on the ground that a tribunal of a dozen tradesmen or yeomen is too ignorant and credulous, and too easily swayed by passion, to be trusted with the determination of questions affecting life and liberty, and that a procedure which rejected not only the prisoner's evidence but that of his wife, denied him just means of defence? How pithily would a Foreign Secretary of a constitutional turn of mind warn it of its incompetency to judge of institutions with which it had no practical acquaintance, and remind it of its manifest duty to aid its neighbours in bringing criminals to justice, when there was nothing revolting to humanity in the procedure of the State demanding its good offices. The present generation would be perhaps horrified at the thought of delivering up a person for trial before a court which denied him the liberty of making his defence by counsel, forgetting that it is only thirty years since that privilege was first granted in our courts to persons accused of felony, and that many a learned head shook gravely at the innovation. It should be remembered that human institutions are imperfect, none more so than judicial institutions; and that as our own are not beyond the reach of criticism and improvement, so all others may not be necessarily iniquitous which are based on principles foreign to our own. At all events, if we are to refuse to surrender criminals until foreign States have put the procedure of their tribunals in harmony with our views, we may as well resolve at once to return to the common law of Lord Coke, and preserve British soil sacred to the rascality of all the earth. It is unnecessary, however, to pursue the subject, for England and, we are glad to add, the United States have never hesitated to recognise the principle that if a person accused of a crime ought to be surrendered, his nationality is immaterial.

It is true France, notwithstanding her Extradition Treaty with us, Denmark, Prussia, and other Continental States refuse to surrender their subjects; but if we are to follow their example in this respect, instead of setting them a better one, we should at least follow their example completely, and make that provision for such cases upon which they justify their refusal. They hold their subjects liable to their own tribunals for all crimes committed by them abroad. Why should we not do so likewise? Unquestionably a State may legitimately impose its law on its own subjects for every act done by them in any part of the world; and England has exercised this power over her subjects, though how inadequately and capriciously has been shown above. If we



may justly punish Englishmen who commit abroad the six or seven offences mentioned above (p. 113), we may with equal justice extend the catalogue, and like France, make them amenable to our tribunals for every act committed abroad which is included by our law in the black list of crimes. If therefore we refuse to surrender a criminal because he is our subject, or because humanity and justice cannot be ensured, we ought to be prepared to offer to the injured State the alternative of a trial before our own tribunals.

How far foreigners may, consistently with the recognised principles of the law of nations, be made amenable for crimes committed abroad is a different question. As a general rule, the State to which a foreign criminal has fled has no just right, though of course it has the power, to call him to account for his offence. He was not subject to its law, and owed no obedience to it when he committed his crime; consequently he did not violate it. The Prussian who robs or murders a Frenchman in the streets of Paris breaks the law of France, not that of England; by what right then the Prussian Government might ask, is the culprit who fled to England after committing the crime, tried by an English court of justice? What wrong has he done to England, that England should, even at the request of the offended State, punish or imprison him? For her own peace and safety she might justly expel him; in the discharge of the generally recognised duty she ought to deliver him up to France; but it would be certainly carrying the powers of legislation beyond their legitimate limits to punish an offence committed abroad by a foreigner on a foreigner.\* It may be questioned, however, whether the rule as laid down by Wheaton and other writers on the law of nations, that it is not competent to a State to punish a foreigner for any offence committed abroad, is not stated too generally, and whether it ought not to be limited to cases where the offence itself, as well as the scene of its commission and the offender, is foreign to that State. If, for instance, in the case above supposed, the victim were an English subject, is it clear that England would have no moral right to punish the offender when she found him in her power? Extradition

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\* The Legislative Council of India is of a different opinion. It enacted in 1849 that all subjects of British India, all Government servants while in the service, and for six months after, and all persons who have dwelt for six months in India, subject to its laws, who are either apprehended in India, or delivered to a magistrate in India, no matter where apprehended, should be amenable to the law for all offences committed within the territories of any foreign prince or State. And yet the powers delegated to the authors of this very *ultra vires* Act were expressly limited by Parliament to persons within British India and to Government servants in foreign States in alliance with its Government.

might meet the ends of justice in such a case, but it does not follow that the State to which the murdered man belonged would have no right to assume the task of bringing his murderer to account. In other cases extradition might not be equally expedient or even right. If a French or a Malay sailor murders his English comrade in some Eastern island, and then finds his way to an English possession, to send the Frenchman to France for trial would be to appeal to a country which was not the scene of the crime, and would involve enormous expense and inconvenience in sending the witnesses there also; but the Malay could not be sent to his rajah, and it would seem to be a startling assertion that the offender was to be left with the blood of our countryman on his hands, unmolested and even protected by our law, because the savage inhabitants of the place where the crime was committed, and the little principality which claimed him as its subject, were equally destitute of any judicial institutions which a civilized State could recognise.

But further, suppose that the sufferer by the crime is not a private person, but a State, can it be that that State has not, in moral or in public law, the right to avenge itself of those who injure it, by bringing them before its own tribunals? If a Frenchman coins base sovereigns in France and flies to Dover from the pursuit of his own law, with what semblance of reason or justice could he claim immunity from ours? Are foreigners to be at liberty to conspire in a foreign land to overthrow the government of a State, and is that Government not to be entitled to treat them as criminals when they come voluntarily within its jurisdiction unless they commit an overt act within it? To say that extradition would prevent a failure of justice in such cases does not prove that the other alternative is not justifiable. Even if it were clear that the foreign law would reach the last supposed case, it seems not unreasonable to question the existence of any principle or rule of public law which would condemn a Government to impotence against filibusters who threaten its existence, as long as their hostile acts were done beyond the limits of its territory. The treatment of captured blockade-runners affords no analogy in support of any such rule, and it finds no countenance in the municipal law of some nations, at all events. The French Criminal Code, for instance, makes foreigners liable to its tribunals for treason and for forgery of the French State seal, coin, or public securities, committed abroad, whether as principals or accessories; and the Court of Cassation appears to have held, in a murder case, that they were similarly liable, independently of express enactment, for crimes committed against a French subject in savage or semi-barbarous countries; *Ortolan, Diplom. de la Mer, i. 285.*

Indeed, other cases might be suggested where the duty of punishing a foreign offender for an offence abroad would seem justly to fall on a State, although neither itself nor any of its subjects were the object of the crime. If, for example, a number of foreigners, settled on the borders of Canada, were to cross the boundary from time to time and to commit depredations in the United States, would not the British Government be justified in bringing them to justice? But if it be said that the proper course would be to deliver them up to the American authorities, let the scene and the actors be changed, and imagine the gang to be Chinese settled in the island of Singapore, and crossing over to the territory of our recent guest, the Tumanggung of Johore, and plundering and murdering there; or suppose that a Norwegian sailor belonging to an English ship in a river or roadstead in Borneo, commits a murder on shore,\* what should be said of our law of nations, and of our civilized scruples and refinements, if we refused not only to deliver up the culprits, on account of the unsatisfactory condition of the native judicature, but to punish them ourselves, because they were foreigners and their crimes were not committed on British soil? We might be justly told by the Malay rajahs that to refer them for redress to the Emperor of China or the King of Sweden was a mockery, and that we were bound to punish ourselves, if we would not deliver up to the authorities of the offended States, the culprits whom we sheltered near, or actually carried to their shores. It is submitted, then, as a reasonable proposition, that a State is justly entitled to avenge itself for injuries done to it or its citizens, by punishing the guilty parties whenever they fall into its power, even though they are not its subjects, and though their crime was not committed within its jurisdiction; that it is entitled to punish foreigners for crimes committed abroad, when either

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\* The Merchants' Shipping Act of 1854, sect. 267, appears at first sight to meet this case, by providing that all offences committed either ashore or afloat, out of the British dominions, by *any master, seaman, or apprentice* employed in a British ship when the offence was committed, or within three months previously, are to be justiciable by our courts; but this enactment, though not in express terms limited to British subjects, is obviously inapplicable to foreigners in a foreign country. According to the general rule of international law referred to in the text even when limited as there suggested, it would not be competent to try in England a foreign seaman for a crime committed in his own country twelve weeks after he had ceased to serve on board an English ship, and it would consequently, in construing the Act, be presumed that Parliament had not intended to legislate for such a case, when the words used admit of a more limited meaning. Language as general has been construed by our courts so as not to include foreigners abroad. Thus, an Act which provided that when a person feloniously injured abroad died in England, *the offence might be tried* where the death occurred, and the copyright Act of Anne, which gave *authors* the sole right of printing their works for fourteen years, have been held not to apply to foreigners abroad.

itself or its subjects are the sufferers, or the offence was committed virtually under its flag, or in breach of its hospitality, by reason of its territory being made, as it were, the base of the criminal operations, if it refuses to surrender the culprit to the injured State. If these propositions were accepted, the American President's proposed amendment on the principle of allegiance which is common to this country and to the United States, would probably meet with no objection on this side of the Atlantic.

There still remains the class of cases where the State to which the criminal has fled unquestionably could not properly either deliver him up to the nation whose law he had broken, nor yet judge him itself. If, for instance, a foreign sailor of a foreign ship were to murder a Malay on the coast of Sumatra, and to find his way to Hong Kong, it would not be the province of an English court of justice to punish him for his crime, nor could our Government without inhumanity surrender him to the rajah of the place where the crime had been committed. In such cases justice would be defeated if our law did not authorize the surrender of the criminal to the State of which he was the subject.

It must be added, that in these and other cases of extradition, the Government of the place of refuge might be still further instrumental in forwarding the ends of justice, by lending the aid of its police and magistrates to the State whose duty it is to try and punish the offender. When, for instance, an American ship arrives in Liverpool after a murder committed on board of it on the high seas, our law might well require that the services of the Liverpool constabulary and the coercive jurisdiction of the Liverpool magistrates should be made auxiliary to the American consul in preparing the case for trial before the courts of his country.

There remains to be considered a question, not of principle, but of machinery only. Is it necessary that the arrest of a fugitive criminal should be the subject of a preliminary negotiation between two nations, and a previous authorization by the Executive? This is not found necessary in the United States or Canada. That his surrender should be made by the Executive of the place of refuge to the Executive of the State entitled to him, is no doubt indispensable, for nations can communicate with each other only by that agency; and the magistrates of one country can have no authority to commit a prisoner to the goals of another. But why should an application from one State to another, and an order from the Executive of the latter to its magistrates and police, be an essential preliminary to the arrest? If it be just that the murderer or swindler of one country should be arrested in another, it seems but reasonable that the arrest should be effected with as little ceremony and delay as possible. Mr. Clarke, to whose industry we are indebted for the work on extradition mentioned at the head of this

article, states that of the twenty-two applications for criminals made by France on England between 1843 and 1866, two only were complied with; while of the nine similar requests by England on France, one only was successful; and he attributes these unsatisfactory results to the delay entailed by the preliminary formalities required for putting the law in force; the fugitive generally getting wind of what is passing in the offices of the two governments, and providing for his safety before the police has power to act.

If the preceding observations are well founded, it is plain that our law needs some important alterations. Starting with the general principle that is the common interest of all nations that what all recognise as heinous offences should not go unpunished, and that it is the duty of all to assist in bringing them to justice, it would be necessary, in the first instance, to determine what offences committed abroad should fall within the jurisdiction of our law for the purposes either of extradition or of trial. Excluding political offences affecting foreign powers, offences against immoral laws, and those necessarily committed in violating such laws, also breaches of mere police and fiscal regulations, the catalogue might comprise treason against our Crown, all felonies, and some of the graver misdemeanours. Next, as the country where the crime was committed is *primâ facie* the most suitable, or, as it may be called, the natural place of trial and punishment, the law should authorize the extradition of all persons, whether subjects or aliens, charged, on reasonable grounds, with having committed any of those crimes abroad, to the State whose law had been thereby broken, if its criminal procedure and punishments were not grossly barbarous, unjust, or cruel, on the conditions that the accused should not be molested in respect of any other offence than that for which the extradition was granted, and (at least when the fugitive was a British subject), that he should be brought to trial within a reasonable time, should be treated with humanity in the meanwhile, and should be sent back if acquitted, or if not tried within a reasonable time. To what States this privilege should be accorded, it might be left to the Government from time to time to determine; for the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament would be an ample guarantee against the abuse of a power which they would be probably more competent to exercise than Parliament itself. Secondly, as extradition is not always justifiable or advisable, British subjects should be made amenable to our Courts in every part of the British dominions in which they might be found, for the same offences committed abroad; and here again it might be left to the Government to determine whether the accused should be delivered to the foreign State or

tried at home. Thirdly, foreigners might be made similarly amenable, when the crime was not foreign to us, but affected our Government or our subjects, or when it was committed virtually under our flag, or in abuse of our hospitality, and we declined to surrender them to the State in whose territory it was committed. In all such cases of trial in our Courts, the previous acquittal or conviction abroad would, of course, be a valid defence. To these provisions a fourth might be added, authorizing the extradition of foreigners to the State entitled to their allegiance, although the crime was not committed within its jurisdiction, in any cases where such extradition would promote the ends of justice. Another provision might empower foreign consuls or others to obtain the aid of our police and magistrates, when engaged in investigating a case against a foreigner destined for a foreign tribunal, such as the case of an American charged in Liverpool with a murder in an American ship on the high seas. Lastly, the arrest of a criminal for extradition should be allowed without any previous intervention of the executive authorities of either state. It should be competent not only to the Government of a foreign country, by its diplomatic, consular, or police agents, but to a private prosecutor, to apply directly to a magistrate for a warrant, in the same manner as if the crime had been committed within sound of Bow bells; or for the backing of the warrant of a foreign magistrate or other authority, when adequately supported by evidence authenticated under the hand or seal of the latter. The commitment would direct that the prisoner should abide the orders of the Secretary of State, to be given within such a time as should be deemed reasonable, and that in default of such orders the prisoner should be discharged. The extradition or commitment for trial to our own Courts, or the release of the accused, would then remain for the consideration of the Executive.

These suggestions are offered with much diffidence, but they will accomplish the end which they have in view if they contribute to direct the attention of our legislators and jurists to the task of making such changes in our law as shall put an end to the country being an asylum for every crime committed abroad by almost all foreigners who seek a refuge on her soil, and to most crimes committed by our own subjects abroad, who succeed in returning home. It has been seen that extradition treaties have hardly affected this position; for not only they relate to fugitives from three States only, and to but a few of the worst crimes, but in their operation they have been little better than a dead letter. It has been mentioned that in two cases only, out of twenty-two, have we complied with the demands of France for the surrender of a

prisoner, and though the United States were a little more fortunate, having obtained an extradition in six cases, all of murder or attempted murder on the high seas on board American ships which put into Liverpool, they failed in several instances. If, indeed, this were the only objection to them, it might, perhaps, be removed by the means already suggested; but they are based on the radically wrong principle of making a matter of contract that which ought to be a matter of duty, or at least comity, on our part to other nations. But it will be asked, are we to give up their fugitives to States which refuse to give us up ours? Why not? If the refusal of those States is injurious to us, let us resort to some more worthy form of redress than fraternizing with their criminals. Retaliation in such a case is at once ignoble and damaging to ourselves. When the war between Free-trade and Protection was at its height, twenty-five years ago, there was for a short time a party of compromise, which preached the doctrine of reciprocity, teaching that we should mete out Free-trade to those nations only which gave us good measure of Free-trade; but that we should practise unmitigated Protection towards those which clung to antiquated commercial heresies. But such views, fortunately, met with little approval. It was felt that though we were not bound by any moral obligation to open our ports to those who refused to open theirs to us, it would be as derogatory to the dignity as it was prejudicial to the interests of the country, to persevere in a policy which we condemned as unsound, towards those nations which were less advanced in economical science, for the mere purpose of driving them, however reluctant, into commercial treaties with us. In the present case, a policy of retaliation would be far less justifiable, for the protection of criminals from justice is a breach of a moral obligation, and incompatible with a just regard for our national honour; and it is also as unwise as it is discreditable.

What does England gain by it? Assuming that Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, and other countries refuse to deliver up to her even her own subjects, who fly to them after perpetrating crimes in her dominions, what does she gain by making her territories an Alsatia to the criminals of all those nations? Or let us ask, in order to obtain a more dispassionate answer of English readers, what would the United States have gained if, not bound by the Ashburton treaty, they had refused to deliver up Müller, the murderer of Mr. Briggs? With what sarcastic congratulations would they not have been hailed on this side of the Atlantic for the glory won by their hospitality to a murderer, the comfort of having him domiciled among their citizens, the prospective advantage

of enrolling him, in due time, in their ranks? Surely, the love of reprisals is carried far when it finds gratification in acts at once unworthy of our character, and more injurious to ourselves than to those whom we seek to spite.

As long as we deal with extradition by means of treaties, so long, of course, we shall be governed, if not by the principle of claiming as much and giving as little as possible, at least by that of giving no more than we get. Proceeding on the principle of strict reciprocity in our treaties with Denmark and Prussia, we stipulated for the exemption of our own subjects from extradition, not because we entertained any scruple about surrendering them, as our treaties with France and America prove, but simply because Denmark and Prussia insisted on a similar exemption in favour of their subjects. And yet this reciprocity was more apparent than real; it placed us not on a level with those Powers, but below them; for if they refuse to surrender their criminal subjects, they make them amenable to their own tribunals. If they refuse to deliver up a Dane or Prussian who commits forgery in London, they are ready to try him in their own country; but we not only refuse to give up to them the English forger who has committed his crime in their country, we decline to try him for it in our own courts.

To make the extradition of criminals a matter of contract between ourselves and other States is but to sow the seeds of irritation between us and them. Every failure to comply with a demand, though it may be owing to blunder, or misconception, or delay, or accident, lays the parties to the treaty open to the imputation of not honestly performing their part of the bargain. Because the Act which gives effect to the treaty requires that the demand shall be made by a diplomatic agent, it must be rejected if made by a consul, and a prisoner will be discharged upon *habeas corpus*, however grave the crime and weighty the evidence, if he was arrested without the order of a Secretary of State. In the first case of a demand by France, the prisoner was set at liberty because the magistrate had made a technical mistake in the warrant of commitment. In the first demand made by America, a magistrate refused to issue a warrant because he was furnished, not with *copies* of the depositions, as provided by the Act, but with the original depositions themselves! When America stipulated for extradition in cases of forgery, she might reasonably believe that this term included false entries in commercial books, made by clerks to conceal their defalcations, for such an act is forgery in America; but it is not forgery in our law, and when the United States demanded the surrender of Windsor for that offence, two or three years ago, it was refused on that account. The same treaty entitled the United States



to the extradition of pirates; but when Ternan was committed, on their application, for piracy, in the ordinary sense of the term, the Queen's Bench ordered his discharge. Piracy, it was said, had two meanings; piracy properly so called, that is, the crime which is a breach of the law of nations, and punishable by the courts of all nations, and any crime which the municipal law chooses to call piracy, such as the slave trade is reckoned to be by English and American law. But, it was held, it was only in the latter sense that the term could have been used in the treaty, since the treaty declared that its object was to provide for the surrender of criminals who committed offences within the jurisdiction of one of the contracting parties, and sought an asylum in the territories of the other—language not applicable to pirates *jure gentium*, for their crime was committed within the jurisdiction, not of any one State, but of all, and as it was triable by all, the offenders could not be said to seek an asylum in any one of them, as none was a place of safety to them. It cannot be doubted that these and other decisions, which have been fatal to demands for extradition, created great dissatisfaction both in France and America. The former country, indeed, not long after the treaty, did not hesitate to declare that it was idle to attempt to obtain the surrender of criminals from us. For some years she abstained from making any demand for it, and ultimately, in 1865, denounced the treaty. Far be it from us to question any of these or other decisions of our authorities, whether judicial or executive; but people in France and America, not more tender of the character of their judges than other dissatisfied suitors, are likely to regard them as betraying not only bad reasoning, and bad law, but bad faith. If our law was on that footing for which we contend, and we had cast extradition conventions to the winds, we should be able to meet all just and reasonable demands, whether for extradition, or for justice in our own tribunals; and we should meet them, not as the apparently reluctant parties to a hard bargain, narrowly confining our acts within the strict letter of our contract, but as enlightened members of the community of nations, sensible of the duty which that position imposes on us towards the other members of it, and at the same time preserving a freedom of action which treaties do not leave to us. And if obstacles did sometimes interfere with the discharge of that duty, we should at least not be exposed to the charge of evading the observance of an obligation.

In earlier times, the subject of the extradition and punishment of criminals who fled from one country to another, was of no practical importance. When roads were few and bad, and public conveyances unknown; when the Channel was not crossed without appreciable peril, and the intercourse between nations

was difficult and rare, the escape of a criminal to a foreign country was a contingency too remote for consideration ; and the odious practice of torture employed by the tribunals of continental Europe would have justified a refusal of the surrender of any malefactor who took refuge under our flag. The question, however, has acquired a very different importance since steam has been applied to locomotion, and men can pass from one country to another with more ease and celerity than they could pass from one parish to another, a hundred years ago. Nations are now united by a hundred ties unknown to our ancestors, for not only do railways, steamers, and telegraphic lines draw them together, but the hostile tariffs, religious hatreds, and national animosities of olden times, have yielded or are yielding to the sunshine of intellectual light, and making way to feelings of mutual friendship and esteem.

It is time, then, that our law should be brought into harmony with the spirit or the wants of our age. If it has been left till now in its antiquated condition, it is probable that the political refugee has hitherto been the chief obstacle to a reform of it. Nobody, indeed, dreams of including him in any extradition law ; but, nevertheless, many persons in this country fancy that they see in any such law a trap laid for him. They look upon extradition as synonymous with a breach of hospitality towards men whose only crimes are love of their country and hatred of its tyrants and oppressors ; and if, they say, the despotic governments of Europe ask us to surrender their criminals to them as freely as they are willing to surrender ours to us, it is not because they desire to recover and punish the vulgar assassins and swindlers of whose presence they are well rid, but to get into their hands, by means of a false charge, the real objects of their hatred and fear—their political antagonists. But it might be asked, whether such reasoners, under the influence of fear for the safety of persons with whose misfortune all naturally sympathize, are not hasty in imputing, not only unbounded skill and unscrupulousness to foreign statesmen, but also egregious blindness and stupidity to our own executive and judicial officers. And even if their estimate of both were well-founded, it might yet be asked whether the possible abuse of a good thing affords a just argument against it.

“ There’s nought so good, but strained from that fair use  
Revolts from true birth, stumbling in abuse.  
Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied.”

Is all traffic in poison prohibited because murders have sometimes been committed by its means ? Is the press silenced because, in bad hands, libels may issue from it ? Is railway traffic stopped on account of the terrible injuries which

are sometimes caused by it? If not, why should we refuse to surrender persons reasonably suspected of the worst crimes, to the States whose laws have been broken, or to which they owe allegiance, through the fear that a foreign government may be induced on some occasion to incur the disgrace and, it may be added, the danger of practising on a powerful nation the scandalous fraud of laying its hands on an enemy by means of a false accusation and subornation of perjury, and that our own officials may be so weak or inattentive as to be made its dupes, or so corrupt as to become its accomplices? If such a case should ever occur, we should no longer be entitled to treat such fears as chimerical; but meanwhile we are disposed to class them with those misgivings which inspired prophecies of evil against railways and steamboats, against free trade, the use of chloroform, the admission of Jews into Parliament, and still more recently against the "leap in the dark."



#### ART. VI.—THE ORIGIN OF ELECTRICITY.

1. *Volta (Conte Alessandro), Memoir in Annales de Chimie et de Physique, vol. xl. 1801.*
2. *Davy (Sir H.), Memoirs in Philosophical Transactions for the years 1807 and 1826.*
3. *Faraday (Michael), Memoir in Philosophical Transactions for the year 1838.*
4. *Riess (P. T.), Die Reibungselektricität. 2 vols. Berlin. 1853.*
5. *Wiedemann (Gustav), Der Galvanismus. 3 vols. Braunschweig. 1863.*
6. *Aikin (C. K.), Memoir in Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, vol. xi. part i. 1865.*

**F**EW branches of science conform so readily to the mode of subdivision adopted by Bacon in several instances as does the theory of electricity. The *origin* and *form* of electricity constitute the subject matters for two distinct branches of inquiry, which in the present state of knowledge it would indeed be unwise to mingle. Regarding the form of electricity, or the nature of that state of matter which is called *electrical*, it would appear to be premature as yet to attempt to make any positive affirmation; for, however general an acceptance the hypothesis of electric fluids may apparently enjoy, its seeming triumph is owing in

a greater measure to the absence of any well-defined rival theory than to its own truthfulness or irrefragable nature. It is true that, by means of their assumption, some phenomena of electricity may be satisfactorily, and many more plausibly, explained; nevertheless, it will be asserted by few that the electrical fluid or fluids represent anything but a *phantom*, or crutches, which science will hasten to discard as soon as she has grown out of her weakness. But however that may be, the question concerning the origin of electricity may be considered independently of any preconceived notion regarding the essence or form of electricity; and it is a question, moreover, which is far nearer to solution, it having been canvassed and sifted, though not yet decided or exhausted, by repeated discussions, as well as by numerous experimental investigations. It is the object of the present essay to consider afresh this yet unsettled question about the origin of the electrical state of matter; but instead of embarking in fruitless contentions, we shall endeavour to follow simply the lead of the phenomena of electricity, and of their empirically-discovered laws, and by allowing the facts to speak for themselves, we shall at last arrive at conclusions showing what is the readiest construction which they will bear.

In opening the inquiry, we are led to discuss a question of terms. Volta, the great promoter of electrical science, has introduced a term in this department of knowledge, which after some modification may be made to fulfil a long-felt want, not only of physical science generally, but even of logic and metaphysics. The term *electromotive force*, to which we allude, if considered as indicative of a something which impels the *electrical fluids to move*, is open to all those objections to which the hypothesis of fluids itself is liable; but it stands otherwise with the term *electromotive force*, taking the word "motive" in that general sense in which it is employed in ordinary language, and without reference to motion. Thus, we shall call *electromotive*—dropping with the word "force" all attempt at mathematical definition—any circumstance which gives rise to electricity, without being itself that something to which the electricity may be owing in the last resort. To explain. In common parlance, as well as in scientific works, facts are accounted for by being referred to causes, which may be of a twofold nature. A cause, according to the common view, may be either the thing which, by its mere existence, and independent of helps though not of impediments, necessitates a certain consequential event; or, on the other hand, it may be a so-called secondary cause, which, without being itself active, allows some other primary cause to produce what is called its effect. This distinction may be illustrated by the following example: The fall of a stone is referred to gravity, which is the

primary cause of the phenomenon. But a stone, being first held firm in the hand, will only fall by loosening the grasp. In this case, the loosening of the grasp of the hand is the *prima facie* cause of the stone's falling; but it is nevertheless called a secondary cause, the primary or *efficient* cause of the stone's falling being the attraction of gravity. The terms, primary and secondary cause, cannot, however, be recommended for use, for the following reasons.

It is the universal bias of the human mind to take all things with reference to itself, and to accommodate their being to the thoughts and sensations of men, whilst overlooking their own most intimate nature. Bacon frequently remarks on this distinction between things in themselves and things as they appear to mankind—or, as he expresses it, between things considered with regard to universe and with regard to man. This inclination of the human mind has frequently given rise to the creation of ideas and of distinctions to which there is nothing corresponding in outward nature. *Cause* and *effect* are an instance in point. Nothing is more frequent in common life, or more general amongst scientific writers, than to speak of cause and effect as things of a different and dual nature; the one standing completely outside the other. But this distinction is altogether inadmissible and erroneous. For by the law of reaction, which holds good in all physical phenomena produced by physical forces, it is impossible to distinguish materially between the seat of cause or effect. A stone which drops on the floor, is not the seat of the effect of gravity, nor is the earth the seat of the cause; but it is the *mutual* attraction between the earth and the stone which induces or implies a reaction of both—an imperceptible motion in the case of the immense earth, and a sensible one in the case of the small stone.\* Again, to say that gravity is the cause which has for effect the motion of both earth and stone, is to say no more than that “opium renders men sleepy because of its soporific power.” The coexistence of the earth and stone apart in space, necessitates their mutual approach; there is no room here for a distinction between cause and effect, and even if the mechanism by means of which the apparent mutual attraction of matter is brought about were known, there would be only

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\* So also in the case where a projectile produces an impress in a target, the projectile is called the cause of the impress; but if the projectile, instead of being lodged in, is repelled by the target, the target is said to be the cause of the repulsion. But, in reality, the mass and swiftness of the projectile, and the rigidity of the target combined, according to their varying magnitudes, imply the event either of the impress or of the repulsion. We may style these events effects, and the above circumstances causes, but do not gain any additional insight into the nature of the operation by performing this mental analysis, and we are entirely mistaken if we attempt to point out which is the local seat of cause and which of effect.

some additional circumstances introduced which would make the necessity plainer, but could not be viewed in the light of independent causes. The coexistence of certain circumstances necessitates the advent of certain results; or rather, a number of known circumstances by their mere coexistence involve a number of other circumstances at first unknown, and which on becoming known are called effects, while the circumstances first referred to, being mentally considered apart, are designated as causes. But these circumstances are but mentally distinguished from each other, while in reality they are one.\* Indeed, cause and effect, as abstractions of the mind, have to be mentally amalgamated—somewhat like the two pictures on a stereoscopic slide—in order that the impression which they produce may correspond to the object or phenomena, of which each one by itself gives but a partial and incomplete view.

The preceding considerations are not a mere contention about words, as any one will allow who remembers the discussions that have so long occupied all classes of thinkers, as to whether cause and effect were simultaneous or not; whether proportionate or not, and the like,—questions which, to our thinking, are either without meaning, or may be viewed as depending upon mere terms of more or less arbitrary definition. But to return. In this essay we shall name the “origin” of a phenomenon, or, more particularly, of electricity, the circumstance in which is implied the possibility for the occurrence of the phenomenon, or in our particular case, of the excitation of electricity; whilst by “motive,” or “electro-motive,” we shall designate those circumstances which, without being in themselves competent to excite electricity, or raise any phenomenon in general, become accessory to its production.

To investigate the origin of electricity, it becomes thus necessary to treat first of the nature of those adventitious circumstances which act as motives to the production of electrical phenomena. Of such, the following have been discovered in chronological

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\* It would be unsound in mathematics to say that the equality of the three sides in any triangle is the *cause* of which the *effect* is the equality of its three angles, or *vice versa*; for in stipulating the equality of the sides, we have already enunciated by implication the equality of the angles, although from the imperfection of our mind we cannot at once see the consequence. A similar reasoning holds true also with regard to all natural phenomena, which hold one another as if by the links of a chain, but cannot properly be viewed as giving rise to one another. It is of no consequence that in physical phenomena what is called *time* forms an incident which has nothing to do with geometrical or algebraical figures and the theorems which relate to them. For time, so far from being a *determining* element in regard to phenomena, is rather determined or defined by *them*, in so far as they are all essentially but motion; and what is called time, in natural philosophy at least, has no independent existence, but must, on the contrary, be defined by motion.

order:—1, friction ; 2, voltaism ; 3, heat ; 4, magnetism ; and 5, electricity. With regard to the last two motives, it has to be observed that, since magnetism is now considered to be the result of electrical currents, and hence itself of an electrical nature, it, as well as electricity itself, cannot be considered for the present in the theory of electromotives ; as to do so would require a knowledge of the form of electricity, which alone can give a clue to the manner of reaction between electrical and non-electrified matter. There remain thus only three electromotives, viz., friction, voltaism, and heat, to be here considered ; for it will be found that some other minor motives, which are referred to in treatises on electricity, may be comprised under one or other of the above-mentioned heads.

As the course of scientific discovery is not generally found to follow the order of logic, so also the investigation of scientific facts is not always best conducted by adopting some strict method ;—as to ascend from the more simple phenomena to the more complicated, or the reverse. Hence, in the following exposition of the nature of electromotives, we shall proceed by an order which is neither chronological, nor at first sight methodical. We shall begin with heat, then proceed to friction, and conclude with voltaism ; which progression will, it is thought, lead in the surest manner to an understanding of the true nature of electromotives, and hence of the origin of electricity. These subdivisions evidently coincide with those which in text-books are generally headed by the titles of Thermo-electricity, Frictional Electricity, and Voltaic Electricity—terms by which it is not intended to designate different kinds of electricity, but only different modes of engendering electricity of an identical nature.

I. In treating of heat as an electromotive, phenomena are first brought to mind, of which the following may be considered as the type. We take two wires of different metals and connect one end of each with one of the other, so as to form a common circuit. As long as both the joints thus formed have the same temperature, no electricity can be observed ; but as soon as the temperatures become different, what is called an electrical current will set in. Now it is necessary to remark, in the first place, that, supposing the difference of temperature in the two joints or contacts—previously at the common temperature of the atmosphere—was brought about by an application of heat at one contact, the other remaining as before ; this application of heat does not constitute an absolutely new circumstance in the experiment, for both contacts originally possess some heat, and the introduction of fresh heat can only cause an augmentation of such heat at the point of application. The case is similar as with the two scales of a balance containing equal weights at first, but in

one of which an additional weight has been subsequently added. In this example, the additional weight acts as a motive for the upsetting of the balance, previously in equilibrium ; but the origin of the phenomenon is found in the attraction of gravity for *all* the weights in the scales. The subtraction of weight from one of the scales has the same effect as the addition of an equal weight in the other scale ; and the equilibrium in the case of equal weights is the consequence of the equal actions exerted upon each of the scales, but in opposite directions. Similarly, in the thermo-electrical couple formed of two wires in contact at both ends, the diminution of temperature, or the subtraction of heat, at one contact, has the same result as the augmentation of temperature, or the addition of heat, at the other. Hence, since cold is not a principle or substance, but altogether something negative, the cooling of one contact, in itself, could not produce any electrical results, except such as were already before in latent existence. That is to say, whilst the two contacts are at an equable temperature, each is the seat of an equal electrical action, but exerted in opposite directions ; and the addition or subtraction of heat acts as an electromotive by upsetting the electrical balance previously established. From the preceding statement, it will appear to be altogether wrong to assert that electricity is gained *at the expense* of heat ; for actually heat may be gained, that is to say transferred, by placing one of the thermo-electrical joints in contact with a cold substance, and an electrical current be produced, that is electricity be gained, *at the same time*. Nor does the production of the current depend, as has been surmised, but never proved by any facts, on the unequal loss of heat by radiation in the two wires of different metals. That such cannot be the case has been well shown by M. Magnus. Somewhat more specious is the view which ascribes the production of thermo-electrical currents to the unequal propagation of heat within the two elements of the thermo-electric couple. But this view also may be disproved by the following facts, which have been well brought out by M. Gaugain. The strength and direction of the thermo-electrical current depend on the temperatures of the two contacts of the couple in which it circulates. If the temperature at one contact is kept constant, but the temperature at the other is made to vary, the strength of the current will vary at the same time ; and when the variable temperature has reached a certain point, the direction of the current may become the reverse of what it previously was. Hence, on the hypothesis that the current is produced by the unequal conduction of heat, when the current is reversed the conductive powers of the two elements of the couple must be similarly reversed ; which there is no evidence to prove. Moreover, it is found that the temperature at which the reversal in the direction



of the current takes place—by an alteration in the temperature of one of the contacts—depends on the magnitude of temperature of the other contact; but this temperature cannot influence the reversal of conductive power at the first contact, which is hence incapable of accounting for the production of the current at all. It might be objected that the temperature of the invariable contact, though it cannot influence or modify the temperature, and hence the conductivity, at the other contact, may yet do so in the case of the intermediate portions; were it not found that this circumstance, which indeed would influence the relative conductive powers of the elements as a whole, has no influence at all on the strength of the thermo-electric current, which depends only on the temperatures of the contacts, but not on those of the intermediate parts, if what are called resistances are properly taken into account.

It has already been shown that the electrical current of a thermo-couple is the resultant of the two opposite electrical actions taking place at each of the two contacts separately, and depending on temperature for strength. As neither the consumption nor the radiation or conduction of heat, by the light of phenomena, appear to be the source of the electrical action observed, it remains only for us to conclude, for the present, that at the contact of heterogeneous matter an electrical action takes place, which is regulated by temperature as to strength. In studying, however, further phenomena, we may yet penetrate deeper into the real nature of thermo-electrical action.

Besides the electrical action which differences of temperatures give rise to in couples of wires, or generally in two different pieces of metal joined in a circuit,\* a similar action is found to be exerted in single pieces of metal, through inequalities of temperature. A metal bar being heated from a section not symmetrically placed to the ends of the bar, and then approached to a magnet, was found by Yelin to behave as if it were itself a magnet, showing thereby the existence of electrical currents in its interior, which subsided as soon as the temperature of the bar was equable throughout. Yelin, and, independently of him, Seebeck, found also that the two ends of a wire, being kept at different temperatures, and then made to touch, produce a current of electricity in their own circuit. A wire bent into a circuit, but without its ends actually touching, and heated at a point not symmetrical to the ends, as shown by M. Gaugain, may similarly evolve a current of electricity for a time—as long, namely, as the temperature of the wire has not become invariable at each point,

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\* The difference of the two pieces need not be a difference of chemical nature; a mere difference of texture often suffices.

by the equilibrium between the heat received by conduction, and the heat lost by radiation or communication to the air. This last experiment shows also that the conduction and radiation of heat do not, in themselves, engender any electrical currents; for here is a case where both conduction and radiation take place, and yet no current is produced, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of both with reference to the two portions of the wire situated at either side of the heated point. That tourmaline and other minerals evolve electricity on being heated, or whilst cooling, has been known for a long time; but M. Becquerel has shown that at the terminals of a metallic wire, so-called statical effects may likewise be evolved, if the terminals are kept at temperatures different from each other.

All these phenomena point to this one conclusion—that for the production of electricity it is not absolutely necessary that substances dissimilar in nature, or even but in texture, should be in mutual contact; but wherever differences of temperature prevail in an otherwise perfectly homogeneous fragment of matter, there electricity manifests itself likewise, especially if the substance be a conductor. If these differences of temperature are themselves variable with time, what is called an electrical current sets in; but if invariable with time, in some cases only statical results may be observed. The laws of thermo-electricity, as deduced from experiments, conclusively establish the fact in a mathematical form—which, however, the above-mentioned phenomena by themselves indicate with sufficient clearness—that to each substance appertains a certain *electric power*, which depends, 1. on its chemical nature; 2. on its mechanical texture; 3. on its temperature and physical state. When these qualities are uniform in every point of any single body or complex of masses, the electric power, so far, is disguised to human apprehension; but wherever any variation in those qualities does take place—as by varying the temperature in different parts of the same fragment of matter, which, as shown by Sturgeon, may affect any form whatever; or by varying its texture (a circumstance which has similarly been carefully studied by Sturgeon); or finally, by rendering the substance altogether chemically non-homogeneous—electrical results make their appearance, in consequence of the disturbance in the equilibrium of electric powers previously existing. It would be wishing to go too far, for the present, to investigate the nature of this electric power, the mode of its equilibrium in perfectly homogeneous and equably warm matter, and the manner in which the want of such equilibrium may entail as a consequence the well-known electrical phenomena; for all this belongs to the inquiry into the form of electricity, which we have excluded from the scope of this essay.

But so much must be accepted as a fact resting on the impregnable—and, in fact, upon the unassailed—evidence of thermo-electricity, that substances, without being in any way chemically altered or otherwise modified, may give rise to statical electricity and to dynamical electricity; but in every such case, for any phenomenon to become perceptible the presence of two fragments of matter, (be they but two molecules of one and the same body,) in some respect heterogeneous, is required; similarly as in gravity the presence of two fragments or atoms, at some distance from each other, is required for the effort of gravitation to produce any, though not necessarily ocularly, perceptible results. Yet in the last resort the electric power, like what is called mass, appears as a magnitude inherent in every substance or atom independent of any other; but as the effort of gravitation is represented by the product of the masses of the mutually gravitating bodies, so also the resultant electric action, or electric tension, is compounded of the differences of the electric powers of the simultaneously excited substances.

It will appear in the sequel to what extent the conclusions to be derived from the thermo-electrical phenomena are verified and borne out by the attentive consideration of the remaining electromotives. For the present, it is necessary to indicate how far the results obtained from the analysis of thermo-electricity, as far as solid bodies are concerned, apply also to liquids and gases. Both at the contact of liquids with metals, and of liquids among themselves, as also at the contact of gases with metals, thermo-electrical actions have been observed. Seebeck, by dipping wires of metals into unequally-heated parts of a molten mass of metal, produced thermo-currents. Professor Faraday, almost the first, produced such currents by dipping a wire of platinum or any other inoxidable substance into the two branches of a V-shaped tube filled with different fluids, and one branch of which was kept at a different temperature from the other. M. Wild, finally, has produced thermo-currents by forming circuits of fluids which do not mix at all, or but slowly, on heating the sections of contact unequally. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the currents which are observed upon introducing the inoxidable ends of a wire in unequally-hot parts of a flame are purely thermo-electrical, and have nothing to do with a supposed production of electricity by combustion; such, at least, is the result to be deduced from the accurate observations of M. Becquerel and M. Buff.

These facts go some way to prove that the electric power is universal among matter, and universally dependent upon temperature; it should be observed, however, that that particular law according to which the electrical power of each substance is

dependent on itself alone, and not upon the nature of the substance with which it is in contact, appears not to be applicable to fluids. This law was deduced before from the fact that electrical currents may be produced in single wires, different portions of which are kept at different temperatures. But as no such currents have been hitherto generated in fluids upon the same assumptions, and it has even been found impossible to do so in the case of quicksilver, where the experiment has been tried, the law cannot be said to be valid also for fluids, so far as thermo-electrical evidence is concerned.

II. Our object now will be to investigate in what manner friction may give rise to electrical excitement, with a view to ultimately discover the actual sense in which friction may be considered as an electromotive.

Friction is the oldest means by which matter has been electrically excited; yet it is not far from truth to say that its action is less understood than that of any other electromotive. Without asserting that there were anything peculiar, not capable of further analysis, in friction, the term "friction" is yet put forward as denoting an implement *sui generis* for the production of electricity. To arrive at any insight into the actual function of friction as a means to the excitation of electricity, it is necessary, however, to survey separately the several acts which together, whether successively or contemporaneously, take place in friction; these constitute the essential thing, while friction in itself is only a word or technical term used to denote the aggregate of those acts. What occurs in friction may be analysed as follows:—Two fragments of matter are brought in mutual contact; they are next pressed together, and one piece then is put in relative motion to the other, the contact meanwhile subsisting. These three acts constitute the essence of friction by common consent, and they involve the following results as consequences:—1. Some lesion of the surfaces rubbed. 2. The heating of both the rubbing and the rubbed body. 3. An electrical excitement of the same. This latter it is our object to account for, whilst in the first-mentioned five circumstances must be found the explanation.

The primary circumstance in friction is the contact between two fragments of matter. We have seen before, on considering the thermo-electrical phenomena, that such contact, under the conditions of heterogeneity or inequality of temperature, is not only competent to produce, but implies by its very existence, an electrical disturbance, of which more proof will be forthcoming in the sequel. The addition of pressure to simple contact acts in a double manner; first by compressing each of the two elements in mutual contact within itself; and secondly, by increasing the area of actual close contact between the two com-

pressed bodies. Now it has never been found, or asserted, that the mere uniform compression of any body (as, for instance, of a solid body floating within a fluid which is compressed) causes its electrical excitation; but, on the other hand, there was every *à priori* reason to believe that the increase of size or number in the surfaces of immediate touch between any two heterogeneous or apparently electrically neutral substances must contribute to render that electrical excitation which the contact of heterogeneous matter, according to the teaching of thermo-electricity, of necessity involves, not real, but simply perceptible. The experiments of Libes, Biot, and M. Becquerel carry out this view of the matter. That the electricity thus produced by simple compression often differs in sign from that produced by friction between the same substances need not astonish us, considering that there is more involved in friction than simple compression.

Lateral movement, like compression, and which is the third constituent element of friction, acts by the multiplication of points, or intensification in the degree of actual contact; for mere relative motion of any two bodies, independent of contact, has never been shown to be a source of electricity, both the moving substances being unelectrical before motion. A celebrated physicist, who is one of the few that rightly interpret the agency of friction as an electromotive, has compared friction, in this respect, with the act of stirring up solutions for the purpose of producing precipitations, which simile applies especially to the act of relative movement of which we have just been speaking.

Another circumstance which is active in friction is heat, which, as we have reason to believe, is molecular motion, and produced, in the case of friction, from the relative complex motion of the masses rubbed. If the heat produced in friction is equally distributed between the two masses rubbed, the electrical state of these masses will be different from what it would have been if friction were not accompanied by heat; if, on the other hand, the distribution is unequal, the heating by itself may be competent, at least in conjunction with contact, which is necessarily implied in friction, to produce electrical results, even in the case where the two masses are otherwise similar in substance and texture. Accordingly, numerous experiments are on record showing that wherever the process of friction is such that the rubbing masses grow unequally warm, friction will excite electricity between masses perfectly homogeneous.

We have seen hitherto that in friction no additional circumstances are implied or at work but such as have been found active already in the case of thermo-electricity—contact and temperature. There is only one additional fact which constitutes a real difference—viz. the grinding or rubbing off of particles, and con-

sequent solutions of continuity, which are concomitant to friction. Such solutions of continuity by themselves really do excite electrical phenomena, as the breaking asunder of a piece of sugar or the like in the dark will show. But this is a phenomenon which, although possibly of some importance, nobody as far as we know has yet attempted to account for.

Upon the whole, the result of the consideration of frictional electricity is identical with the result of the consideration of thermo-electricity, and the parallelism in the facts of these two sections in ordinary treatises of electricity complete, saving the one just mentioned. As a wire by inequalities of temperature produces electricity in the case where the heat is communicated, similarly inequalities of temperature produced by friction in otherwise homogeneous matter give rise to electricity. This fact was observed in the first instance by Bergmann, in rubbing crosswise two slips of plate-glass; and it was shown by Æpinus that if the slips were rubbed lengthwise, so as to cause the increase of temperature to be equal in both, no electricity made its appearance. That inequality of temperature has a decisive influence is proved also by the observation, made by Beccaria, that if the slips of glass before friction were of unequal temperature, the electrical result of friction is different from what it was in the case where the temperatures were equal. These facts prove a perfect identity of behaviour, in an electrical point of view, of non conductors heated by friction and conductors heated from without, in the case of single elements. The same may be pronounced with regard to couples from the experiments made by Coulomb, which showed that the electrical result of friction between heterogeneous matter depends upon the original temperature of each of the masses rubbed; proving that temperature in the end determines the electrical excitement. But the most remarkable experiment, which clearly and in a general manner establishes the perfect identity of origin of frictional and thermal electricity, was made by M. Gaugain. It had been observed by M. Becquerel that by the continuous friction of two plates of metal a permanent electric current could be engendered in wires, forming a circuit in which the plates are included. In this fact, a new source of electricity was supposed to have been discovered, whilst in reality it only showed the perfect identity of source of frictional and of thermo-electricity. This was demonstrated in the following manner by M. Gaugain. He rubbed against one another two plates of different metals, measuring at the same time by electrical thermometers the increase of temperature which friction had produced in the plates, as also the intensity of the electric current which it caused to circulate in the connecting wire. He

next stopped the friction, and heated the plates, instead, by lamp; this again produced a current of electricity as heretofore, and caused an increase of temperature, but instead of frictional electricity, thermal electricity was now evolved. The two currents thus differently produced were found to be of equal intensity whenever the increase of temperature to which they were owing was equal, whatsoever the manner in which that increase had been engendered. This experiment proves irrefutably that the friction, at any rate, of metals acts only in so far as an electromotive as it is productive of heat, and hence of inequalities of temperature within complexes of bodies.

Quicksilver, though a liquid, may become electrical by pounding, like any solid metal by friction. Similar observations had been made also some considerable time ago regarding other fluids; until in the hydro-electric machine of Sir W. Armstrong, in which, as shown by Professor Faraday, the friction of small drops of fluids against solids is the electromotive, the capability of fluids to evolve electricity by friction was rendered eminently conspicuous. It is little doubtful that in the electrical phenomena observed in some capillary and similar actions, whether spontaneously produced or by outward pressure, the friction of fluids against solids is similarly the real electromotive.\*

Thus, without any exception, the identity of electric action of friction and of heat, at least wherever friction has been found capable of acting as an electromotive, has been established. And we have the great authority of Sir H. Davy for concluding that "friction may be considered as a succession of contacts, and [that] the natural energies of bodies [*i.e.* the degree of electric excitation which they experience on simple contact] would probably be accurately exhibited by it, if the unequal excitation of heat or its unequal communication to the different surfaces did not interfere by altering unequally their electric capacities [or electric powers]."<sup>†</sup> In other words, frictional electricity and thermo-electricity have identically the same origin, both depending upon an inequality of electric power within either a single body or a complex of bodies, owing to mere differences of temperature, or to differences of temperature in combination with differences of chemical nature or of physical nature.

III. Having found friction—which is nothing but repeated contact attended by heating, or by the conversion of complexual into molecular motion; and thermo-electrical contact

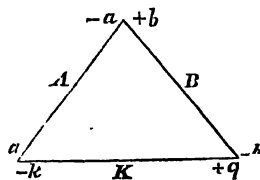
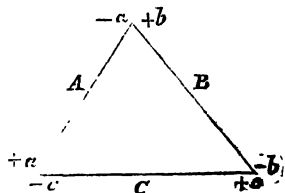
\* By the experiments of Professor Faraday, the friction of gases against solids, which partly ancient and partly recent experiments had rendered it probable might also evolve electricity, is not found efficient in that respect.

† "Phil. Trans.," 1807, p. 50.

— which is but contact with differences of temperature induced by the communication of heat, to act as electro-motives, it is proved beyond doubt that contact itself may constitute an electromotive. The laws of thermo-electricity, which have already been referred to, show mathematically that the electric action of a thermo-couple is but the resultant of two separate actions taking place at each of the contacts independently of the other. Such contact, hence, constitutes a source of electricity or electro-motive by itself, the efficiency of which is regulated, in the case mentioned, by temperature; and the neutrality of a couple whose contacts have an identical temperature, or whose electrical resultant is nought, is hence obvious. If the neutrality of a couple with contacts at an equable temperature is thus plain, it might still be believed that a circuit formed of three elements for instance, instead of two, should in all cases produce a resultant different from nought. Now it has been stated before that, in the case of metallic elements, the electric power of each is a magnitude which is independent of the nature of the second substance with which it is in contact;—this is proved by the thermo-electrical experiments of M. Becquerel, and is indicated to some extent also by the fact that currents may be produced by heating, in single elements. To each metal hence a constant electric power, expressible in numbers, may be ascribed;\* which are of such a nature that the electrical results apparent at the contact of any two elements are expressed by the difference of the two numbers belonging to these elements as

signs of their electric powers. Hence, if we consider three metallic elements joined to a circuit, as in the annexed diagram, we shall observe that the sum of electric powers is nought. If, on the contrary, three elements are joined together which do not obey the law just stated, that is to say, elements the electric powers of which vary according to the nature of the second substance with which each is in contact, then by a similar diagram as in the previous case, it will become evident that the electrical resultant is different from nought. Elements of the last description are represented by the fluids, which already from thermo-electrical evidence we have had reason to expect would behave differently in this regard from the solid metals.

Electric results which are produced by the conjunction of three



\* See page 137.



or more elements, some of which are in the fluid state, are called voltaic; though, in reality, their origin is the same as that of the phenomena of thermo-electricity and frictional electricity. It has been supposed by some philosophers that the chemical actions which arise consequent upon contact between most fluids and solids were the primary source whence the electricity in those cases is derived. But this view is disproved by the following facts. In the three principal combinations or *piles* from which voltaic electricity is evolved, it may be shown that no chemical action actually sets in before electrical action, but rather the converse. In Daniell's pile, consisting of copper, solution of sulphate of copper, sulphuric acid, and zinc in mutual contact, chemical action between the zinc and sulphuric acid indeed did take place previous to, though yet not wholly independent of electric action; but by the improvement of Sturgeon, which consisted in the amalgamation of the zinc, all chemical action while the pile is not working is excluded. Hence, in this case, as long as the zinc and copper are not connected with one another, though they are in contact with the fluids, no chemical action takes place; but as soon as the *solid* zinc and copper which cannot react chemically upon one another are connected, chemical action on the part of the fluids at once ensues. Besides, free electricity while the poles of the battery are disconnected, and hence all chemical action is stopped, is observed in every battery, and its quantity has been measured in many cases; the chemical action, hence, which is but subsequent to contact between the poles, can neither be the source of that free electricity, nor of the electric current of which free electricity is the initial state. The actual relation of chemical change or affinity to electricity is a subject reserved for future discovery; for the present, it seems important to know that electrical action is not dependent upon chemical change, and that the former actually precedes the latter. So much resulted from the examination of Daniell's pile, as modified by Sturgeon; but an attentive consideration of the other electric batteries in use would lead us to an exactly similar result.

The original discovery of Volta, as is well known, was not the battery or pile, but rather the existence of so-called statical electrical effects, which he noticed as the result of contact between any two heterogeneous metallic elements. It would seem preposterous to seek for the explanation of these phenomena elsewhere than in contact, after having seen already in the case of frictional and of thermo-electricity, where nobody ever suggested chemical or other peculiar actions, that contact is capable of eliciting both statical results and currents. The thermo-electric couple involves as a necessity the electrical state of each

of the two contacts of which it is composed ; the couple in friction does similarly involve this necessity ; what wonder, then, that simple contact by itself, without extraneous heating or rubbing, should be competent to raise electricity ? The experiment, besides, has been performed since Volta's time by many able physicists ; it has been performed upon metals which exclude the idea of chemical action on the part of the humidity or other elements of the air ; and it has finally been accurately measured what is the magnitude of electricity evolved in each case.

As for solid metals, the measurements have been most carefully made by the late Professor Kohlrausch. He has shown, in the first place, what was scarcely liable to any more doubt, that contact naturally does evolve electricity ; and he thence proceeded to measure the results in each case, which afforded a confirmation of that remarkable law of independence of electric powers with regard to the metals, which had originally been Volta's great discovery. The observations relating to combinations between solids and fluids are due to Professor Buff, from whose researches it results that whether chemical reaction exists between a given solid and a given fluid, or not, electrical reaction will always take place between them. In the same way, the electrical reaction between solids and gases is proved by the powerful gas battery invented by Mr. Grove, and which consists of the chemically neutral elements, platinum, oxygen, and hydrogen ; while the reaction between fluids exclusively has long been established by the experiments of Sir H. Davy, in which circuits formed of fluids neutral to each other previous to electrical action gave yet an electrical result. Some philosophers were actually inclined to ascribe to the mutual reaction between the fluids employed in the ordinary electric batteries the whole of their efficiency ; but this view is opposed by the fact, long ago established by Volta himself, that the electrical reaction between fluids is small, and may even be neglected, in comparison to that which the contact of solids gives rise to.

On a review of the whole subject, we arrive at this conclusion :—

*That to every substance belongs a certain electric power which becomes apparent in the shape of electric phenomena, wherever in a complex of masses the balance of electric powers is upset—be it by variations of temperature, or by differences of texture, or by chemical heterogeneity of substance, or, finally, by any other diversity upon which the magnitude of electric power may be dependent.*

The origin of electricity has thus been established with similar [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.],—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. L

clearness and certainty as is the origin of the phenomena of gravity. It has, indeed, not been explained in what manner the mere contact of different substances, or of molecules in a different state, is found capable of engendering the well-known electrical results; but it is equally unknown in what manner the coexistence of two fragments of matter apart in space necessitates their mutual approach. The rectilinear movement of a stone falling and the elliptical movement of the moon at first sight would seem to be referable to very different origins, the attendant circumstances being very dissimilar. Indeed, to an untutored mind, it may appear altogether objectionable to refer a motion which, though at times it involves a slight approach, at others involves an equal retrocession, to any attraction at all. It may similarly appear wrong to ascribe to the sun liability to attraction, though he apparently never moves at all. Yet, all these difficulties notwithstanding, it is allowed that the fall of a stone and the motion of the moon are phenomena of the same order, and that the sun and planets mutually attract one another. The difficulties in the way of accepting the theory of electromotives explained in these pages are similarly but apparent, and consist principally in the following two. Why, it may be asked, do we suppose in the inactive thermo-couple equal but opposite electromotives in action, instead of a simple neutrality? And next, why, if contact is an electromotive, does not a circuit of three metals engender a current? The answer to these objections is easy.

The experiments of Volta have shown that by the contact of metals electricity is developed; and, on the other hand, thermo-electricity shows that the electrical excitement is a function of temperature. At the same time, thermo-electricity by itself may be considered as proof of both the above facts, of which the statical experiments afford a verification. In what manner soever the argument be viewed, it follows that the thermo-electrical couple of equable temperature is inactive and not neutral.

The experiments of Volta led him also to discover that the electric excitement at the poles of a circuit composed of any number of metals is the same as that produced by the presence of the two elements alone which form the poles of the circuit; from this *it follows of necessity* that a closed circuit of three metals, like one of two, is inactive but not neutral. The thermo-electrical laws discovered by M. Becquerel, similarly, are completely explained by the same fact which accounts for the inactivity of the triple circuit; and the accurate experiments of Kohlrausch, finally, have established that the electrical excitement between any two metals is really such as is required by the law of Volta. Hence, by a complete chain of evidence it is demonstrated that the inactivity of the triple circuit is by no means an arbitrary assumption; but

rather—like that of the inactive thermo-couple, to which in fact the former is equivalent—it is the necessary consequence of a physical law, established by positive and independent demonstration.

The two difficulties which we have mentioned being thus satisfactorily explained cannot form a more serious impediment in the way of the theory of electricity developed in this paper than the immobility of the sun or the elliptical motion of the planets have formed in the way of the theory of gravitation. Nor is it at all surprising that there should be a dependence of the electric power on temperature, texture, and chemical nature, when we consider that gravity similarly depends upon distance. One of the greatest and most thoughtful philosophers to whom Great Britain has given birth has beautifully observed:—“The phenomena of nature resemble the scattered leaves of the Sibylline prophecies; a word only or a single syllable is written on each leaf, which, when separately considered, conveys no instruction to the mind; but when, by the labour of patient investigation, every fragment is replaced in its appropriate connexion, the whole begins at once to speak a perspicuous and harmonious language.” It is the result of labour of this kind—that is, of careful collation of apparently disjointed and often, by themselves, meaningless facts—that it was intended to lay before the reader in this essay. But the greater and more difficult part of the work remains yet to be done. We have undertaken but to clear up the Origin of Electricity; but a far deeper mystery still envelopes what, in Baconian phraseology, we have called the Form of Electricity. Messages hasten daily across the Atlantic with lightning speed, “swifter than the course of the sun,”—but neither he who wields the simple battery or machine by whose agency this wonderful result is accomplished, nor the philosopher who investigates the empirical laws that relate to it, can account for the nature or intimate being of Electricity, the very word of which has thus become a word of reproach rather than of triumph to the human intellect.

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\* See “Young’s Lectures,” vol. i. p. 10.

## ART. VII.—INDIAN WORTHIES.

*Lives of Indian Officers, illustrative of the History of the Civil and Military Services of India.* By JOHN W. KAYE. London: A. Strahan and Co.; and Bell and Daldy. 1867.

TO rule a subject empire with wisdom, vigour, and purity; to make the name of England respected throughout the decaying empires of Asia; to infuse into the stagnant material of Oriental civilization the life that springs from European progress,—such have been some of the tasks which our supremacy in India has imposed upon those who there serve the State. Great missions call forth great men; or if these are not always to be found, the higher qualities of those employed are brought out and nourished by the very difficulties of their task. Thus it has happened, that if in India the baser elements of the ruling race have not been wanting to take advantage of the ductility of the subject, England has, on the whole, good cause to be proud of the services to whom her charge has been confided. From the time of Lord Cornwallis, to the present day, it may truly be affirmed that Indian officials, as a body, would bear favourable comparison for energy and purity with the public men of any empire in the world. More than this; as the personal conduct of the administrator may there influence the destiny of millions, so the chivalrous side of the dominant race has found an opportunity denied in the close atmosphere of European politics. The services of India have had in their ranks men of such saintly lives and heroic action as medieval writers dreamed of, if they did not see. Of men of this type, and of others eminent under the Company's rule, Mr. Kaye has undertaken to tell in the two volumes before us.

The task is a worthy one, and approached in a worthy spirit. Mr. Kaye's industry is well known; and he has spared no pains to gather due materials for the Lives he has selected. He has also to the full that reverence for the subject, without which no biographer may hope to succeed. On the other hand, there is in the execution of the work more than one constant drawback, to which we feel bound to draw attention. We would not accuse the author of mere bookmaking, and prefer to believe that he simply has not the insight necessary to enable him to discern between the respective values of the different portions of his materials. From this cause, as we suppose, the biographies are laden with details often so superfluous and puerile as to throw no light on character, nor to illustrate the general object of the work. To know that the hero (to take one life at random) had a stepmother and liked her, piled stones on a garden-wall and hurt an old man on the other side, read 'Drinkwater's Gibraltar'

at fourteen years old, and got into a scrape at Addiscombe for unlawfully exploding an old shell, may be interesting to those who personally knew him, but cannot by any means be worth publishing to the world at large. In addition to this want of discrimination in matter, Mr. Kaye offends no less by a turgid and bombastic style, swelling with great words that carry him often far above his subject, to land him suddenly in profoundest bathos. If the hero meets a friend at dinner, they "take sweet counsel," or "sweet converse together;" if he change his intention of asking for furlough, and goes to the Punjab, "Providence ordained that his journeyings should be in quite a different direction;" if his own views are not embodied in the Governor-General's orders to him, "he bears the burden with all becoming humility and resignation;" if he fail in obtaining the post he solicits, "this is a sore blow, though borne in a manly spirit."

The same spirit of exaggeration which makes the author wearisome in his epithets, pervades in a marked degree the whole current of his views. The picture which he presents is often far more the product of his own imagination than of any recorded facts. Of this error we shall have occasion to select one striking example. We now pass on to the matter of the work, only observing further, that it would have been more truly illustrative of the governing classes of India had the attempt not been made to bring each individual written of up to the same heroic standard, and that many readers will be disposed with us to contest the author's assumption that the same Court of Directors which we see (vol. ii. p. 301) ignoring Sir H. Lawrence's advice in the hour of need, could have any special property enabling it instinctively to select the fittest aspirants for office.

Cornwallis, statesman and soldier, forms a worthy foreground to the group selected from the civil and military services which owe their high character to him. A great man and a good, his heart was in his work, and his work lives after him. His success in Indian administration contrasts so strongly with the sad story of his American enterprises, as to justify those who attribute the failure of the latter to any cause rather than want of zeal or judgment. We could have wished to avoid following Mr. Kaye into the history of the difference between General Clinton and his great lieutenant. This, and the military events with which it is interwoven, are rather touched upon than written in the work before us; and for its purpose it would have been better to have kept to that Indian ground, where the biographer treads more safely than in the swamps of Carolina and Virginia. It would certainly have been juster to Cornwallis. His name is of necessity so connected with the disasters which closed the Revolutionary War of America, that an imperfect notice of these

is an injury to him. Nor is this repaired by Mr. Kaye's extracts from one or two of the less important letters of the series relating to the occupation and defence of Yorktown. This correspondence, published originally by Cornwallis himself in 1783, should be read as a whole by those interested. Thus treated, it proves abundantly what he asserts in his introduction: "When the arrival of the French fleet, and the approval of General Washington, were made known to Sir Henry Clinton, it will appear that his promises of relief in person were uniform, without giving me the smallest particle of discretionary power, different from holding the posts that I occupied." That he did not attempt to break out of the toils in the early part of the investment, is thus explained by Cornwallis with a clearness which seems to defy contradiction: "The enemy were in a strong position and considerably superior in number, but I should have attacked them without hesitation if I had thought myself at liberty, after a victory, to escape into the Carolinas with the troops that were able to march. No other object appeared sufficient to justify this measure. But a defeat would probably have been followed with the immediate loss of our post, which until the end of September was in a most defenceless state: and as I could never have proved that I should not have been relieved, I should have been exposed to public execration, as a man who, having reason to expect the early arrival of the Commander-in-Chief to supersede him in his command, had, in hopes of personal reputation from a victory, sacrificed the essential interest of his country."

Thus much in justice to a great man who struggled manfully against the fates that bore him down, and with him the last hope of recovering America by the sword. Bülow, the Prussian military writer, a man of genius as brilliant as his fate was unhappy, witnessed the struggle in person, and has borne disinterested evidence that these hopes were not as chimerical as it is now the fashion to assert. From the day, however, that Britain lost the control of the ocean which divided her from her revolted colonies, the war could have had but one result. A success on Cornwallis's part in Virginia might have added to his laurels gained in New Jersey and the Carolinas, but would have only delayed the issue for a little space. Such a free communication as the Federal fleets lately had along the coast of the revolted States was equally needed in our case. Without it Sherman's overland march might have had no better issue than that of Cornwallis through the same district. With such aid the modern commander established his fame, as the elder, for lack of it, came nigh to ruin his reputation. Happily the discussion of the circumstances of the Yorktown surrender produced a clearer

impression in Cornwallis's favour among the statesmen of the time than Mr. Kaye's narrative will, we fear, among his readers. Hardly was the American War concluded, when we find both Fox and Pitt, amid the acrimony of the Indian debates, looking to Cornwallis as the man who best might wield supreme control in our new great dependency. "The name of such a man," said the former, "might make Parliament consent to the vesting of such powers in a Governor-General; but certain I am that nothing but the character of that noble Lord could ever induce the legislature to commit such powers to an individual at the distance of half the globe." The latter, when his new India Bill was in a fair way to pass, offered the Earl his choice of the offices of Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief; and when he persistently declined then, and again after the Macartney interregnum, to accept either separately, or to take the former office at all, unless with independent power in cases of emergency, the amending Bill of 1786 was introduced, under which he could no longer refuse to act. By this, which became henceforward the rule of Indian government, the functions of the Supreme Council were reduced to those of mere advice or remonstrance, whenever the Governor-General chose to decide for himself. The members might in such case collectively or severally recommend or object, but action belonged to the Governor-General, on whom henceforward lay the real responsibility of administration, checked only by the higher authority at home. As the latter could always receive the recorded opinions of the councillors, the Governor-General would naturally take good care not to override them without showing good cause. This system had been devised at the time of the introduction of the India Bill in 1784, but Mr. Pitt had abandoned the proviso which to Cornwallis and others seemed the pith of the whole Act, in order the more easily to secure its passage. Two years later, however, it was found necessary to supply the omission; and in spite of Burke's powerful opposition, the arguments of Dundas (then President of the Board of Control) prevailed, and the Governor-General received the powers he has ever since held. One weak point was left in the measure. It was open, from the nature of the government, for the Governor-General to reduce himself from his rank as responsible ruler to the mere President of a Committee, by ceasing to exercise his individual authority, and referring all business to a single member or to the voice of the Council. This is the temptation natural to any Viceroy who would avoid excessive responsibility; and if report be true, it is precisely in this direction that the Supreme Government has for some time past tended. Strange if the once daring and energetic ruler of the Punjab should in the higher office be the means



of introducing a new regime, under which the Governor-General is stripped of the power and responsibility deemed necessary by Cornwallis and Pitt. It was said in India long since, that a training at the India (Home) Council, and that the Council of Sir C. Wood, would enfeeble the independence and vigour of thought even of a Lawrence.

To return to Cornwallis. Voyaging to Calcutta with Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, for his chief fellow-passenger, he landed on the 14th September, 1786, and began that career of administrative reform on which his future fame was to rest more surely than on American campaigns. It is not necessary to peruse the twenty pages which Mr. Kaye has devoted to the earlier history of the Indian Civil Service, in order to see that Cornwallis had before him an Augean task. To pay collectors, judges, even councillors, rather less than the salary of a merchant's junior clerk, and to leave these high officials to eke out their pittance by jobbery and corruption, had been the normal practice of the good old Company. Nearly two centuries before, Sir Thomas Roe had written the golden truth, which it was left for Cornwallis to reduce to practice. "Absolutely prohibit," said the far-seeing ambassador of James I., "the private trade, for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they care not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you grant great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from." As Mr. Kaye well adds, Roe was in this matter a great man, obviously in advance of his age. So far from profiting by his wisdom, the Company adopted the very contrary policy, attempting by the ridiculous device of temporary edicts, framed 16,000 miles off, to keep the daily habits of their servants down to their meagre salaries. As their rule extended from factories to provinces, and from provinces to kingdoms, the childish fetters they had imposed were silently laid aside or openly scoffed at, and the picking of the Pagoda tree became a recognised art, dividing the attention of the civilian with his care of his office. Thus, as soon as Cornwallis had investigated the state of things, we find him writing (Cornwallis Correspondence, by Ross, vol. i. p. 282) of one of the Company's civil servants in a manner that gives a lively picture of the existing regime :—

"Ill as I thought of the late system of Benares, I found it on inquiry much worse than I could have conceived. The Resident, although not regularly vested with any power, enjoyed the almost absolute government of the country without control. His emoluments, besides the thousand rupees per month allowed him by the Company, certainly amounted to little less than four lacs a year, exclusive of the complete monopoly of the whole commerce of the country, with the

power of granting perwannahs, &c. It has been generally supposed that in return for all these good things, the Residents at Benares have not been ungrateful to the friends of the Governor-General. I have no reason to suppose that Mr. — took more than his predecessors. God knows what he *gave*. But as he was on bad terms with the Rajah and his servants, and as new measures are more likely to succeed with new men, I thought it better to remove him."

In the same letter he adds, in a passage quoted by Mr. Kaye : "I am sorry to say that I have every reason to believe that at present almost all the collectors are, under the name of some relative or friend, deeply engaged in commerce, and by their influence as collectors and judges of Adaulet they become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest, and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers." So much for the state of things; then came the cause, and the remedy which Cornwallis had already, not having been yet in the country a year, brought into use without waiting for the Directors' sanction to his reform. "I hope you will approve of the additional allowances that we have given, for without them it was absolutely impossible that an honest man could acquire the most moderate competence. After this liberality I made no scruple of issuing the revenue regulations against embarking in trade, and will make an example of the first offender."

The remedy in such a case was, in fact, clear as the disease, being no other than that which Roe had long since recommended. Yet it needed all the prestige and influence which Cornwallis had brought with him, to enforce his views on the slow hearing of the Directors. The earnestness with which he insisted upon what he felt to be the cardinal point of Indian administration is abundantly illustrated by the 'Cornwallis Correspondence,' which Mr. Kaye has freely and usefully employed. The sweeping inferences he has drawn from this valuable work seem to us, in one case, hardly justified, for the expression quoted (Kaye, p. 66), as written *with reference to the Company's civil servants*—"I sincerely believe that, excepting Mr. Charles Grant, there is not one person on the list who would escape prosecution"—appears in the original letter ('Correspondence,' vol. i. p. 318) to be applied to a special "list" of persons whose cases were submitted to the Court of Directors for lenient consideration, on the score of their having been coerced by their superiors. (The letter, it should be observed, was addressed to the Chairman of the Court, and not, as Mr. Kaye states, to Mr. Dundas). The word "list" thus specially used by Cornwallis in the sentence immediately preceding could hardly be applied by him in the next—that already quoted—to the whole civil service without qualification. If not an elegant writer, he was by no means a loose one.

Be this as it may, the measures already taken for the amendment of the service by the Earl were approved at home, where Dundas rendered him due support. In vain was it asserted that however well men were paid in India, at that distance they could not refrain from fee-taking or corruption in some form. The honourable soul of Cornwallis revolted at this theory; and the objections raised by the Directors to his grants of salaries were thus met by him in a private letter to Dundas of August 26, 1787:—

“If the essence of the spirit of economy of the whole Court of Directors could be collected, I am sure it would fall very short of my anxiety on that subject. . . . If it is a maxim that, pay our servants as we please, they will equally cheat, the sooner we leave this country the better. . . . From the spirit of this letter [of the Directors] I conclude that the commission given to the collectors, the allowances to the residents, will all be disapproved of. I see the pay of the sub-treasurer is objected to. When I came I found the sub-treasurer playing with the deposits, amounting to three or four lacs. I fancy of the two he had rather I had taken his salary from him. I have saved,” he forcibly concludes, “since I came, upon the salt, upon the various contracts, upon remittances, balances, and jobs of different kinds, ten times, I may say fifty times the amount of the salaries that are retrenched. I am doing everything I can to reform the Company’s servants, to teach them to be more economical in their mode of living, and to look forward to a moderate competency; and I flatter myself I have not hitherto laboured in vain. But if all chance of saving any money and returning to England without acting dishonestly is removed, there will be an end of my reformation.”

A better destiny than he hoped awaited his vigorous measures. The promise made to him by Dundas (letter of March 21, 1787)—“You may depend upon my giving the most exact attention to every suggestion you communicate to me”—appears to have been literally fulfilled. As the minister observed in the same letter, “We never before had a government of India, both at home and abroad, acting in perfect unison together upon principles of perfect unity and integrity; these ingredients cannot fail to produce their consequent effects.” Those effects began to appear soon; for we find Cornwallis writing but four months after the receipt of this assurance,—“The Company has many valuable servants; the temper of the times is changing. Men are beginning to contrast their present expenses and their future views.” His unwearied war upon sinecures, jobbery, and fraud had already reduced the expenditure within the estimates, “which never,” he writes, “happened before;” whilst the civil service was beginning to feel the advantage held out to it by the honest system which refused (to use Cornwallis’s words) “to place

men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend on their exertions as well as integrity, without giving them the means in a certain number of years of acquiring honestly and openly a moderate fortune."

Not that Dundas and Cornwallis had the opposition of the Directors for their only difficulty. A still more scandalous one lay in the system of sending out to Calcutta the needy and improvident hangers-on of court officials or party leaders, in expectation that the Governor-General would provide for them. This practice the innate honesty of Cornwallis did more to check—it is not too much to say—than the spirit of his times could possibly have taught him. In truth, his conduct in this matter was before the age; although to say of him, as Mr. Kaye (p. 68) does, "he could not perpetuate a job to please the King," is an instance of the misuse of highflown language which is the author's besetting sin, and the less excusable, as in a note to the next page we find that he quotes from a letter of Cornwallis, explaining his rejection of William Burke's suggestions of modes of serving him:—"I have treated him with the greatest personal attention, and I have done little favours, as ensigncies in the King's service, &c., to his friends." It was quite consistent, at that period, with the honourable character of the man that such gifts should be made to conciliate the cousin of Edmund Burke, and yet that Cornwallis should absolutely decline proposals for alterations in the mode of payment of the troops, which were intended to put large sums of money into the pocket of this same Burke, then Paymaster-General in India. In the same spirit a gentleman coming out to be provided for with a recommendation from the Queen, was put off with a clerkship at 250 rupees a month; but Cornwallis's own friends fared much worse. Their claims were met with inexorable refusal, whilst that of a mere acquaintance was treated as summarily as if the pressing it were a crime. "If I was inclined to serve you," he writes to such a one ('Correspondence,' vol. i. p. 289), "it is wholly out of my power to do so without a breach of my duty. I most earnestly advise you to think of returning to England as soon as possible. After the 1st of January next I shall be under the necessity of sending you thither."

Such vigour and wisdom as this portion of the 'Correspondence' shows is well worthy the first place in a work which sets out with the design of illustrating the high qualities of the Indian services. The measures which Cornwallis adopted for the improvement of the civil branch won their way to acceptance. His rule of securing the whole devotion of the official by paying him so liberally as "to enable him to save honestly and openly," became the charter of a great body of gentlemen; and by their

aid the foundations of our growing empire were laid deep and strong.

The care of Cornwallis for the military force was no less. Mr. Kaye has hardly done justice to this portion of his subject, for the abuses which had crept into the contingents raised by native states were hardly less than those in the political offices, whilst the regular troops of the Company were in a very low condition, the recruiting of respectable Englishmen being practically interdicted by home jealousies. Of the European troops Cornwallis writes:—"They are such miserable wretches, I should be ashamed to acknowledge them for countrymen;" and adds, as the only remedy, some words (Corresp., vol. i. p. 318) worth quoting for their curious acknowledgment of the early jealousy of the royal troops towards their brethren of the Company—a jealousy afterwards amply repaid by Indian officers, and which lasted until the Company was merged in the Crown—"I know it will be unpopular with my brother officers at home; but it is my duty to state, that if these dominions are worth preserving, it is absolutely necessary that the East India Company should be permitted to treat publicly for recruits, and to keep them under martial law until the time of their embarkation." In the same spirit he sets himself to abolish all invidious distinctions between the military services.

Before his arrival, all field-officers of the King's were wont to receive special brevet-rank, so as to supersede those of the Company who were of the same standing, whilst the local commissions of the latter were often altogether ignored, as far as it lay in the power of the royal officer, who looked on their holders as irregular rivals of his profession. Representations on this head came with peculiar force from one who was known at home as the favourite general of the royal troops in the field, and in 1788 Cornwallis received the needful powers for bestowing, in the sovereign's name, local commissions for India on the Company's officers, whilst the special higher rank of the King's field-officers was ordered to be absolutely swept away after eighteen months' notice. From this day forward the officers of the three armies already in pay under the Company saw the road open to the highest honours of their profession—at least as regarded service in their adopted country. It needed, however, three-quarters of a century's habit, and a formal assumption by the Crown of the imperial authority in India, before British statesmen could learn that the strength derived from our Eastern possessions is but part of the general strength of the State.

With certain very irregular contingents raised in the subject native provinces, the existence of which was a private profit and no public benefit, Lord Cornwallis dealt in the most summary

fashion. How abused the power of our Residents had been in this direction may be read from the following letter, addressed by him to a certain captain, whose pretended battalion had been disbanded, and who made a large claim on his own account against the Vizier of Oude :—

Near Plassy, November 22, 1787.

“SIR,—I am sorry to say that on my arrival at Lucknow I could not meet with any person, either European or native, that knew anything of your battalion, or had seen any part of it. Although I could not help placing proper confidence in your assurances of its being perfectly complete, both in officers and men, yet as there was not a trace of it existing at the headquarters where it was raised, and had been so lately disbanded, and you had been so improvident as to keep no voucher for any of your disbursements, you did not put it in my power to say to the Vizier or his ministers that part of the large sum of money which you received was not issued to discharge your personal pay and allowances. Circumstanced, therefore, as your claim is, I do not think that my interference would be warranted by the order of the Board relative to the reduction of your corps.—I am, &c.

“CORNWALLIS.”

In short, the care of his lordship for the military departments, as might have been expected from his previous training, was as great as that which he bestowed on the civil service; and, fortunately for the future of the Indian army, he remained long enough at its head to see his recommendations carried into practical working. Under this wiser rule the heartburnings and discontents of the Company's officer vanished, and his commission became an honourable object for the ambitious and energetic of the youth of England. A class pressed into the service from this time by which the Government has been doubly strengthened. The Viceroy's have found in it some of the most able administrators that India has known, having in its vast list the ready means of reinforcing the civil element in their higher departments; whilst the army has furnished sabreurs as bold, artillerymen and engineers as skilful, staff officers as sagacious, as any modern military school from the time of Gustavus downwards.

It has been the fashion of late to suppose that Cornwallis, as a reformer, was but an instrument in the hands of better-informed men, experienced in Indian affairs. A late popular history of India takes this view of his viceroyalty, which would regard him as simply an able and honest, yet ordinary executive officer. A mere glance at the first part of the ‘Correspondence’ should dissipate for ever this theory, which is akin to that of a worthy officer not long dead, who published a book in three volumes that prove that Napoleon rose to the crown of France and the sway of Europe by a series of lucky accidents. Mr. Kaye has done his subject more justice. He has shown amongst other

points, that the care of Cornwallis reached not only to financial and administrative measures of every kind, but to the moral and social condition of the Anglo-Indian community. To reform this by mere austerity and simplicity of living would be impossible. Banquets and balls were the more rational mode adopted by Cornwallis, where genial hospitality kept him in his proper social position as the head of Calcutta society, and enabled him to influence its tone largely for present and future good. With his usual industry Mr. Kaye has adduced extracts from newspapers of the day, and from an interesting work on Indian Society, written after Cornwallis had left, and these prove both the cause of improvement and its effects to be what he asserts. It would seem, therefore, that the very habits of our countrymen in the East are indebted to the same far-seeing wisdom and energy which the best-informed of them declare to have founded the prosperity and usefulness of the services of the Company, and to have left traces of its happy influence on every succeeding generation of officials.

Cornwallis had not too long a space allowed him for his reforms. They were scarcely complete when the troubles in the Presidency of Madras began, which were to keep us engaged in or expecting war until the death of Tippoo Saib many years later. The account of Cornwallis's expeditions in Mysore is well worth study, were it only for the purpose of seeing how he prepared the way for the final triumph of our arms under Harris and Wellesley. It is more important to follow him back to Calcutta after he had wrested a hard-won peace from Tippoo, and see him devote the remainder of his Indian career to the completion of his administrative reforms, and their complement of legislation. Mr. Kaye here (p. 105) quotes mainly from a former work of his own in assigning to Cornwallis the credit of the Regulations of 1793, which have formed the basis of our later administration of justice in India. He gives, however, in a note (what some may think more to the purpose), the memorandum of Sir George Barlow, which he himself was the first to bring to light, explaining in the most precise terms what Cornwallis did in this matter. His reform was simply that of a wise ruler in a country hitherto ruled by individual officials who acted personally for the Government according to their own views and their separate instructions. He reduced these instructions to definite published laws, and enforced by their means uniformity of practice in the courts. That in doing this he was acting rightly, and indeed anticipating what otherwise his successors must perforce have undertaken, is admitted by men of all parties, and stands deservedly to his credit as a statesman.

It is far otherwise with the celebrated Revenue Settlement

effected under his rule. Mr. Kaye seems to avoid offering any opinion of his own on this debated question, to which he devotes but a single page. Yet as he gives room for the reproof of James Mill, who, in his *History* asserts of this measure that "the aristocratical person now at the head of the Government avowed his intention of establishing an aristocracy upon the European model," he, in justice, does not omit to show that the arguments for the perpetual Zemindar Settlement were far older than the days of Cornwallis, having been completely exhausted in reports made before his appointment. Mr. Law, then collector of Behar, he terms "the father of the Permanent Settlement;" but the praise or blame should in truth be allotted rather to the whole service of which Mr. Law was but one active member. A large part of the second volume of the 'Correspondence' is devoted to papers concerning this vexed question; and it is there abundantly shown that what Cornwallis recommended was enforced by the deliberate opinion of all the chief administrators of revenue in Bengal, and of his own councillors, excepting always Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. The latter argued earnestly in favour of the settlement being renewable every ten years, instead of being made in perpetuity, and his arguments were fully weighed before the final decision was arrived at by Pitt and Dundas, who (as Mr. Kaye has shown from the 'Correspondence') were the ultimate judges, assisted only by Charles Grant. It is plain, however, that Shore dissented merely on the question of the length to which the settlement should run. There was no difference of opinion at the time among those who knew the newly-acquired country, as to the wisdom of creating from the Zemindars of Bengal a territorial aristocracy, or rather of confirming them in the tenure they had already acquired by prescription. The only question much discussed was as to the terms on which this should be done. Possibly Mill's reproof of Cornwallis would have been spared had he known the 'Correspondence,' or had he written after it had become the fashion with recent Indian rulers, warned by Dalhousie experience, to copy in other districts the original prescription under which Lower Bengal has proved the model portion of our dominions for tranquillity and wealth of produce.

Mr. Kaye follows Cornwallis from India to Ireland, and gives an epitome of the important events which marked his viceroyalty there. These belong, however, in no sense to the story of our Indian empire, and, as with the American portion of the biography, are too briefly treated to do full justice to the subject. Cornwallis's connexion with the Union measures might well have a work to itself, and is at any rate too important a matter in national history to be treated merely as an episode of his Indian career. Whilst occupied thus at home, and subsequently in diplo-



macy on the Continent, he watched the brilliant schemes and daring policy of Lord Wellesley with the natural anxiety of an ex-ruler who sees much of what he judged a sound policy reversed by his successor. Even the great successes which it was given to the new Governor-General to organize in council, and to see achieved by his brother's sword in the field, hardly reconciled Cornwallis to our new position. What Mr. Kaye here quotes as written by him at this time, embodies exactly the opinions and difficulties of many able and honest men from that time to the present. "The question is, have we not too much? But I hardly know, when the power was in our hands, what part of our acquisitions we could prudently have relinquished." The biographer here becomes very animated on the subject of the supercession of Wellesley, and the inevitable recourse to Cornwallis as his successor. The story of the quarrel of the Directors with their representative has nothing very new or striking in it, being but the natural collision between a board of commonplace narrow-minded men and the bold ambitious Viceroy whom they sought to restrict by drafting instructions for his guidance from the other side of the world. To displace so able and successful a Governor-General as Wellesley was a serious step, and fully accounts for the warm desire of the Directors to secure Cornwallis for his successor, without supposing (as Mr. Kaye would have us) that this great name was the only help open to the British Government in a dangerous crisis, which, but for him, might have ruined our Eastern empire. Although Cornwallis accepted the offer and went, he went, as is well known, only to die, and left his former administration of India the single and sufficient groundwork of his reputation in that country.

Before passing from the subject of these two great men and their varying views of Indian policy, it is but just to pause and point out that it was not in the power of either, or of any of their successors, wholly to shape or even to control the limits of our sway in Hindostan. There is a general darkness on this subject of Indian conquest which is hardly creditable to a nation whose publicists are usually well informed on questions of merely practical policy. It has not been simply either a national or individual lust of empire which has carried our standards from the Hooghly to the Indus. The force of circumstances has been too strong for the most pacific in our list of governors. In fact, from the day that our factories began to hire troops and take independent dealings with the native states, the result was sure. It must be remembered that when we first set foot in India, the foundations of the old Mogul Empire were thoroughly broken up. Wave after wave of conquest had passed over it, destroying and altering ancient landmarks, but without raising up any single

central power strong enough to control the rest, and restore order to the peninsula. The seeds of such a one once planted by the Company, the process of growth went on in the same constant form. Insult and aggression on the new civilization came naturally from the native States, whose robber-chiefs had made invasion of peaceful neighbours the normal practice of their rule. Defeat of the invader must needs involve punishment for the past and indemnity for the future, and these could rarely be secured but by the rough expedient of annexation. That this process should be constant until Affghanistan was reached was simple necessity, for a reason too generally overlooked. There never was any strategic frontier to our dominions until they touched the mountains which separate Hindostan from the rest of the world ; and an empire like ours, won by the sword, and maintained at first mainly by the force of arms, must needs find such to cover it before it can rest. Only since we were secure from outward enemies has it been found possible to throw the energy of our Government into the path of peaceful development of its resources. A military empire, such as ours was purely until of late, must conform its policy to military necessities—a truth we have been unconsciously illustrating ever since Clive began the long series of conquests forced on us by the conquered.

We have dwelt before on what Cornwallis did for the services which owe to him their efficiency and virtue. The absorbing policy of Wellesley and succeeding Governors-General, willingly or unwillingly pushing our frontiers ever forward, gave to the young Englishman who entered them such a field for energy and ability as the whole world beside could not offer. The constant political changes of the peninsula raised up a class of officers in whom the military and administrative elements seem to combine so closely that it is hard to distinguish where the soldier ends and the diplomatist or ruler begins. Of such men, in the earlier part of this century, Malcolm (whose biography in Mr. Kaye's new work follows that of Cornwallis) may be taken fairly as the type. The author has so fully written on the same subject in his 'Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm,' that we would pass over this part of his volume but for the purpose of entering a special remonstrance against his treatment of his subject. The whole picture of Malcolm which he gives is one overcharged with colours existing in the biographer's brain rather than in the realities of his hero's life. The Malcolm of Kaye is a man not merely of eminent abilities and buoyant spirits, but of perfect purity of motives ; ill rewarded for his services, yet unwilling to conceive himself ill-used ; exquisitely sensitive to disappointment, yet always hopeful and cheery ; overflowing with kind feelings for his friends, and seeking promotion and honour solely to glorify a

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. M

beloved service. This just man, the writer implies, won his way slowly up to fame and fortune in spite of official neglect, infirmities of health, and personal unwillingness to remain in ungrateful duties. Of course this statement is not put into so many words, either in the 'Life and Correspondence' or in the present volumes, but such is the general effect the author would impress on his readers. The traditional view of Malcolm in India is a very different one, and one which Mr. Kaye's own materials appear fully to justify. According to this, the hero was simply a hard-headed, pushing, active man, with a fund of remarkable spirits and energy, who never lost anything for want of asking for it, and had the good-luck to start early in life in as fine an opening as young 'political' ever knew, at the most stirring period in the whole of our stormy annals. Let us look a little closely at the early progress of Malcolm, and see if the latter opinion be not that which best agrees with Mr. Kaye's own facts.

After a course of boyish dissipation and indebtedness we find Malcolm carried with his regiment into the field at the age of twenty. He sees service, and, what is more to the purpose, observes (p. 133) what advantage the 'politicals,' of whom there are several in camp, possess over the mere soldier. Not until after this, being now seven years in Madras, does he begin seriously to study, and in the next year we find him applying for an appointment of the coveted order. In Mr. Kaye's characteristic words (p. 134),

"A subordinate post was vacant: he applied for it, and was just half an hour too late. It had been bestowed on another young officer. His disappointment and vexation were great. He went back to his tent, flung himself down on his couch, and gave way to a flood of tears. But he lived, as many a man before and since has lived, to see in his first crushing miscarriage the crowning mercy of his life. The officer who carried off the prize so coveted by John Malcolm went straight to his death. On his first appearance at the native court at which he was appointed an assistant to the Resident, he was murdered. This made a deep impression at the time on Malcolm's mind, and was afterwards gratefully remembered."

One wonders here whether the relations of the murdered officer were any of them among those taught by Malcolm in later days, from this instance (as Mr. Kaye goes on to tell us of his hero), "to see in all the hand of an all-merciful Providence working benignly for our good."

Disappointed thus of his hopes, he was willing to put up with an interpretership to a detachment, which Mr. Kaye erroneously calls, as it seems to us, a Staff appointment. He left this soon to go home on sick leave; and here was more fortunate, for we

find him returning to Madras as aide-de-camp to General Clarke.\* Clarke went on later to Bengal to command there, but "there were circumstances," says Mr. Kaye (p. 136), "which prevented him from appointing John Malcolm to the military secretaryship in that Presidency." In plain words, General Clarke had some one whom he cared more to serve by the bestowal of a very valuable situation. However, Malcolm had now become known as an active and useful man, and Harris, who succeeded to the command at Madras, kept him on his own staff at first, and from this put him temporarily into the then lucrative post of town-major, of which he wrote, being then apparently more bent on making money than seeking fame, "I cherish hopes of being town-major a few months longer. If I remain one year I shall have a little foundation on which to erect a goodly castle."—('Life,' vol. i. p. 62).

Lord Wellesley (then Mornington) now touched at Madras on his way to Calcutta. The town-major took advantage of his opportunity in calling on the new Viceroy to submit some reports he had prepared on our relations with the native States, and soon afterwards received his reward in the appointment of assistant to Kirkpatrick, then Resident at Mysore, for which he had made instant application on the vacancy occurring. He was twenty-nine years old when this first step in the desired ladder was gained.

He reached Hyderabad just as the French trained levy in the Nizam's service was mutinying. In the dispersion of this contingent he played a prominent part, being aided partly by his own address and boldness, and partly by his being recognised by some sepoys of a French battalion as an old officer of the regiment they had once served in. He carried the colours of the extinct corps to Calcutta, and received the warm thanks of the Governor-General, whose patronage he had now fairly earned. When the Nizam's contingent soon after joined General Harris's force for the siege of Seringapatam, Malcolm accompanied it officially. On the fall of Tippoo, Lord Wellesley rewarded Malcolm for his share by appointing him to a special mission to Persia. From this time forward his official fortune was made. He wrote hard, worked hard, and did good service, though not without some strange blunders here and there, as when he wrote to General

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\* There is no direct mention in either of Mr. Kaye's works of the grounds of this first appointment of Malcolm to the Staff by one who was a stranger to him. The fact appears to be that the young lieutenant did not waste his opportunities when at home, but got at the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief through the interest of some friends, whose "good offices" in his favour are alluded to in an extract of a letter from Clarke to Malcolm, written after the former left Madras.—See 'Life of Malcolm,' vol. i. p. 52, note.

Lake of the Mahrattas, that "one short campaign" would for ever dissipate their power. Attached to the force of Arthur Wellesley in the new war at its opening, sickness took him from the camp before Assaye was won, and his absence, in his biographer's strange phrase, "was long afterwards a thorn in his flesh!" He recovered in time to negotiate with Scindiah, and join in some of that prince's sports—not in all, it appears; for being asked to join in a tiger-hunt, he would not risk the exposure. As Mr. Kaye curiously phrases it, "it was a sore denial to John Malcolm, ever a mighty huntsman, to be compelled to say that he was 'afraid to venture in the sun.' But he wrote to the young Maharajah that he would pray for his success; and to insure it, he sent the prince his best rifle." An admirable touch of the Cromwellian philosophy appears here, all unconscious of it as are hero and biographer. The latter adds, after describing a rough game with Scindia which Malcolm joined in soon after, "It was not all playwork for Malcolm at that time," as though the reader would take playwork as the normal condition of high Indian political officers at the end of a great war, and in the midst of drawing up treaties of the most serious importance.

"Malcolm's first duty now was to regain his health," we find a little further on. He regained it, and settled into his appointment as Resident of Mysore. He declined (p. 162) to follow Lord Wellesley to England, in order to defend the policy he had carried out for his patron, and prepared instead to assist in carrying out Cornwallis's desire "to wind up the Mahratta war with all possible despatch." There was much in the pacific policy of the time "that was distasteful to Malcolm," adds the biographer (p. 165), who takes much unnecessary credit to the diplomatist for cheerfully carrying out the orders of his superiors, though not in accordance with his personal views.

Malcolm was now thirty-seven years old. He had begun his political life but eight years before, and had ever since enjoyed employment and remuneration as high as the Government of India could give. Far from being satisfied with this, Mr. Kaye's narrative shows (p. 167, 168) that he was restless and dissatisfied because he had received no special mark of favour from the Crown. "I have been rewarded, I admit," he writes, in a letter which appears to us by no means creditable to him, "by distinction in the service; but if a man is wished to go on, further stimulus must be found. . . . I have determined, on the most serious reflection, to retire. . . . If it is conceived that any ability, knowledge, or experience I possess can be usefully directed to the promotion of the public interests, I must be stimulated to exertion by a fair prospect of just and honourable encouragement." Could any man put a higher estimate on his

own services than the still young officer who thus wrote to the same Lord Wellesley, on whom, not ten years before, he had been thrusting his first essays in political writing with a view to a subordinate post?

Those who know the Malcolms of real life will not be surprised that he did not carry out his "most serious reflection" into earnest, and retire. On the contrary, he stayed and held on his Residency until something better came. Sent again to Persia to threaten, and to obtain the material guarantee of an island in the Gulf, "a great disappointment fell on him" by the stoppage of his mission in favour of a more pacific one despatched from England. His next employment was an unfortunate one, being to quell the mutinous spirit of the garrison of Masulipatam. "Sir George Barlow was the Governor of Madras. The presence of Malcolm was most opportune. If any man could restore discipline to the troops at Masulipatam, he could do it." So says Mr. Kaye (at p. 181); but in a few sentences more we find that his conduct there was strongly disapproved and censured by the Governor, "the justice of whose opinion he [Malcolm] never admitted," though he "suffered at this time much anxiety and distress." From this he was soon relieved by a new and genuine appointment as Ambassador to Persia. Another visit to England sent him back to a further course of honourable service in India, where, however, he appears as little satisfied as after the Mahratta war. The Government of Bombay was vacant and sought by him, but conferred on Elphinstone. "He regarded such a nomination as a supercession of his rightful claims. . . . He had scarcely recovered from this blow," continues the Biography, "when another fell upon him;" this second blow being simply that Sir Thomas Munro was appointed to be Governor of Madras, a post Malcolm desired. "I am not, and never will be, reconciled to being so completely thrown out of the question as I have been," he writes, on hearing it. Mr. Kaye quotes these words, and adds of the disappointment, "It must have been a heavy blow to one of Malcolm's aspiring nature, but he bore it with characteristic manliness and cheerfulness." Perhaps he did so, but his letter certainly shows rather the contrary. At home once more, he again presses his claim for a government, and, continuing to move Wellington in his favour, receives two as severe snubs (p. 215-217) as his "old friend" ever administered to an applicant. "I have come forward," writes the Duke, "so often to assert and support your claims, that I am considered a party and an intruder in the case." "I told you before, and I repeat it," he adds a fortnight later, "that you cannot succeed if Lord Liverpool does his duty firmly." This was in 1824. In 1827 his long-continued solicitations won

him the government of Bombay, his last official employ. He soon (1830), in his biographer's words, "was eager for England and for rest," having in reality the vision of a seat in Parliament in his ever-active brain. He gained it, and in a few months lost it again by the borough being disfranchised under the Reform Bill.

Of such an one, to assert with Mr. Kaye that "he was a man *sui generis*," seems to us a total misconception. No doubt it is correctly said that "of all those written of in these volumes he had the most perfect physical organization;" and this, and the excessive value he put on his own services, are his distinguishing marks, when we separate the man from the special opportunities of his time. Many others of the same bustling type, quick with the pen, and ready with the sword, have succeeded him, and to their conjoint efforts we owe much of what we are in India. Those who read carefully the 'Life of Burnes,' as Mr. Kaye gives it, will discern at once the family likeness; the same fondness for writing, the same love for stirring work, the same discontent if his reward proved anything less than his highest desires.

Of Burnes, Conolly, Todd, and Eldred Pottinger, the historian of the Afghan War may well speak with authority--though his views of the extent of our disaster are by no means admitted in India; and his account of this gallant group of young politicals, loaded though it be with irrelevant details, is on the whole a valuable part of the work. One can well forgive the author his notices of the first ball, the first hog-hunt, the first moralizings of his hero, whose Memoir may, in spite of these puerilities, stir the heart of many young countrymen to emulation of his activity and success. In Sir Henry Lawrence a nobler and higher model is offered, one of those great men whose unselfish heroism rose beyond the thought of his own desert and reward, and who throughout life, as he wrote for his own brief memorial, "tried to do his duty" rather than to win fame. May the forthcoming biography of him by Sir Herbert Edwardes be worthy the grandeur of the subject! Its mention must serve as an excuse for not noticing Mr. Kaye's, which meanwhile is very welcome.

Of the civilian administrator pure and simple, we have in these volumes the choicest type in Mounstuart Elphinstone, the 'junior' whose appointment to Bombay Malcolm so keenly felt. His is a life well worthy of study, however regarded. As a hard-working official, he found time continuously to carry on the education which too many consider finished when college is left, and thus was able to apply to actual Indian politics lessons drawn from Polybius and Thucydides. After the successful government of a Presidency, he twice refused the offer of the Viceroyship,

caring more for learned leisure in a good climate than for the greatness of office. As an administrator he was the first to work as much as possible through native institutions, and to withhold the hands of those who would force them into an English mould. That his policy of *laissez faire* (which Metcalfe also greatly followed) has powerfully influenced our rule since the time that he first advocated it, is clear to all who know recent Indian history. That it is entirely to be commended or universally applied, is a most dangerous inference. Elphinstone's own efforts to promote State education seem to contradict this, which would at any rate be simply to use our power to maintain stagnation within its limits. If as a nation we own any responsibility for the future of our subject races, to deal thus with them would be to deny it practically in our stewardship.

Mr. Kaye has already given to the world a more complete 'Life of Metcalfe' than the one now offered, which we therefore pass by, with that of Henry Martyn, who is placed here apparently to illustrate the missionary element of our services as distinguished from the administrative and military. In the biography of Sir H. Lawrence, already referred to, we are brought to the period of the Mutiny, and its great deeds are specially illustrated by memoirs of Nicholson and Neill. The brief but useful services of the latter in Lower Bengal are done full justice to—more than justice, some will think, who find how this before unknown soldier interfered with and thwarted Havelock. Let this pass, however; Neill was cut off too soon for us to be able to judge how far the extraordinary self-confidence he avowed (p. 366) was justified, and he did his work well as long as he was spared to it. We cannot leave this memoir without observing that there is not a particle of proof for the assertion in its opening, that Neill kept to his soldier's profession by choice, and "suffered no allurements to detach him from it." In plain fact, Neill never appears to have had any civil appointment offered him. If such had come in his way, there is every probability that he would, like any other young officer in his senses, have thankfully accepted it.

Of Nicholson—name ever to be bound up in history with the turning point of the great Mutiny, the fall of Delhi—it is impossible for even so eulogistic a writer as Mr. Kaye to speak in exaggerated terms. Those who are most conversant with the details of that season of trial are most ardent in their praise of the lost hero. Whilst the gallant little band, wasted by sickness and by sword, held with unflinching constancy their post in view of the rebellious fortress, awaiting the reinforcements preparing in the Punjab, it was the arm of Nicholson which first quelled each attempt to spread dis-



order in that province, and then brought them timely succour. From that day the British force, no longer struggling for its own existence, became in truth a besieging army instead of a camp beleaguered by the rebels. They went to their hard but glorious work with confidence, for their long line of supply was guarded with a fierce vigilance that mocked the enemy's attempts to break it. When the day arrived on which their hopes were to be crowned, none murmured that the post of honour at the head of the attack was given to one whose name seemed a pledge of victory. When he fell, sacrificing his life (as Mr. Kaye truly tells) to give an example to reluctant followers, although the breach was won—the avenging column lodged within the city, the hopes of the mutineers broken for ever—yet the joy of the victorious army and their sympathizing countrymen was dimmed by the knowledge of the hero's fall. The present Governor-General but expressed the universal feeling when he wrote, "his loss is a national misfortune." "Few men," adds Mr. Kaye, in words which we borrow with pleasure, "have done so much at the early age of thirty-five—few men thus passing away from the scene in the flower of their manhood, have ever left behind them a reputation so perfect and complete."

If this be indeed so—if such men as Nicholson, Lawrence, and Wellesley be specimens of the growth which Indian responsibilities and Indian work can nourish from the British stock—shall we lament the existence of our Eastern empire, and shrink from the duties its possession devolves upon us? Rather let us take heart for the work, in faith that the same honesty, courage, and sagacity that have won Hindostan for Britain will be found ready at call to maintain the trust, and make the mingling of their races a blessing to far generations.

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## ART. VIII.—THE ABYSSINIAN DIFFICULTY.

1. *Parliamentary Papers relating to the Imprisonment of British Subjects in Abyssinia.* Presented to the House of Commons, 1865.
2. *Further Correspondence relating to British Captives in Abyssinia.* Presented to the House of Commons, August 10th, 1866.
3. *Further Correspondence, &c.* (in continuation of foregoing.) Return to Address of the House of Commons, July 8th, 1867.
4. *Correspondence respecting the Abyssinian Expedition.* Laid before the House of Commons, November, 1867.
5. *Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa.* By Dr. J. L. KRAPP. New Edition. London: Trübner and Co. 1867.
6. *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia.* By Sir S. W. BAKER, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.
7. *Abyssinia Described; or, the Land of Prester John.* London: J. C. Hotten. 1868.
8. *A Journey through Abyssinia in 1862-63.* By HENRY DUFTON. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.
9. *The British Captives in Abyssinia.* By CHARLES T. BEKE, Ph.D., F.S.A. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.

**M**R. HEPWORTH DIXON, in his now famous book, tells a weird story of border ruffianism at Denvir City. A bravo rides in from the country one morning, and entering one of the bars meets a friend, whom he invites to have a drink with him. Thoughtlessly the friend refuses, and the visitor at once draws his revolver and shoots him through the heart with the pathetic adjuration—"Good God! can I never come into town "without killing some one?" This savage Pantagrueism has its mournful and its humorous side. There is a similar grotesque pathos in the complaints which England from time to time gives utterance to when she draws the sword, and unhappily the pretexts on which she has often gone to war have been little better, as justifications, than the trivial offence which provoked the Denvir bravo. And as the murderer would have found it difficult under any circumstances to convince people that he had actually received provocation such as would justify his violence, so foreign critics remembering the past history of English aggress-

sion in the East may be pardoned for looking with some suspicion upon the military operations we have commenced against the ruler of Abyssinia.

Englishmen feel, however, that they had no choice given them in their dealing with Theodore, Emperor or King of that *terra incognita*, "the land of Prester John." From first to last, a few irresponsible private persons and a few officials, who seem to have considered themselves as free from responsibility as any private persons could be, have had the making of the "little war" in which we find ourselves embarked,—a war in which we have to contend with a warlike race, with a passionate and ambitious barbarian, which has driven us already to as costly and imposing a display of military force as that we sent to fight the armies of the Czar on his own ground and behind his own fortifications. What the cost will be in men or money, no one at the present time can attempt to measure. One fact alone is clear, and perhaps events have now placed another out of doubt. A Foreign King—civilized or barbarian, it does not matter—has imprisoned an envoy of the Queen; this is a clear breach of international law, an indisputable *casus belli*. But though we may have a right to go to war under many conditions, it does not follow that it is in every case expedient to do so. The doubts of Englishmen, and especially of public men, on this point were grave. All questions respecting the expediency of a war once entered upon can, however, serve no good purpose now.

It may fairly be taken for granted that twelve months ago Englishmen knew nothing of Abyssinia but the name, recollecting dimly, perhaps, some boyish reading of Bruce, and having a vague idea that Abyssinians are a sort of Christians that eat raw meat.\* Yet, if we take into account the difficulties and dangers which beset African travel, we shall be surprised to find what a mass of information respecting the ethnography and geography, the history natural and civil, of Abyssinia, is collected in our public libraries, in the printed Transactions of our learned societies, and in the graver periodical literature of the day. Lately, again, large and valuable accessions have been made to these copious stores, and now the inquirer is rather embarrassed by the extent of the "Abyssinian bibliography" than hampered by meagre evidence. The writings of the old Portuguese explorers are amusing, but of course not to be received with implicit trust: still they are the testimonies, we should remember, of early eye-witnesses. At the close of the seventeenth century we touch ground in the works of Ludolphus (Job Leutholf), a German Protestant writer,

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\* Therein, as a caustic Scotchman has remarked, resembling one other Christian people, and one only—the English.

who hardly gives the Catholic missions fair play, and is tinctured, moreover, with the superstition of his age. His works, however, are on the whole accurate and honest, and form a vast storehouse of the mythical and historical records of Æthiopia. His information had been, in great part, gained at first hand from Gregory, an Abyssinian monk, (called by Dr. Krapf "Abba Gregorius, the Amharic Patriarch,") who was entertained hospitably at the Court of Duke Ernst of Saxe-Gotha.

Besides the work of Ludolphus we have numberless volumes of travel, among the earliest and most entertaining that of the famous Hieronimus Lobo, translated by Johnson in his earliest days of hack-writing. Then we take up the incomparable narrative of Bruce, whose character for veracity, like that of Herodotus, later and more scientific inquiries have vindicated from the aspersions of early incredulity. Mr. Salt, the French explorers under M. Lefebure, Major Harris, and Mr. Mansfield Parkyns bring down our knowledge of the country to the date of Consul Plowden's appointment. From 1849 to the present time we have his admirable reports contained in the blue-books, and the other works at the head of this paper.

\* It would be impossible to notice fairly, in the compass of a note, the important works of Dr. Krapf, Dr. Beke, Sir Samuel Baker, and Mr. Dufton, or Mr. Hotten's useful compilation. It must suffice to indicate in a word or two how far each may be useful to the political student or the scientific inquirer.

Dr. Krapf's book is now rather *passé*, being a reprint of his "Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa," published in 1860, and forming a sequel to a similar volume dealing more strictly with Abyssinia and its people, which he gave to the world so long ago as 1843. Though the present work smacks rather too coarsely of the professional missionary, it contains much useful information, especially in the Appendix, on the language and literature of Æthiopia, and is peculiarly valuable in its account of the Kingdom of Shoa.

Dr. Beke's narrative of the "Captivity," in its second edition, is quite a new work. It is written with great ability, and displays extensive local and historical knowledge. We recommend the reader, however, if he wishes to see both sides of the question, to collate it carefully with the Blue-books and other authorities. It is too plainly penetrated with prejudice and passion, and also, though this is of less moment, with an egotistical vanity sometimes offensive but oftener amusing.

Sir Samuel Baker has added to his high reputation as a writer of travels by his new book. It is, in the main, a record of thrilling hunting scenes, and contains hardly any political information. Its scientific value, however, is considerable. Sir S. Baker seems to have subjected the river system of Abyssinia to a keen investigation, and to have really put beyond question his theory of the Nile overflow. His course was simple. He *ascended* the Atbara, from its confluence with the Nile to its source, tracing at the same time all its larger affluents; he then *descended* the Rahad, the main affluent of the Blue Nile, and followed the latter river to its confluence with the great stream at Khartoum.

Mr. Dufton has written an unpretending book of no peculiar value. His

Abyssinia, the Latinized form of the Semitic word *Habesh*, (*a mixture*), denoting the mongrel origin and character of the population, is the name which modern Europe has always applied to the Highland country lying south of the Nubian provinces of Egypt, skirting the coast of the Red Sea from about the seventeenth degree, north latitude, to the Straits of Babelmandeb and the Aden waters, and stretching westward as far as the larger confluent of the Blue Nile. This region is, speaking roughly, what has been known in common language as Abyssinia, but the natives claim for it the more imposing title, as old as the Iliad, of the Empire of Æthiopia. Within the limits of history, Æthiopia has subsisted as a strong and comparatively civilized and well-ordered monarchy, its inhabitants professing a form of Christianity, and being tinctured with some faint colour of the imperial civilization of Rome. The royal house claimed an illustrious descent, not less imposingly mythical than the pedigrees which sober historians have gravely traced up to Brutus the Trojan, the *οικιστής* of Britain, or through Cerdic of Wessex to Woden and Freya. Solomon and his fair visitor the Queen of Sheba are declared by Æthiopian history to have been the progenitors of the line of Emperors, which has held at Gondar the substance or shadow of royalty, as far back as human memory or records reach. We may smile at these legends, but it is beyond all question that in remote ages, when the most powerful European kingdoms were peopled by semi-savages, Abyssinia was the seat of a powerful government, supreme within the boundaries described above, and even extending its rule over the desert regions of the Northern and Western borders. It was despotic in form, and was modelled in fact upon the theocratic monarchy of the Hebrews, though it borrowed its laws from the great Code of Justinian, and pretended to reverence and uphold Christian morality. So strong was this monarchy that the fame of it, curiously mingled with fable, had reached Europe towards the close of the fifteenth century, when the spirit of adventure and discovery was aroused, and the ships of the daring Portuguese voyagers covered every sea. Wild stories concerning Æthiopia and its monarch, its wonders and its wealth, excited the curiosity and cupidity of the King of Portugal. After one or two unsuccessful efforts to penetrate into the interior of Abyssinia, an expedition under Vasco da Gama accomplished the great feat of doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and made a landing on the Zanzibar coast. From this

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appendix on "The British Captives" is merely a digest of Dr. Beke's more copious narrative.

The plan of Mr. Hotten's book deserves commendation, but it has been hastily and indeed clumsily carried out; for purposes of reference it has two signal deficiencies,—its accuracy cannot be trusted, and it has no index.

place Portuguese soldiers under Vasco's brother, Christopher, seem to have marched inland and defeated some Mohammedan invaders not far from Gondar. Apparently, they had neither the will nor the power to make a permanent settlement in the country, nor did the later and more peaceable and subtle attempts of Catholic and, in particular, of Jesuit missionaries to secure a footing among the Abyssinians, come to a more fortunate issue.

In fact, all travellers and all writers on Abyssinia, since the days of Ludolphus, are at one in proving that this "Christian" country, though not very dangerous to propagandists, is blessed with no fertility as a mission-field. The Abyssinians are content with their own forms of worship and dogma; and while they are too lax and careless to persecute, they are at the same time too lazy and self-conceited to be shaken in their traditional beliefs. Prescription certainly is on their side. Few Christian Churches in Europe can trace back its doctrinal and hierarchical pedigree further than the Church of Æthiopia, which dates its origin from the Tyrian presbyter Frumentius, who, in the early part of the fourth century, received from the great Patriarch Athanasius, the enemy of the Arian heresy, the power and rank of Bishop of Axum. Abyssinia, like the other ecclesiastical dominions of the Alexandrian Sec, held persistently the Monophysite Creed, rejecting the authority of the Synod of Chalcedon; and the supremacy of the Coptic patriarchate is still recognised at Gondar. The *Abuna* or primate is appointed at Alexandria, and the name of the present, Salama, the one hundred and eighteenth from Frumentius, frequently occurs in connexion with the captivity of the Consul and his companions.\* According to Mr. Plowden, this dignity is held in extraordinary reverence by the Abyssinians; yet, if we are to credit Mr. Stern's journals and other records of the captives, it seems that he has been treated with great harshness and cruelty by Theodore. The common faith bound Abyssinia to Europe. The Eastern Emperors, especially Justinian, maintained for a long time an intercourse with the Æthiopian court. Considerations partly of religious zeal, partly of political expediency, kept this connexion alive. With the encouragement of Justinian the Abyssinian sovereign invaded Arabia, where, at first successful, he soon lost his conquests and his army,—an event, remarks Gibbon, "not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world."

From this period the power of the Æthiopian monarchy

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\* The latest news from Abyssinia, received since these sheets went to press, informs us that Abba Salama is dead.

steadily waned ; the religious union with the higher civilization of Europe was weakened, and the elements of division and barbarism grew potent in the empire. The despotic power of the Ahtic emperor was virtually parcelled out among a number of too powerful feudatories. The Gallas, fierce aborigines from the south and south-west, partly Pagans, partly followers of Mahomet, closed in upon the declining Christian power. The Turks and Arabs fixed themselves upon the coast, and advanced down the valley of the Nile by slow, menacing steps. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the inroads of Islam had become so formidable as to urge the Abyssinians to entreat the assistance of the Portuguese, who by the aid of firearms defeated the Turkish invaders, and saved the independence of Æthiopia. But a heavy price was exacted for this benefit by the bigotry of the benefactors. The Portuguese, always zealous for the rights of the Roman See, persuaded or coerced the emperor into renouncing the Alexandrian tenets, acknowledging the double nature of Christ, and receiving the authority of a patriarch of the Latin communion. From the singular narrative of the latter ecclesiastic, John Bermudez by name, which is to be found in Purchas' "Pilgrims," many curious details may be gleaned of this early attempt to bring Abyssinia under the authority of the Papacy. It failed, however, as all similar subsequent attempts have failed, whether originating in Catholic or Protestant zeal. The inhabitants refused to accept "the worship of four gods," as they scornfully named the orthodox creed of the Greek and Latin Churches which recognised two co-existent natures in Christ. The Catholic mission was neither persecuted nor expelled, but the people refused its teaching, and it attained no success until the renowned and seldom baffled diplomacy of the Jesuits caught and deluded the imperial ear. The Negus Zadenghel was reconciled with Rome ; but the Abuna excited against him a rebellion, which became a holy war, and overthrew the forces of the Negus. His successor, Susneus (or Socinios), who took the royal name of Segued, was not taught by this example. He too not only accepted the Latin creed, but endeavoured to force it on an unwilling people. A violent and impolitic persecution was set on foot by the Jesuits with the concurrence of Segued, but in vain. At last, the Negus consented to a measure of toleration, and after his death his son Basilides was restored to the Alexandrian faith, and exiled the fomentors of the persecution. "The Monophysite Churches," says the historian, "resounded with a song of triumph, 'that the sheep of Æthiopia were now delivered from the hyenas of the west ;' and the gates of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe." It provokes a regretful sigh to think that no peaceful, civilizing,

ennobling mission has falsified this prophecy of Gibbon, but only the rude and vulgar vision of an invading army.

These dissensions hastened the fall of the empire. The Turks on the one side and the Galla tribes on the other got possession of province after province, while even within the narrowed limits of Æthiopia itself, the imperial authority received from the great feudal chiefs a scanty and formal homage. At the date of Bruce's visit, the dominion of the House of Solomon was thoroughly effete, and some years later the chief of the northern province of Tigré assumed the supreme control of affairs and the guardianship of the emperor. The usurper was in turn attacked and overthrown by the Mahomedan Gallas of the southern districts, among whom an adventurer named Gooksa, from the province of Yedju, became distinguished. This astute and politic leader got the emperor into his hands, and establishing himself in the province of Begemeder with its central fastness, Debra Tabor, he began to lay the foundations of a new dynasty on the ruins of the old. He did not dare formally to depose the Ahtiee, still blindly revered by Æthiopian superstition. He resorted to the subterfuge so common in the revolutions of expiring feudalism. As Pepin and his sons ruled France with the title of Mayors of the Palace, under the later Merovingian kings, and as the Peishwas claimed the headship of the Mahrattas as Viziers of the House of Sivaji, so Gooksa and his descendants were content with the title of Ras\* or Chief, and called themselves ministers of the monarch who was really their prisoner. The authority of Gooksa's line was, however, admitted only where his military power was overwhelming. The independent Gallas acknowledged no master. Tigré, in the north, had its own feudal chiefs; and throughout Abyssinia rebellions headed by pretenders were common. It was easy to oppose the sanction of a false Ahtiee to the delegated authority of the Gooksas. Hence we find that the title of Ras was multiplied, and was assumed by almost every powerful Dejjaj or Duke, as the ruler of each great fief was properly called. "It is owing to this revolution and the consequent number of claimants for power," says Mr. Consul Plowden, "none of whom have succeeded in establishing a permanent and hereditary authority, that relations with Abyssinia have been since so difficult and fruitless."

Upon the whole, however, Ras Gooksa fixed the basis of a firm dominion, which remained in the hands of his family down to the middle of the present century, when Ras Ali held supremacy, and received homage from all the feudatories. Dejjaj

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\* "Ras" (literally 'Head') is used both of men and mountains. So the Latin 'Caput,' through the French, gives us both 'Cape' and 'Chief.'



Oubié, who possessed by conquest or inheritance the whole of Tigré and Semen, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ras, which was disputed only by Dejjaj Birro, lord of the mountainous southern province of Godjam, defended by the Blue Nile from the pagan Gallas. Birro was at last beset in his citadel, where he continued to defy the armies of the Ras, but with this exception Ali was virtually and formally acknowledged as Sovereign of the whole of Æthiopia. He had consolidated his power by alliances of marriage with the great feudal families. The puppet Emperor, Ahtiee Johaannes, was wedded to Waizero Meniu, a beautiful, accomplished, intriguing woman, the mother of Ali. At the crisis in the affairs of Abyssinia, two remarkable figures come upon the political stage,—Walter Plowden and Dejjaj Kassai, better known as King Theodore.

The dominion of Northern Abyssinia, which was ruled by Ras Ali, had been much narrowed from the old Æthiopian Empire. A highland country, "about 400 miles in length from north to south, inclining westerly, and 500 in its greatest breadth," is all that remains in the undisputed possession of the Christians. This region, the Switzerland of Africa, is intersected by high mountain chains, and cut up into table-lands, "alternating and varying in elevation from 14,000 to 4000 feet above the sea level." A few large rivers, tributaries either of the Atbara (the Black Nile), which falls into the Nile above Berber, or of the Azrek (the Blue Nile), which has its confluence with the White Nile at Khartoum. These streams flow in deep and sometimes malarious valleys, but the greater part of the country is healthy, well watered table-land, very similar to the plateau of Anahuac, the heart of Mexico, in its conditions of temperature and fertility. Abyssinia, like Anahuac, has its *tierra caliente*, its *tierra templada*, and its *tierra fria*; it contains within itself the productions of nearly every climate, and its capacity for producing might be almost indefinitely extended. Much of the country is given over to pasture. Horses, horned cattle, and sheep are equally favoured. But rich as Abyssinia is, perhaps its most splendid stores lie untouched beneath the surface. It is certain that there are immense coalfields; it is more than probable that iron and copper, as well as the precious metals, are plentiful.

The edge of the plateau, of which we have spoken, marks the modern limits of Abyssinia. Along the sea coast, the Turkish sovereignty is acknowledged by Mohammedan tribes of Gallas and Arabs. On the north, the advanced posts of the Egyptians border on the mountains. On the west is the Pashalic of Sennaar, including the desert regions that lie between the Atbara and the Blue Nile and on the left bank of the latter river. On the

south-west pagan tribes of negroes, on the south the independent Gallas, little more civilized, enclose the Christian race. It is on the south-eastern frontier, that Æthiopia has suffered the greatest losses. The Wollo and Yedju Gallas, professing Moham-medanism, cut off Northern Abyssinia from its ancient province Shoa, ruled by an independent king, but keeping up with some difficulty a religious and even semi-political intercourse with the parent state. "A circle is thus completed," wrote Mr. Plowden in 1855, "that must somewhere be broken through, either by the Abyssinians themselves, had they the power, or by that nation desiring a free intercourse with them."\*

A state thus surrounded by hostile nations and creeds can hardly find safety otherwise than in union. Yet Abyssinia, as we have seen from a brief glance at its history, is far from being a homogeneous nation. Roughly speaking, the Christian country may be considered to be divided into two provinces, Tigré and Amhara,—speaking different languages, and having many differences in national character.† Tigré is an extensive province, lying in the north-eastern corner of the Abyssinian

\* "It has to be remarked that Abyssinia is a high table-land, separated from the sea by a belt of low and almost waterless desert, very narrow at the north in the neighbourhood of Massowah, and widening towards the south till in the latitude of Zeila, which is nearly that of Shoa, the edge of the table-land recedes almost 200 miles from the coast. These lowlands, formerly more or less under the sway of the Emperors of Æthiopia, are now occupied by various independent Daukali tribes, who with their neighbours, the Somaulis, and other nomadic people yet further south, are commonly, but erroneously, called Hubshees (*Habshis*) or Abyssinians, which frequently causes no little confusion."—Dr. Beke's "British Captives," second edition, p. 7.

† From Mr. Plowden's admirable and exhaustive criticism on Abyssinian manners and character, the following description is extracted:—

"The manners of the Amhara are pleasing. Their features are generally of the European and Asiatic, that is, Arab cast, and they are remarkably quick and intelligent. Their standard of morality is very low; sensual pleasures, as intoxication, are gratified without scruple and without shame: in general, the interest or convenience of the moment are the only rule of conduct,—want of tact and ill-temper the only crimes in their code."

"The people of Tecgray (Tigré) are somewhat different in character; with more of the obstinacy of their Jewish blood, they are ruder and vainer than the Amhara, noisy, quarrelsome, and talkative. Though nearer the sea they are even more ignorant of other nations; they despise all the human race but themselves, and generally each man all existing but himself. On the whole, I think them inferior to the Amhara; but they are more laborious and more trustworthy individually, though politically treacherous."

The hypothesis of a Jewish origin assigned to the Tigréans by Mr. Plowden seems unsupported by any evidence worthy of serious consideration. The existence of the Jews as a separate caste throughout Abyssinia is hardly consistent with the Jewish origin of the nation at large. To these Jews, called Falâshas, was sent ostensibly the mission to which Mr. Stein and his unlucky companions belonged.

plateau. It covers a circle of about 150 miles in diameter bounded by the curve of the river Teccazee, a confluent of the Atbara, and by the precipitous rim of the table-land, where it reaches nearest to the sea in the vicinity of Massowah and the Shoho tribe. It has long enjoyed a quasi-independence, and is distinguished from the rest of Abyssinia by its peculiar language, a corruption of the Geez, the old Æthiopic tongue into which Frumentius translated the New Testament. The Geez is a Semitic dialect, and is totally dissimilar to the Amharic, the vernacular of the Central or better known part of the country. The latter tongue is to a slight extent adulterated with Arabic, but its base is essentially non-Semitic, and yet there seems no reason for tracing it to an Aryan origin. The problem of language of course mixes itself inextricably with that of race. The Abyssinians have been variously supposed to have originated in an Arabian or a Jewish colonization, or to be an aboriginal tribe.

Amhara, the name roughly and incorrectly applied to the whole of Abyssinia, except Tigré and the now distinct principality of Shoa, is made up of a number of provinces, grouped around the great Lake Tsana. The central districts, Tchelga, Woggera, Semen, Dembea, Belesa, Begemedex, Mietcha, are the best known. In these, both the line of Ras Gooksa and King Theodore have reigned. The seat of government has been usually Gondar to the north of the lake, the ancient capital of the Imperial family, or Debra Tabor in Begemedex, where Ras Gooksa, Ras Marié his son, Ras Ali his grandson, and the present Negus, have held the reins of power. A little to the south-east of these central provinces, the district of Amhara, in the narrower and stricter sense lies; it is held chiefly by Galla tribes, and contains the important town and fortress of Magdala, so conspicuous in the history of the British Captivity. Beside these divisions, there remains a few fiefs which have held a more independent relation to the authority of the Ras or the Negus. At the eastern verge of the plateau, in the same parallel with the Babelmandeb Straits, lies the singular and almost unexplored principality of Lasta, governed by an hereditary chief known as the Waagshum. To the extreme south of Lake Tsana again is situated Godjam, whose "Dejaj" or Duke has frequently disputed the supremacy in Central Abyssinia. Between the western lowlands of the lake and the Negro tribes of the Blue Nile is the rugged, uncultivated, warlike Kuara, the cradle of King Theodore. This completes the circle of Abyssinia.

The history of the race inhabiting these regions has been briefly touched upon, and this is not the place to enlarge upon the national character. In the various works which stand at the

head of this paper the curious reader will find the picture of Abyssinian life painted, not unfairly, and with varying ability, by different hands. It is sufficient to observe here that the people of this richly endowed country are neither absolutely untouched by the civilizing influence of modern life, nor without the rudiments of some virtues. Their worst vice is vanity, which makes all dealing with them dangerous, and which has gone far to prevent the foundation of any strong and stable government in their country. Their religion, as Mr. Buckle some years ago pointed out, is a hollow and powerless superstition, exercising no moral influence.\* "Nothing can be more corrupt" says Dr. Krapf, "than the nominal Christianity of this unhappy nation. It is mixed up with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and idolatry, and is a mass of rites and superstitions that cannot mend the heart."

We paused in the narrative of political events in Abyssinia at the period when Ras Ali's power was for the instant undisputed, when Dejaz Kassai, destined to achieve so strange notoriety, began to take a foremost place among the feudatories of the Ras, when the creditable ambition of Mr. Plowden had succeeded in knitting between England and the Abyssinian nation those ties of alliance which have been so fatally broken. We take up the history of the situation where we left it.

The supremacy which Ras Ali had succeeded in establishing over the whole of Northern Abyssinia, at the period when the political state of the country first came under English observation, was shortlived. It lasted long enough, however, and presented a sufficient appearance or promise of settled government, to encourage our Foreign Office to establish those relations with the Abyssinian people, and their rulers, which have resulted in the present unfortunate complication. During the war with Napoleon negotiations were first opened with Abyssinia through Mr. Salt of the British Consular Service in Egypt, who visited Walda Selasié, Ras of Tigré, but was unable to visit the ruler *de facto* and *de jure* of the Empire, Ras Gooksa, the grandfather, as we have already stated, of Ras Ali. Mr. Salt, however, both on his first non-official visit and afterwards, in the year 1810, when charged with a diplomatic mission by the English Government, chose to treat Walda Selasié as an independent sovereign. With Mr. Salt's departure from the country the interest of English statesmen in it for various causes died out. The son of Walda Selasié was driven from his fief and killed by

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\* "We see a good instance of this in the case of the Abyssinians, who have professed Christianity for centuries; but as no pains were taken to cultivate their intellect, they found the religion too pure for them: they, therefore, corrupted it, and down to the present moment they have not made the slightest progress."—Buckle, "History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 265.

Dejaj Oubié of Semen, who held both his own heritage and his conquest of Tigré, until he was overthrown by Theodore. In 1840, "the participation" says Dr. Beke, "of England and France in the disputes between the Sultan and his powerful vassal, Mahommed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, threatened to cause hostilities between those two powers; and the British Government, again alive to the importance of Abyssinia in such an event, lost no time in sending to Shoa a mission under the direction of Major (afterwards Sir William) Harris." This mission was still less successful than that of Mr. Salt.\* It was found that while the King of Shoa was quite ready, for a consideration, to enter into any engagements, he had no intention of fulfilling them; the treaty with him became a dead letter, and, except the eternal intrigues and cross purposes of Catholic and Protestant propagandists, there is no trace of European influence in Abyssinia from any of these earlier missions.

Walter Plowden was not bred in the atmosphere of diplomacy. An Anglo-Indian engaged in mercantile pursuits he had visited Abyssinia on his way back from Calcutta to England, and at the court of Ras Ali, then momentarily enjoying a peaceful supremacy, met John Bell, an Englishman who had become naturalized among the Abyssinians, had married the daughter and heiress of a powerful chief, and attained a predominant influence over the mind of the Ras. We have every reason to believe that the views of both Plowden and Bell were free from the slightest self-interested bias; they were nobly ambitious for the welfare of England and of Abyssinia; but ambition is a dangerous plaything, and it may be not unfairly concluded that had it not been for the ambitious projects of these two adventurous men England would never have had to make the grievous choice between tame submission to a gross outrage and the inception of a wild and hazardous enterprise, from which none can expect to gather either glory or gain.

Bell, sanguine and high-spirited, a favourite with all ranks of his adopted countrymen, and well acquainted with the unsurpassed natural gifts of Abyssinia, soon infected the kindred spirit of Plowden with his far-reaching designs of civilization, colonization, and English predominance. Ras Ali shared his friendship almost equally between the two Englishmen; and in 1847, when Mr. Plowden returned to England, he found it easy to convince

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\* In 1841, Ras Oubié of Tigré sent an Englishman named Coffin with a letter to the Queen, accompanied with presents. "No reply, however, was returned; and Ras Oubié was thereupon so angry that he threatened violence to Mr. Coffin for not bringing him a return present from her Majesty." (*Earl Russell to Col. Stanton, October 5th, 1865, "Further Correspondence," &c., p. 62.*) Surely there are some men whom not even the plainest warnings can teach.

Lord Palmerston, then at the Foreign Office, of the benefits that would be likely to result from a consular establishment in Abyssinia "for the protection and development of British trade." In January, 1848, Mr. Plowden was appointed consul, and directed to make Massowah the head-quarters of his consulate. The latter provision was, it may be, necessary, but it had certainly an unfortunate effect, and it was at a later date deplored by Mr. Plowden himself. The residence of our consul at a Turkish port was not likely, it is obvious, to conciliate the suspicious and haughty Abyssinian temper.

Mr. Plowden was received in his consular capacity by the Ras, with whom he concluded a treaty on the 2nd of November, 1849. This treaty stipulated (1) an interchange of envoys; (2) the independent jurisdiction of the British Consul over British subjects accused of any crime in Abyssinia; and (3) the opening of the trade peaceably, as far as possible, with the coast. Dr. Beke points out that the latter provision was futile so long as the concurrence of Oubié of Tigré was left unsecured, and he seems to think that the primal error in these negotiations, was our having treated, not with the last-named prince, but with Ras Ali. We cannot see what difference this could have made one way or other, bearing in mind as we do that Ali and Oubié and the treaty were, one and all, swept into nothingness by the rise of Theodore.

A few years of intermittent residence at the court of the Ras, dissipated to a great extent the high hopes which had inspired Mr. Plowden. He still enjoyed a position of distinguished consideration in Ali's favour, but he had begun to see more plainly every day, that political and natural obstacles too powerful to be overcome by any personal energies lay between him and the execution of his projects. In 1852, the treaty was ratified by the Ras, and laid before Parliament. But even then the consul spoke despondingly. "No efforts of mine," he wrote to Earl Granville, "can annihilate the 3000 miles that interpose (between England and Abyssinia), or the more fatal barrier of the Turkish domination along the line of coast." In the following year the Consular Reports were so discouraging, that Lord Clarendon writes:—

"Her Majesty's Government were led by the representations formerly made by you, to expect that advantage would result to British interests from the conclusion of a treaty with the rulers of Abyssinia, and from the establishment of a British Consulate in that country. It appears, however, from your reports now before me, that there is little reason to expect that such will be the case."

"I can scarcely convey to your lordship," writes the consul in a subsequent letter (July 9, 1854), "the difficulties I have had to contend with."

Neither Mr. Plowden, however, nor his official superiors, were willing to renounce without further trial the ends for which they had been tempted to take up the tangled skein of Abyssinian diplomacy. It was during this period that the consul compiled for the information of the Foreign Office that admirable series of reports on the condition of Abyssinia, and the character of its people, which is still the most complete source of knowledge on the subject. For a dozen years these valuable papers lay untouched, unpublished, and, if we may draw a fair inference from subsequent facts, unread, in the official pigeon-holes. It is not too much to say, that a reasonably intelligent study of them would have prevented more than one error on our side, and probably have saved us from our present difficulties. The course of Mr. Plowden's investigation was disturbed in 1854, by certain political changes of a momentous kind, to which we must now briefly advert, and which are well described in a report from the consul of June 25, 1855.\*

The principality of Kuará, we have already remarked, lies to the west of Lake Tsana, and marches with the pagan negro tribes of the Blue Nile. In the early part of the present century it was ruled by Dejaz Comfu, a brave warrior, who maintained an attitude of semi-independence towards the Ras. Comfu's brother, Welda Georgis, died young, leaving a son, by name Kassai, and a widow Aitetegeb, who claimed to be a descendent of Joas, the Negus whose hospitality Bruce had shared, and through Joas of Menilek, son of Solomon, and founder of the Æthiopian Empire. On the death of her husband, Aitetegeb took refuge with her youthful son in Gondar, where they lived in abject poverty. The royal lady maintained herself, it is said, by the sale of *konso*, a plant favoured by the Abyssinians as a specific against the tape-worm. Kassai became an inmate of a monastic house at Tchangar, a village in the province of Dembea, lying to the north-west of Lake Tsana. Here he lived for some time, and he might have spent his life in the cloister had not an insurgent chief, Dejaz Marou, attacked and destroyed the convent. Kassai with difficulty escaped to the court of his uncle, Dejaz Comfu, with whom he soon began to display his valour against the Egyptian and savage hordes in the debateable ground to the east of the Blue Nile: he aspired, no doubt, to attain to high distinction by means of his uncle's power, for even at this early period we have good reason to believe that he cherished those lofty far-reaching dreams, which he afterwards translated into fact. Comfu, however, died prematurely; his three sons quarrelled and laid Kuara at the

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\* This is the last in date of Mr. Plowden's despatches yet published. Did he write nothing during the ensuing five years? or were his later despatches too *political* to bear the vulgar eye?

feet of Birru Goshu, Dejjaj of Godjam, who conquered the greater part of it. In these struggles Kassai showed himself an able soldier, and seemed to bear almost a charmed life. By degrees he drew together, among his native hills, a band of bold outlaws, whom he trained in raids upon the Egyptians and his other western and northern neighbours.

He soon began to assert a sovereign power over Kuara, much to the discontent of the Waizero Menen, mother of Ras Ali and wife of the titular emperor, Johannes. She ruled the fertile province of Dembea, and her powerful army was sent against Kassai into Kuara. It was utterly defeated, once and again. Kassai obtained a large cession of territory; and received the daughter of Ras Ali, the Princess Tsoobedje, in marriage. He next engaged with varying success in hostilities against the Turks, and then for a second time fell out with the Waizero Menen. He captured her and occupied her territory. Ras Ali was compelled, by the difficulty of his political situation, to patch up a peaceable arrangement with the conqueror, who was acknowledged as Dejjaj of Dembea and Kuara, and held royal state at Gondar.

Ras Ali did not long hold to his compact with his dangerous son-in-law. Birru Goshu, Dejjaj of Godjam, was charged by the Ras with the overthrow of the rebel, and in 1850, by the defeat of his army, Kassai found himself again driven to the inaccessible coverts of his natal Kuara. He reorganized his power here, and in the following year encountered Birru again in the plains of Dembea. With his own hand he slew the rival chief, recovered his authority at Gondar, and took his place once more among the great chiefs of the empire.

At this crisis, Mr. Plowden's despatch of July 9, 1854, sums up admirably the position of affairs.\* The undisputed supremacy of Ras Ali, to whose fortunes he clung somewhat obstinately, had, he admitted, been very shortlived. At the time to which we refer it was contested by three great chiefs—Dejjaj Kassai, of Dembea and Kuara, "vigorous and subtle, daring to a fault, and perhaps more disposed to innovation than any; Dejjaj Birru, of Godjam, "proud as Lucifer, of surprising talent and penetration, daring, patient, resolute;" and Dejjaj Oubié, of Tigré and Semen, "acute, inflated with pride, far-seeing, and ambitious." The Ras himself Mr. Plowden describes as "a humane man, very vain, too indulgent, but intelligent, agreeable in his manners, brave, averse to change, and of a very whimsical character." "Should any one of these four chiefs," adds the consul, "attain supreme power, I do not think that he will have the courage to attempt that radical change in their feudal system which must precede

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\* "Further Correspondence," &c. p. 28.



all reform, all hopes of order or of useful foreign alliance. Upon the whole, Dejaz Kassai would be, I think, the most desirable."

Ras Ali summoned to his aid all the forces that his established rule, his skilful diplomacy, and the ancient reputation of his house commanded. His army, headed by the ablest Abyssinian generals, attacked Kassai in Dembea, but the star of "the kossowendor's son" prevailed, and the troops of the Ras were shamefully routed. Kassai now assumed the offensive, and Ali concentrated all his strength in his stronghold at Debra Tabor for a final effort; the forces of the Ras met those of Kassai on the plain of Gorata in the southern part of Begemeder, and after an obstinate conflict in which Ali displayed a vain courage, the victory fell once more to his son-in-law. The unhappy Ras was thus driven from all that had been won by the valour and prudence of his grandfather Gooksa. He took refuge among the Yedju Gallas to the south-east of Lasta, where he died soon after, broken-hearted, it is said, at the ingratitude of his daughter, the high spirited and ambitious wife of the conqueror. The Ras being thus disposed of, Kassai marched straight into Godjam to deal with his most dangerous rival Birru Goshu, whose father he had slain. One battle decided the fate of this competitor, and Godjam was subdued at a blow. Amhara was thus consolidated for the instant into a compact dominion, and of the Abyssinian Empire only two provinces remained to be reclaimed by the victorious Kassai, but these were the jewels of the Æthiopian crown. In the north-east, Dejaz Oubié ruled Tigré and Semen; in the south-east, beyond the Galla country, Haila Malakot, son of Sahela Selasié, governed the Kingdom of Shoa.

Kassai now assumed the title and authority of Ras, holding the titular emperor in his hands; and in virtue of this title he called upon Oubié for a tribute. He was met by an insulting answer, and marched at once to enforce his demand at the sword's point. In Semen, the hereditary domain of Oubié, the decisive battle was fought. On the 4th of February, 1855, the armies met on the plain of Dereskié. The issue was not long doubtful. Oubié, his son, and his famous general, Kokobié, were captured; and the stronghold of Amba Hai, where the princes of Semen for three generations had stored their wealth, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was now left without a rival.

Before the battle he had harangued his soldiers in the old Homeric style. "Follow me," he had said, "and, by the power of God, to-morrow my name shall be no more Kassai." It had long been a tradition, eagerly cherished amidst anarchy and weakness, that in the latter days a great Emperor would arise, who would restore the ancient glory of Æthiopia, overthrow the dominion of the Crescent, and reconquer the Empire of Solomon.

This Negus, "King of the Kings of Æthiopia," was to bear, so ran the tale, the name of Theodore (Teódros). To this glorious destiny Kassai had from his earliest years looked forward with hope. The prize was now within his grasp. He has secured the countenance of the Church by rescuing from the prison of Oubié Abba Salama, the Abuna, who was now ready to do the bidding of his rescuer. Six days after the battle Kassai was crowned Negus under the name of Teódros.\* We shall hence speak of him as Theodore.

But a small part of Abyssinia now remained to be reduced under his dominion. He left a governor at Adowa, the capital of Tigre, and at once turned his face southwards to fresh conquests. The Wollo Gallas, a fierce Mohammedan tribe, had occupied some of the richest southern districts of the plateau. The army of Theodore, flushed with recent victory, advanced upon these, and crushed their power at a single blow. Their country fell into the hands of the victor, who proceeded with singular sagacity to secure his acquisition by fortifying the inaccessible fastness of Magdala, which he has since made one of the centres of his military strength. From the Gallas he passed to Shoa, and on the king of that country making signs of resistance, laid siege to the capital, Ankobar. The strangely sudden death of the king inspired the Shoans with such fear of Theodore's power, natural and supernatural, that they at once surrendered, and Shoa was again added to the Æthiopian empire. Theodore, leaving the son of Haila Malakot as viceroy at Ankobar, returned to his central provinces, and here, under the guidance of his friends Bell and Plowden, began to inaugurate those lofty schemes of social and political regeneration by which he hoped to consolidate his power.

Allegiance to their friend and patron Ras Ali seems indeed to have lain lightly enough on the consciences of the two Englishmen. Consul Plowden, as we have seen, even before the final struggle, had looked on Kassai as the aspirant most likely to advance his native country by his elevation to supreme power. When the Ras was defeated and driven from Begemeder, Plowden and Bell at once attached themselves to Theodore, and supported

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\* It was at this time, probably, that Theodore insisted upon the priests accepting the story of his royal descent. We are not clear, however, whether he has ever laid claim to the supreme and original authority of "Ahtice" as lineal heir of Solomon (or rather Menilek, son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba). His titles and high pretensions seem to point to his so doing; but Dr. Beke says: "It is said that the present intrusive Emperor Theodore still continues to treat Hatsye Yohannes, the puppet Emperor, as his suzerain, standing in his presence with his body uncovered down to the waist, as Abyssinian servants are used to do when waiting on their masters."

with zeal, through the ensuing five years, his schemes for establishing order in his dominions. These schemes were perhaps too trenchant, too antagonistic to popular prejudice, to have much chance of ultimate success, nor had Theodore the patience or earnestness to persevere in his high part of Peter the Great. But his greatest difficulty was the character of the people. "Haters of all rule," says Mr. Dufton, "they greet the uprising of those whose superiority of talent marks them out as the benefactors and saviours of their country with resistance and rebellion, while they attach themselves with ardour to any petty chief who will gratify by a raid on their weaker neighbours their lust for forage and plunder." All Theodore's plans of reform were defeated by a succession of revolts. With these the passionate character of the man underwent a change; "I now perceive," he said to M. Lejean, "the true part I have to perform. I will be the scourge, the judgment of God on Abyssinia."

It was in June, 1855, that Consul Plowden became acquainted first with Theodore, and political questions, as we learn from the despatch to Lord Clarendon previously quoted, were at once opened between them. Theodore was disinclined to ratify Ras Ali's treaty; he was utterly opposed to the notion of a consulate, *as provided in that treaty*; but, otherwise, he showed himself most favourably disposed both towards Mr. Plowden individually and to the English nation. But he had little time to spare for foreign policy. Godjam revolted; then the Gallas rebelled; then Tigré, notwithstanding that the beautiful daughter of Oubié had been given in marriage to Theodore, rose in insurrection under Agow Negusié, whose pretensions were openly recognised by the French emperor. In the war with Negusié, a chief called Garad, having made an incursion on Gondar, attacked a small party of travellers making their way to Massowah: among these was Mr. Plowden, who died soon after of wounds received in the contest. The king and his friend Bell marched to avenge the consul; Bell killed Garad, and Garad's brother, having avenged himself on Bell, was slain by Theodore's own hand. The deaths of the two Englishmen were expiated by a horrible slaughter of the insurgents.

It is to be remembered that Theodore, while professing a warm desire to enter into actively amicable relations with England, had shown a bitter jealousy of the proposed consular establishment in his country. His personal friendship for Mr. Plowden had induced him to waive his objections for the time being, but he had not by any means laid them aside, nor had our consul concealed this disposition of the Negus from the English Foreign Office. Prudence would have dictated, under these circumstances, an attempt to ascertain whether the Negus

would receive favourably another consul on the part of Her Majesty. No such attempt was made, though a long delay ensued before Mr. Plowden's place was actually filled up. The successor chosen by Lord Russell was an English officer, Captain Charles Duncan Cameron, who had served in the East during the Russian war under "Williams of Kars." The appointment was made in the summer of 1860, but it was not till the early part of 1862 that the new consul arrived at his destination, Massowah. A further delay of some months followed, and in October the consul was introduced to the Negus, in camp before a fortress in Godjam. His reception was good, although his letter of credence from Lord Russell was little calculated to smooth the ruffled pride of Theodore. But Theodore, though civil, was suspicious and tetchy, as soon came to light in the subsequent negotiations.

Captain Cameron's first interviews with the Negus had relation to the treaty concluded by Mr. Plowden with Ras Ali in 1849, and the embassy which Theodore was anxious to send to London. The treaty Theodore had constantly refused to recognise, notwithstanding Mr. Plowden's persuasions, and this course, which seems to have powerfully influenced the Foreign Office in dealing with the Abyssinian monarch, may be very naturally explained. In the first place, the title of the Negus might have been affected by his recognition of any act of the Ras; secondly—and this is a much more probable, or at least more cogent reason—the British government had shown no inclination to grant that reciprocity of rights of legation which is, by the international code, and, indeed, the suggestions of common sense, presumed to follow upon a reciprocity of treaty rights. The idea of an embassy to England had been expressly pointed at in the old treaty with Ras Ali, and Theodore, before adopting the obligations of that pact, was desirous to know whether he might act upon this idea. Lord Clarendon, however, conveying through Mr. Plowden (on the 27th of November, 1855), his answers to this inquiry or suggestion, hampered his sanction of the embassy with an unreasonable condition. He made the concession depend on Mr. Plowden's "receiving from the king a distinct assurance that he renounces all idea of conquest in Egypt and at Massowah. . . . Her Majesty's Government would subject themselves to grave suspicions if they received an embassy from a sovereign whose designs against the Sultan, the ally of the Queen of England, were previously known to them." It is quite certain that language of this sort would not have been used to a European Government. Would Lord Clarendon have thus spoken to Italy on behalf of Venetia, the dominion of Austria, to Prussia on behalf of Austria itself, to Russia on behalf of the Porte? Surely not. But Theodore,

our diplomatists thought, could be dealt with in a more high-handed fashion than a civilized prince, and perhaps they were for the moment right; but they could not in any case expect even this "barbarian" to execute one part of the treaty while they ignored the other. Thus the Negus became impressed with the conviction that the professions of English friendship were selfish and hollow. His suspicions were not to be allayed by anything short of the embassy, and there is reason to believe that had this been granted he would have at once yielded in the matter of the treaty. Unfortunately, Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, Lord Clarendon, and Mr. Layard, were one and all keen partisans of the Ottoman rule, and though Theodore was urgent in pressing the matter upon both the consuls it hung in abeyance. Mr. Layard, indeed, has asserted in the House of Commons that Consul Cameron had received peculiar directions on this subject.\* "So far was Consul Cameron from being instructed to propose an embassy to England from the king, that he was distinctly told that Her Majesty's Government would not entertain the idea of a mission unless he gave up all idea of conquering the Turks, and invading Turkish territory." The consul, on the other hand, insists that it was the Negus who opened the matter, making an answer on this subject a preliminary to his consent to enter into relations with Captain Cameron at all.

"He is peculiarly jealous," wrote Mr. Plowden in 1855, "of his sovereign rights, and of anything that appears to touch on them. He wishes in a short time to send embassies to the great European Powers, to treat with them on equal terms. The most difficult trait in his character is this jealousy, and the pride that, fed by ignorance, renders it impossible for him yet to believe that so great a monarch as himself exists in the world."

This description coincides with the later account given by Mr. Dufton, who, in dealing with the question of Theodore's objection to foreign consulates, observes:—

"The King's idea is, that the existence of no other power should be recognised in the country besides his own, and that all persons residing in his territories, natives or foreigners, must obey the laws of the land, and be subject to him entirely.† It is an instance of his singularly jealous

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\* Dr. Beke's "British Captives," &c., second edition, p. 70.

† Mr. Dufton's astonishment is misplaced. Theodore's view of the consular office, in respect to immunities, is borne out by the law of nations, nor could the arrest of a consul of itself be regarded as a breach of that law. Wheaton is quite clear upon this point, and so far as we are aware no jurist of any reputation whatever, no writer on international law, could be found to support the doctrines which have been freely laid down by a portion of the English press. Consuls have no claim, it is to be distinctly understood, to legational immunities, so that even had Theodore formally recognised Captain Cameron as Her Majesty's Consul, of which fact we have no evidence at all, he would

character, and of his view of despotism. If, therefore, a consul ventures into the country, he must not do so with the idea that his person will be considered sacred, or that the power represented by him will impose awe; but he must be prepared to stand on the same footing as a native of the country. Hence the subsequent imprisonment of the French and English Consuls, in whatever light we may choose to regard it, was not looked upon by Theodore as an infringement of the rights of nations, for rights of this nature he had never recognised. I believe, however, with regard to ambassadors the case is different, and that the custom of ancient nations in respect to them holds good in Abyssinia; at all events, the persons of messengers passing between two contending armies are held sacred."

Captain Cameron was accompanied on this his first visit to Theodore by a Frenchman named Bardel, who, though holding no official charge, was taken by the Negus to represent, in some measure, his nation. Besides his domestic troubles, Theodore was at this time agitated by the hostile progress of the Egyptians on the northern frontier, and by the persecutions to which the Abyssinian Christians had been subjected at Jerusalem. He took the resolve of writing "a royal circular of appeal" to the sovereigns of France and England, in which he solicited their help and amity on behalf of the Christian Abyssinians beleaguered by the forces of Islam, and expressed a wish for an interchange of embassies. The letter of the Emperor Napoleon was carried by M. Bardel: that to the Queen, dated October 31st, 1862, was sent to Aden with directions to have it at once transmitted to England. To these letters, and especially to the latter, Theodore expected, not unfairly, an immediate answer. Captain Cameron was so convinced that a reply would be quickly sent that he left at Massowah his secretary, Mr. Lawrence Kerens, and his dragoman Mertcha, that no delay should be made in bringing up the Queen's letter to the court of the Negus. Theodore's letter met with some accidents on its conveyance to Aden, and did not reach England until the 12th of February, 1863. What became of it then, except that it was not answered, nobody knew, until in the late autumn session Mr. Layard naively made a clean breast of it, and satisfactorily proved to the world that no one was to blame for the mistake. It seems that Abyssinia was not in Mr. Layard's half of the world, but in Mr. Hammond's, the permanent (and practically irresponsible) Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. A custom of the Foreign office, like the Papal bull which halved the world between Spain and Portugal, divides the habitable globe between the secretaries, and Mr. Layard, who does know something about the East, has nothing to do, it seems, with any-

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have been quite "within his right" in proceeding to put him on trial and punish him. The outrage on Mr. Rassam was of quite another character, and its enormity cannot be palliated.

thing that is not west of the meridian of Greenwich. Mr. Hammond, we suppose, does not read Amharic, nor does Earl Russell, who endorsed the letter without taking any trouble to find out its contents. It was sent to Mr. Kaye at the India Office, for what purpose no one seems to be clear, and kept in the pigeon-holes of his desk until Parliament began to find out that we were brought to the verge of war by this tissue of scandalous blunders.

Consul Cameron had good reasons to desire a speedy reply. He had a very difficult card to play. In compliance with the request of Theodore himself—a request which was practically a command—the consul had undertaken the part which Mr. Plowden had played with some success, but which few men were less fitted for than Captain Cameron. He was solicited to interfere on behalf of the Abyssinian monarch against the Egyptians who were making progress in the province of Bogos, to the north of Tigré and north-west of Massowah. He was unable to effect anything of importance, and the only result was to offend the Foreign Office: a result which drew with it afterwards the most deplorable consequences. And, as to do the pleasure of the Negus, he had crossed the wishes of his own superiors, so in executing the commands of the Foreign Office it was his misfortune to waken the fatal suspicions of the king. The American civil war had set explorers and commercial men wild about finding new cotton-fields, and Dr. Beke, who well appreciated the cotton-growing capacities of the Abyssinian lowlands, pressed the matter so earnestly on the Board of Trade, that the consul was instructed to make inquiries on the subject. In compliance with these orders, he visited Matammah and the low marshy plains in the Pashalic of Sennaar about the middle of the year 1863. This was construed by Theodore to be a visit for some concealed and probably evil purposes to “his enemies, the Turks.”

Meantime, no answer had arrived from England to the letter of the Negus, which, as we have seen, lay unheeded in Mr. Kaye's office. The French officials had replied with greater alacrity, and M. Lejean was sent to represent the Government of Napoleon III. at Theodore's court. His mission was not favourably received; the Negus was irritated at his want of success against the rebellions that sprang up like hydra-heads in every province of the empire; and he was peculiarly and naturally jealous of the favour which France had shown his enemy Negusié. On some trivial pretext M. Lejean was arrested, and detained for some time in semi-captivity at Gondar. At this crisis, when Theodore was suspicious of all Europeans, and savage at the ill turn his fortunes had taken, the British consul returned to Gondar, where he found himself instructed to return to his head-quarters at

Massowah, and not to meddle further in Abyssinian affairs. He demanded an interview of the Negus, who had come himself to the capital about the same time, and according to Dr. Beke the interview was a stormy one. Theodore's concluding words sum up the situation.\* "So," he said, "your Queen can give you orders to go and visit my enemies, the Turks, and then to return to Massowah, but she cannot send a civil answer to my letter to her. You shall not leave me till that answer comes."

It is quite certain, in spite of Mr. Layard's dogmatic denial in the House of Commons, that the events we have traced the course of, and not any of the king's disputes with the missionaries Stern and Rosenthal, were the originating cause of the miserable complication in which we have for two years been involved. There is no proof that Consul Cameron excited the rage of Theodore by any interference on behalf of the offending missionaries, whose language, written, spoken, and published, had been indeed of a kind which it was scarcely to be expected a barbarian despot would tamely pass by. The wrath of the Negus, against what he deemed the graceless insolence of the European sovereigns, grew in the meantime.† In September, 1863, M. Bardel brought the answer to the letter to Napoleon III. This communication was from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and contained some high language about the protection which the French Empire extended to the Catholic Church "dans tout l'univers." The insignificance of the person, and the impertinence of the hint, inflamed Theodore's rage. M. Lejean was brought before a solemn court of the Negus, and subjected to a close interrogation; the result was that Theodore tore the letter of the French minister into fragments, trampled upon it, and defied the power of Napoleon. Two days after the French consul and his companion were hustled contemptuously over the Abyssinian frontier, and sent packing to Massowah.

On the 20th of November, 1863, the missionaries Stern and Rosenthal were publicly tried, and were convicted of reviling the sovereign, an offence which the *Feth Negust* (the Abyssinian code founded on that of Justinian) punishes with death, as coming within the *crimen læsæ majestatis* of the Roman Law.† On this occasion the sullen wrath of Theodore against the consul and all the English did not break forth, though in fitful gusts it had frequently shown itself before. But two days after the trial, Mr. Kerens and Mertcha came up from Massowah with the longed-for despatches. The consul looked to these as a certain means of restoring himself and his countrymen to the good graces of Theodore. What was his dismay to find that no

\* Dr. Beke's "British Captives," &c., p. 93.

† Ibid. p. 121.



answer was sent to the Negus' letter, despatched more than twelve months previously to Aden, nor even any notice taken of its existence. A letter from Mr. Murray of the Foreign Office, reprimanding the consul for not having returned to Massowah, was the most important document brought by Kerens. For a time the consul seems to have prudently delayed obedience to this fatal command; had he disregarded it, all might have gone well.

For at this time, though the missionaries Stern and Rosenthal were suffering the torments of an Abyssinian prison and of wearying suspense combined, the Negus showed some signs of relaxing his rigour, and arrangements had been made with Mr. Flad that he should go to England and bring back a ransom for Mr. Stern, who would then be released with his friend. On the 4th of January, 1864, however, Mr. Consul Cameron renewed his application to be permitted to return to Massowah, as instructed by his Government. The suspicious temper of Theodore was again awakened to passion. He ordered the arrest of all the Europeans. The consul, his suite, and the missionaries were thrown into one prison.

We have got the history of the captivity piecemeal, in fragments of letters from the captives, with frequent discrepancies and not a few contradictions. But, probably, there can be no reasonable doubt that they have suffered much misery, and that the mental anguish of living by the caprice of a despot has been found not less intolerable than the physical torture of the noisome prison-house and the galling chain. The captives were removed, in the summer of 1864, from Gondar to Magdala, where their weary life was passed up to the date of Mr. Rassam's mission.

It was the imprisonment of the missionaries, singularly enough, that first attracted attention in this country. Lord Shaftesbury pressed upon Earl Russell the prayer of Mrs. Stern, "that Her Majesty might be induced by letter under the sign manual, written by the Queen herself, to intercede" with Theodore on behalf of the captives. Lord Russell refused this request. But on May the 25th, 1864, the consul's brief note, giving an account of the arrest, was published in London. It contained this brief sentence, which startled, not only the public, but the official world. "*No release till a civil answer to King's letter arrives.*" A week after Mr. H. D. Seymour brought the matter under the notice of the House of Commons. Theodore's letter was found in Mr. Kaye's office, after, no doubt, an exciting hunt among other documents, equally important and equally neglected. It was decided now to do what Earl Russell had previously declined. Her Majesty was advised in the end of June, 1864, to write an answer to Theodore's letter of October 31st, 1862. Unfortu-

nately this proper step was taken rather too late, and it was further vitiated by two fundamental blunders made in putting it into execution.

First, the person to whom the mission was entrusted was scarcely one likely to conciliate the jealous temper of Theodore. Major Plowden, cousin of the former consul, Dr. Beke, and several other Englishmen well fitted for the duty, offered their services. But Mr. Layard was at the Foreign Office; and the person selected to carry on a most delicate negotiation with an irritable semi-civilized chief, the deadly enemy of the Turkish power, was Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. This gentleman was born at Mosul, and had assisted the Under-secretary for Foreign affairs in those Ninevite explorations which made his reputation before he took up with politics. Mr. Rassam, except for his birth, was well fitted for any task of the kind entrusted to him. He had been long assistant to the political resident at Aden, and had shown keen diplomatic intelligence. But if he had been a Talleyrand, he could not have escaped being, in the eyes of Theodore, "a Turk."

The second blunder is even clearer than this. It is scarcely credible that in pretending to answer Theodore's letter no notice whatever was taken of the point to which the Negus looked most eagerly—the acknowledgment and reception of his embassy by England. In omitting this, the only real chance of peaceably arranging the dispute was thrown away.

A long and needless delay now took place. In August, 1864, Mr. Rassam arrived at Massowah. He sent an intimation of his arrival, but accompanied it with a request for Captain Cameron's liberation. The Negus was of course offended at this misplaced dictation, and left Mr. Rassam unnoticed at Massowah for months. Meanwhile, it was discovered that the queen's letter was informal. In March, 1865, a new one was written. Dr. Blanc and Lieutenant Prideaux were now joined in the mission with Mr. Rassam. In the early autumn of 1865 it was suddenly resolved to supplant Mr. Rassam by Mr. Gifford Palgrave, the distinguished Arabian explorer. But on September 5th Mr. Rassam arrived at Suez, and telegraphed to the British consulate at Alexandria the news of Captain Cameron's release. This news was afterwards found to be baseless, or at least an exaggeration of some slight and passing relaxation of the rigours of the captivity at Magdala.

Other delays now interfered, and it was not till the beginning of the year 1866 (28th January), that Mr. Rassam, reinstated in his mission, succeeded in reaching the king.\* He was well

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\* For some unexplained reason, he was compelled to travel from Massowah [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. O

received. Notably he accepted from Theodore a *present* of 15,000 Maria-Theresa dollars. It may be well here to quote what Mr. Plowden has said on the subject of presents of this kind :—

“ Friendship is measured by gifts. Each chief begs from his compeer—nay, from his own dependent. Nothing will so much strike a stranger in Abyssinia as their custom of asking, without reserve, without shame, for anything they may fancy. They are, however, ready to make compensation; they may be offended at a refusal of their request; equally so, if the returns be not accepted. . . . An embassy to or from a foreign prince is a mere calculation of value exchanged. . . . A European envoy in this country must, in the present state of society, exchange presents with the great chief, or be regarded as an object of charity, and it must be done with tact to avoid the imputation of either timidity or folly.”

We see, therefore, what a mistake was made by the Foreign Office in declining to repay—this is really the proper word—Theodore the 15,000 dollars presented to Mr. Rassam.

After a deal of civil talk the captives were released, and brought from Magdala to Gorata, on the east shore of Lake Tsana; and a letter to the Queen was written by the Negus, as the emissary of Mr. Rassam. But soon Theodore began to repent letting the prisoners free of his grasp, and preferring very strongly a claim for English artisans to manufacture cannon and gunpowder, he expressed a wish or design to keep Mr. Rassam as a hostage till these came. This of course was a pretext, and Mr. Rassam firmly declining, permission to leave for Massowah was apparently conceded. On the 13th of April, Mr. Rassam, having sent the captives on before by another road, came to the camp to bid Theodore farewell. Both parties of Europeans were arrested and placed in durance once more. The arrest of Mr. Rassam, an envoy having the representative character, was something beyond anything that the Negus had yet had the audacity to attempt.

At first the prisoners were treated kindly. Mr. Flad, one of the workmen of the German mission at Caffat, was sent to England to bargain for the artisans for whose help Theodore was so anxious. He reached London in July, when Lord Derby's Government had just assumed the reins of power. It was determined to comply with Theodore's demand, to send the artisans, but not to permit them to get into the clutches of the Negus before the long-delayed release of the captives had been perfected. But political troubles seem now to have completely turned Theodore's

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to Debra Tabor by a most circuitous route; namely, by Bogos, Kassala, Matammah, and Gondar.

brain, and some evil-minded counsellors apparently inspired him with a deep distrust of the English at Aden, and of our alliance with Turkey and Egypt. He declined the terms with which Mr. Flad was charged, and after vain attempts to induce the authorities at Massowah to send up the artisans to him, he has ceased to negotiate, and the captives still remain in chains at Magdala.

On the 16th of April, 1867, Lord Stanley sent a peremptory message to Theodore, allowing the latter three months from the date of its dispatch from Massowah, for the release of the prisoners and their dismissal beyond the frontier. The letter was sent from Massowah on the 17th of May, so that the day of grace allowed to Theodore by Lord Stanley expired in August. Even before that time military preparations had actively commenced. The exploration of the coast and low ground as far as the edge of the plateau has to a certain extent been effected, but we know little or nothing of the interior of the country. What Theodore's position may be in relation to the numerous rebels that beset him we have never been informed, nor have any proper pains been taken to ascertain what the insurgent chiefs of Godjam, and Tigré, and Shoa, and the Waag-shum Gobasié of Lasta would be likely to do in the case of an invasion. The ministry seem to have been mainly careful to bring together at any cost such an overwhelming force as may make failure an impossibility.

The latest news from what may be now fairly called the seat of war has the obscurity inseparable from telegraphic intelligence. The landing place at Zulla, on the south side of Annesley Bay, has been found, as was anticipated, deficient in the water supply. The troops and the cattle have been obliged to rely entirely on the condensing power of the steamers for drinkable and wholesome water. In other respects the climate has not proved dangerous to human life, though the mules and horses have suffered from a severe epidemic distemper. As the numbers of the troops at Zulla increase it is natural to fear an increase in the dangers of the unhealthy atmosphere and soil. Colonel Merewether, therefore, has made every effort to get men, mules, and horses up from the low-lying coast to the breezy healthy plateau. After a rapid exploration he has succeeded in advancing the first brigade as far as Senafé, a station within the verge of the highland country. There, so far as we can learn, there is plenty of water and no disease. The commanders of the expedition are very hopeful of the result, but from the political side we see no great reason for this confidence. None of the great rebels have made any sign of joining the invading force. The most important news, which must of course be re-

ceived with caution, is that Theodore has burnt Debra Tabor, and has retreated to Magdala. In that stronghold, deemed impregnable by the Abyssinians, are confined the captives. The most important question is, Will Theodore make a stand here, or will he take refuge, with or without the prisoners, in Kuara?

It is far too soon to speculate upon the probable issue of the military enterprise on which we have embarked. Operations of a serious kind are not likely to commence before the beginning of March, and neither Theodore nor any of the great feudatories, even those most hostile to the Negus, seem inclined to open peaceful negotiations with our officers at Annesley Bay. They are not likely, we fear, to be speedily impressed with respect for our superiority in arms, for if Mr. Plowden has correctly painted the national character, their vanity makes them believe themselves invincible. "They have a great contempt," says the accurate observer we have named, "for other nations, and scarcely know, or do not care, whether they exist or not; the tribes on their borders they regard as the breathing-fields of Abyssinian valour." But if this testimony might dishearten us, there is other testimony from the same authority which should have an opposite effect, and which is hardly consistent, it should seem, with the former. "Though difficult to persuade," says Mr. Plowden in another place, "no people would be more docile under slight coercion. As soon as a chief of firmness governs in any district, quiet and order prevail to a surprising extent without any police. To a foreign conquest little resistance would be offered. They are too imaginative to dream of patriotism; yet had they any national spirit, the rugged nature of their mountain passes would offer many difficulties to an invading army. Individually they are brave, but in masses, being without discipline, they are hesitating and little to be feared." We shall not attempt to reconcile these discrepancies, or to draw either from them or from the proved valour and military qualities of our troops and the excellence of our officers, any conclusion whatever as to the result of operations. We may observe merely, that a dogged determination to win in the end, has been always characteristic of the lazy and placable Englishman when once he makes up his mind to fight, and any early disasters or false moves would rather strengthen this feeling than subdue it. It may be taken for granted that England at any cost or hazard means to win in Abyssinia. It would be premature to inquire now what use she may decide to make of the victories which she, not doubtingly, forecasts as hers.

## ART. IX.—THE LAND TENURES OF BRITISH INDIA.

1. ELPHINSTONE'S *History of India*. London : Murray.
2. MARSHMAN'S *History of India*. London : Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.
3. CAMPBELL'S *Modern India*. London : Murray.
4. ROBINSON'S *Land Revenue of British India*. London : Thacker and Co.
5. GLEIG'S *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*. London : Bentley.
6. MILL'S *History of India*.

WE can picture to ourselves the reader, whom authors in former days were wont to propitiate by conferring upon him the cognomen of "gentle," looking at our title with a very dubious eye. India has never been an attractive topic of discussion to the English mind, either within or without the walls of the House of Commons; and the land tenures of that dismal country are, in general estimation, the least inviting portion of a most uninviting whole. Still, there are many things in this life exceedingly unpleasant which not the less we feel it incumbent upon ourselves to do; and if the gentle reader will allow us five minutes' grace, we think that we can show cause why the land tenures of India should be numbered among these.

For good or for evil, we have come into the possession of a country containing close upon two hundred millions of inhabitants. Without stopping to inquire how far we ourselves are responsible for this position—how far we have been borne thither by the tendencies of events over which we had no control—it is undeniable that the inhabitants of the country never asked us to rule over them. In their eye we have become the sovereigns of India of our own free will; and it remains for us to vindicate this apparent usurpation by the elevation of the people, or, from misunderstanding or neglecting our duties, to sow the seeds of such catastrophes as the volcanic eruption of 1857. To say these things is simply to say what every one will assent to. True; but if all who do not chance to be officially connected with India, consider themselves at liberty to wash their hands of the matter, and remain contentedly in ignorance of the condition or the prospects of our Eastern dominions, it is impossible to accomplish the one end, or avoid the other. There is, surely, no need at this time to insist upon the truism that any government, excluded from the invigorating influences of an enlightened public opinion becomes indolent and apathetic, insolubly wedded to certain

fixed ideas, and incapable of shaking off the trammels of routine.

In India, the want which continually threatens the permanence of our rule, is the absence of any conservative feeling towards it among the people. Supposing that the Russians were to march an army into Scinde, and our troops to suffer a reverse, partial insurrections would indubitably break out at once, and a spirit of disaffection and desire for change would agitate the whole country. This would be attributable partly to the instability of the Asiatic character, but in a much greater degree to our policy which has alienated the aristocracy of India by robbing them of all power, without improving the condition of the lower classes sufficiently to attach them to our rule. To do so, would be in our judgment no impossible task. The conservatism of the Hindu is intense. But the rapacity of the different dynasties which have risen in India has completely dissociated it from any desire to maintain this or that form of government. The national life of Europe and America—the desires for unity, for the suffrage, for the preservation of constitutional rights, which make so great a noise in the world about us, have absolutely no counterparts in India. The conservatism of the people has been turned into another channel: it clings to religious rites and ceremonies, to daily customs handed down from immemorial times; especially it manifests itself in an almost fanatical attachment to the soil. Here is the feeling on which an intelligent government could work, to root itself in the affections of the agricultural classes which form the bulk of the community.

Convince them that their rights of property will be rigidly respected—make them feel that the government regards them as somewhat more than mere living machines for raising revenue—place them, as we might easily do, above the reach of famine, or even of severe want, and we might wait with perfect confidence of the ultimate result the attacks of powers from without, or the disturbances fostered by discontented spirits within the limits of our possessions. For these reasons we invite our readers to a brief survey of the conditions under which land is at present held in India. We may not succeed in making the subject interesting or agreeable—it hardly admits of such treatment—but we can at least promise them that our treatment shall be one which will be readily understood even by those who have never before devoted any attention to the subject.

In very early times, when the continent of India was composed of a number of independent states under Hindoo sovereigns, the absolute possession of the land was never vested in any one individual, except the supreme head of the government. The king granted a certain tract of land to those who under-

took to clear and cultivate it, reserving for the uses of the state a certain proportion of the yearly produce. Thus, a joint ownership was established; the king could alienate his share of the produce, he could grant it away to favourites or to eminent subjects, but in so doing the rights of the original cultivators were left untouched. The new comer merely received the royal ducs, but had no power over the village or district. In like manner, if any of the original settlers sold or mortgaged their rights in the land, their successors took upon themselves all their burdens as well as their privileges. Out of these arrangements arose the village communities of India, which have maintained their existence through countless wars, revolutions, and changes of dynasty, and some account of which is absolutely indispensable to render intelligible the present land tenures in British India.

“A village geographically considered” (we quote a passage from the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, instituted 1812), “is a tract of country comprising some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land. Politically viewed it resembles a corporation or township.” Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions:—The Potal, or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenue within the village;—the Curnom, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it;—the Tallier and the Totie—the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another: the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them;—the Boundary-man, who preserves the limits of the village, and gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute;—the Superintendent of Water-courses and Tanks, who distributes the water for purposes of agriculture;—the Brahmin, who performs the village worship;—the School-master, who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write in the sand;—the Calendar Brahmin or Astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and threshing;—the Smith and Carpenter, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the houses of the ryots;—the Potman or the Potter; the Washerman; the Barber; the Cowkeeper, who looks after the cattle; the Doctor; the Dancing-girl, who attends at rejoicings; the Musician; and the Poet.”

The bulk of the inhabitants are of course the owners, the tenants, and the cultivators of the land. These may be classified as follows:—1. Village landholders. 2. Permanent tenants. 3. Temporary tenants. 4. Labourers.

The village landholders, according to the popular belief, are all



descended from the first settlers ; the only exceptions being those who have purchased their rights from some member of the original stock. The rights of the village landholders belong to them as a body, and this corporate unity is never wholly lost sight of, though a more or less perfect separation of interests is permitted. For example, no single landholder can sell or mortgage his lands without the consent of the whole body ; and if a family becomes extinct its share returns to the common stock. The rights of the landholders under native governments varied. Under a mild and equitable rule, they paid a fixed proportion of the produce yearly, and even at times were allowed to cultivate their lands rent free. Even under the most oppressive government, some honorary distinctions were conferred upon them. The manner in which their dues to government are discharged differs in different communities. In some the land is cultivated in common ; in others the waste lands only are retained as a common property, and in others the cultivated lands are periodically interchanged. They are the landed aristocracy of India in the native estimation, and a connexion by marriage with a village landholder, even when poor, is preferred to one with an opulent man, who is a member of some inferior caste. So rooted is the notion that these landholders are the inalienable possessors of the soil, that if from any cause any member of the brotherhood is compelled to throw up his land, his name is retained on the village registers during three generations, or one hundred years ; during which time he or his family are entitled to reclaim his land should they feel so disposed.

The permanent tenants cultivate the lands of the village where they reside, paying rent to the village landholders, retain them during their lives, and transmit them to their children. The exact rights of these permanent tenants have been the subject of much disputing. They seem to vary in different parts of the country ; but for our present purpose the above description will be sufficient.

The temporary tenant cultivates his land on an annual lease ; and as the land which he holds is generally of an inferior quality, he rents it at a lower rent than the permanent tenant. A village landholder, or a permanent tenant occupying land in any village except his own, becomes a temporary tenant. The relation of the labourers to their employers is not markedly different from that which exists in England. Such are the village communities of India, and their remarkable attribute is their permanency.

“They seem to last,” writes Sir Charles Metcalfe, “when nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down ; revolution succeeds to revolution : Hindoo, Pathan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn ; but the village community remains the same.

In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; an hostile army passes through the country; the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but when the storm has passed over they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause, to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

So long as India remained split up into a number of petty principalities the various sovereigns were content to collect their revenues by an annual division of the crops; but when the country was consolidated into one vast empire, such a system was too laborious and expensive, and afforded too many facilities for speculation to admit of longer continuance. A system applicable to the whole of India was accordingly devised and carried into effect by the Emperor Akbar, a wise and beneficent sovereign, and his great minister, Todar Mull. An accurate survey was made of all land admitting of cultivation. This land was then divided into three classes, according to its richness and fertility. The amount of each sort of produce that could be raised on a certain fixed portion of each class of land was then ascertained; this amount, divided by three, was assumed to be the gross produce of that amount of land, and a third of that decreed to be the royal share. But as land of equal fertility might have to be cultivated under conditions more or less profitable, certain modifications were introduced to preclude the possibility of an unfair assessment. These were as follows:—1. Land which never required to lie fallow paid the full demand every harvest. 2. Land which had to lie fallow paid only while under cultivation. 3. Lands which had been inundated or waste for three or four years, and required an expenditure of capital to reclaim them, paid only two-fifths of the assessment for the first year, with a gradual increase until the fifth year, when they paid the full demand. Land which had been waste for more than five years

was assessed even more favourably. The commutation of produce in kind into money was calculated on an average struck after an examination of the prices current during the past nineteen years, and the assessment was made for ten years.

As the Mogul empire fell to pieces, abuses crept into this system. Large tracts of land were let out to speculators, who farmed the revenues for government; the plan was frequently adopted of allotting certain districts for the payment of troops, the commandant of the forces collecting and keeping the revenue; and the system became further disorganized by alienations of the revenue to eminent ministers, generals, and favourites. The rights of the village landholders still, in most parts of the country, continued as good as ever in popular estimation, but they were, as it were, in abeyance; while in a great part of the Madras Presidency all traces of village communities were destroyed. Under British rule the land tenures arrange themselves under three heads:—

1. The Zemindaree tenure, or permanent settlement of Bengal proper, as established by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, and since extended to Bahar and Orissa. Here the land is divided into large estates, in the possession of landlords, designated Zemindars, who pay a perpetual quitrent to Government. In Bahar and Orissa this rent is not yet made perpetual. This same tenure, under the name of "Talookdaree," is about to be introduced in Oude, but the exact terms upon which the Talookdars are to hold their lands have not yet been determined.

2. The Ryoteree tenure, established in Madras by Sir Thomas Munro. Here there are no middlemen. The cultivators are the owners of the soil, and the Government levies its assessment directly and individually upon them. A modification of this system has been adopted in Bombay.

3. The Patcedaree tenure, established by Mr. Robert Mertins Bird, in the North-west Provinces, and since extended to the Punjab. Here the Government deals with village communities, and the assessment is paid neither by landlords nor individual cultivators, but by the village community, which is jointly responsible.

It is the object of the present essay to give a brief narrative of the manner in which these various tenures have been established, and the effects of their operation upon the people and the country. We commence with that of Bengal proper.

Under the Mogul Government, in order to facilitate the collection of the land revenue, a certain number of villages were massed together and designated a district. Over each district a Government official, called a Zemindar, was appointed, whose duty it was to receive the dues of Government, and who received in return for his services a certain percentage on the amount

collected, generally about ten per cent. In addition to this fee, the Zemindar was entitled to subsistence allowance from the villagers of the district, and this allowance was mostly made in the shape of a certain fixed grant of land. In India, as indeed in Europe during the middle ages, and we suppose amongst most nations at a certain period in their history, there is a tendency which very soon converts any permanent post under Government into an hereditary possession. In the case of the Zemindars this tendency was accelerated by other causes. The advantages were so obvious of retaining the collection of the land revenue in the possession of those who were most intimately acquainted with the inhabitants of each district, and the productive capacities of the land, that only under circumstances of extreme provocation did the Mogul emperors eject a Zemindar from office. And at his death his son succeeded to the post as a matter of course. Occasionally for specific purposes a Zemindar might be temporarily superseded by an officer sent direct from the seat of Government, but even then a certain allowance from the revenue continued to be made to him. The Zemindar, however, was intended solely as a collector of the revenue. He was not armed with either judicial or military authority. This was vested in officials appointed expressly for those purposes. Only, in consultation with the headmen of the villages, he was expected to superintend the police of the district. But as the central Government became weak, and supervision ceased, the Zemindar assumed larger powers. He levied assessments freely upon his own account; he maintained a military force; if his demands were resisted he did not hesitate to carry fire and sword through the recalcitrant district.

"Before the British rule," says Mr. Robinson, in his valuable little book on the Land Tenures of India, "one of the revenue officers at Moorshedabad made a pit which he filled full of ordure and filth, and the dead carcasses of animals. Into this pit he plunged up to the neck defaulters till they paid. He had made a large pair of leathern pantaloons, which he filled with rats, cats, and other biting quadrupeds and insects, and for the same purpose strapped them round the waists of defaulting Zemindars.\*"

"In 1732, a Roostam Khan, who managed the northern circuits, hunted out the Zemindars, and put them to death, making two pyramids of their skulls. The Raja of Poorneah was put into a cage, hauled up to the top of a large tree, and kept there like a bird till he paid his revenue. The Resident of Lucknow wrote to Lord Hardinge but a few years ago that one of the revenue collectors in the native state of Oude had sold one thousand men, women, and children into slavery in order to realize the revenue of a particular district."

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\* In this passage "Zemindar" is used in its Hindoo signification, meaning "village landholders."

But notwithstanding these assumptions of arbitrary authority, the Zemindars had never been regarded by the English as possessing any right of property in the soil, in virtue of their official position; and in their directions to Lord Cornwallis, the directors spoke of them with perfect correctness as "the hereditary superintendents of the land." This being the case, that Lord Cornwallis should himself have recommended, and the home authorities sanctioned with such eager approval, the measures about to be described, becomes doubly surprising.

When Lord Cornwallis began his inquiries into the character of the Indian land tenures, the most utter ignorance regarding the whole subject appears to have reigned supreme through the whole governing body of Englishmen. And even after a great deal of time and labour expended in instituting inquiries, but little knowledge appears to have been acquired. The servants of the Company in those days did not consider it necessary to acquire a knowledge of the language of the people. They associated but little with them, and their official intercourse was carried on by means of Mahommedan interpreters. The issue was that the rights of the village landholders were entirely overlooked, and Lord Cornwallis resolved to convert the Zemindars into a landed aristocracy, holding their estates on the condition of a perpetual quitrent payable to Government. It is perhaps difficult for an Englishman to realize the confiscation of long-established rights involved in this sweeping measure. But it was as if the Emperor of the French, by his sole act, should at one stroke convert the peasant proprietors of France into tenants-at-will of the nearest influential Government officer. Sir John Shore—an eminent civil servant, under whose superintendence the preliminary inquiries had been carried on—although a warm advocate of the Zemindaree scheme, had sufficient knowledge of the native character to shrink from handing over a whole population, unprotected and powerless, to the tender mercies of this newly-created aristocracy. He pleaded hard that in the first instance the settlement should be made for ten years only, to learn the working of the new system and the behaviour of all classes under these novel conditions. But Lord Cornwallis and the Home Government were inexorable. Having resolved that the Zemindars were to become the landed aristocracy of India, they did not shrink from investing them with all the virtues which ought, according to their idea, to belong to them in their new position. Under the stimulus of property, the Zemindar was to clear forests, to apply capital to land, to exercise a beneficent and elevating influence over his tenantry—to be, in short, a heaven-born landlord. Looking back now with the light of our hard-bought experience, such a delusion savours of downright insanity. A whole class of men who were known to be indolent, rapacious, and cruel, were

expected, by the passing of an Act conferring certain lands upon them and their heirs, to become all at once the enlightened friends of progress, the protectors of the poor, and the embodiment in the flesh of the most advanced principles of political economy. Great was the jubilation at home when this act of hasty and unwise legislation was completed, and the settlement of Bengal proper declared perpetual. It was the fashion to speak of it as "a monument of human wisdom," and an era of prosperity and happiness hitherto unknown was confidently anticipated for India.

These expectations were doomed to disappointment. For a time, indeed, the calamitous consequences involved in the annihilation of their rights were diverted from the ryots, and, strangely enough, fell with such severity upon the Zemindars that the newly-created landed aristocracy were extinguished with almost as much swiftness as they had been called into existence. This unexpected result was occasioned by the sweeping changes effected by Lord Cornwallis in the administration of justice. It would be foreign to our subject to enter into an account of these; but we strongly recommend the study of them to those who imagine that British rule in India has been of such unmixed benefit to the people. That insularity which made us imagine the English relations of landlord and tenant to be something inherent in human nature, caused us in these measures to blunder even more egregiously. We had the opportunity of conferring upon our subjects the inestimable boons of a written code and an inexpensive administration of law. Lord Cornwallis was convinced that these were attainable only by the establishment of a series of courts, with power of appeal from one to another, and by impeding the course of justice with all the technicalities, intricacies, expensiveness, and long, puzzling methods of procedure which could be transported from England into India. As a first step, all judicial authority in disputes connected with land was taken out of the hands of the collectors of revenue and vested in these new courts. That is to say, the power of adjudication upon questions arising out of the intricate and complex character of the Indian land tenures was removed from those who had an intimate practical acquaintance with them, and handed over to men who were profoundly ignorant of the whole subject. Another marked feature in these reforms was that nothing whatever could be done out of court. Every step had to be taken in court. Native pleaders, acquainted with the forms and methods of procedure, were licensed by Government to conduct all cases, and were paid for their services by a share of the litigated property. All pleadings, replications, and other things had to be made in writing. The course of justice, by these means, became not only tedious in the extreme, but completely unintelligible to the litigants, and so expensive, that for the poor there soon ceased to

be any justice obtainable at all. The system has been continued with little or no improvement until the present time, and the demoralization caused by it among a people fond of litigation has been excessive. "Forgery," says Mr. Campbell, in his work on the Government of India, "became a sort of branch of the legal profession, just as conveyancing is with us, and the professors of the art attained great skill." There were at that time in Bengal many holders of estates, or "Jaghirdars," as they are called in India. These men possessed no right whatever of property in the soil; only the king's portion of the produce of certain districts had been conferred upon them in return for past services, or some other cause. Lord Cornwallis, however, having made the Zemindars proprietors of the soil, would not do less by the Jaghirdars. They accordingly had a similar boon conferred upon them, with the additional privilege of holding their lands rent free. This resolution gave an immense impetus to forgery.

"I have turned up," says Mr. Campbell, "the collection of a forger, who had the seals of every possible emperor, minister, and governor. It was but 'Name' your emperor, and say how much land you want,' and a most imposing-looking grant was produced, all ancient and musty, and tattered and torn, but still preserving in legible characters the great seal of the empire, signature of the prime minister, consignature of the governor of the province, and the cardinal particulars of the grant."

It was early seen, however, that in the case of revenue defaulters the tedious processes of the law courts would be a serious embarrassment to Government. An Act was accordingly passed authorizing revenue officers, in case of default, to set aside legal forms and distrain summarily. On the failure of a Zemindar to pay the assessment, such portions of his land were in consequence put up for sale at once as would be sufficient to cover the arrears. But while the Government armed itself with these exceptional advantages, it carefully denied them to the hapless Zemindar. If any of his tenants refused to pay he had no means of recovering his rent except by a decree from the courts of law. Now punctuality in anything is not a native virtue,—least of all is it so in the case of money transactions. Punctual payments of revenue had never been made or expected under native sovereigns, and the rigid severity of the English collectors of revenue took the Zemindars by surprise. Moreover, together with this unpunctuality, the native of Bengal has a perfect mania for litigation. He likes it for its own sake. Families will go on from generation to generation prosecuting tedious and expensive lawsuits about narrow strips of waste land, in default of any better reason. The opening of a number of courts for the especial purpose of deciding civil cases proved immensely attractive to the native

mind. The judges were overwhelmed with the number of suits. The ryots combined against the Zemindars, and each separate dispute was carried from one court to another, so that there was no knowing when a decision would be obtained. Very frequently more than two years elapsed before the Zemindar was authorized to recover his rent. "In one district alone," Mr. Mill says, "that of Burdwan, the suits pending before the judge exceeded thirty thousand; and it appeared by computation upon the established pace of the court that no candidate for justice could expect to obtain a decision during the ordinary period of his life." The result of all this is easily to be seen. Unable to recover their rents on the one hand, compelled on the other to make good the revenue, the Zemindars speedily became bankrupt. Bit by bit their estates were sold up for arrears, until in the year 1796, according to Mr. Mill, the amount of land advertised for sale was nearly one-tenth of the whole of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and Lord Cornwallis's landed aristocracy were very soon reduced to poverty, and as an aristocracy virtually extinct. When the mischief was well nigh completed an Act was passed in 1799 to remedy it, as rash and unwise as the measure which had caused it. By this extraordinary piece of legislation it was provided that a Zemindar might distrain for rent previous to any legal decision. He was not required to adduce any evidence in support of his claim, but was simply to act as his own judge. It is needless to say that a starving ryot ejected from his fields was unable to appeal against this treatment in the expensive courts which a paternal administration had provided for him. And thus began an era of wretchedness to the Bengal peasantry which it is difficult to believe had been surpassed in the worst times of Eastern despotism. The Zemindars whom our measures had ejected from their lands, despite of all their shortcomings, lived among their tenantry. The money which they extorted from the villagers they at least spent among them. They maintained a generous and profuse hospitality. They had, as it were, struck root in the land, and a thousand family and social ties must very frequently have mitigated their selfish severity in the pursuit of riches. But now their estates had been bought up by native merchants, bankers, and other absentees. These introduced a system of sub-letting, which at times was carried down as low as the fourth grade. The power of summary distraint destroyed the few remains of any rights which had been secured to the ryots under the terms of the original settlement, and they were screwed to the uttermost. Their normal state of existence was to be on the verge of starvation. At the smallest failure in the supply of provisions an immense mortality ensued. Reduced as the ryot habitually was to a rag, a hovel, and the scantiest diet, he perished the moment



that there was the smallest strain upon his resources. He had no reserve strength on which to draw. Driven to despair, the people took to gang robbery or dacoity, and Bengal became a scene of constant pillage and disorder. This period is one of the most miserable in the history of British India. Large tracts of land were depopulated and tenanted only by wild hogs, inso-much that in 1810 the district of Maddra, within fifty miles of Calcutta, was considered, so Mr. Marshman tells us, the finest hog-hunting field in India. We refer our readers to the fifteenth chapter of his recently published history of India for a distressing picture of the evils brought upon Bengal by Lord Cornwallis's Revenue and Judicial Reforms. Only of late years can it be said with truth that the condition of the Bengal ryot has begun to amend. As late as 1852 this is the picture drawn of him by an intelligent native :—

“ In Bengal the ryot will be found to live all his days on rice, and to go covered with a slight cotton cloth. The demands on him are endless. This prevents the creation of capital, and prolongs the usurious money system. Bengal is noted for the exuberance and fertility of the crops ; but the present condition of the ryot is miserable. His monthly expenditure is from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 rupees, or from 3 shillings to 6 ; but there are not five out of every hundred whose annual profits exceed 100 rupees, or ten pounds. In many instances the earnings of the ryot are not sufficient to provide for his family ; his wife and sons are obliged to betake themselves to some pursuit, and assist him with all they can get. He lives generally on coarse rice ; and pulse, vegetables, and fish (a mere drug in Bengal) would be luxuries ; his dress consists of a bit of rag and a slender sheet ; his bed is composed of a coarse mat and a pillow ; his habitation a thatched roof on supports ; his property a plough of wood, with an iron sheath as the coulter, two bullocks, and one or two lotahs ; he toils from morn till noon, from noon till dewy eve ; he is a haggard, poverty-stricken, wretched creature. This is no exaggeration ; even in ordinary seasons, and under ordinary circumstances, the ryots fast for days and nights from literal want of food. The inability of the ryot to better his degraded position is increased by his mental abasement. Unprotected, harassed, and oppressed, he has been precluded from the genial rays of intellectuality ; his mind is veiled in a thick gloom of ignorance.”

But a tardy act of justice has at last been done to these wretched people, and we may hope that brighter days are now in store for them. Under the terms of the original settlement, it had been enacted that no Zemindar was authorized to extract from his tenantry a rent greater than the customary, or, as it is called, Pergunnah rate, which is known throughout India to the agriculturists, but which of course varies in different places according to the fertility of the soil and the nature of the crops. But the summary power of distraint had made this provision a dead letter until, in the year 1859, an Act was passed to “ prevent

illegal exactions and extortions in connexion with demands for rent," and to restore the ryot to the condition which the Government had intended for him in the settlement of 1793. Present legislation has also succeeded in restoring, at least to a certain extent, order and security; so that, could we forget the injustice and misery of the past, the permanent settlement of Bengal might now be a subject of congratulation to us.

"The effect," says a high authority, "of the permanent settlement has been a wonderful extension of cultivation. In fact, although the original settlement was not at the time a light settlement,—indeed, so much the reverse that nearly all the property changed hands under the operation of the revenue sales, yet the saving principle of the permanent certainty of the assessment brought the settlement through; so that, from the protection from foreign invasion, the increase of population, and the consequent increase of the demand for land, a great increase of cultivation, and a great rise in the rent of land have taken place, and the estates have become most valuable property. The greater part of the land had, at the period of settlement, become waste from misgovernment; not only has the lost cultivation been recovered, but vast tracts where the plough had never passed have been reclaimed, and the population and cultivation have overflowed and penetrated into the unhealthy tract of the Soonderbund, which is composed of the alluvial deposits at the mouths of the Ganges."—Robinson, "Land Revenue of British India."

Disastrous as were the consequences of Lord Cornwallis's revenue reforms to the Bengal peasantry, many years had to elapse before the Government became aware that they had not earned their eternal gratitude. In the interval a Zemindaree tenure was imposed upon Madras, and though it rapidly came to an end there from the inability of the Presidency to support it, it inflicted during its short existence calamities not less severe than those which have continued almost until the present time in Bengal. The circumstances of Madras were unfortunate from the first. When the Zemindaree tenure was imposed upon Bengal she was, comparatively speaking, a flourishing and peaceful province, returning a revenue far beyond her wants. Not so in Madras. The wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib had overwhelmed the Government with debt, and the provinces which came into her possession were impoverished and disorganized from native rapacity and misrule. In the province of Baramahal, for example, which was ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan in 1792, the ryots had been almost entirely ruined by the exactions of the native Government; the tanks which supplied the fields with water had been allowed to fall into a ruinous condition, and much of the land lay in consequence uncultivated. Hyder Ali practised an exceedingly simple method of collecting his revenues.

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. P

Officers called "amildars" were appointed over large districts to collect the royal dues, Hyder Ali being perfectly well aware that in so doing they would not fail to enrich themselves. As soon then as an amildar was ascertained to have extorted sufficient wealth from the peasantry to make it worth while to plunder him, he was summoned to the capital, and as much of his gains extracted from him as he could be compelled to give up. After which he was dismissed to feed himself fat upon some other district. Tippoo was dissatisfied with this system. He multiplied his revenue officers, placing them as far as possible in opposition to one another, hoping that they would by such an arrangement act as checks upon peculation. The plan failed. The revenue officers soon discovered that it would be more profitable to plunder in concert than to lodge complaints against each other, and the only issue of the device was further demands upon the wretched peasantry, who had to satisfy the rapacity of three or four amildars instead of one, as in the time of Hyder. In Canara again, which was ceded to us in 1799, after the death of Tippoo, the inhabitants were if possible in a worse condition. The southern half of the country had been completely ravaged by the Koorg people, who had carried into bondage some thousands of the inhabitants. In close succession to this calamity, the Nairs—a Malabar tribe—had poured into the country, slaughtering men, women, and children. Many of the forts were still held by bands of robbers, who made incursions into the open country, plundering the villages and driving the ryots from one place to another. Over-taxation had caused much of the land to remain waste for years past, and the very sight of a revenue officer, native or European, was sufficient to depopulate a village, at least for a time. Captain Munro, in one of his letters, speaks of having vainly attempted for weeks to induce the ryots to enter into agreements with him. As soon as he or any of his camp were seen approaching a village the place was deserted. If he sent any of his native servants into the country the inhabitants cut them off from all supplies of fire and water, and thus compelled them to beat a retreat. The one great object of the people was to make themselves out as poor as possible. Whenever Munro met with any of the people of the land they beset him with cries, "We have no wood, no cattle, no money! How are we to pay our rent?" Even the little children employed to frighten away the birds from the growing crops had been well drilled in this lesson, and any inquiry as to the amount of the coming harvest invariably produced the reply that the birds would eat the whole, and the family would be certainly starved.

In the ceded districts (the name given to certain provinces which the Nizam of Hyderabad made over in the year 1800 to the Madras Government) rapacity and misrule were not less

rampant. It was computed that, at the time the Company, assumed charge of them, upwards of thirty thousand armed men—the retainers of the native revenue collectors—were scattered through the country, living at free quarters, and committing every kind of villany and extortion. Sir Thomas (then Major) Munro, writing of the internal state of the country, speaks of “the inhabitants having been plundered, not only by the revenue officers and Zemindars, but by every person who chose to pay a nuzzeramah (present) for the privilege of extorting money from them; and the heads of villages having, on the same terms been permitted, and even encouraged, to carry on a continual predatory warfare against one another.” In another letter he says,—“The ten years of Mogul government have been almost as destructive as so many years of war; and this last year a mutinous unpaid army was turned loose during the sowing season to collect their pay from the villages. They drove off and sold the cattle, extorted money by torture from every man who fell into their hands, and plundered the houses and shops of those who fled, by which means the usual cultivation has been greatly diminished.”

To introduce order into this chaos, Lord Cornwallis appointed a small commission of military men, of which Colonel Read and Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro were the principals. The settlement of Baramahal was effected by Read and Munro jointly; that of Canara and the ceded provinces by Munro alone. Munro was one of a class of men of which the Company's rule in India called out numerous examples. Clive, indeed, was a man of genius, of far-reaching foresight, the swiftest decision, and a moral courage which quailed at nothing. Neither the defence of Arcot, nor the battle of Plassey would perhaps be considered very extraordinary exploits at the present day, because we have learned to estimate native armies at their true value. But Clive possessed no such knowledge; and what a marvellous combination of heroic qualities were needed in the young and inexperienced soldier to try the issue with such enormous odds against him! Warren Hastings, again, as a statesman and administrator, exhibited genius of the highest order. Such men were needed to lay the foundations of the British empire in the East. But for the consolidation of that empire, great men truly, but men of less transcendent abilities, were sufficient. Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mr. Thomason, Sir John Lawrence, and others, can hardly be termed men of genius. The qualities which have led them to eminence have been a vigorous common sense, which enabled them to see exactly the work which they had to do, and to do it, combined with an absolute and yet half unconscious obedience to

the mandates of duty, which, we think, is almost peculiar to Englishmen. The feeling, we mean, which maintained order and military discipline on board the sinking *Birkenhead*, which is actuated by no selfish love of glory, which thinks no great things of itself, but simply finds expression in a life of labour, and continuous self-sacrifice. Such a man was Sir Thomas Munro. He gave himself up unreservedly to the service of those over whom he had been placed, and after a life of unremitting labour he died at his post. His noble nature left an impression upon the native mind which continued uneffaced for years, and all throughout Canara and the ceded provinces he was known by the designation of the Father of the People.

Another fact regarding our Eastern subjects is shown by the career of such men as Sir Thomas Munro, so little remembered, and yet of so much importance, that we must digress for a moment from our subject in order to point it out. Many persons, both in England and in India, think and speak of the natives as a people destitute of affection and gratitude, and wholly given up to the practice of treason and falsehood. It is no such thing. There is probably no people in the world so quick to perceive and so ready to admire eminence of any kind. Intellectual ability, physical courage, cordial and open manners, are all spells which possess an irresistible attraction for the native mind, and this recognition alone of excellence is sufficient to show that they cannot be so bad as they are often painted. But more than this. The career of every eminent Englishman who has lived among them, proves abundantly that when they have been credited with the affections and sympathies of men, the natives have never failed to respond. It is our peculiar policy which has crushed the play of such feelings. We came into possession of a country which has produced abundantly kings, soldiers, statesmen, poets, and philosophers, which is covered with great cities, and inhabited by a people singularly acute and intelligent, who are good agriculturists, mechanics, and keen and successful men of business; and we convince ourselves and act in accordance with that conviction, that this people, from the highest to the lowest, are incompetent for any but the meanest occupations under Government. We carefully exclude them from every position of trust and responsibility. Men who, but for us, would be governors of provinces and generals of armies, we consider to be highly honoured if permitted to sit down in our presence. And this condition of things, we must remember, is still very far from being a memory of the past. Every young ensign who lands in India is still a great deal too ready to think that because he is an Englishman he is a greater and an abler man than the whole East can produce. So long as Englishmen in India look down upon the Asiatic from these sublime

heights, the Asiatic will continue to hate us more and more. Mere security of property and equal administration of the law are powerless to heal the wounds daily inflicted upon the pride and self-respect of an entire people. The secret of the success of such men as Sir Thomas Munro, as soldiers and administrators, lay in this, that they had none of this absurd and un-called-for arrogance. They could recognise a man when they saw him, though his skin might be black, and he did not answer to the name of Brown, Jones, or Robinson. "But the Indian mutiny," some of our readers may ask, "is not that a sufficient reason for regarding the natives with hatred and suspicion?" By no means. We do not regard a Frenchman with unmitigated aversion because of the atrocities of the French Revolution. There is—and we know it, though we are not always careful to remember it—a devil lurking in humanity everywhere, which, under certain conditions, will break out in deeds of blood as ruthlessly here in Europe as in Asia. The mutiny of 1857 was not simply an outbreak of Eastern fanaticism, but the culmination of a long course of army misrule. The Asiatic is not insensible to gratitude or destitute of affection, but, accustomed for centuries to despotic rule, he must be kept in control by the strong hand of power held immediately above him. The Indian military authorities chose to disregard this almost self-evident fact. They withdrew all power from the hands of regimental commanding officers, and established a feeble centralization. At the time of the mutiny a colonel could punish a sepoy with a few days' drill; a non-commissioned officer he could not punish at all. That exalted functionary could only be reached by means of a court-martial. Subordinate officers had literally nothing whatever to do in their regiments except to give the word of command on parade. Sepoys were also permitted to appeal *direct* to the Commander-in-chief against the sentences of courts-martial, and these were continually reversed on the most frivolous pretences. Sir Charles Napier, legislating in the same spirit, had enacted that promotion in native regiments should proceed strictly on the seniority-principle. This was perhaps the most ruinous blow struck by any one man at the discipline of the army. It reduced the commanding officer to a mere cypher, unable either to reward or to punish. Intelligence, good conduct, bravery, ceased to be the passports to promotion. They gave way in favour of a simple tenacity of existence. Men rose to be native officers when they had become perfect specimens of old age, decrepitude, and imbecility. Of discipline in the true sense of the word there soon ceased to be any in the Indian army. Like the wheels of a well-oiled machine which continue to revolve for a time after the motive power has been withdrawn, the Indian army

held for some time together from the force of former habit, but it had become simply an accumulation of men with no organic life permeating the whole, and at the first rude shock from without it fell to pieces. At this conjuncture of affairs the authorities, forgetful of the causes (so trifling apparently) which led to the mutiny of Vellore\*, issued the celebrated greased cartridge—a cartridge supposed universally to be prepared with such great ingenuity that it was offensive equally to Hindus and Mahomedans. The incredulity of an Englishman when a greased cartridge is spoken of as the immediate cause of such a convulsion as the Indian mutiny, arises from unconsciously judging the Asiatic from an European standard. As a preservative of morality, as in any way influencing the inner life of its professor, the religion in India, both Mahomedan and Brahminical, is dead. But just because this is the case, the natives cling with greater tenacity to the external symbols and badges of their faith. A blow struck at them is a blow dealt at the very heart and life—the external rite and the thing signified having long ago become completely identified, in popular apprehension. But we have already digressed at too great length from our proper subject.

Colonel Read and Captain Munro went to work with great zeal and remarkable success. In a very short time the bands of robbers which infested the country were rooted out; the lands surveyed; the villagers, who had been accustomed to fly at the approach of a revenue officer, came back to their fields. Land which had long laid waste was once more turned up by the plough; the assessments easily and punctually collected, and order everywhere established. The land tenure which was established at this time has always appeared to us to have been the best which could have been effected under the circumstances. It has been the fashion since rather to depreciate it, but had it been allowed to remain as originally proposed by Munro, Madras would not now have had to bear the reproach of always remaining stationary. The question whether village communities, such as we described at the commencement of this essay, were or were not to be formed in those parts of the Madras Presidency of which Munro had charge, has been warmly discussed. Sir Thomas Munro, who made the most searching inquiries, and, from his position, from his perfect acquaintance with the native languages and the native character, had the best means of ascertaining, asserts that he could find no traces of them. In Canara he declares that the rights of property were

\* These were certain orders that soldiers should not mark their faces to denote their caste, wear earrings upon parade, and the introduction of a turban, which in some way offended the prejudices of the native soldiery.

as well understood as in England, that estates were held by individuals, and that the title-deeds could be traced backwards for more than four hundred years. Certain it is that if the village communities had ever existed in those parts, the tyranny of the native rulers had broken them up, and it is extremely doubtful if they could have been restored. At any rate, no attempt was made to effect a restoration. Munro found the country parcelled out into estates, a few of large extent, but the rest of not more than three or four acres, in the absolute possession of individuals who paid their assessments direct to Government. Such at least was the case in theory; and the English system of collecting the revenue was arranged on a similar footing. Mr. Dykes—a Madras civilian—has the following account of it, in his evidence given before the Committee of both Houses in 1853:—

“When the territory was acquired by the British, the system adopted was, that the Government dealt directly with every man who held land. Each field had an assessed rent; each man paid the rent of all the fields he held to Government. The rents were to be in perpetuity. So long as the rents were paid possession was not to be disturbed, but every man at the close of the year was at liberty to throw up one or more of his fields. His assessment was diminished by the amount of the rents of those fields. If there were available vacant lands in the village, he might take any he required, and then their fixed rents were added to his assessment. No improvements were to be the cause of any enhancement of the rent of the land.”

This was an equitable and well-considered adjustment of the revenue. No rights were destroyed, improvements were untaxed, and a permanent interest established in the soil. Time, of course, was needed to allow the ryots to recover from the extortions of past years sufficiently to apply capital to the soil, or bring waste land under cultivation. But with time this would certainly have been achieved. Unhappily the Supreme Government were still completely possessed with the delusion that only an aristocracy of Zemindars could effect the happiness and prosperity of our Indian dependencies. In 1802—two years after Munro began his labours in the ceded provinces—the decree went forth that Zemindars and large landed estates were to be established in Madras. An investigation for Zemindars was made, but no one at all answering to the description could be found. The Bengal authorities and the Board of Revenue were not, however, to be thwarted in their good intentions. Zemindars were created, endowed with the requisite amount of landed property, armed with powers of distraint, and all other rights overlooked with the same cruel indifference as in Bengal.

“There is,” writes Sir Thomas Munro, “no analogy whatever between the landlord of England and his tenants and the new village



Zemindar of this country and his ryots. In England the landlord is respected by the farmer as his superior; here the Zemindar has no such respect; for the principal ryots of most villages regard him as not more than their equal, and often as their inferior. He is often the former headman of the village, but he is frequently some petty shop-keeper or merchant, or some adventurer or public servant out of employ. Whichever of these he is, he has usually very little property; he has none for the improvement of the village, but, on the contrary, looks to the village as the means of improving his own circumstances. The ryots being placed under him sink from the rank of tenants of the Government to that of tenants of an individual. They are transferred from a superior who has no interest but in their protection and welfare, to one whose interest it is to enlarge his own property at the expense of theirs; who seeks by every way, however unjustifiable, to get into his own hands all the best lands of the village, and whose situation affords him many facilities in depriving the ancient possessors of them."

These landlords were, however, very short-lived. In spite of their powers of distraint, they were continually becoming bankrupt, and their lands reverting back to Government. And then perhaps the most extraordinary method of collecting the land revenue which a nation ever adopted was pursued in Madras. When the ploughing season began, the headman of the village distributed the fields among the ryots, who were *compelled* to take good and bad land just as it chanced to come. The assessment was fixed annually, when the crops were sufficiently advanced to allow of an estimate being made of their probable value. No option was given to a ryot. Whether he wanted his fields or not, he was bound to cultivate them, and considered responsible for his share of the assessment. If he absconded, he might be brought back and set to work again, or imprisoned, flogged, or fined, until he made good the claim of Government. This outrageous system appears to have been maintained till about the year 1820, when Sir Thomas Munro arrived from England as Governor-General of Madras. He corrected its most glaring iniquities. The ryot was no longer compelled to cultivate land against his will; corporal punishment for default was abrogated; and Sir Thomas tried hard to abolish the absurd practice of throwing a revenue defaulter into prison, where not unfrequently he languished until his death, without the smallest advantage to the Government. The old ryotwaree system, however, was never again fairly established, and to this fact it seems to us that the stationariness of Madras is to be mainly attributed. The innovations were of a character which could operate in no other way. Thus, instead of the fixed rate on fields, the system of assessing the crops was continued, and in this way a tax was levied upon all capital applied to the soil, or any valuable crop which

might be grown in place of a less remunerative one. Again, the ryot was permitted to do nothing whatever to his land previous to the sanction of the revenue collector. If he wished to sink a well, his application to do so had to pass through the hands of several native officials, who each levied a tax thereupon, and the required permission was rarely obtained before a full year had elapsed.

"Formerly," says Mr. Dykes, "a man was free to give up at any time a field he did not find profitable. Now, if he wish to give up a bad field, the Government make him give up a good field also with it. Or if he has taken up fields in different years, he cannot give them up all together; he must give up those taken in the same year in one year, and wait another year before he can throw up any of the rest."

It is almost needless to point out the deficiencies of this system. A few words will suffice. If it were possible to have an intelligent and trustworthy officer at every village to superintend the annual valuation of the crops, and the getting in of the harvest, the ryotwaree tenure might possibly be maintained without injury to the Government, or any extraordinary pressure upon the cultivators. But the immense expence renders such an arrangement manifestly impossible; and dependent as we are in a very great degree upon native agency, there is very great speculation practised in the collection of the revenue. Even in favourable seasons, remissions of revenue are obliged to be made; in unfavourable, the cultivators have to be assisted. Their poverty utterly precludes them from bettering their condition; the Indian partition law of inheritance, by constantly cutting up property, effectually precludes the application of capital to the soil; and the Madras ryot is, as it were, condemned for ever and ever to remain a mere living machine for the purpose of raising revenue. Nevertheless the stationariness of Madras is, on the whole, a pleasanter picture to contemplate than the extension of cultivation in Bengal. The Government has never been a hard landlord. Remissions of revenue are freely made; the misery, the cruelties, robberies, and disorder which the permanent settlement entailed for so many years upon Bengal, have been almost unknown in Madras. The ryot has at least sufficient to perform the mechanical purposes of his existence without toppling over into starvation at every failure of the periodical rains, or unproductiveness of the soil from any other cause.

We said that the ryotwaree system had been extended to Bombay, but no general report of its results there has yet been made, so far as we know. It differs from the Madras system in some very important points. In place of an annual assessment, a complete and accurate survey of waste and cultivated land was undertaken. The rent of each field was calculated by an examination of the character of the soil, and the fields numbered,

and entered into registers, together with their rents. The rents are fixed for thirty years, and no remissions are allowed either for waste lands or deficient seasons. A ryot applying for certain fields receives them at the rent entered in the register. At the close of the thirty years he is at liberty to continue in possession, on the condition that he rents his land at the new valuation then made by the settlement officer.

The north-west provinces did not come into our possession until some years after the permanent settlement of Bengal had been in operation. Sufficient time had then elapsed to convince us that an aristocracy of Zemindars did not, as a matter of fact, produce around them the happiness which they had been intended to do. We went to work in consequence somewhat more cautiously. We could not indeed divest ourselves of the notion that there must be a sole landlord to every district discoverable somewhere or other; and when anybody presented himself who seemed in any degree to conform to the appearance, we entered into an agreement with him to farm the revenue. But these agreements did not extend for more than three or five years, and thus vested rights had not time to grow up. Nevertheless a great deal of misery and injustice was inflicted upon the people. Our landlords rackrented them mercilessly, society became disorganized, and the provinces rivalled Bengal in the abundance of their robberies, murders, and village riots. Fortunately, before the country had fallen into irretrievable disorder, a great man, Mr. Robert Mertins Bird, was appointed commissioner, and to his revenue reforms the present prosperity of a great portion of our Indian dependencies is mainly due.

“His attention” (we quote a portion of his evidence before the Commons) “had been attracted to the apparently progressive deterioration of the land revenue. He found that the revenue was in many places moderate—the deterioration general, and inferred that there must be some incongruity between the revenue system and the habits and institutions of the people, which caused the disorders of the revenue. He employed sixteen years in studying the subject, and ascertained that although the revenue laws considered the landed property to be identical with the landed properties in England, and the persons whose names were entered in the public records to be the absolute owners of the estates in connection with which their names stood recorded, yet that, in fact, the people do not hold land in any manner known to the laws of England. The land is, in the majority of cases, possessed by very extensive families and tribes, who hold separate portions of land within the common boundary. Each man is master of his own portion; responsible for his proportion of the whole revenue assessed on the whole property; manages his own portion of land in his own way, and, although connected with his brethren, is to a certain degree independent of them, according to the ancient customs and institutions of the people. Before the British power, the person

whose name was recorded in the Government records was a headman or agent on the part of the community, to transact business between them and the Government, but with no stronger right or property than the rest of the sharers. He held his own piece of land or number of fields like the rest. This state of things not having been investigated nor attended to in the British system, the consequence was, that on the occurrence of an arrear of revenue, or when a suit was brought by any parties, or when there was a question of sale or transfer, there was no finding out where the loss of revenue had occurred, how a party who had obtained a decree was to get it executed, the persons in actual possession never having been made parties to the suit, or what had been sold and mortgaged. This state of things led to constant confusion, loss, uncertainty of title, affrays among a high-spirited people, and demoralization of them."

Mr. Bird determined to commence the work *de novo*, and proceeded as follows:—As the first step, the boundaries of each village were marked off—that is to say, the amount of land which was cultivated by each village community. When any dispute arose as to the exact limits of a village, the dispute was settled on the spot, by a jury selected from the communities concerned, and thus at the very outset a fruitful source of disorder was cut off. For there is nothing on which the natives of India are so sensitive as this matter of boundaries; and the suspicion that they are being encroached upon is sufficient at any time to produce an affray. In the north-west, until the settlement of Mr. Bird, such affrays were of constant occurrence; and the bloodshed, and the long, expensive lawsuits which arose out of them, arrayed the whole community into hostile factions, who carried on a sort of chronic civil warfare. The boundaries having been marked off, a rough map of the village was made, with the fields numbered, and entered in a register, with the names of the possessors. Then a ledger was drawn up, in which the names of the possessors were entered in alphabetical order, together with all the fields belonging to each. Finally a scientific survey of the village was made, and when a certain number of these was completed (Mr. Bird says, "to the extent of an English hundred"), a rough map of the whole was thrown together and forwarded to the settlement officer.

The Government assessment was calculated from the assessments of former years, from the reports of the people themselves, from the quality of the soil and the nature of the crops yielded. This was then apportioned out to each village. Finally the settlement officer called an open air meeting of the parties concerned. He noted down the objections made to the assessments upon this or that village; and strove by discussion to bring out the facts of the case. At first the people were reluctant to come forward, imagining the new system was a device to screw a larger amount of revenue out of them. But in the course of

time these suspicions subsided, they freely tendered their opinions, and greatly assisted in fixing the assessment.

In the north-west the whole village is responsible for the assessment, and is liable in case of default to be sold up—that is to say, such a measure might be legally adopted, but actually it never is. There is in the possession of the native collector a complete register of each village, in which is entered the names of all the residents, together with any rights they may possess in the internal concerns of the village as village landholders, permanent tenants, or otherwise. He also keeps a nominal roll of those who are responsible for the Government assessment, with the amount demanded from each individual. Into this roll the sums paid are duly entered, and thus when any deficiency occurs the defaulter is at once detected. He is then required to pay up within a certain time, failing which, his land is generally put up to auction, when it is commonly bought into the village by one of the landholders. The proceeds of the sale, after deducting the arrears of Government, are handed over to the defaulter.

Another very important reform effected by Mr. Bird was in the manner of paying the Government assessment. Until his time it had been customary to pay this in nine instalments, many of which fell due before the crops had been sold; and the cultivators were in consequence compelled to borrow the money at ruinous rates of interest. These nine instalments were now commuted to four, so arranged as to fall due after the sale of the crops, a measure which in itself was equivalent to removing a great weight of taxation from the shoulders of the agricultural community. The settlement was begun in 1833, and completed in 1842; the survey of the provinces cost somewhat more than 300,000*l.*; the settlement a little less, the whole expense was 575,000*l.*; and the extent of country operated upon was about 70,000 square miles. The assessments were in the first instance made for thirty years, but have since been increased to sixty.

After what we have been obliged to say of the results of our revenue reforms in Bengal and Madras, it is refreshing to point out the changes wrought by them in the north-western provinces. There has been an astonishing extension of cultivation. A half-starved peasantry, who were ready at the call of any scoundrel to convert themselves into gangs of plunderers, have become a quiet, well-fed, well-clad, and industrious population. Dacoity and riots are absolutely unknown.

“Hardly any estates,” says Mr. Robinson, “are sold; distraint and sale of personal property are almost unknown; the process of imprisonment for default is almost entirely laid aside; and of each instalment of revenue the greater portion is paid spontaneously, and to a considerable extent before the instalment has become due. Whatever of

justice, sense, and moderation has been displayed by the Government, has been met by a corresponding honesty, docility, and cheerful obedience on the part of the people. It is difficult to think them the same turbulent, dishonest, predatory race which once gave the Government infinite trouble and anxiety. The settlement may be quoted then as a scheme based on sound general principles, adapted skilfully to local circumstances, and resulting in a practical and successful measure now in full operation."

It has (as we have already observed) been extended to the Punjab, and with the most brilliant results. There is probably no body of men in India so thoroughly contented with the British rule as the agricultural classes of the Punjab. The author of this essay has known many instances of non-commissioned officers and troopers of Irregular Cavalry voluntarily resigning the service to become the cultivators of the soil. Those who are acquainted with the Punjabee will understand how strong the inducement must be which triumphs not only over his love of military life, but also the emoluments of the Irregular Cavalry as at present constituted.

Considerable portions of British India have not been included in the foregoing survey. In the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, for example, there prevail in part the patedaree tenure of the north-west provinces, and in part a ryotwaree tenure, differing in some respects from both those of Madras and Bombay. But the circumstances of these provinces are so peculiar that we are unwilling to enter into an examination of them at the close of an essay. They came into our possession at the close of the Pindarree war, ruined and depopulated by the visitations of those terrible marauders. They are now among the most flourishing portions of our empire. The valley of the Nerbudda is probably without a rival through all India in point of fertility. But we find here also immense tracts of forest and unreclaimed land, abounding in all kinds of valuable produce. Coal and iron are found close to each other; the coal is used in the Government forges, and the iron has been employed in the construction of a splendid suspension-bridge, put together entirely by native workmen. There are also quarries of marble; agates and chalcodomics are to be found in the rivers, and the soil is the black soil especially adapted for the cultivation of cotton. But the country is sadly in want of internal communication. The railway now nearly completed between Mirzapore and Bombay will in a measure remedy this. But still cross-roads must be made, the country must be drained, the jungle cleared away, and capital, under intelligent direction, introduced, before its natural advantages can be adequately turned to account or even thoroughly ascertained. To treat of all these things to any useful purpose would require alone the space of a whole article.

The reader will find a very interesting and suggestive account of this part of India in Mr. Robinson's "Land Revenues of India." To this little book indeed (from which much of the materials for the present paper have been taken) we would earnestly direct the attention of all those who are interested in India. It has seldom been our good fortune to meet with a writer who had such a clear perception of what was essential to setting forth his subject matter, or who so scrupulously excluded all that would weary or perplex the reader. The consequence is that in a very brief compass, divested of all unnecessary detail, and in a style remarkably clear and easy, Mr. Robinson has given a complete and even interesting account of the Land Tenures of India. Having been a member of the Board of Revenue for the north-western provinces, he writes upon matters with which he is thoroughly familiar, and speaks as one having authority.

In Oude, as we have already said, a tenure essentially the same as that of Bengal has been established under the name of "Talookdaree." But it must not be supposed that it is likely to produce the same disastrous consequences. Sir John Lawrence has caused very careful inquiries to be instituted for the purpose of preserving intact the rights of village landholders, permanent tenants, and others. These inquiries are not yet terminated, and it would therefore be premature to give an account of the land tenure of this important province.

Two facts have, however, we think, been established by the foregoing narrative. The one is, that the English Government is the true and proper landlord of India, receiving rent either direct, as in Madras, or through the agency of middlemen, as in Bengal and the north-western provinces. The question then to be asked is, "Does this position bring with it all the duties and responsibilities which belong to the individual landowner?" We have no hesitation in saying that our answer must be given in the affirmative.

We have assumed the character of a paternal Government; but having done so we must not imagine that capital will accumulate, and be laid out in roads, railways, and works of irrigation by laws of political economy working blindly like natural forces without our interposition. Suppose, by way of argument, that the whole soil of British India was in the possession of a single landowner; that this imaginary being possessed abundance of capital; that he entirely acceded to the dictum that the ownership of land is a *trust* and not an absolute property; that he had a clear sense of his own interests, as well as of the claims of his tenants. What such an one would do of his own free will it is clearly the duty of the British Government to accomplish as far as possible. And if English capital, English intelligence, and English enterprize were applied fully to develop the untold and

inexhaustible treasures of this teeming land which has been given into our hands, the imagination fails to realize the wonderful results which might be achieved. We are continually talking of the greatness of England, the freedom of her people, the justice of her laws, and priding ourselves immensely on the deeds of our forefathers. Would it not be better to set our shoulders strongly to the wheel, and see if we cannot out-do them. In India we have the grandest possible field for our exertions. A strong equitable and progressive Government established there would be an invigorating influence, making itself felt through all the kingdoms of Asia. It would be the dawning of a new era over their decaying despotisms. But such hopes must continue mere visions so long as the English people take no interest in India; so long as no one regards India as a sufficiently important part of the British empire to think of mentioning her in an election speech; and honourable members who are supposed to provide for her wants, hurry out of hearing as soon as her name is mentioned.

For a time perhaps the fearful calamity which has overtaken Orissa may impart a spasmodic energy to the Government, and canals and railways may be pushed on with greater energy than usual. But even under these exceptional circumstances it behoves the country to keep a strict watch that red-tapeism and circumlocution offices do not impede these measures more than is absolutely unavoidable. We have spoken of a second fact which may be learned from the consideration of the Indian land tenures. It is this. A country cannot be improved per saltum. Any attempt to revolutionize its institutions all at once is certain to end disastrously, like the revenue and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis. We must build according to the foundations which nature has laid for us. The neglect of this truth has been the main reason of the little progress we have hitherto made. In our efforts to educate the native we are too intent upon making him into an Englishman, rather than developing and strengthening the character and the faculties which he already possesses. The progress of a nation like that of an individual is continuous, but the changes involve no loss of personal identity. "The last rear of the host can read traces of the earliest van." The best that we can do is to communicate the impulse of movement, to remove every obstruction which opposes, and to offer in our own actions an evidence of the goal whither that movement should tend.





### CONCLUDING NOTE TO ART. III. "THE TWO TEMPORAL POWERS."

The debates which have occurred in the French Chambers since our article on the Two Temporal Powers has been put in type, lead us to add the following remarks;—M. Rouher has declared that Italy shall not be allowed to seize upon (*s'emparer de*) Rome. If he means that France will under no circumstances allow that city to become the capital of Italy, the conference proposed by the French Government cannot take place. For it is doubtful if any of the great powers will endorse such a doctrine; certainly England will not. If the French minister only means that Italy will not be allowed to seize on Rome by violence, because a European conference is going to take in hand the Roman question, there is still room for negotiations, however slight the hope of their leading to a satisfactory result. M. Rouher has delivered himself of one of those phrases, so dear to the second empire, which may be explained according to circumstances. Such phrases often give at first alternating hopes to the various political sections of France, and not unfrequently end in displeasing them all. The French minister also informed the Chambers that the Holy Father raised in Rome his venerable hands in prayer for the good of Christendom; be it so, but it must not be forgotten that he raises his voice there also to anathematize the just and equal laws passed by the Italian Government for the good of its own people; laws not only in consonance with the civilization of the age, but which France has herself long since adopted.

M. Moustier, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his speech (4th December, 1867) said that M. Nigra, the Italian minister accredited to the French Court, in proposing to France a joint French and Italian occupation of Rome, asked the French to become "not only dupes but traitors;" adding, "Our honour, our uprightness, all the sentiments that exist in the hearts of Frenchmen, as in their national soil, revolted against it." This proposition was therefore "rejected with indignation." Now only a few weeks before (17th October) M. Nigra, writing to his Government at Florence, says, "M. Rouher proposes that the *double* intervention may be regulated by a common agreement and contemporaneously effected." This idea of M. Rouher's was, as facts show, not acted on by the French Government; it preferred going to Rome alone, and M. Rouher finally agreed to that plan. But what will the world think of M. Moustier officially declaring his own colleague's proposal of a joint occupation of Rome to be one which made them "dupes and traitors,"

which Frenchmen "revolted against," and which France "rejected with indignation?" These two French Ministers have thus brought the utmost discredit upon their own government, unless indeed they have some very clear and straightforward statement to make, which shall explain this extraordinary conduct and language of theirs, touching the proposal of a joint occupation of Rome. Such a specimen of the way in which the imperial government carries on negotiations upon vital questions with another government, of whom it professes to be the friend and even ally, will make most people think that the fewer negotiations foreign countries have with such directors of statecraft the better. But the recollection of how much weaker Italy is than France will throw into the background the absurdity of such a course on the part of her government, only to bring out more forcibly the disgrace which of necessity attaches to such proceedings.

Besides M. Rouher and M. Moustier, another high authority, M. Thiers, has spoken. If what *he* says means anything, it means that, arms in hand, France ought to have opposed, if not even now break up by force, German and Italian unity. He advocates unblushingly the most selfish and narrow of policies. The neighbours of France are to be kept weak and divided that she may be strong. According to this doctrine the French may be united, may change their dynasties and governments as often as they please, may be absolute masters of their own destinies and country; but woe to Germans and Italians if they do likewise. That the neighbours of France have no right to interfere with Frenchmen as regards the management of French affairs in their own land, is assuredly true; but no eloquence of M. Thiers will prove that those neighbours have not the same absolute right in their respective countries, as against French interference. It is now clear to the world that all those fine phrases about protecting the independence and spiritual authority of the Pope are but hypocritical devices which attempt to conceal beneath the garb of religion a policy of interference, as petty, as selfish, as opposed to the Christian precept of not doing to others what we would not have them do to us, as ever disgraced the worst times of purely selfish and autocratic mis-government. Melancholy indeed is it to see the professed advocate of free constitutional principles thwarting their progress in other lands instead of aiding them in their glorious work. Such men do but bring dishonour upon themselves, as well as on the party to which they are attached. If, as the words of the statesmen referred to seem to imply, France has determined to prevent under all circumstances Rome becoming the capital of Italy, France will assuredly find herself occupying a very isolated position.

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. Q

Such a policy, based on dislike to the unity and independence of her neighbours, will create uneasiness and suspicion throughout Germany, hatred in Italy, and decided disapprobation among the free people of England and the United States. Russia holding down Poland will smile grimly at imperial France holding down Rome; but as to sympathy, there will be none. Nor will Austria and Hungary have any to bestow, for they are fully occupied with the arduous and noble task of internal union, progress, and liberty, upon the success of which their future prosperity depends. Very many of the sons of France will wish that her work resembled more that of the Emperor-King (Francis Joseph), instead of bearing such an unpleasant likeness to that of the Czar. "Vive la liberté comme en Autriche!" How strange that cry, uttered but the other day in Paris by those who boast of 1789. It may be that the French people, so full of generous impulses, will at length say, Enough of a policy advocated by those who bid us selfishly inflict upon our neighbours an interference we should not for a moment tolerate from them; enough of a conscription creating huge armaments which burden us with an ever-increasing taxation while depriving the land of tens of thousands of able cultivators; enough of foreign expeditions which cost France millions of money and thousands of lives; enough of a policy which hides national selfishness beneath the garb of religion, and then dares to describe it as patriotism. No neighbour threatens us; each one but asks that we interfere not with him, even as he interferes not with us. It is but just, for there are none upon our frontiers who desire to be under our government, each one being content to be united to his own fatherland. We number forty millions, in possession of a rich and magnificent country, whose just rights we are more than able to defend. Let us leave others in peace to do as they will with their own, while we consecrate ourselves to the work of developing the resources, rights, and liberties of our noble France. So shall we worthily fill our place among the nations, and be a blessing both to ourselves and others. Pursuing steadily such a course, we cannot fail in time to reap all the rich blessings bestowed by those mighty principles of freedom and the rights of nations which we and our great forefathers have done so much to sow broadcast throughout the world.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.*

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

**T**HE publication of a translation of a portion of Ewald's great work on the History of Israel, embracing the period to the death of Moses, is opportune enough.<sup>1</sup> Ewald, it is true, although unsurpassed among Hebrew scholars in richness of Hebrew learning and in critical grasp, does not at present stand altogether in the most advanced rank of Biblical investigators, he is also too theoretical and is defective in patience. But there is no one who may for the generality of English readers be so advantageously presented as Ewald. It would be easy enough, indeed, to raise a howl on evangelical platforms at the profane undertaking, as it would be called, of applying to the ancient history of the Jewish people the same method which Niebuhr applied to the history of ancient Rome; and some of our author's particular conclusions would in such coteries be held inexpressibly shocking. There will, however, be many who will not refuse examination, especially when they know the serious and religious spirit in which such a profound scholar as Ewald has carried on the labour of years; nor will they impute the attitude which he is sometimes obliged to assume towards his bigoted opponents to a contempt for religion itself. At the very first opening of his work will be found what an especial place of honour he assigns to the history of Israel above other histories, and to the Hebrew records above all other literatures.

"The history of this ancient people is, in reality, the history of the growth of true religion, rising, through all stages, to perfection, passing on through all conflicts to the highest victory, and finally revealing itself in full glory and power, in order to spread irresistibly from this centre, never again to be lost, but to become the eternal possession and blessing of all nations."—p. 5.

Now this full recognition of the special mission of the Hebrew race is perfectly consistent with, and requires the most thorough analysis and criticism of their historical records, for in no other way can the process of development be appreciated which was followed by their religious conceptions. In some important respects, indeed, the material for the history of the Jewish people differs from the material of those histories of other ancient nations (or those parts of their histories) which we consider to be most credibly established. The most important characteristic of this kind to which Ewald draws attention is the anonymousness of the historical books of the Jews. It was the established rule from the beginning. Such names as Books of Moses, Books of Samuel, first came into use in the later ages; the Books of

<sup>1</sup> "The History of Israel to the Death of Moses." By Heinrich Ewald, Professor of the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German. Edited, with a preface, by Russell Martineau, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Manchester New College, London. London: Longmans, 1867.

Ezra and Nehemiah are the first exception; the First Book of Numbers is anonymous; the second, by naming an author, betrays a Hellenistic mind. So inveterate was this peculiarity that all the Gospels also are anonymous (p. 56). The historical books of the Old Testament are distributable into three groups—first, that which Ewald calls the Great Book of Origins (the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua); secondly, the Great Book of the Kings (Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings); thirdly, the Latest Book of General History (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah). Now it is evident these two latter groups, although mainly anonymous, differ greatly from the first in the character of the material which they employ. They are founded in great measure upon contemporary annals. From the time of David and Solomon there existed state registries, in which the principal events of each reign were recorded, and from the same period may be dated the literary activity of the Hebrews. Undoubtedly these annals were liable to be garbled and coloured by subsequent compilers; but contemporary records lay beneath that portion of the history. The preceding portions rest ultimately, with few exceptions, on tradition. Annals themselves may not always be trustworthy, much more is it necessary to distinguish between the story and its foundation, when that foundation is tradition. It is then necessary carefully to analyse and examine the foundation itself. For an event and the story about it are two very different things, especially during the traditional period. Even tradition properly so called implies an event; but it is formed by the co-operation of two powers—memory and imagination, and the mere fact of a particular tradition having been written down at a certain date does not change its character or the proportion in which those two factors have contributed to its production; although successive compilers, finding these traditions already written down, repeat them as if they were history, or appear to modern readers to do so, for they were not themselves aware of the difference. Moreover, it is not possible to assign a date at which tradition ceases, and history, properly so called, begins. However, in his analysis of the records, Ewald comes to conclusions by no means identical with many who have succeeded him; and his history is to be recommended in England principally for the method which it points out and the material which it supplies.

It is very seldom that the publication of a collection of essays originally given to the world separately results in such a valuable contribution to science as is made by these "Chips from a German Workshop"<sup>2</sup> of Professor Max Müller. The value is the greater because the science which these papers illustrate is yet in its infancy. There are very few of them which even taken singly any who have once read them would willingly allow to perish; but when brought together they are seen to cover such a wide field and with such an unity of design as to be acknowledged for a substantial work. In the

<sup>2</sup> "Chips from a German Workshop." By Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Vol. I., *Essays on the Science of Religion*. Vol II. *Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs*. London: Longmans. 1867.

preface now prefixed to these two volumes the author states his object to be to contribute to the science of religion as a science of observation ; for the thoughts of men are as capable of becoming the subject matter of a science as their language and their speech ; and their thoughts about the Deity and their own relations thereto, as much as their thoughts about anything else. The science of language presents indeed a remarkable parallel to the science of religion. It also is of very modern growth ; only very recently in our country have baseless theories concerning the origin of language given way to a painstaking observation, comparison, and classification of the phenomena which the various speech of men presents in different ages. One of the most interesting of the discoveries which have rewarded the labours of the scientific philologist is that of the continuity in the growth of language. " But more surprising than the continuity in the growth of language is the continuity in the growth of religion." Each of these histories shows us throughout, a succession of new combinations of the same radical elements. " An intuition of God, a sense of human weakness and dependence, a belief in the divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life—these," says Mr. M. Müller, " are some of the radical elements of all religions." (p. x.) Hence the sharp distinction which many would make between true and false religion, revealed and natural religion, becomes obliterated. Even Augustine uses expressions concerning the antecedency of true religion to the coming of Christ which would startle a modern Evangelical, and the " Apologists " are fond of claiming as Christians the great and good of all preceding ages and nations. After touching upon some of the difficulties which necessarily attend the comparative study of religions, and indicating the large accession of facts and material which the last fifty years have placed at the disposal of the scientific observer Mr. M. Müller observes, " The science of religion will for the first time assign to Christianity its right place among the religions of the world ; it will show for the first time fully what was meant by the fulness of time ; it will restore to the whole history of the world in its unconscious progress towards Christianity its true and sacred character." (p. xx.) Attributing to Christianity an immense superiority over other religions, the Professor seems to allow that it differs from them not so much in kind as in degree—hence Christians may learn much from the history of other religions ; they will observe that very similar debates as to the relations between theology and philosophy, as to the origin of the religious idea, as to the possibility and mode of intercommunion between the human spirit and the divine have agitated the sincerest believers in non-Christian communions as they disturb our own contemporaries. Hence they will learn patience, confidence, and above all charity, and a charity not bounded by the limits of Christendom. Our attention is then directed to the fact that every religion tends to corruption and decay, and requires reformation by recurring, says Mr. M. Müller, to its fountain-head and to the original doctrines of its founder. We are inclined to think that the original words of the founders of great religions, if they could be recovered, would exhibit a simplicity, it is true, but a simplicity to present apprehension akin to childishness, and insufficient for

our guidance in modern times. It is true that religions become corrupt, but they also grow, modify, and adapt themselves according to the altered conditions of humanity. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," are words which, whether the Founder of Christianity spoke them or not, embody this truth, even relatively to his teaching. Nor can we arrive at an absolute "first" in the affiliation of religious systems; even the greatest founders, though sources relatively to those who have come after them, were products of the generations which preceded; they mark luminous points in the track of human progress, which in this matter of religion will be advanced by nothing so much as by the comparison of what men in various circumstances and stages of education have thought and felt on that subject. Professor M. Müller has declared with perfect justice, as one of the valuable results of the comparative study of religions, that we shall learn that there is hardly one religion that does not contain some important truth (vol. i. p. 48); but he has omitted to add, what seems to us a result equally valuable, that we shall learn that there is no religion which does not also contain much that is false.

As in the "Bible and its Interpreters" the Rev. Dr. Irons in his present work "On Miracles and Prophecy"<sup>3</sup> tells some very home truths to the literary Christians, as he terms them. From a safe position of his own, as he esteems it, receiving through the Church the life-giving words of the Divine Revelation, which then testify of their own truth to the soul of the Churchman, he deals candidly but severely with the literary method of proving Scripture, and with the external evidences, as they are commonly called, to the truth of Christianity derived from miracle and prophecy. With respect to miracles in the abstract he sees no difficulty, or merely a question of words, as long as different orders of facts in the universe are admitted and the source of causation is acknowledged in a personal Will. Coming then to the particular miracles of the Bible, he considers that inasmuch as Christianity is founded on Judaism it is committed to the reality of the occurrence of the Old Testament miracles, or at least to that of some of them. Those indeed, and they are some of the most startling, which are not recognised on the authority of the New Testament he thinks he may be relieved of, as of the sun standing still, and of the speaking of Balaam's ass; although in eliminating the latter he is apparently obliged to acknowledge 2 Pet. ii. 16 not to be of apostolic authority. In treating both of these miracles he himself makes suggestions grounded on purely literary and critical principles which he thus practically admits to have a valid application destructively, although insufficient to supply a basis for faith in a supernatural revelation. But it is curious he does not see that while he appeals to the words of Christ and his apostles, he does not perceive the necessity of an antecedent literary criticism to ascertain what their genuine words are. He gets rid of apostolic authority, as we have seen, for the speaking of Balaam's ass, because of the uncertainty as to the

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<sup>3</sup> "On Miracles and Prophecy; being a Sequel to the Argument of the 'Bible and its Interpreters,' with some minor Notes." By William J. Irons, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. London: J. T. Hayes. 1867.

authorship of the second Petrine Epistle, while he has not stayed to examine whether the words reported of Christ concerning the prophet Jonas being three days and three nights in the whale's belly are not in all probability an interpolation also. Where Christ speaks, all is plain to our faith, says Dr. Irons, however hard to sense. We hear him speak of the history of the prophet, who was "three days and three nights in the whale's belly"; and can we hesitate to admit it? No, indeed; we not only learn from him the miraculous fact, but its typical import also (p. 55). The believer receives as a matter of course, that authority, all accounts of marvels which have been thrown up by the working of that supernatural order begun by the incarnation in Bethlehem, but no one will reach the acknowledgment of that mystery by collecting evidences of separate miracles.

"As to those who still attempt to build their so-called faith on miracles of the past, concerning which they suppose they have fully satisfied themselves by candid examination, we can but look on with amazement, to see them take their 'brick for stone and slime for mortar,' in the hope of so building their earthly materials up to heaven. The 'evidences' of miracles which they will have to rest on will be accessible to very few, and the literary proof will needs be remote, and not distinguishable oftentimes as 'evidence' from that which other men may produce for very different wonders."—p. 58.

It was, however, a "wall of untempered mortar" no better than such as is described by Dr. Irons behind which great Christian apologists were fain to entrench themselves in a former age, and to save something of Christianity by way of defence of possibility, if not of proof—making out that, after all, it might "have something in it." Perhaps Dr. Irons thinks that the old wall can render no further service, or that Christianity is not worth having on such terms. The second part of Dr. Irons's work, "On Prophecy," shows most conclusively the little ground there is from Scripture itself to regard it as "a declaration made beforehand of future events," and admitting, therefore, of a comparing of the event described with the prediction, and so guaranteeing the mission and message of the prophet. This conception of prophecy can only lead to disappointment if relied upon as an "evidence" for Christianity; is "fatalistic," and "might even be immoral." Dr. Irons has exhibited in a tabular form a complete collection of the prophecies of the Old Testament which are cited in the New Testament, showing in columns—1. The text in the New Testament. 2. The apparent sense in the Old Testament if read like any other book. 3. The use of the passage in the New Testament. The result of this examination will no doubt be sufficiently startling to many, especially of Dr. Irons's "evangelical readers:" taken as they stand face to face the predictions and the accomplishments are seen to be incapable of being turned into any proof for the conviction of the "unbeliever," however some fulfillments may be admitted by "believers" on authority of "the Church." We must not leave our readers to suppose that Dr. Irons gives up the notion of a supernatural revelation, although he shows the futility of some principal proofs which are relied on by most Protestants: no one, however, can refuse him the praise of impartiality, truthfulness, and candour, and we do not doubt that this little work will meet with



as favourable a reception from the public as its predecessor. There are a few notes added of some interest, especially one on the Eschatology of Revelation.

The general object of Mr. Vickers' book entitled "Imaginism and Rationalism" is sufficiently explained in its second title.<sup>4</sup> The execution of it is marred by a harshness of tone, and a general roughness; and the author has been foolish enough to allow himself to coin unnecessary words, one barbarous one especially, of which he is very fond, namely, "stratagery." These, however, are superficial faults. As to the solution proposed for the problem which he has set before himself, he will not expect the large majority which scouted M. Renan's portraiture of Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus to look with any favour on his employment of the hypothesis of stratagem on a still larger scale. Notwithstanding the defects we have pointed out, and the almost certain unpopularity of the view which Mr. Vickers adopts, we should hope for good from the circulation of his book, for it is calculated to convince those who refuse to listen to conservatively disposed critics of the New Testament and of the Church doctrine, that they will have, probably before long, to deal with a ruder set of opponents. There was a time when Paul, as a man of education himself, tried to influence the idolaters by hinting to them in a gentlemanly way that, from what he had seen of their public worship, he thought they carried things too far; and there was also a time afterwards when priests found themselves utterly powerless before the Iconoclast mob of Alexandria. Meanwhile we cannot see that Mr. Vickers has made out that there is no alternative between the supernatural hypothesis of the gospel history and the hypothesis of conscious imposture; nor that, even if the impeccability of Jesus as human be given up, there is any evidence that he was a party to such stratagems as Mr. Vickers supposes. And it should be observed that when that charge is brought against the disciples and their Master, they are put upon their defence, and in all fairness and reason their advocates are entitled to the privileges of the defence. As the first step, they are entitled to demand the true historical character to be shown of the evidence on which the charges of imposture are to be sustained. Not only must it be shown that the person of Jesus was to some extent historical, that some circumstances of his life and death have been truly reported; much more than that—such scenes as those of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain and of the raising of Lazarus must be established in detail as having taken place before the eyes of a sufficient number of competent witnesses before we can come to the examination of a particular hypothesis as to their cause, or as to the manner in which they were brought about. This is an absolutely necessary preliminary quite as much when those descriptions of events are appealed to as evidence of the complicity of Jesus in an imposture, as when they are appealed to in proof of his divinity and Messiahship. Mr. Vickers has not sufficiently estab-

<sup>4</sup> "Imaginism and Rationalism. An Explanation of the Origin and Progress of Christianity." By John Vickers. London: Trübner and Co. 1867.

lished this point, and until he has done so his hypothesis floats only in the air. He is quite right in saying that the mythical hypothesis of Strauss is not capable of solving all the difficulties of the gospel story, but it will solve some; mere legend will account for other parts of it (Matt. i. ii., Luke i. ii.); some miracles may be explained on the old rationalist or naturalist principle; others may have grown into tradition from a misunderstanding of words or from mere literary echo; the theory, again, of design, which, as an universal solvent, would be as inapplicable as that of the spontaneous myth, will account for much in the gospel narratives which literally would be incredible—and design is traceable in different forms; it actuated the writer of the third gospel in a very different way from the writer of the fourth. Yet certainly there was nothing like conspiracy between them. In this great question it is one thing to show the insufficiency of the proofs usually alleged for the miraculous origin of Christianity, and a very different one to substitute an adequate hypothesis, or make manifest the *ἀτιον τοῦ ψευδοῦς*, nor logically ought the person who has accomplished the one task to be called on to complete the second. Yet it is undoubtedly true that, until some reasonable account be given of the origin of the superstition,—so far as it is a superstition,—it will keep hold of men's minds by right of possession, or will return continually to reoccupy the swept but empty house. It was this task that Mr. Vickers undertook, and if, on a dispassionate consideration of what he has said, we had thought that he had accomplished it, or had indicated any sufficient method for accomplishing it, we should have recognised it without hesitation. It will, however, be just, to let Mr. Vickers speak for himself. But his deficiency in the discriminating spirit, so necessary for dealing effectually with his subject, will be obvious from the parallel which he draws between the miracles of the gospel histories and the miracle related in Maccab. v., of the apparition of the horseman in the Temple to Heliodorus when he was about to plunder its treasures. "If we have good reason," says Mr. Vickers, "for believing that this miracle-story of the repulse of Heliodorus originated from observed phenomena, notwithstanding our entire ignorance of the authorship, and the date of the book in which it is recorded, we shall find equally strong, or even stronger evidence, for regarding as historical facts some of the most important miracles of the New Testament." (p. 277.) The example of this story of Heliodorus seems to us peculiarly unhappy—for on any one of three suppositions the supernatural part of it may be accounted for:—1. It may have been a pure invention on the part of Heliodorus to excuse his want of success; 2. or, awe-struck at the profaneness of his attempt in a place of such reputed sanctity, his imagination may have presented him with some apparition of the sort; or, 3. it may have been a contrivance of the priests. Nor is there any story in the New Testament which presents any considerable parallel to it, unless it be the account of the conversion of St. Paul, which may be explained in a similar manner to 2. It certainly seems to us that Mr. Vickers is fairly open to a charge similar to that which he brings against Strauss, of pretending to accomplish too much by means of one formula of solution; and we

should suppose Mr. Vickers would not expect himself to be put in comparison with Strauss for learning, patience, calmness, and acuteness. However, his view is this:—

“We have as good reason to believe that Jesus was a religious devotee—a preacher of asceticism and miracle-worker—as we have to believe the same of St. Bernard; and since the greater portion of the gospel doctrines and miracles are perfectly consistent with the whole spirit of primitive Christianity, and just what might be looked for in any narratives of his public ministry, they may as well be accepted as authentic. We cannot be certain that one word of the Sermon on the Mount, or the philippic against the Pharisees, or the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, was ever spoken by Jesus; but we may be sure that if he did not deliver either of these particular discourses he delivered something very much like them, and that they fairly represent the character of his teaching. So, although we have no demonstrative proof that any particular gospel miracle which might be pointed out is a genuine work of Jesus, we have satisfactory evidence that the gospel miracles, taken as a whole, are a fair sample of his thaumaturgy; and there is a greater probability that the majority of them are authentic magic feats, which served to start the primitive Christian enthusiasm, than that such magic feats were generally forgotten and myth-wonders were substituted in their stead.”—p. 342.

This, and some other paradoxical passages might, with scarcely the change of a word, have been written by a High Churchman or a Papist; and it is greatly to be regretted that John Vickers has not been more patient and painstaking in defining, balancing, and applying his theory. The concluding pages of the treatise are a noble and eloquent vindication of that practical Rationalism which is accomplishing those great ameliorations in the condition of the human race, which priests and missionaries, as such, have hitherto attempted, if attempted, in vain.

The object of Mr. Brown's volume on the Dervishes is to afford information as to the belief and principles of those orders, and to describe their modes of worship and other observances.<sup>4</sup> It is hoped that it will be found useful both to travellers in the East, and to enquirers into the affinities presented by different forms of Oriental mysticism. The spiritualism of the Dervishes has its roots in religious conceptions prevalent in the East anterior to the rise of Islamism, and ascetic practices like those common among them have been found equally widely spread, and are traceable to a very high antiquity. Some suppose that the type of the self-abnegation of the Dervish is discernible in the sacrifice of his son by Abraham. In common with Christianity and other religions, Islamism teaches that the soul of man comes forth from God, and tends to be reunited to him. This reunion will, with the pure, be fully accomplished after death, but in the meanwhile it is possible, by devout contemplation, to anticipate it more or less perfectly while yet in the body, and the mode of effecting this anticipatory union of the divine and human spirits is reduced to a system in the ceremonies of the Dervishes. These ceremonies are therefore much more sacred in their purpose and intent than the mere worship of

<sup>4</sup> “The Dervishes; or, Oriental Spiritualism.” By John P. Brown, Secretary and Dragoman of the Legation of the United States of America at Constantinople. London: Trübner and Co. 1868.

ordinary believers: they minister an approach to the Divine Being. Essential therefore to the *cultus* of the Dervishes, is that belief in the all-pervading unity of God, which they hold in common with all Moslems. Among the people of Arabia the belief in emanations or peculiar gifts of the spirit of Allah to those who devotedly invoke and adore him, is sustained to its fullest extent. The trinity of the Christian creed seems to have been the chief object of Mohammed's abhorrence. (p. 8.) The trinity, indeed, which is popularly imputed to Christians by the Mahomedans, is that of the Father, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ. It is, however, quite correct to say that, while Moslems reject the divinity of Jesus Christ, they believe in his miraculous conception, and in his prophetic mission—not in his crucifixion and subsequent resurrection. None of the Dervishes separate themselves from the doctrines or precepts of the Koran, the contents of which they seek rather to spiritualize. They divide, moreover, the Koran and other books of religion into three portions—the historical, the biographical, and the purely spiritual. "The historical and biographical portions of these books may even comprise errors, omissions, and exaggerations, and even may have been more or less changed from time to time by copyists; whilst that which is purely spiritual and essential to the soul of man, commenced with his creation, has always existed unchanged, and will so continue to the end of time." (p. 106.) According to their best writers it is held that there are four creations:—"1. The creation of Adam from the clay, or mud, of which the earth is composed. 2. The creation of Eve from a rib or part of Adam. 3. The creation of the human species—that is, the children of Adam, by natural propagation. 4. The creation of Jesus Christ by a special breath of God, conveyed to a virgin—Mary—by the angel Gabriel." (p. 107.) And as the spirit of man is capable of communing directly with this spirit of God, a holy person will regard all ordinary pleasures and pursuits of life as indifferent objects; and the more he is destitute of worldly goods, the less will he be liable to be drawn from that contemplation of God which leads to union with the Divine spirit. Hence all orders of Dervishes are tacitly or openly mendicants. But degrees are well recognised in saintly attainment. Adam was a holy man whom the angels were bidden to worship; Abraham was the "friend of God," and "Jesus Christ owes his existence as a saint to the special breath of his Divine Creator; but is not, nevertheless, considered as being God. He is held to be only a divine emanation of the most sublime character." (p. 109.) There is a vast amount of interesting matter in this volume, and very much which is amusing; but the distribution and arrangement of the book is not well adapted for sustaining the attention of the reader.

It is very easy to select from the writings of Dean Stanley a number of elegant extracts and to form them into a Christmas book. This has been done in the collection entitled "Scripture Portraits."<sup>6</sup> But it

<sup>6</sup> "Scripture Portraits and other Miscellanies, Collected from the published writings of Arthur Fenrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster." London: Alexander Strahan. 1867.

is hardly fair to the distinguished author that these *morceaux* should have been chosen on so narrow a principle as they have been in the instance of this compilation. The compiler evidently feels a misgiving that he is open to some charge of this kind, when he intimates it as possible that students of the Dean's works may miss some of their favourite passages. Most certainly some of the very finest are not to be met with here, such as the description of the "Great Unknown," or second Isaiah, and that grand prospect of the opening of a new world to the influences of the Jewish race, and the laying the foundations of a Catholic religion of humanity, which is unfolded in the paragraphs upon "Cyrus."

The essays in Mr. William Kirkus's second series are mostly reprints, and are not all of them connected with the subject of this section; but we may direct attention to those entitled "On Ritualism," "Romanism, Anglicanism, and Evangelicalism, logically identical," and "The New Reformation."<sup>7</sup> Mr. Kirkus frankly proclaims "Rationalism" as the instrument of the New Reformation, and as the necessary cure for priestcraft and the dogmatisms which now oppress the intellects and consciences of the English people. By Rationalism, however, he understands, "not a set of results but a method." A man may be a rationalist, but his particular creed, negations, or hypothesis do not constitute rationalism, and he may apply a true method more or less sufficiently or incompletely. Mr. Kirkus himself may, perhaps, hereafter recognise in himself an example of the incompleteness with which he has at the present stage applied the very principle which he recommends. Touching the life of Jesus Christ, as a Rationalist, he acknowledges that it falls within the compass of human history, and the records of it must therefore be legitimate objects of criticism and enquiry; but, he thinks, inasmuch as we do not learn the works of Christ from one source and his character from another, any hypothesis is excluded concerning that life, which would discard the miracles of Christ and retain the surpassing goodness of his character; and that "if we have no sufficient evidence of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, then, for exactly the same reason, we have no proof that Jesus ever spoke the words that are called the Sermon on the Mount. In a word, we know *nothing* whatever about Him." (p. 315.) Rationalism, he goes on to say, must ascertain as far as possible the date and authorship of the New Testament books, must test the truthfulness of the witnesses, and determine how far the gospel narrative is worthy of our belief. "If it be worthy of belief, then the miracles of Christ must be accepted as facts," and scientific theories must be widened to embrace them; for himself, he thinks "the New Testament history to be the best authenticated history in all literature." (p. 315.) When Mr. Kirkus has made still further proficiency in the application of the Rationalistic method, he may find it less difficult to discriminate not only between the several books of the New Testament but between the parts of books, and may be encouraged to attempt the assigning to different portions of the gospel narrative very varied historical values.

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<sup>7</sup> "Miscellaneous Essays." Second Series. By the Rev. William Kirkus, LL.B. London: Longmans. 1868.

"Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets," is the somewhat fanciful and far-fetched title of some lectures on homiletics addressed to students for the ministry in a Congregational College.<sup>8</sup> The allusion it will be remembered is to the story of Gideon, and we are told that the words of the preacher are as "lamps," when they speak to intelligence; "trumpets," when they appeal to the conscience; "pitchers," when they console and comfort the heart. Mr. Hood does not set forth his lectures as a systematic "course" on the subject of homiletics, which they certainly are not; they are desultory and incomplete, and do not pretend to be otherwise. The doctrine is that of Mr. Spurgeon, to whom they are dedicated; a soreness peeps out at the social superiority conceded to the ministers of the establishment, and the author has a feud, as is natural, with "such unconverted Pagans and Philistines as *Saturday Reviewers* and *Daily Telegraphs*, Jeremiadizing over the decay of power in the pulpit." Nevertheless, there is a certain geniality in Mr. Hood's discourse, and he gives an extended notice of F. W. Robertson which is worth reading; of course, he thinks Robertson's theology to have been defective, but he does justice to the man—and to his persecutors.

"English Monasticism" is a book put together with a very fair intention,<sup>9</sup> but it comprises some portions which are trite and not specially belonging to the subject—in other parts it is quite incomplete according to its title; in fact, it only gives some detached scenes or portions of the history of the Benedictines in England, omitting mention of the other orders. We are always sorry to discourage authors who are really painstaking and candid; but we think this undertaking was a too ambitious one for Mr. Hill. The description of the suppression of the great Abbey of Glastonbury is well given, and we hope the book may prove useful in some quarters.

Sir Stafford Carey's short, but very carefully executed work on the "Epistle to the Galatians,"<sup>10</sup> is directed to ascertaining with as much precision as our existing materials permit the actual circumstances under which the Apostle Paul wrote that letter. The epistle breathes a vehement commotion of the Apostle's feelings—he is driven to vindicate himself, to judge in some degree at least his co-Apostles, to reprove his converts for their inconsistency, and to trace out more distinctly than heretofore the relations of Law and Gospel, and the line he should henceforth observe unflinchingly relatively to the Judaizers. If the date of the epistle be taken about the beginning of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, when the discussions at Jerusalem were yet fresh in his mind, when he felt that he had made concessions which had not been

<sup>8</sup> "Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets: Lectures delivered to Students for the Ministry on the Vocation of the Preacher." Illustrated by Anecdotes, Biographical, Historical, and Elucidatory, of every order of Pulpit Eloquence, from the great preachers of all ages. By Edwin Paxton Hood, Minister of Queen Square Chapel, Brighton. Author of "Wordsworth: an æsthetic Biography," &c. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "English Monasticism: its Rise and Influence." By Odell Travers Hill, F.R.G.S. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1867.

<sup>10</sup> "The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Galatians." With a Paraphrase and Introduction, by Sir Stafford Carey, M.A. London; Williams and Norgate. 1867.

candidly met, that his own converts were being tampered with—we can understand his feeling, that it was time for him to break with Judaism. Sir S. Carey has put his argument together from circumstances and probabilities like a lawyer and a scholar. He does not embark in theological discussions properly so-called; but in one place, temperately as he expresses himself, like an old-fashioned layman of the Church of England on the subject of inspiration, his phrases will scarcely pass uncriticized by the upholders of the pure "Word of God" theory of the Bible. He quotes, for instance, the passages of the formularies in which the word "Inspiration" occurs, as applied to ordinary Christians, and infers that whatever eminence may have characterized the inspiration of Paul as compared with the inspiration of other Christians, it belonged not to the words which he uttered, but to the frame and condition of mind which prompted him to utter them. (p. 69.)

Nothing can well be more narrow in conception or more feeble in treatment than the course of Bampton Lectures of the Rev. E. Garbett.<sup>11</sup> It is an unwise thing for an estimable parochial clergyman to risk a reputation well earned upon another field in a controversial discussion in an University pulpit. And if not unwise for some purposes, it is very damaging to a character for consistency, for an Evangelical clergyman to undertake to plead the cause of "dogma." While shouting as his watchword the "Bible is the Word of God," he finds himself with his neck under the authority of the Church; an adherent of the Reformation Theology, he appeals to the primitive period wherein not a trace is to be found of the doctrines of Justification by faith, Atonement, Imputation, which such an one values the most; a follower of Augustine, he takes his stand on the Greek Creed, wherein is not a whisper of Original Sin, of everlasting damnation, of Grace, of Election. Mr. Garbett's professed method is to trace the Christian beliefs upwards to their source—their true and proper source—which, according to him, will be found in the fountain-head of the "Word of God." For this stream of Christian belief, turbid enough in these days, has been swollen by various affluents; as we pass up the main stream we leave these to the right and left; the peculiarities of Anglicanism on one side, of the Greek Church on the other—here came in the Protestant outburst, and there the Roman flood. "Still we trace it back the faith of our own beloved Church, and the faith of the Nicene Fathers flowing together, a stream of truth, one and indistinguishable." (p. 77.) Mr. Garbett thinks he is quite safe when he gets to the Council of Nicæa—he has little to do in tracing upwards his metaphorical river, though "from the time of Irenæus the line of descent (or ascent) becomes comparatively obscure;" and higher up in the period of the Apostolical Fathers "amid the precipitous rocks and overhanging woods, its exact course cannot positively be traced;" but "in the first century of the

<sup>11</sup> "The Dogmatic Faith: an Inquiry into the Relation subsisting between Revelation and Dogma." In eight lectures. Preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1867, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By Edward Garbett, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Sarbiton. London: Rivingtons. 1867.

Christian era we find the abysmal depth whence the glorious river flows." Thus he has traced the genealogy back.

"We stand, as it were, looking at the depths mysterious, yawning beneath and before the eye, inscrutable and unfathomable, whence the waters spring into the daylight. Look and watch and wonder. What spring is capacious enough to have given them birth? The channel itself we can see to be human as ourselves, though of finer and purer soil, as if the ever-gushing fountain of truth close by had clothed it with perennial beauty and verdure. Whence it issues the outward eye cannot see. The spring is where no human hand can reach. It lies in the unseen, not the seen. Stand and watch the waters," &c. —pp. 76, 79.

This wearing threadbare a wretched metaphor is quite unworthy of an occupant of the University pulpit on such an occasion. But the lecturer evidently thinks he is proving something:—he is not even illustrating his own meaning. Nor are we any further when we read that the "dear familiar truths," known to us from our childhood "well forth from that fountain infinite for that fountain is—God." All that it comes to is, that the Lecturer thinks the Articles of the Nicene Creed are proveable from Scripture, and that the Scripture is absolutely true. Mr. Garbett is apparently unaware that in the Creed on which he stakes his dogmatism occurs a celebrated clause concerning the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father *and the Son*; at least he does not tell us whether this clause, no unimportant one, is one of the unessential affluents to the Christian belief, or whether it is derived from the fountain-head. He ought at least to have noticed that this clause, introduced in fact in the Western Church, has been the occasion of the widest separation that ever took place in Christendom. We should recommend Mr. Garbett to read on this subject a pamphlet of no great extent but extremely well put together, by Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes.<sup>12</sup>

This is a matter which lay directly in the Bampton lecturer's way, as he was tracing the Christian creed upwards to its source of purity, and he should have expressed an opinion upon it, whether the "filioque" belonged to the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed properly so called; and then, further, whether the addition was justified by the New Testament itself. Mr. Ffoulkes states that he has no objection to the doctrine of the double procession in the abstract, but he objects to its "embodiment in the creed in a word of four syllables," foisted in without authority, retained there without authority, in a place that was never designed for it, in a proposition set apart for the declaration of another truth."—(p. 31.) Moreover, he objects to the clause because it binds to the acceptance of a proposition which has two meanings; "the sense in which the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Son, not being *in every way co-extensive* with the sense in which he is said to proceed from the Father." And he expresses his conviction that this clause has a good deal to do with the Socinianism and Unitarianism so long rife in the West. If

<sup>12</sup> "An Historical Account of the Addition of the words 'Filioque' to the Creed of the West." By Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D., author of "Christendom's Divisions." London: Rivingtons. 1867.



so, the Nemesis is just. For the clause was apparently due to a strong anti-Arian re-action in the Spanish and French churches. It undoubtedly rivets upon the Nicene creed, and it is the only clause which does so, a strong Trinitarian sense, closely approximating to that of the so-called creed of Athanasius. Mr. Ffoulkes notices that in the East, where the "filioque" is not adopted, "there is positively no such thing known as Unitarianism among baptized Christians:" and it happened to himself once to meet with this reply from a literary friend with whom he had been discussing the clause,—“I find my escape from it in Unitarianism.” However, these are questions with which Mr. Garbett does not engage himself either theologically or historically. His is the true *Dangers and Safeguards* divinity. There are essentials and non-essentials, there are dangers from the Romanists, and there are dangers from the Rationalists, and if the Rationalists should ever get the upper hand we (the dogmatists) are all now ready to be martyred for the truth's sake. But there are mysteries which are beyond our comprehension, and abstruse subjects upon which good men have differed. Therefore your safeguard is to believe in the eternal damnation of the greater part of the human race, and that the Bible which reveals it is the very "Word of God."

Mr. Garbett, however, is obliged to hurry over the last age before he arrives at the New Testament period rapidly enough—he bridges it over by the help of the "Church;" the Church has all along declared herself to be in possession of a sacred gift of truth, a solemn charge from God. Mr. Garbett has unsuspectingly imbibed the doctrine that the New Testament is the product of the Christian sentiment and conviction, not the Church the product of the New Testament. Now if he looks into the theology of the writers of the earliest post-scriptural period—he should lay these two facts to heart—that he will not find the Lutheran *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*, "justification by faith," but he will find an eucharistic doctrine as nearly as possible identical with that of the Roman Church. For the sake of a contrast which will follow it, we will now make room for one extract by which the reader will be able to judge how mean is Mr. Garbett's controversial power, and how petty his intellectual grasp.

"When the objector speaks of God's consigning countless numbers of his creatures to eternal damnation, he omits to state that he has at the same time offered free salvation to all men, and that if they perish, it is only because they reject a mode of safety provided for them by God, at a sacrifice no less than that of his own Son, and pressed upon their hearts and consciences with a tenderness of appeal and a force of love sublime beyond the appeals and love of man."—p. 245.

A fair statement of this "difficulty" or "objection" may be found in one of the Rev. Orby Shipley's tracts,<sup>13</sup> in a passage too long to extract, but well repaying perusal, where the author assigns as the most fruitful source of "Rationalism" the representation which perverts the Gospel of Christ from being "good tidings of great joy for

<sup>13</sup> "Tracts for the Day: Essays on Theological Subjects." By various authors. No. 9, "Popular Rationalism." Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1867.

all people," into the worst possible tidings of unutterable despair to countless millions of the human race (p. 23). The real answer to the "objector" is, that he is objecting not to the fact, but to a misrepresentation of the fact. Mr. Garbett's "offer," which does not reach at all the vast majority of human souls, or reaches them like a book sent to a blind man, by no means mends the matter.

There presentation of the gospel as given by Bishop Ewing in his recent charge or sermon of the "Universal Fatherhood of the Supreme Being,"<sup>14</sup> would go near to disarm the "Popular Rationalism" of all its anti-Christian spirit. According to Bishop Ewing, the government of mankind by God is the government of a Father, not therefore merely easy or indulgent but equitable, and even when seemingly severe designed for the good of his intelligent creatures. The chief privilege of the Christian is—not that he alone is interested in the benefits of this Fatherly government, but that he understands it better than others. This extension of the Father's loving government ranges not only over all regions and races of mankind in this world, but is carried, on the same principles, into worlds as yet unseen. The characters of the Divine government elsewhere, must be the same as here; for everywhere it is the Government of our Father—

"Truly all our hope is in God, and in what He is; all our hope, both for what we now are and ever can be. Our assurance can only be in that which is in Him, our hope both for ourselves and for those now out of sight; for those gone from us, and who are no longer with us—no longer in our keeping—but who are now with Him; who are nowhere if not with Him, and whom, if with Him, we trust and believe to be well because with Him. . . He is our Father and their Father, and this because He is all men's Father; and He is *Father*—Father there as well as here. Father everlasting, everywhere, and always, and to all—ever acting as such everywhere, and always and to all, in accordance with His word."—pp. 29, 30.

The theology of such a view is consistent, and the doctrine as we apprehend unassailable, as long as the Church of England is what it is, either by public law or by mutual contract; that is, as long as the formularies are no narrower than they are to the existing race of its ministers. Moreover, the whole of this sermon or charge is characterized by the truest kindness and humanity of spirit, and therefore, as we conceive, by the truest religion. It is only just to Bishop Ewing to add, that there are points in what he has said on which we should differ from him; and he is not a mere latitudinarian, he has a view of his own—a consistent one, and however large his charity, it is not of the school of "nobody knows anything about it, and it does not much matter." Very remarkable however, is the candid expression of opinion in this pamphlet by the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles; it is in effect a protest against the proceedings of the Pan-Anglican Synod as to its essential conclusions—a protest against the dogmatism of the generally received Councils which it adopted, and a protest against the combination of two great parties in the Church of England, for the purpose of crushing one man, the despised and rejected Bishop of Natal, as

<sup>14</sup> "Union. A Sermon during the Anglican Conference." By Alexander Ewing, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. London: Thomas Bosworth. 1867.  
[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. R

the Dean of Westminster termed him in his noble speech before Convocation, wherein he was not ashamed to express both sympathy for the man, and to a large extent coincidence in his opinions. The remarks of Bishop Ewing on this latter point are so pertinent, that we trust those "Evangelicals" will lay them to heart who are becoming renegades to Reason and the Reformation. Anticipating as not improbable the disestablishment of the Church of England, the Bishop says:—

"It will be difficult to free the Evangelical party from the blame of the overthrow of the Church of England. I can say this the more freely as I have all along myself acted with it, and am still deeply attached to its principles and doctrines. Frightened at the observations of Dr. Coleuso, and apprehensive of the speculations of some of the 'Essayists,' they have to a great extent thrown themselves into the arms of the priestly party, and are engaged with it in the enterprise of overthrowing the Establishment."—p. 31.

The Evangelical party are then pointedly reminded of what they themselves owed to the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, without which their connexion "as honest men," with the Church of England, "must have come to an end." Strangely are they now aiding their own bitterest opponents to effect that severance between Church and State, of which the first result would be their own ejection. "Alas," says the Bishop, "for the old great Church of England, under the shadow of whose boughs our fathers dwelt in peace and honour; and by which they came to be the kings of land and sea in morals and religion." And what a revelation is here from one who was a member of the Pan-Anglican Conference. "Of those lately assembled in the halls of Cranmer, how many would have gone with him to the stake? Would any have helped to hail him there? No language can be too strong to arouse men to the sense of our present danger, and of (to use the words of probably our ablest bishop) the awful and dreadful responsibility of those "who are now (it may be unwittingly) laying the axe to the root of the Church of England." And he adds:—

"My heart is sore for the good old parish clergymen of England. I cannot rejoice in the triumph of their old opponents, now joined by so many from whom better things might have been expected; but who, by the use of odious names and the guile so common to many priestly minds, have turned the hearts of the children from their fathers, and the worship of their fathers to that of another god; for a priestly system instead of Christ is surely another God."—p. 33.

It seems to come in plain words to this, that the Evangelicals are not only standing aloof from suspected brethren but deserting the interests of the Church which gave them shelter, while many among the higher ecclesiastics are betraying the liberties of the parochial clergy.

Mr. J. J. Tayler's pamphlet is the production of a like Christian spirit.<sup>15</sup> We cannot, he thinks, disjoin the Christianity of the future from the historical results of the past, but we need not perpetuate dogmatical statements as if they were essential to the Christian life. It is very remarkable from how many quarters the protest is arising

<sup>15</sup> "A Catholic Christian Church the Want of our Time." By John James Tayler, B.A., Principal of Manchester New College, London &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1867.

against the perpetuation of dogmatical definitions. But the difficulty is to unite these separate rays into one focus of power. Ministers of religion, however well inclined, are under great difficulties in endeavouring to promote co-operation across the boundaries of their several communions. To laymen must belong the practical initiative in any such undertaking, and they must have the highest possible qualifications. "What is to be desired, in the first instance, is mutual recognition, occasional exchange of services, and joint efforts in the promotion of Christian philanthropy"—p. 32.

The Bishop of Cape Town, as was natural, found fault with the Bishop of St. David's for having, in a charge to his clergy, termed the so-called trial of Bishop Colenso, by the former prelate, "a mockery." All that the Bishop of Cape Town obtains by his letter, to which the subjoined pamphlet is a "Reply,"<sup>16</sup> is the stamping more deeply than before a brand upon his public character, which he will carry to his grave, that it was manifest on the face of his proceedings that "he and his assessors did not meet together to try the Bishop of Natal, but simply to accuse, condemn, and depose him in his absence." It need not be said that the castigation administered by Dr. Thirlwall is thorough. There is, however, one passage which we take from Dr. Gray's letter here reprinted on a point not so incapable of being cleared up as he alleges it to be. "At the time of Dr. Colenso's trial it was believed that I had valid or effective though not coercive jurisdiction. Since Dr. Colenso's trial it has been affirmed by the Privy Council that the suffragan's oath does not give such jurisdiction to the metropolitan." Without presuming to anticipate what the Privy Council might decide upon that point, we are inclined to think it has not decided it as yet. The Privy Council appears to have been of opinion that the whole of the proceedings on Bishop Gray's part—the forms, such as they were, of summons, of trial, and of sentence, amounted to a claim on his part to a valid jurisdiction, a jurisdiction properly so called. Lord Westbury was therefore perfectly consistent in denying that the suffragan could, by contract or submission, give, or the Bishop of Cape Town accept or exercise coercive jurisdiction. The Bishop of Natal, and the Bishop of Cape Town, neither separately or together, could constitute the latter a court, which is beyond the power of the Crown itself in the Cape Colony. But the decision of the committee in the case of Mr. Long is not hereby in the least infringed. And it should be observed that if the Bishop of Cape Town had put the case in such a shape as to rest it upon the contract between himself and his suffragan (which he did not), that contract must have been presumed to have been made in terms of the law of the Church of England, and the standards of doctrine appealed to must have been exclusively those of that Church; but that kind of contract would not have suited the bishop, and he did not even affect to be governed by such: when he condemned the other bishop he found him guilty of heresy in

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<sup>16</sup> "A Reply to a Letter of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town." By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. With an Appendix, containing the Bishop of Cape Town's Letter. London: Rivingtons. 1867.

accordance with the voice of some "Catholic Church," and distinctly denied that the decisions of Ecclesiastical Courts in England were binding upon him. It is indeed probable that the addition of the words "in law," at the close of the judgment of the Privy Council, which appear to have suggested to the Bishop of Cape Town's friends the futile distinction that the sentence might be valid "spiritually" though not "legally," were especially intended to denote that their Lordships considered they had had before them a legal question, a question as to the existence in the Bishop of Cape Town of a *bona fide* legal coercive jurisdiction, and such they pronounced him not to possess.

It will, however, be very curious if it should turn out that the full legal jurisdiction which confessedly does not belong to the Bishop of Cape Town either over his suffragans or his clergy, does belong to the Bishop of Natal over all clergymen of the Church of England in his diocese, not by virtue of contract, but *ipso facto*. And our readers who feel in any degree interested in the unravelling of legal complications, and on one side of the grossest evasions and misrepresentations will do well to read the very lucid argument of the Bishop of Natal before the Supreme Court of the Colony.<sup>17</sup> The kind of jurisdiction which the Crown could convey by patent to a Colonial bishop differs accordingly as the colony is possessed or not of elective legislative institutions; in the Cape Colony, at the date of Bishop Gray's patent, it is confessed the Crown could not give coercive jurisdiction to its patentee; in the case of the Natal Colony at the date of the Bishop of Natal's patent, it is highly probable the Crown still retained that prerogative, and did convey full jurisdiction by its patent. The Vice-Chancellor, Bishop Colenso thinks, may have had a glimmering that this was so; we would not say that the Privy Council had not; neither court has said anything inconsistent with the supposition; we may wonder that the Bishop of Natal's counsel did not raise the point distinctly before Lord Romilly; but at least it becomes more and more evident, the more Dr. Colenso's case is sifted day by day, both on the merits, and as to matters of legal form, that he has not, as the Bishop of London expresses it, 'as yet been lawfully deposed.'<sup>18</sup>

Schwegler's is the best possible "Handbook of the History of Philosophy," and there could not possibly be a better translator of it than Mr. Stirling.<sup>19</sup> It is rarely, indeed, that a person of such qualifications will be good enough to translate. Schwegler concludes his history of philosophy with Hegel. Mr. Stirling thinks he is right; that the history of philosophy does end with Hegel and not with Comte, for that Comte has made no addition to philosophy; this of

<sup>17</sup> "Colony of Natal, South Africa. In the Supreme Court: The Bishop of Natal *v.* the Rev. James Green, the Rev. James Walton, and the Rev. J. S. Robinson. The Argument of the Bishop of Natal before the Supreme Court of the Colony of Natal, on Tuesday, September 10th, 1867." London: Trübner. 1867.

<sup>18</sup> See letter to *Times* newspaper, December 18th.

<sup>19</sup> "Handbook to the History of Philosophy." By Dr. Albert Schwegler. Translated and Annotated by James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D., author of "The Secret of Hegel," &c. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1867.

course presumes a certain definition of philosophy. But putting that aside, M. Comte has contributed, as Mr. Stirling thinks, but little of original even to the systematizing of science. At all events, Comte and Hegel stand apparently in this diametrical opposition, that according to Comte all search beyond facts, all search after cause is futile, while according to Hegel that alone is the true object of search. Is it possible then, that the followers of the two systems should ever effect a junction? In a note conclusory, Mr. Stirling puts it, "If there be in effect no nature of things, that is no principle of reason that underlies and permeates them, or if Mr. Mill's invariability of coexistence and succession be one that is valid only here and now, if there be no nature, no reason, no necessary and absolute invariability of the relations of things, then, for Mr. Mill any junction with Hegel must for ever remain impossible." But if there be a nature of things, a system of things, a truth of things, such truth implies thought as underlying things, not this or that thing, but all things, or rather the universe of things, for with Hegel "existence is but the evolution of reason." To Hegel there is not in nature, as there is to Mr. Lewes, "a fatality which must be accepted," that fatality itself he would explain, he would reduce to reason. "It is with the same thought in his mind as Mr. Lewes, that Mr. Mill says: 'If the universe had a beginning, its beginning by the very conditions of the case, was supernatural; the laws of nature cannot account for their own origin.' The arbitrariness, the caprice, which Mr. Mill figures here as the origin of things, is precisely what Hegel resists; necessity of reason that origin must have been, place it where you may."—pp. 416, 417.

Indeed, to argue either for or against a "Creation," is to argue in the closed lists of a mediæval theology. It is commonly said indeed, that a beginning or Creation must be admitted, otherwise we must suppose an antecedence or retrogression *ad infinitum*, which is absurd. But is it absurd? Most absurd is it to imply, that we can get behind the "infiniteness" and say whether it be absurd or not. There are some very good observations on this, and kindred subjects in a critical sketch of "Contemporary Philosophy in Italy,"<sup>20</sup> from a Hegelian point of view." The authors passed in review are Galluppi, Rosmini, Gioberti, and Franchi. Their systems or attempts are shown to have been confined to an application of the scholastic method to modern problems. The style and treatment, which are very clear, and the book most readable, may be judged of from the following, taken from the critique on Gioberti.

"La conception d'une création libre est le résultat d'une fausse notion qu'on se fait de la liberté humaine, et plus encore de la liberté divine. On se représente, en effet, la liberté chez l'homme comme la faculté d'agir arbitrairement, de telle sorte qu'il faudrait dire, d'après cette conception, que plus l'homme agit arbitrairement, plus il est libre. C'est cette même notion de la liberté qu'on transporte en Dieu, en y ajoutant le prédicat de l'infini, et en disant que cette liberté qui est finie chez l'homme est infinie en Dieu: d'où il

<sup>20</sup> "La Philosophie Contemporaine en Italie." Essai de Philosophie Hégélienne. Par Raphael Mariano. Paris. 1868.

faudrait conclure que si la liberté est le caprice et l'arbitraire chez l'homme, c'est le caprice et l'arbitraire absolus en Dieu. Mais si chez l'homme, qui est un être raisonnable, la vraie liberté est la liberté déterminée par la raison, cela sera plus vrai encore en Dieu, qui est la source de la raison, ou, pour mieux dire, la raison même."—p. 102.

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## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

IT might be imagined that the professorship of either political economy or of constitutional history was sufficient to engross the time and energies of any one, but we think few will arise from perusal of two works by Professor Hearn (who fills both chairs at the University of Melbourne), without the conviction that in few places are the subjects he treats of so well handled and taught. His lectures on political economy<sup>1</sup>—plutology as he chooses to call the theoretical part of the science, following in this new nomenclature a suggestion of Mr. Courcelles Seneuil, is one of the most admirable introductions to the study of the science with which we are acquainted. All traces of that which once gave the name of "dismal" to these enquiries are dispersed by his mode of treatment; whether the prevailing tone of cheerfulness which animates his volume is to be attributed to that sense of elbow-room which seems to be one of the happiest characteristics of colonial life, or to the greater freedom which is left in new societies to individual initiative, we are not disposed to inquire; but the result is the happiest effect in the treatment of the theory of the efforts to supply human wants. Another excellent feature of this treatise, which indeed has not been forgotten by the best of his predecessors, but has by none of them been dwelt upon with the same power and persistency is the moralizing force of all such effort, and the necessary reactions of material and moral progress, the scientific grounds of an infinite hope, and the equally scientific refutation of all hasty and exaggerated expectations, go hand in hand through every page of his book.

The philosophical doctrines which underlie his treatment of the subject are those which have been so ably advocated by Mr. Herbert Spencer and Dr. Darwin. The evolution and development of society are shown by him to be in complete harmony with all that we know of physical and animated nature. The novel arrangement which he gives to his subject flows from the central idea of his book, "Human Wants." After defining these, and showing the wants of man to be his most distinguishing prerogative, he shows that they are only to be satisfied by labour and natural agents. All the topics usually treated of in economical investigations are referred to either one or other

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<sup>1</sup> "Plutology, or the Theory of the Efforts to Supply Human Wants." By W. E. Hearn LL.D., Professor of History and Political Economy in the University of Melbourne. Melbourne: G. Robertson; London: Longmans and Co.

of these two primary conditions of wealth. A great advantage of this new distribution of the subject will be found in this peculiarity—that it makes individual effort in all cases the starting point of progress and reduces the aid of society to a secondary and resulting condition. All the theoretical conquests of the science are developed in their necessary sequence, and shown to be as beneficent as necessary. The singular wealth and novelty of its illustrations make this treatise as amusing as a novel. In some justification of what we have said of the admirable because well-grounded cheerfulness of its tone, we will quote the passage in which he takes leave of his readers:—

“Nothing can have less foundation in fact than the doctrines of the virtue of pre-social man, and of the industrial advantages of an early state of society; these doctrines, though proposed at different times by men of very different characters, and with very different objects, are yet related. In truth, the theory of Ricardo is but the complement of the theory of Rousseau. According to the latter, the formation of society was the cause of all moral ills; according to the former, the advance of society brings with it at best a tendency towards physical privation. Not one of the propositions involved in these theories can now, so far as our evidence extends, be admitted as a fact. Man was never solitary, he was never without property; the more closely he approaches such a state, the more obtuse are his moral faculties; he never consciously entered society, with or without any agreement; he never, in an early period of society, has used the most efficient natural agents; he never, as such a society advanced, was driven by want to the use of inferior natural agents. On the contrary, society, property, security, law, abundance, are the results of man's nature. When they exist, and in proportion to their influence, his moral faculties receive their natural development. Ample capital, the use of more powerful natural forces, a large population duly organized, and all the advantages of co-operation and exchange constantly extending and growing more elaborate and complete, both attest and accelerate this social advance. In such a movement there are no signs of deterioration, of crime or of want. The results are purer morals, better laws, ampler security, and more overflowing abundance.”

It may be easily understood how views so advanced and liberal as these may yet take a certain conservative tone in the treatment of political questions. It may also be assumed that a certain strong tendency to stand upon the ancient ways which is to be found in the second of Professor Hearn's works,<sup>2</sup> is in some sort an involuntary reaction against the excesses of democratic opinion in the colony for which he writes. But this degree of conservatism is hardly to be avoided by a student of history so strongly influenced by the theories which pervade his former work. At any rate it is not an obstructive conservatism. The historical origin of all our political rights, the interests by which they have been vindicated, the general principles which have been appealed to in the conflict for their acquisition, in short, the various devices to which in past time individual liberty has been forced to have recourse to gain at least a temporary breathing

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<sup>2</sup> “The Government of England; its Structure and its Development.” By W. E. Hearn, LL.D., Professor of History and Political Economy at the University of Melbourne. London: Longmans and Co., 1867; Melbourne: G. Robertson.



space, all obscure in some degree the personal striving to which every amendment is, in the last resort, really due. All theories which accept the family as the political unit accept with it the seeds of the most obstructive conservatism. The patriarchal power is the seed plot of every exploded assumption of despotism. The same freedom and initiative for which Professor Hearn so ably pleads in matters of production must be equally open to every individual in political questions. The House of Commons is now, or if not now, is in process of becoming, the House of the common people of England. Whether it be true or not that once it was simply the House of the Communes of England does not touch the question which is at present the only vital one. It may be yielded to Professor Hearn that there was a time when the Commune only could vindicate its rights, but the progress of development, in which he heartily believes, brings with it the time when the old chaffering of communal interests must give place to the consideration of national well-being. In the study of any organism whatever there is a constant temptation, which becomes greater the more complete the insight acquired, to assume that it is absolutely perfect for its purpose. The traces of its adaptation to the forces to which it has been subjected are the only ones which can be discovered by the closest inquiry, how it will meet and adapt itself to existing forces, so far as they are different from the former ones, is the constantly open field between those who have to discuss not only its history but its future. As Sir J. Mackintosh said, Constitutions are not made but grow. It does not follow that they should be allowed to grow like the trees in a South American forest. Growth, too, has its conditions, and these we quarrel about. How firm a hold, however, Professor Hearn has on the historical evolution of the English Governmental system will be very well seen from the following extract from his *Plutology*, p. 402, in which he manifestly sets forth the idea of his book on the Government of England, which was not then published, and perhaps not written:—

Our own political history also furnishes some remarkable illustrations of development. Subject to the common law, all power of making, interpreting, and executing the laws belongs to the sovereign. This authority was soon understood to be exercisable only with the assistance of the Royal Council. Presently a distinction was made between the legislative and administrative functions of the council. By a further differentiation of the latter class the judicial functions were separated from those of the executive. Each of these organs thus separated soon presented further differences. By a remarkable series, both of differentiations and integrations, the Royal Council for legislation was developed into the Houses of Lords and Commons. From the *Aula Regia* in its judicial capacity sprung the various courts at Westminster. From the remaining authority of the King in Council, the Courts of Equity, and the judicial committee of the Privy Council are descended; and traces of the original system still exist in the ultimate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. In executive matters the Royal prerogative is now exercised by many different officers, each perfectly distinct, yet all more or less related. Our whole constitutional history in short consists of a description of the passage of our institutions from this primitive homogeneous form into their present highly complex and diversified condition.

This extract gives evidence of the fine historical sense which pervades the author's "Government of England." But the theory is founded on the fact of royal absolutism, and the progress is shown to consist in the conflict of that mysterious entity "Common Law," with the authority which contravened it. Common law has played the part in the conflict for English liberty that the "golden age" has done in all old speculations about an improved future. The roots of our government first struck in a ground prepared by the conquest of the country, but the air it has had to grow in has made it bring forth fruits of a kind that could not have been expected from its origin. These roots are now very remote from us, but the air is, or should be, still the same. The personality that was once obliged to cover itself with the power of the commune which it represented, can, after a succession of victories in other names, now stand forth in its own, and claim, in the interests of the combined Commons of the country, a consideration that of old the communes could only *purchase* for their corporate interests. We do not, however, wish too much to accentuate our differences with Mr. Hearn, we admire too much the skill with which he has traced the growth of our liberties to quarrel with him on the theory of their further growth. Every historical inquirer gets, in spite of himself, some antiquarian taste, and we do not wish to deny that breast-plates and the English yew have done in their time good and yeoman's service. But we no longer fight with such weapons. The same praise of judicious method and division of his subject, which is so eminently due to his Plutology must be ungrudgingly given to his English Government. The whole subject gains by such a mode of treatment, and is rendered much more practically useful than if it had been treated by the historical method adopted by Hallam in his Constitutional History. This book of course enjoys the advantage of the later period to which it is brought down. We dare say that many of its readers, and they cannot be too numerous, will be surprised to find how late a date must be given to many a point of constitutional law that they have been accustomed to look upon as an inheritance from their grandfathers. There is hardly a question connected with our system of government on which it does not throw some light. The absence of a full index is to be regretted in what would else be a most handy book of reference, but an excellent summary, and the most judicious distribution of subjects make this want less felt than would otherwise be the case.

An analysis of the Representation of the People Act, 1867,<sup>3</sup> which Mr. Chisholm Anstey submits to the legal profession and the public, will appear to many who take it up more fitted for the former than the latter of these two audiences. But any non-professional reader who can support its close legal style, will find it full of matter of the greatest interest. From haste in the original compilation of the Act, and from the enormous extent of the amendments to which it was its fate to be subjected, the Act abounds in difficulties of construction

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<sup>3</sup> "Notes on the Representation of the People Act, 1867." By Thomas Chisholm Anstey, Esq. London: W. Ridgway. 1867.

that will prove an abundant source of contention if not removed before it comes into operation. Mr. Anstey very ingeniously shows how extensive these amendments have been by printing both the Bill of the 14th March, and the Act of the 15th of August last, distinguishing by italics how much was lost of the former, and how much new matter was imported into the latter; from which it appears that about two-thirds of the Act itself consists of amendments introduced in committee. Owing to the incorporating sections by which all existing legislation on the subject of Representation is taken to be a part of the present Act, a mass of curious and minute questions arise which may be made the origin of litigation in registration courts and of discussion in Parliament. This abundant harvest Mr. Anstey has made it his business to point out, and in doing so he has very fairly shown that it was not in every case *per incuriam* that these incoherencies were left as they at present stand. One of the most amusing of the oversights of the Act is that its first section commences with the words be it "further" enacted; but the most important of them in a theoretical point of view is the strange omission by which, in spite of the defeat of Mr. Mill's motion to give the franchise to qualified women, there is no trace of its rejection in the Act, which, by retaining the word "man," leaves open the question whether that term, being of itself generically inclusive, and statutely so by Lord Romilly's Act, women are not really admitted by it to the exercise of a franchise which was certainly at one time in their possession, and which it might be construed has never been relinquished, however it may have fallen into disuse by custom. It is the more remarkable that no clearer terms were employed, as the ambiguity of the present one was fully pointed out, and its probable consequences insisted on by Mr. Denman. Another curious infelicity is the absence of any directions in case a member for any of the disfranchised boroughs of Totness, Yarmouth, Lancaster, and Reigate, should die during a Parliamentary recess. For all the Act says to the contrary, it appears that under such circumstances a new writ must issue and a new member be returned by the condemned electors of these places.<sup>4</sup> The Melbourne professor whose works we have just noticed would no doubt exclaim at the violation of constitutional symmetry involved in the definite duration which the present Parliament has given to itself, as many others have done at the ambiguity in which the precise date at which it *must* come into operation is involved. Mr. Anstey's essay seems to us a masterpiece of minute criticism, while at the same time it possesses in its appendices an element of permanent value in its comparison of the Bill with the Act, and in the reprint of all the returns which were laid before the Houses on the state of the constituencies of the kingdom before the Act of 1832, under that Act, and of the number of qualified occupiers who will have votes in the old and new constituencies when the Act of 1867 comes into operation.

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<sup>4</sup> This oversight has since been remedied in consequence of the motion of Mr. Ottway, of 29th November, 1867, in the late autumnal sitting of the House.

Messrs. Ludlow and Jones' *History of the Progress of the Working Classes*<sup>5</sup> between the years 1832 and 1867 contains a very full account of the numerous protective and enabling Acts which have been passed during that interval in their favour. It would have been monstrous had no such progress been made. Indeed, the general advance in wealth and well-being which has marked those years would have been simply impossible without an improvement in the labouring population in some degree corresponding with it. Most persons, however, will look into this book for some more decided account of the aims and aspirations of the working classes than they will find in its pages. Written before the Sheffield Inquiry, the union associations of the classes in question are painted with nothing but rose colour, the darker shades of their management are studiously kept out of sight, or treated where they cannot otherwise be extenuated as exceptional instances. There are no doubt exceptional cases, and we are very far indeed from supposing that every trades' union resorts to the devices of the Sheffield saw-grinders. It is not the less impossible to deny that the legislative interference which is called for by the leading members of most unions would amount to a grant of despotic power over their subscribers which would be in the last degree unjust. So long as these unions are purely voluntary and resort to no physical coercion, such associations should be as free as any others. Powers to compel the continuance of subscriptions would be quite incompatible with any just idea of individual liberty—the same can, perhaps, hardly be said of the desired power of prosecuting a defaulting secretary. But this might be had by a proper system of investment in the names of trustees, did not the requisite trust covenants stand in the way, much rather than the difficulty of finding such trustees or the expense of appointing them. The real and burning questions which have been raised by the Inquiry Commissions, which have reported since this book was written, are untouched by it. It not the less contains a vast amount of information on the condition of the various existing organizations of the working classes, and is animated throughout by an amicable feeling, which would be, we must confess, more satisfactory to our taste had it been less enveloped in a peculiar tumid sentiment that is little in keeping with such a practical question.

It is by an almost inevitable association of ideas that any consideration of the condition of the working classes suggests reflection on the opportunities within their reach for acquiring that elementary education without which they must become the inevitable prey of class feelings and prejudices. It is to be hoped that one of the first great reforms that the next Parliament will take in hand may result in a great extension of national education. Though written with no direct political purpose, we know of no book so excellently adapted to suggest the nature of the change required in our present system as that

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<sup>5</sup> "The Progress of the Working Classes, 1832—1867." By J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones. London: A. Strahan. 1867.

on Primary Instruction,<sup>6</sup> by Mr. Lawrie. This admirable essay is chiefly addressed to the schoolmasters of primary schools, with a view to reconcile them to the limited range of work which is afforded them by their daily task. He shows how, by a large and thorough treatment, the most lofty educational ideas may be conveyed in the proper teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Full of a minute and practical knowledge of his subject, his essay is of the highest possible interest, and affords solutions of many psychological problems that are still debated among the learned on such matters. Rich in results of an experience that has been enlightened by reflection, it is the farthest removed from any mere theory of the subject. The minutest details of daily work are given, but always in the light of the principles which should guide the methods recommended. It is a book devoted to taking the tedium out of the dullest routine, and it may be confidently asserted that it will do so for all who study it with good will and intelligence.

Some very interesting particulars of the experiments made in America in the joint education of the sexes are to be found in Miss Jex Blake's visit to some American schools and colleges.<sup>7</sup> The plan of study pursued in five different colleges which are conducted on this system is very fully given from the school courses which were supplied to her on her arrival at each establishment. Most of these schools are in connexion with one or other of the American universities, and give the highest education that can be procured in the country. Although many of the scholars Miss Jex met with in these schools were young men who had returned from the disbanded armies of the North, she declares that all the professors reported that they found no bad results to follow from the mixture of the sexes in class. The female scholars are said almost universally to hold their own in competitive examinations. The possibility of these experiments reposes on the social equality of American society. It may be that their results will yield another triumph for American principles, but as yet it is too early for them to have given decided and marked effects. So much of personal adventure as the book contains in its description of the journeys made from school to school, is very pleasantly written, and contains many a characteristic trait of American manners and feeling.

The notices of the past and present of the public schools at Winchester, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Harrow, and Rugby, which appeared in "Blackwood's Magazine," have been collected into one volume by their author.<sup>8</sup> Most readers will be glad to have them in this more commodious form. For those who are not acquainted with these sketches it may be enough to say that they contain full par-

<sup>6</sup> "On Primary Instruction in Relation to Education." By Simon S. Lawrie, A.M. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Son. 1867.

<sup>7</sup> "A Visit to some American Schools and Colleges." By Sophia J. Blake. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.

<sup>8</sup> "The Public Schools." By the Author of *Etoniana*. London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1867.

ticulars of the foundation, course of study, and games prevalent at each of the schools, interspersed with all the good stories connected with former masters' names, which keep their memory green at the seat of their labours. The general tone of comment is that of unequivocal admiration of our public school system. A great spirit of justice and fair dealing, animates all the criticism which is given of the character of the masters of former years, and particularly is the chapter to be recommended which treats of Rugby under Arnold. The deserved respect and reverence in which he was held has resulted in an almost mythical exaltation of the good work he did while master. Without derogating in the slightest degree from the admiration in which Arnold was, and is properly held, he does justice to his predecessors and successors in a manner that must please every lover of fair play. The book is most agreeable reading, as well as a storehouse of many valuable facts.

Under the title of *Social Duties*,<sup>9</sup> Messrs. Macmillan and Co. publish an excellent lay sermon by a "man of business," on the great and increasing need of some general organization of effort in works of benevolence. Owing to the growing predominance of economical over social relations, the different classes of society are tending beyond dispute to a separate organization, which is one of the most significant signs of the times. It cannot be said that the poorer classes have been shut out from a participation in the increasing wealth of society, but that wealth has been so dependent on fresh developments of the principle of the division of labour, and that principle has such a tendency to substitute the relations of contract in the place of the more personal ones of former times that a certain social disintegration is unavoidable unless the most strenuous efforts be made to counteract it. The charitable efforts of the present day are neither few nor unimportant, but their objects are scattered, and if not conflicting in themselves, often counteract one another. Where even they do not do so they encourage the prevailing tendency by the mechanical operation of the laws by which they are necessarily governed. The present little volume takes up with great intelligence and ardour the question, how is it possible to organize these scattered efforts, and to impart to their usefulness the important element of personal sympathy in their administration? It contains many arguments that well deserve serious attention. The author advocates the establishment of a National Central Relief Society under Government inspection as a centre of direction and support to all local effort which should be directed to the relief of accidental distress, and to the organization throughout the country of some system of assistance that might stand between the deserving poor and the necessary severity of Poor Law administration.

It is not only help that is wanted, but also a diffusion of the knowledge of the means of self-help, and this almost equally important ser-

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<sup>9</sup> "Social Duties, considered with Reference to the Organization of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility." By a Man of Business. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.

vice is rendered by Mr. Scratchley's *Treatise on Building, and Local Enterprize Encouragement Societies*.<sup>10</sup> The present volume is in some sort an abbreviation and recasting of his well-known former ones on these subjects and on savings' banks, with new and fresh matter that has accumulated on his hands since their publication in 1860. It is impossible here to give an adequate notion of its usefulness. It contains all requisite rules, tables, and forms, for the institution and management of every kind of Provident Society, and is, like his former books, an indispensable aid to all directors, trustees, and secretaries of such associations.

The *Romance of Charity*<sup>11</sup> is an abbreviation of the author's "Six Months among the Charities of Europe" which we noticed at the time of its publication.

The Recorder of Helston has published a volume full of minute directions to its readers how the accomplishments of writing perspicuously, reading with animation and expression, and speaking fluently may be acquired.<sup>12</sup> He makes no secret of the immense labour involved in the pursuit of either, but hopes by offering to others the result of his reflections on the subject somewhat to lighten it for his successors. The book abounds in practical suggestions. Its numerous rules may be summarized in the golden one of "Forget yourself, and think only of your subject and your audience;" but general rules, however good, cannot supply the place of detailed instruction, and such is to be found in a rich abundance in this volume.

"Warne's Model Cookery Book"<sup>13</sup> ought to deserve its title, if copiousness and particularity of direction can entitle it to its claim to be considered the model of its kind. Two thousand eight hundred and thirty-five different ways of preparing human food ought to be sufficient for the requirements of any household. The different receipts are very plainly given, but often overwhelm the simple consumer by an insight into the trouble which is taken to satisfy his daily appetite.

Although the advantages to be derived from the practice of gymnastic exercises are now very generally recognised, and the military authorities have set a good example by having within the last few years established in various garrisons gymnasia for the training of the army, it must be admitted that the system of physical education is still much less extended than is desirable. There are, it is true, several very complete establishments for the use of civilians, notably at Liverpool, Oxford, and in London that of the German Gymnastic Society, as well as a few smaller private "schools;" but it is much to be regretted that gymnastic training has not been combined to a greater extent with

<sup>10</sup> "Treatise on Benefit Building Societies and Life Assurance Societies, with suggestions for the formation of Local Enterprize Encouragement Societies." By Arthur Scratchley, M.A. London: C. and E. Layton. 1867.

<sup>11</sup> "The Romance of Charity." By John de Liefde. London: A. Strahan. 1867.

<sup>12</sup> "The Arts of Writing, Reading and Speaking." By E. W. Cox, Recorder of Helston. London: H. Cox. 1867.

<sup>13</sup> "Warne's Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book." London: F. Warne and Co.; New York: Scribner, Welford and Co. 1867.

the Volunteer movement. The First Surrey Rifles, and possibly some one or two other corps, have set apart portions of their drill-halls for the purposes of a gymnasium; but, as a rule, no attempt has been made to associate two objects which would have materially served each other. "Parade" becomes monotonous after a time, but if after a short but smart drill the men could betake themselves to the varied exercises of the gymnasium, it is more than probable that many who, after the novelty has worn off, become tired of drill and slack in their attendance, would continue to be attracted to "Head Quarters," and thereby induced to make themselves "efficient," while on the other hand many men would join a volunteer regiment whose first attraction was the gymnasium. It is not yet too late to effect something in this way, and as there is no doubt that the taste for athletic exercises of every kind is gradually spreading, such an arrangement recommends itself in point of economy; for the buildings which have in many instances been erected at considerable cost for the purposes of drill, and which are almost entirely unoccupied for four or five days in the week, might, at a comparatively insignificant expense, be supplied with the necessary apparatus to adapt them for gymnasia, when not actually in use for drill. In the necessary arrangements for the establishment of a gymnasium, whether connected with a volunteer corps or not, Messrs. Ravenstein and Hulley's *Handbook of Gymnastics*<sup>14</sup> is well calculated to guide and assist the promoters. Of the competence of the authors, Mr. Ravenstein, the well-known president of the "German Gymnastic Society," and Mr. Hulley, "Gymnasiarch of Liverpool," no one who has taken an interest in the science of gymnastics can have any doubt; and though it cannot of course be asserted that, profusely illustrated as it is, by the aid of this book, the exercises can be conducted without the assistance of a professional director, still in all that pertains to the management of a gymnastic society, and the order and conduct of the exercises, it is well worthy of its title. A few sections devoted to out-of-door games and sports are the only unsatisfactory portions of the book, and might with advantage be suppressed, as evidently not within the compass of the author's personal knowledge, and in fact not belonging to that which they profess to teach. The chapter on "Hygiene" contains much practical sense, but it is doubtful if, in London at least, many young men will devote two or three nights a week to the gymnasium as is there recommended, and the "daily routine" will, we fear, not find many strict followers.

Mr. Latham's "Black and White"<sup>15</sup> is an excellent account of his travelling experiences in the United States. He expressly disclaims any knowledge of American politics, and thinks that no Englishman can lay claim to it without three years' close study. His book is not the less amusing and instructive on that account. His testimony to

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<sup>14</sup> "A Handbook of Gymnastics and Athletics." By E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., &c., and John Hulley. London: Trübner and Co. 1867.

<sup>15</sup> "Black and White: a Journal of a Three Months' Tour in the United States." By Henry Latham, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.



the hospitality of the Americans is well worth extracting from his preface:—

“It is very possible that when an American has discovered his fellow-traveller to be an Englishman on his travels, he will ask him to come and stay a day with him; and if his further acquaintance is pleasant, will press him to stop a week; and when he goes on his way will volunteer introductions to half a dozen of his friends in different parts of the States; and there he will be received with a welcome and entertained with a hospitality which will make him ashamed for the rest of his life of the courtesies of his own land, whenever he thinks of a lonely American in a British coffee-room.”

This contrast between American and English manners may be explained easily enough, but it must be confessed that the best explanation partakes too much of the character of an excuse. It is an indirect consequence of that irrepressible hopefulness which makes an American think nothing impossible, nothing chimerical, and which tempts him to suspect that contentment is a spurious kind of virtue invented by the British aristocracy. We cannot here follow Mr. Latham in his travels; the road is well known, and he followed it from New York to New Orleans, and back by the Mississippi and Niagara. One or two extracts will best give the reader some idea of his lively style and ready observation:—

“The railway newsboys,” he says, “are a study. They do not live on the platforms of railways, but inhabit the cars. Probably an American newsboy by the time he is fifteen has travelled 50,000 miles. Each has a large chest which represents his home, and in which he keeps his wares. First he perambulates the train and sells his daily papers; these are perishable merchandise and will not keep; when no one will take another, he retires to his store and eats an apple, and then goes and arranges his chest; when he is not going his rounds he is always arranging his chest. It is a sort of shell to him, only whereas the snail puts his tail inside the shell, the newspaper boy puts his head and shoulders, leaving his legs outside to be tumbled over. In half an hour’s time he goes round with his illustrated weekly papers, dealing one to each passenger likely or unlikely (because the unlikelies would be offended if omitted), as if he was distributing handbills. This is done on the same principle that Sam Slick used to leave Dutch clocks on chimney-pieces until called for. Ten minutes afterwards he comes round to collect them again, and generally sells three or four to passengers who have only got half through the column of jokes. Half an hour after that, when travellers are getting weary of looking out of the windows, he distributes magazines to the public, and then his art is to return for the books at the moment when you have reached the most interesting part of the story. One of them confided to me that his profits on newspapers and light literature were fifty per cent., out of which he got twenty for himself—for a five cent. paper you pay ten cents.—also that he travelled for nothing on condition that he found the captain of the train in newspapers.”

Mr. Latham’s feelings, for he studiously avoids all expression of opinion on the question which still divides the North and South, may be gathered from the following anecdote:—

“A gentleman of colour working on one of the boats on the Alabama river, was asked the other day whether he was best off now or before he was free. He scratched his wool and said: ‘Wall, when I tumbled overboard before the captain he stopped the ship, and put back and picked me up, and they gave me

a glass of hot whiskey and water, and then they gave me twenty lashes for falling overboard. But now if I tumble overboard, the captain he'd say, what's dat? oh! only dat dam nigger—go-ahead."

Another remark he makes without comment speaks volumes on the deep-seated differences between the Black and White States:—

"I have been struck," he says, "with the difference of the hero-worship of the North and that of the South. In the hall or bar-room of every Southern hotel, on every steamboat, and in every public place, you find a picture of General Lee, and often of General Beauregard; the honour is given to the leaders. But in the North the glory is attributed to 'our soldiers,' the battles were won by 'our boys.' Not even General Grant is esteemed in the North as Lee and Stonewall Jackson were enshrined in the hearts of the Southerners."

Can anything be more significant of the vital principles of North and South? These extracts will show how very well worth reading is Mr. Latham's volume, better than any general commendation we could bestow upon it.

But we cannot take leave of him without calling attention to the reports of Generals Sherman and Pope, on what is now called the Indian difficulty. It is useless to moralise on an unconquerable evil, but we cannot help being amused at the surprise expressed by Americans at the audacity of the Indian tribes during the war. With a frontier weakened by drafts of men for the Northern armies, the Indians have pressed back again on regions from which they had almost been expelled. But this simple fact by no means expresses the real nature of the Indian difficulty. The Western States of California, Colorado, and New Mexico can only communicate with the Eastern ones across the great central plain which stretches from the lakes to the south of the continent. These plains can never be put to any other use than grazing fields; over their vast extent the Indian, and the buffalo his food, range at pleasure, and emigrate north and south each year. How can railway communication for 500 exposed miles be kept up under these circumstances? Gen. Sherman proposes to occupy a belt of country 200 miles wide, between the Nebraska and Arkansas rivers, for the purpose; driving the Indians north and south of these boundaries. The task is no easy one, whether we consider either the men or animals with whose mode of life it is at war. But when we consider the prize in view there can be little doubt that it will be performed.

"When the Inland Pacific line is opened, it will realise the idea with which Columbus set sail to the West. It will be the shortest route from Europe to China. It is asserted that when the railroad is completed, in the year A.D. 1870, the journey will be made from England to Hong Kong, *via* New York and San Francisco, in thirty-three days. New York will then be the centre at which the trade of Europe and Asia will meet, the great exchange of the products of the eastern and western world."

At present the railway stops at Fort Riley, about half way across, and whether or not the reasons are good to expect an additional 200 miles each year, there can be little question that Indians and buffaloes must give way before Americans striving for such a prize.

The "Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland," by Mr. Marcus Keane,<sup>16</sup> advocates a new theory of their origin which, in spite of the learning he brings to bear in support of his hypothesis, will, we think, be pronounced adventurous by most of his readers. We do not profess to pronounce any judgment on the question. The philological side of his argument calls for an accurate knowledge of the ancient Irish language to which we can make no pretension. The argument founded on architectural peculiarities is more accessible and is most powerfully urged, so powerfully, indeed, that we think it would support any hypothesis less astounding than that of the author. His theory is, that not only the round towers were erected several hundred years before the Christian era, but that all the Irish churches which have been called, in architectural systems, Norman, are cotemporary with the towers, and were once heathen temples, built by the Cuthite or Phœnician settlers in Ireland. The Celts, after their conquest of the country, it is believed, never built stone houses or churches, and the first churches built by the Normans in Ireland were of the style called Early English, which was prevalent in England at the time of their arrival.

Under these circumstances the question remains who then built the more ancient churches and the round towers? Mr. Keane subjects all their details and peculiarities to a comparison with the most ancient Greek temples, such as the treasury at Mycenæ, and with similar details found in almost every country of the East, and concludes that these Irish temples were not originally Christian, but are the remains of a Phallic worship which was general in Ireland 3,000 years since, and that the gods of India and Canaan were the deities in whose honour they were erected. The work has been a labour of love on the part of the author, and wants nothing that expensive and abundant illustrations can give to the support of his theory.

Another Irish book, primarily topographical, being a description of Lough Corrib and Lough Mask,<sup>17</sup> in the south-west of Ireland, abounds in Irish legends and the so-called early history. Were such doctors as the author and Mr. Keane differ so widely as they do it would not become any but a fellow-countryman to take a very earnest part in the settlement of their differences. But putting out of sight all the antiquarian disputes connected with the remains he so well describes, there is no book so pleasant to take as a guide to the lovely scenery of these lakes as that of the vice-president of the Irish Academy. There is quite sufficient beauty and attractiveness about the region he describes, to make his directions for a week's tour most welcome to the summer excursionist. In that short time can be seen, under his guidance, some of the most ancient churches, the remains of Celtic earthworks and fortifications, and some faint notion acquired of the lives led by a tribe so well forgotten, that it is disputed by the best authorities whether they lived 1000 or 3000 years ago.

<sup>16</sup> "The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland." By Marcus Keane, M.R.I.A. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1867.

<sup>17</sup> "Lough Corrib & its Shores and Islands, with Notices of Lough Mask." By Sir William R. Wilde, M.D. Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill. 1867.

Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co. have published a reprint, for it can hardly be called a second edition, of that admirable topographical description of the New Forest by Mr. J. R. Wise.<sup>18</sup> This book has ever since its first appearance been a special favourite with all lovers of English scenery. The author's peculiar talent for rural description and the rare combination of appropriate knowledge which he displays in this volume, make this description of one of the most interesting districts of the South of England a book in many respects without an equal. On this account we the more regret that it bears traces of an inadequate supervision. Few books, indeed, stand so little in need of any direct recasting by the writer, but there are one or two places which we, who are lovers of the work, are sure would have been re-touched had the author been offered an adequate opportunity. These are but slight and verbal matters at the best. The general usefulness of this excellent and well-executed history is not affected by them. The book is already popular enough among the class of readers to whose taste it appeals. That the taste in question should also be that of the majority is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and one to which the book itself largely contributes. The happy talent of local portraiture which has made the author's "Shakespeare and his Birth-place" a book *sui generis*, shines in every page of his descriptions of the heather and woodlands of this beautiful region. But its merits are not exhausted by the praise of this peculiar talent, for all the graces that could be lent by an accomplished archæologist and naturalist go hand in hand with it, giving scientific interest side by side with poetical description. The present issue is but half the price of the former one, and is a more conveniently handled book, which we cannot take leave of without calling attention to the very characteristic drawings of the scenery, by Mr. Alfred Crane, and to the feeling with which they are rendered by the woodcuts of Mr. Linton.

All who remember the graceful and womanly account of Italian travel, the "Voyage en Zigzag," will be glad to meet the authoress again on Tyrolese ground.<sup>19</sup> There is a charming exuberance and feminine ecstasy about the writer, which keeps the reader in sympathy with her constant cheerfulness, and prepares him to appreciate all the vivid pictures which she draws of mountain scenery and mountain people. The unaffected good taste with which her party fraternized with the simple German peasantry, not only gives a delightful tone to her journal, but reveals to those who can appreciate it, the true secret of enjoyment on such summer tours. The present volume contains descriptions of Insbruck, Berchtesgaden, that loveliest spot in Europe, Ischl, and many more, and gives in the appendices many practical hints, we might indeed say full directions, to all who may wish to follow in the path of a party which it is manifest not only knew how to enjoy themselves, but we are convinced brought

<sup>18</sup> "The New Forest: its History and its Scenery." By John R. Wise. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1867.

<sup>19</sup> "Pictures in Tyrol and Elsewhere." By the author of a "Voyage en Zigzag," &c. London: Longmans and Co. 1867.

enjoyment with them, to most of the places at which they stopped. The same facile female pencil that lent such a charm to its predecessor, has filled the book with way-side sketches and cheerful incidents of travel. For half an hour's reading, we know of no more pleasant travel talk, than these Pictures in Tyrol.

Of a "Peep at the Pyrenees,"<sup>20</sup> it is sufficient to say that it is an unaffected and cheerful account of a pedestrian tour from Bayonne, to Tarbes and Arreau, with a short run into Spain by Irun and St. Sebastian. The main purpose of the little volume is to prepare the way for those who may be inclined to follow in the author's footsteps, and this purpose is very sensibly and practically carried out.

With the French in Mexico,<sup>21</sup> should rather be called an account of their evacuation of the country. The author joined the imperial army as a volunteer in the spring of 1866, and was appointed to serve under General Douay, then at Saltillo. His journey northward, and almost immediate retreat with the French forces after the communications with Matamoros were cut off by Escobedo, form the staple of his narrative. A more lifelike account of the usual incidents of a military retreat is seldom met with. No reader can fail to realise the confusion of the camp followers, the marches and frequent halts to repulse too ardent pursuers, or to appreciate the professional ability with which the movement was executed. An ardent Imperialist from the very nature of his position, the author has no feeling for the national spirit which animated his adversaries. Porfirio Diaz indeed, meets with due acknowledgment at his hands, but the troops with which he was connected did not come in contact with the liberal party under that leader. The conclusion to which he comes on the general question of the Emperor Maximilian's position seems to us satisfactory, and is in all probability the real truth. On his arrival he refused to carry out *more mexicano* all the intolerant projects of the clerical party, who then left him without assistance and support, until they found in the spring of 1866 that they must rally to his cause or lose every hope of maintaining their own.

Their renewed pledges and the delicacy of the emperor's personal position, induced him to make the stand which it appears might have had a temporary success had it not been for the treachery of Lopez. The volume is profusely illustrated by admirable sketches of the scenery and population of all classes, from drawings by the Count de Montholon and the author.

Dr. Siegfried Hüppe's constitutional history of Poland,<sup>22</sup> is written with a view to show how a nation may sacrifice its independence by too great a love of freedom; that in spite of many excellent rights and privileges, a people who will not allow of sufficient prerogatives in

<sup>20</sup> "A Peep at the Pyrenees." By a Pedestrian. London: Whittaker and Co. 1867.

<sup>21</sup> "With the French in Mexico." By J. F. Elton. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.

<sup>22</sup> "Verfassung der Republik Polen dargestellt von Dr. Siegfried Hüppe." Berlin: F. Schneider. 1867.

the executive, may lose the treasures they have loved not wisely. The interest of the past constitution of Poland is now reduced to the instruction it affords to the historical student, and Dr. Hüppe's contribution to its elucidation is most ample and complete.

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## SCIENCE.

**M**R. F. C. BAKEWELL adds one more to the already numerous attempts to demonstrate that the common notion of the figure of the earth is erroneous.<sup>1</sup> He argues that the assumption of an oblate spheroidal form by a fluid mass rotating in space is an impossibility,—that, on the contrary, it would assume a prolate form in order to resist the action of centrifugal force,—and that “geodetic measurements and the appearances of the heavenly bodies, tend to confirm the dynamical theory that the earth is a spheroid rotating about its longest diameter.”

The report on the terrible cyclone which devastated the district of Lower Bengal on the 5th October 1864,<sup>2</sup> contains an immense amount of valuable information on the meteorology of that region, and on the general phenomena presented by these hurricanes. From the tabular statements, it appears that cyclones are most numerous at the beginning and end of the south-west monsoon (that is, from the end of April to June, and in October and November), and the authors further indicate a remarkable local periodicity in the occurrence of these storms. It is impossible without going into details to give anything like an abstract of the results of this report, which it is to be hoped may serve as a guide to further investigations. The importance of gaining some insight into the laws which regulate such occurrences is shown by the fearful destruction both of life and property caused in a few hours by the Calcutta cyclone, and especially by the terrible storm-wave, rising in some places more than ten feet above the level of spring tides, by which it was accompanied. This awful wave, sweeping over all the lower districts, of course destroyed everything it met with. The number of people killed is estimated at more than 48,000, and 25,000 or 30,000 more died subsequently of disease and famine.

In his “Scientific Guide to Switzerland,”<sup>3</sup> Mr. Morell aims at compressing into a single handy volume an epitome of the scientific aspects of that most interesting region of Europe. He discusses the physical geography of the country in considerable detail, and also explains its

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<sup>1</sup> “A Dynamical Theory of the Figure of the Earth, proving the Poles to be Elongated.” By F. C. Bakewell. 8vo. London: John Weale. 1867.

<sup>2</sup> “Report on the Calcutta Cyclone of the 6th October, 1864.” By Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Gaskell and H. F. Blanford. 8vo. Calcutta. 1866.

<sup>3</sup> “Scientific Guide to Switzerland.” By J. R. Morell. 8vo. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1867.

geological structure, indicates the general characteristics of its existing Fauna and Flora, describes its glacial and meteorological phenomena, and gives some notice of the discoveries made of late years among the ancient pile dwellings of its lakes. In most of these departments of inquiry the visitor to Switzerland will find in Mr. Morell a useful and pleasant guide. He shows a vivid appreciation of the beauty of the scenery of the Alps, and a sufficient acquaintance with modern science to enable him generally to treat of the questions here brought before him without falling into any serious errors. To this rule, however, there is one exception—the author's knowledge of natural history, particularly zoology, is decidedly weak, and although he gets through the flora of Switzerland, and his account of the general features of its vertebrate zoology with a few minor errors, his account of the Alpine articulata, scanty as it is, is rich in blundering and confusion.

We need do little more than notice the appearance of new editions of Mr. Page's<sup>4</sup> Introductory and Advanced Text-Books of Geology, the number of editions through which they have already passed (seven in the case of the former and four in that of the latter,) showing sufficiently that these works have met with a very favourable reception. In these new editions Mr. Page seems to have endeavoured successfully to introduce the results of recent investigations, and as elementary manuals his books are certainly deserving of the favour that they have received.

Not content with his geological labours, to some of which we have already adverted, Mr. Page seems to have been desirous of enlightening his fellow-countrymen in Edinburgh upon the subject of the Antiquity of the Human Race, and in pursuance of this desire he gave them two lectures on the subject in November, 1866. Like other would-be luminaries, Mr. Page found that many people did not want to be enlightened — nay, that considering he was attacking a point which they regarded as in some way connected with their religious belief, they looked upon his conduct as highly reprehensible, and accordingly (*more sanctorum*) proceeded to misrepresent his views. In consequence of this highly disagreeable proceeding, and in order to do himself justice, Mr. Page prepared a somewhat enlarged edition of his lectures, which he has given to the public in a small volume now before us.<sup>5</sup> The points upon which Mr. Page dwells are probably tolerably familiar to most of our readers. He maintains that in his physical structure man is simply an animal, and consequently, subjected to the same physical laws and influences which act upon other animal organisms,—that this being the case we must accept for man an origin by evolution from pre-existing forms of life, if the theory of origin by evolution be established; that the antiquity

<sup>4</sup> "Introductory Text-book of Geology." Seventh and Enlarged Edition. "Advanced Text-book of Geology, Descriptive and Industrial." Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. By David Page, LL.D., &c. Small 8vo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwoods. 1867.

<sup>5</sup> "Man; Where, Whence, Whither: being a Glance at Man in his Natural-History Relations." By David Page, LL.D., &c. Small 8vo. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1867.

of the existence of man upon the earth "cannot be expressed in years and centuries, but only relatively to other geological events," and finally, that mankind is, and always has been, in a state of progressive improvement, "physically, intellectually, socially, and morally." The reader will see that the discussion leading to these results implies at least a sketch of the recent discoveries in the unwritten history of mankind; and indeed the leading facts and inferences are given by our author in a clear and condensed form which seems well fitted to carry conviction to the minds of unbiassed readers. We fear, however, that those who objected to Mr. Page's lecture, will hardly approve of his book,—the true serious mind has a wonderful power of resisting evidence.

One of the best modern Handbooks of Zoology, perhaps indeed the best, that has come under our notice, has just been published by Professor Claus of Marburg.<sup>6</sup> The object which the author has set before him in the preparation of this work is to furnish the student with a guide to the general classification of animals, and a good sketch of the anatomical considerations upon which this classification is founded. Disputed points in the philosophy of Zoology, such as the questions of the real presence of genera and higher groups in nature, and of the origin of species, are indicated by the author with a brief statement of the arguments on both sides, and with a most commendable absence of all appearances of partisanship. On the question of the origin and relationship of man, the author seems inclined to accept the establishment of a distinct order for the reception of the human species, but he decidedly repudiates the notion, advocated not long since by some writers, that man must be placed in a group apart from all other animal forms. The great antiquity of mankind is of course admitted by the author, but this can hardly be regarded as an open scientific question.

There are some points in the classification adopted by Professor Claus which may perhaps be open to criticism, but in the arrangement of his great groups, which really form the elements of his work, there is nothing to complain of. In one respect he has departed a little from the general practice by elevating the Echinodermata (Star Fishes, Sea Urchins, &c.), to the rank of a distinct type, thus getting rid altogether of that most anomalous group the Radiata, a proceeding which certainly conduces to perspicuity, and will probably be adopted in future. Of these *types* (equivalent to Cuvier's *subkingdoms*), the author admits seven, namely the Protozoa and Cœlenterata below the Echinodermata, and the Vermes, Arthropoda, Mollusca, and Vertebrata above them. This division of the animal kingdom is very generally adopted by modern German zoologists, and will doubtless soon make its way in this country. The characters and structure of these groups, and of their contained classes, are admirably summarized by the author, who also describes the orders and other subordinate groups with more brevity, the

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<sup>6</sup> "Grundzüge der Zoologie zum Gebrauche an Universitäten und höheren Lehranstalten." Von Dr. Carl Claus. Marburg: 1868, N. G. Kiewert. 8vo. Pp. 639.



families being usually very shortly characterized with indications of a few of the most abundant and best known forms. Under each group the chief works in which it is treated of, are indicated. This is a very valuable aid to the student, but in some cases we notice the omission of important memoirs.

In our last number we had occasion to notice the publication by Mr. Hardwicke of a "Handy Book" to the collection of the lower forms of plants, and this is now followed by Messrs. Reeve and Co. with a Manual of British Sea-weeds, by Mr. S. O. Gray.<sup>7</sup> A member of a family which may almost be considered as having achieved a dynastic position in the history of biological science, Mr. Gray has evidently felt himself bound to endeavour, by careful and painstaking work, to produce a result creditable to the name he bears, and although his book forms one of a series of popular manuals, it will be found from the conscientious manner in which it is executed, a very useful companion even for somewhat advanced students. The effect of its being intended for the use of general readers is perceptible chiefly in the introductory chapters relating to the characters and physiology of the Algæ; these, although giving a sufficiently clear account of the general phenomena, are necessarily confined to a mere sketch. The descriptive portion, however, which constitutes the great bulk of the volume, is exceedingly good, and as a synopsis of the British Marine Algæ leaves nothing to be desired. The authorities for the generic and specific names, with a few synonymic indications, are given in the form of a classified list at the beginning of the book, and a good glossary of the commonest scientific terms at its end, and the work is illustrated with a series of sixteen beautifully executed plates by Mr. Fitch, which will materially assist the beginner in finding his way through the first difficulties of investigating the interesting plants here described.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**T**HE moral of Mr. Motley's "History of the United Netherlands" will be found in a passage in one of the new volumes of that history:<sup>1</sup>—"A great principle—the relation of man to his Maker, and his condition in a future world as laid down by rival priesthoods—has in almost every stage of history had power to influence the multitude to fury and to deluge the world in blood." Mr. Motley's narrative is thus one long argument for the subordination of the spiritual to the

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<sup>7</sup> "British Sea-weeds: an Introduction to the Study of the Marine Algæ of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands." By Samuel Octavius Gray. 8vo. London: L. Reeve and Co. 1867.

<sup>1</sup> "History of the United Netherlands. From the death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609." By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, author of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic." In four volumes. Vols. 3 and 4. 1590—1600. With portraits. London: John Murray. 1867.

temporal power, for the extinction of the material power of the priesthood, for the separation of the Church from the State, for the principle of self-government in opposition to the despotic rule of monarchs or oligarchs. The despotism of Philip II., the evil genius of this drama, approached perfection. The whole machinery of society, political, ecclesiastical, and military, was set in motion by his single hand. In the famous edict of 1568 he sentenced every man, woman, and child in the Netherlands to death. By the aid of the Council of Blood and of the sheriffs and executioners of the Holy Inquisition, he was able sometimes to put eight hundred human beings to death in a single week, and at the end of half-a-dozen years he could boast of having strangled, drowned, burnt, or beheaded somewhat more than eighteen thousand of his fellow-creatures, exclusive of those who perished in siege and battle, and those who were destroyed in other periods of his reign. By the system of confiscation which he set up in the Netherlands he reduced countless families to beggary. In 1596 he committed a gigantic fraud, which caused indignation and despair in every country town, palace, and cottage of Christendom. He repudiated all his debts, renounced all his contracts, and finally took again into his own possession the royal domains and public property pledged for moneys advanced him to merchants, bankers, and other companies or individuals. All this was done, and much more than this, in the interests of religion, to extirpate heresy and make himself the sovereign of one undivided universal Catholic monarchy. Yet with all the splendid resources which he commanded he failed in this object—signally and disgracefully failed. In the Netherlands, in England, in France he saw himself defeated, and his policy baffled and reversed. In this battle against human liberty, Philip found his most formidable opponents in the people of the United Provinces. The territory of the Netherlands, though narrow and meagre, when it was made the land of freedom, became, in spite of the miseries and devastations of war, a populous and prosperous land. Industry was rapidly developed; the towns were filled to overflowing; the persecuted artisans of the southern provinces took refuge in the free provinces of the north; the long-continued struggle ended in the triumph of the Commonwealth over the Monarchy, and of human rights over theological pretensions. In the revolution which thus created the great Netherland Republic, Mr. Motley attributes a prominent part to the burghers, a class which is not always distinguished by a passionate love of liberty. Among these burgher statesmen, John of Olden-Barneveld, after the death of William the Silent and the departure of Lord Leicester, presided with great sagacity over the destinies of Holland. To trace the course of Mr. Motley's narrative would be impossible. We can only indicate its sweep. In the two volumes now before us we have an account of the great events comprised between the years 1590 and 1609. The battle of Ivry, the siege of Paris, the career of Prince Maurice, Philip's attempts at the invasion of England, the Nieuport campaign, the sieges of Ostend and of Grave, the descent of Spinola on the Netherland frontier—his subsequent victories, the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Moluccas, and the close of the great war, which

had lasted nearly forty years, in the dismal swamps of Zutphen, are here recorded with that facile expansion of material and vivacious picturesque expression which make Mr. Motley's pages so attractive. We could wish that his narrative were less diffuse, and that his language were sometimes less figurative and less colloquial. The volumes, however, are excellent reading as they are; rich in striking and instructive incident or curious episodical matter. The chapter recording the maritime explorations of the Dutch and the adventures of their sailors in frozen regions is a very pleasing one, doing justice as it does to the heroes whose province was the discovery of new land and of new truth about the world in which we live. Our readers will be pleased to learn that Mr. Motley is now engaged in writing a history of the 'Thirty Years' War, "the natural complement" to his two previous works.

In the migrations and settlements of the Huguenots, Mr. Smiles has found an appropriate subject.<sup>2</sup> Read after Mr. Motley's volumes the work in which the fortunes of these victims of royal and ecclesiastical persecution are detailed is a further exemplification of the impolicy of Spanish, French, and Romish despotism. The two great religious persecutions forced two great waves of foreign population from the Continent into England. Flying from the tyranny of Philip, and protected in England by Elizabeth, the Flemish merchants, clothiers, lacemakers, workers in iron and steel, brought their skill and their labour hither, introducing new branches of industry, and increasing the wealth and prosperity of the country. In London no fewer than 10,000 foreign artisans were resident in the year before the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The number of French manufacturers and workmen that fled into England in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, is estimated at 100,000. "The paper-makers of Angoumois left their mills, the silk-makers of Touraine left their looms, and the tanners their pits; the vine-dressers and farmers of Saintonge, Poitou, and La Rochelle left their vineyards, their farms, and their gardens, and rushed out into the wide world, seawards, for a new home and a refuge where they might work and worship in peace." Mr. Smiles has written an entertaining narrative of these migrations and settlements, beginning with the rise of the Huguenots, and taking us back to that remote period in history when the early industry of England was almost entirely pastoral. He has shown us the landings at Sandhurst, Rye, and Dover, the cloth-making and gardening of the Elizabethan immigrants; he has related the story of the dragonnades, the persecutions of the Huguenots, the work done by the settlers in England as artisans, as officers in the army, as men of science and learning. He notices further—what Macaulay, it seems, has omitted to notice—the probable, if not certain presence of Huguenot soldiers in the army of William when he landed at Torbay. The expedition included three entire regiments of French

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<sup>2</sup> "The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland." By Samuel Smiles, author of "Self-Help," "Lives of the Engineers." London: John Murray. 1867.

infantry, numbering 2250 men, and a complete squadron of French cavalry, the flower of the little army, as Mr. Smiles believes, thus consisting of Huguenot soldiers trained under Schomberg, Turenne, and Condé. In time the descendants of these refugees became notable persons. The original Laurent de Bouveryes is represented in our own time by the Earl of Radnor; the name of the Hugessens is borne by the ancient family of Knatchbull; the Houblons gave the Bank of England its first governor; the Van Sittarts, the Van Milderdt, the Laboucheres, the Romillys, are the progeny of Huguenots. Father Newman, Dr. Pusey, Mr. James Martineau, and Mr. Grote, all trace their descent to these Protestant refugees. Grinling Gibbons, the wood sculptor; Mark Gerrard, the portrait painter; Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect and playwright; Richard Cosway, and Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and Westerdike, the engineers, were all of Flemish origin. Traces of their foreign derivation lingered about the descendants of the exiles. At Portarlinton the old French of Louis Quatorze long continued to be spoken in society, and the old French service was read in church down to the year 1817. With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Mr. Smiles considers that a new epoch began—the epoch of mental stagnation, political depravity, religious hypocrisy, and moral decay. He considers the Revolution of 1789 the legitimate successor of 1685, and sees in the *noyades* of the royalists a repetition of the *dragonnades* of the Huguenots. Perhaps he goes too far in saying that but for the expulsion of the Protestants in the seventeenth century the catastrophe of the eighteenth would not have occurred; but it would possibly have come in a milder form, and the horrors of the Reign of Terror might have been spared.

In the new volume of Mr. Joseph Stevenson's *Calendar*<sup>3</sup> of State Papers, relating to the reign of Elizabeth, we still find traces of the Huguenot movement. In 1562, the year with which it begins and ends, Louis de Bourbon assumed the command of the Huguenot army, and D'Andelet sought assistance for the cause in Germany. The volume contains information respecting the affairs of France, Scotland, Germany, and Spain—not always of importance. A series of despatches relates to the illness of Don Carlos, and some papers are pronounced by the editor worthy of notice as illustrative of the progress of maritime discovery, commerce, and colonisation.

Mr. Rawdon Brown gives us a second volume of the *Venetian Calendar*, in the compilation of which he has been aided by the late director of the archives in Venice, Count Gerolamo Antonio Dandolo, the last male heir of his illustrious house. The new volume refers to the period following the death of Henry VII., which "is nearly coincident with the commencement of what has been called the diplomatic period of European

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<sup>3</sup> "Calendar of State Papers; Foreign series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562, &c." Edited by Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.

history."<sup>4</sup> \* In an able preface the editor touches on the league of Cambray, the siege and destruction of Terouenne, the battle of Flodden, the election of king of the Romans, the intrigues of Rome and of England, with the warlike events and diplomatic negotiations elucidated in the papers contained in his volume. In the year 1519, when preparations were making for a great invasion of France by England and Spain, a demand for 25,000 oxen for the use of the troops caused a rise in the price of beef of 300 per cent. From a penny, the pound of meat rose to threepence, a curious detail, as Mr. Rawdon Brown remarks, at this time, when our attention has been so painfully drawn by a recent calamity to the statistics of our agricultural stocks.

In the preface to a fresh instalment of another Calendar of State Papers, Mr. John Bruce observes that we have now reached that period in the reign of Charles I. in which the affairs of the administration were most prosperous.<sup>5</sup> The mode of government during this period was of the simplest kind; it was, says the editor, "the English constitution with that which was supposed to give it all its life and vigour—the Parliament—struck out." The Charles of 1637 is described as versed in business, constant in his attendance at the council, and controlling its decisions with a lofty regal peremptoriness. The abstracts which make up the present volume give abundant illustrations of the ship-money impost, and its mode of collection, show us Laud still active and energetic, elucidate passages in the life of the Marquis of Worcester and Lord Falkland, and describe the visit of the king and queen to the Archbishop at Oxford, and the royal reception in the University.

A third collection of the papers edited under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, contains the Chronicles of St. Albans, or rather a portion of them—A.D. 1290-1349.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Riley is of opinion that the second section of these Chronicles was compiled by William Rishanger. The third section is avowedly Thomas Walsingham's own compilation. The Latin text is not rendered into English. The volume now before us is the second of the series. It continues the history of the Abbots of St. Albans from the election and benediction of John de Berkhamstead, twenty-fifth abbot, to the earlier years of the rule of Thomas de la Mare, thirtieth abbot, elected in 1349.

<sup>4</sup> "Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy." Vol. II. 1509-1519. Edited by Rawdon Brown. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.

<sup>5</sup> "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II., 1686-1687. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office." Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.

<sup>6</sup> "Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancte Albani à Thomas Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo ejusdem ecclesie precentoræ compilatæ." Edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law. Vol. II. A.D. 1290-1349. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans and Co. 1867.

These annals of the monastery in the olden days are in curious contrast to the Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, in our own anti-mediæval times.<sup>7</sup> In a new volume of the continuation of the former series we find fresh evidences of the sagacity and industry of the statesman-soldier. An analytical table of contents, alphabetically arranged, will assist the inquirer in his search of any given subject from Mr. Adolphus to the Duke of York. The documents relate to transactions which extend over a period of three years from January, 1823, to December, 1825. They embrace numerous topics, the boundary of British North America, the recall of Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India, the British Army, the South American question, the Congress of Verona, the political proceedings of Chateaubriand, oyster fisheries, Foreign Enlistment Act, Greece, Turkey, Hanover, Egypt, Mexico, Russia, the insurrection at Demerara, the Ordnance Department, Spain, Ireland, and the Roman Catholic question. A long memorandum closes the volume, in which the duke expresses the opinion that the laws imposing disabilities upon the Roman Catholics in Ireland have not answered their purpose, but on the other hand declares that he has no hope that the consequences of the repeal of those laws will be beneficial, though that repeal appeared to him to be inevitable.

Two works that relate to Ireland may be appropriately mentioned in this place. Mr. Madden's "History of Irish Periodical Literature"<sup>8</sup> is introduced by a preface of eighty-two pages, containing a bitterly-written indictment of English misrule. The account of early printing in Ireland, and the notices of Irish newspapers, may be commended to the attention of special inquirers, in particular to that of Mr. Alexander Andrewes, the historian of British journalism, who appears to have fallen into certain errors on the subject, but it will hardly attract the general reader. The work we have bracketed with it, "Ireland before the Union, with extracts from the unpublished diary of John Scott, Earl of Clonmel, and Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, 1771-1798," is intended by Mr. Fitzpatrick as a sequel to the "Sham 'Squire" and the informers of the last-mentioned year; and in its picturings of quaint, uncouth, eccentric, and sometimes utterly objectionable modes of human existence, is at once slightly amusing and somewhat repulsive.<sup>9</sup>

In Germany Herr Klopp is just as dissatisfied with Prussia as in Ireland Mr. Madden is dissatisfied with England. The new pamphlet

<sup>7</sup> "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G." In continuation of the former series. Vol. II. London: John Murray. 1867.

<sup>8</sup> "The History of Irish Periodical Literature from the end of the Seventeenth to the middle of the Nineteenth Century, its Origin, Progress, and Results, with Notices of Remarkable Persons connected with the Press of Ireland during the past Two Centuries." By Richard Robert Madden, M.R.I.A., author of "Life and Correspondence of Lady Blessington." Vols. I. and II. London: Newby. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "Ireland before the Union," &c. By H. J. Fitzpatrick, J.P., Biographer of Bishop Doyle, Lord Cloncurry, Lady Morgan, &c. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Dublin: W. B. Kelly. London: John Camden Hotten. 1867.

on Roman policy is the sequel to a similar brochure which appeared a few weeks ago on Frederick II.<sup>10</sup> The mischievous effects of the system entitled Fredericianism are set forth at great length by the author. The genius for action which Prussia possesses is eminently dangerous. In their admiration of this genius superficial judges overlook the objects of Prussian activity. The centralizing military despotism of Prussia is in direct opposition to the spirit of federation which distinguishes the German States. The Frederician policy is morally and philosophically wrong. Antichrist is not yet come, but the Roman empire, which was to last till he came, is gone; and Fredericianism, a near relation of Antichrist's, is already on the scene. On the other hand Austria, that granite-conglomerate of states, presents the conditions of healthy political existence. It is true she suffers at present from a slight indisposition, but a rational treatment will soon restore the temporary patient, and her vigorous constitution will favour the development of true human freedom. This curious tract is a sort of Anti-Hohenzollern and Pro-Hapsburg manifesto.

The maritime policy of the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth century was less successful than that of their rivals in the nineteenth. The attempt to form a marine on the coast of the Baltic in the early part of the Thirty Years' War, has been described by Herr Reichard, whose researches have been assisted by Droysen, a celebrated professor in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> The monograph, which must have cost its author much trouble, is based on old records preserved in the principal seats of the Hanseatic Union in North Germany. It discusses in three chapters—the preliminary proceedings, the Baltic projects, and the miscarriage of the scheme, with the reasons of that miscarriage. The relations of the different maritime powers of Holland, England, Spain, France, Denmark, and the political combinations of the time, are also delineated therein. The author's conclusion is that though the policy was not without certain apparent advantages, the development of German commerce under the protection of the House of Hapsburg would have taken a direction unfavourable to the interests of the nation. In the opposition of the Swedes to the existence of another power he sees further, the incidence of a formidable blow, from which the imperial house never entirely recovered.

The deplorable disaster which has befallen that house through the ill-advised enterprise of the mischief-making Emperor of the French, sent a thrill of horror and pity through Europe.<sup>12</sup> In a pamphlet carefully written by Mr. Stephenson, twenty years a resident in Mexico, he does not attempt to justify so much as to apologize for and palliate the merciless retaliation of the Mexican people. His apology is a narrative of facts, and his defence is implied in the

<sup>10</sup> "Die Preussische Politik des Fredericianismus nach Friedrich II." Von Ouno Klopp. Schaffhausen: Nurter. 1867.

<sup>11</sup> "Die Maritime Politik der Hapsburger in siebzehnten Jahrhundert." Von Konrad Reichard. Berlin: Herz. 1867.

<sup>12</sup> "Maximilian's Execution Discussed in a Brief Review of Mexican History." By Edmund Stephenson (Twenty Years Resident in Mexico). London: Effingham Wilson. 1867.

question, Can we venture to say that if we had undergone the same sorrows, losses and privations at the hand of a foreign power, we should have been more generous or merciful than the reviled Mexicans? However much we may condemn the act of the Mexican ruler, we must remember that Maximilian was an intruding foreigner; that the anarchy in which Mexico has been plunged was the work of the faction opposed to that government; that it was that faction, which when ascendant menaced foreigners with death; that the spoliation and murders so much decried were the achievements of the very men who were the auxiliaries of the Imperial Government; that Marquez, one of the Conservative chiefs, was the most sanguinary and unscrupulous of all; and that to these two attached the blame of having taken forcible possession of the 600,000 dollars in the British legation. Maximilian himself issued a cruel decree that all persons taken in arms against his authority should be shot as robbers. One of the first victims of the decree was acting as chief of the Liberal army at Michoacan, General Don Jose Maria Orteaga; General Salazar and a number of other officers followed. While we deplore the execution of Maximilian, we must not forget that the Mexicans had been sorely tried. Twenty thousand men, women, and children had perished in the four great sieges, and Maximilian was the direct visible cause of their sufferings and deaths. Mr. Stephenson is not a mere partisan. He allows and regrets the excesses committed by the Liberals during the protracted contest, while bearing witness to their constancy and valour, and their readiness in restricting the unavoidable evils of war and anarchy. Juarez, he avers, is not a cruel man: Gallarro gave the unhappy Prince a chance of escape. The government of Juarez is the only one that rests on the national will. Juarez is, Mr. Stephenson maintains, patriotic, constant, and upright. The moral tone of the victorious party is improving, and a peaceful and prosperous future is possible for Mexico. The principal apprehension arises from the electoral machinery, which regards all votes as of equal value; but this defect may, he thinks, be modified so as to make the Legislature a fair representation of the wants and interests of the nation. Hoping that Mr. Stephenson's sanguine view may be realized, we heartily recommend his pamphlet to the notice of our readers.

Our library has so little of a common character that we are compelled to leap from Mexico in the nineteenth century to Egypt long centuries before Christ,<sup>13</sup> for our report of the "Oldest Texts of the Book of the Dead," edited by the celebrated R. Lepsius. The work before us consists of two portions. We have first an introductory essay on the character and bibliography of the "Todtenbuch," and secondly we have forty-three plates containing the hieroglyphical inscriptions found on the sarcophagi of the old Egyptian kingdom, and now preserved in the Museum at Berlin. These inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Lepsius, directly from the sarcophagi, and are

<sup>13</sup> "Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs nach Sarkophagen des Alt-Ägyptischen Reichs in Berliner Museum. Herausgegeben von R. Lepsius. Einleitung und 43 Tafeln." Berlin: Wilhelm Herz. 1867.



reproduced in red and black cartoons in the plates before us. The *Todtenbuch*, we learn from the preface, is in the opinion of the learned editor, a collection of sacred Texts, which refer generally to the same subject—the state of the dead. It is a part of the sacred literature ascribed to Thoth-Hermes, the God of Wisdom and Erudition, but belonged to the Hieratic books of the prophets, and was not, as has been supposed, a manual for the use of the priests who officiated at interments. The book, which has an essentially practical character, consists of passages relating to the resurrection, the judgment, and the life in the other world. It was designed to inform the pious man, who was sincerely concerned for the salvation of his soul, what he ought to know on earth, and how he ought to prepare for death. The interest of these “Texts” is twofold. The Berlin sarcophagi, seven in number, of which five are perfect and two fragmentary, are referred with two exceptions to the Theban department of the old Egyptian kingdom, and are accompanied with a hieroglyphic text, containing the oldest redaction of separate portions of the “*Todtenbuch*.” A second interest arises from a kind of frieze, representing sacred and profane objects running over the inscriptions, with their names attached, furnishing an important addition to the hieroglyphical dictionary, whose value is further enhanced through the high antiquity of the delineation.

Our next work finds us in a less shadowy land of the remote past. Mr. Rawlinson, always a painstaking and interesting writer, in his concluding volume of the “*Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*,”<sup>14</sup> has given us a valuable sketch of Persia, the fifth monarchy. The first three chapters describe the extent of the empire, climate and productions, character, manners and customs, and dress of the people, in an intelligent and agreeable way. In the fourth chapter the author (in discussing the language and writing of the Persians), after reminding us that their language, which was nearly identical with that of the Medes, belonged to the form of speech known to moderns as Indo-European, remarks:—“Of the old Persian language, the known roots are almost without exception kindred forms to roots already familiar to the philologist through the Sanscrit or the Zend, or both, while many are of that more general type of which we have spoken, forms common to all or most of the varieties of the Indo-European stock.” In the inflections of substantives the ancient Persians recognised six cases. Adjectives followed the inflections of nouns. The verb had three voices, active, middle, and passive; pronouns had in certain cases an enclitic form, wherein they could be attached to almost any kind of word. The ordinary rules of Indo-European syntax were observed in the old Persian. The common Persian writing was the same as that of the Medes, a cuneiform

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<sup>14</sup> “*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; or, the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia, collected and illustrated from ancient and modern sources.*” By George Rawlinson, M.B., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. With maps and six hundred and fifty woodcuts. In four volumes: Vol. 4. London: John Murray. 1867.

alphabet, in which thirty-six forms, expressive of twenty-three distinct sounds, sufficed for the wants of the people. Writing was from left to right. The Persian writing which has come down to us is almost entirely upon stone; the inscriptions, covering a space of at least a hundred and eighty years, commencing with Cyrus and terminating with Artaxerxes Ochus, the successor of Mnemon. In the chapter on *Architecture* Mr. Rawlinson describes the Great Pillared Halls which constitute the glory of Arian architecture, especially the Chehl Minar or Great Hall of Xerxes, which Mr. Fergusson is inclined to compare for linear dimensions, style, and effect with Milan cathedral, which covers 107,800 feet. Further remarks follow on Persian sculpture, coins, and gems. The skill of the old Persians in mechanical art is placed low, while to science they contributed absolutely nothing. The Persians were keen-witted, lively and ingenious, courageous, energetic, and remarkably truth-loving men. In this last respect they form an honourable exception to the ordinary Asiatic character. In the *Zendavesta* truth is strenuously inculcated. "Ahura Mazda himself is true, the father of all truth, and his worshippers are bound to conform themselves to his image." The main feature of the Persian religion in its oldest and purest form was the acknowledgment and worship of this single Supreme God in conjunction with the acknowledgment, though without worship, of a principle of evil—Angro-Maniyus. Ahura-Mazda was designated the Lord God of Heaven, maker of heaven and earth, disposer of thrones and dispenser of happiness. His supremacy was from first to last admitted, though there was still a general recognition of the existence and protecting power of inferior deities. The Persian religion was thus almost as monotheistic as that of Catholic Christians. Its spirit, moreover, was severely iconoclastic. Mr. Rawlinson tells us in his striking chapter on this subject that it was during this time of comparative purity, when the anti-idolatrous spirit was in full force, that a religious sympathy seems to have drawn together the two nations of the Persians and the Jews, and he adds, that Cyrus evidently identified Jehovah with Ormazd, and accepting as a divine command the prophecy of Isaiah, undertook to rebuild their temple for a people who, like his own, allowed no image of God to defile the sanctuary. The last chapter of this history of the Fifth Monarchy is chronological and historical. Mr. Rawlinson tells an oft-told tale in his own highly respectable way, differing where he sees fit to do so with authorities like Dr. Thirlwall and Mr. Grote. With Mr. Grote, indeed, he differs pretty frequently, sometimes not unreasonably, perhaps, as in his estimate of Alexander's expedition, and on the question of the madness of Cambyses. There is a valuable note at the end of the volume, from which it appears that a tablet has recently been discovered recording a solar eclipse in the ninth year of Asshur-damir-il II., and supposed to be the same with the total eclipse which astronomers affirm was visible in Assyria, and indeed all over Western Asia, on June 5, B.C. 763. "This discovery," contends our author, "gives a certainty equal to that possessed by astronomical science to the whole range of Assyrian chronology from B.C. 909 to B.C. 665." In another note Mr. Rawlinson corrects a doubtful reading in his [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. I. T

second volume, "Ainab of Samhala" into "Ahab of Jezreel," and thus advances the first known contact between the Assyrians and Israelites from the accession of Jehu ab. B.C. 841 to the last year or the last year but one of Ahab, B.C. 853). These historical and chronological corrections should be submitted to discussion and thoroughly scrutinized before they are finally accepted; but there is some probability that they are real discoveries.

The early history of Rome is as difficult to decipher as the tablets of Assyria. Distinguished writers, Niebuhr, Arnold, Sir Cornwall Lewis, Schwegler, and Mommsen, reject the so-called Regal history wholly or in great part. Their incredulity, however, has not prevented some of these learned men from attempting to recast the traditions preserved through the dark ages of Rome, and extract the truth imbedded in them. To this procedure one of the number, Sir G. C. Lewis, demurs, insisting that we must either accept the story as it stands or abandon it as a romance. Mr. Dyer, in his "History of the Kings of Rome,"<sup>15</sup> is at issue with both the conjectural historians who reconstruct a new edifice out of the materials of the edifice they have destroyed, and with the extreme sceptics who, like Sir G. C. Lewis, consider that Rome's early history rests mainly on oral tradition. With competent knowledge of the authorities appealed to by his opponents, he questions the soundness of their conclusions. Conjectural history is so precarious a composition that it is not wonderful if our conservative critic sometimes detects incongruities and contradictions in the speculations of his natural enemies, the impugnors of Roman primitive history, though we are by no means sure that he is always in the right. Unhappily four of his five principal opponents are beyond the reach of all argument, and cannot reply to the fierce and vehemently-worded attacks that he has made on them. The great double objection to the credibility of the primitive history which Mr. Dyer defends lies in the impossibility or improbability of the events, and on the alleged absence of contemporary evidence. Sir G. C. Lewis and others assert that if any authentic records of the ancient institutions of Rome ever existed, they had for the most part perished in the Gallic conflagration and through other casualties, before the second Punic war. Livy tells us that this was really the case. But it is observable that he does not say that *all* the ancient records perished, but only the greater part of them. Accordingly, Mr. Dyer maintains that among those that did not perish were the *Annales Maximi*, and he quotes Cicero for a proof of the existence of these documents. It would certainly seem from the passage cited that certain old records bearing this name existed in Cicero's time, but whether the series extended beyond the year 404 B.C., the supposed year of the eclipse mentioned by that writer, is doubtful. The testimony of Clodius, on the other hand, to the falsification of the old records of the city, even supposing him to include the *Annales Maximi*, which he does not specify, is, in our

<sup>15</sup> "The History of the Kings of Rome, with a Prefatory Dissertation on its Sources and Evidence." By Thomas Henry Dyer, LL.D. of the University of St. Andrews. London: Bell and Daldy. 1860.

opinion, unsatisfactory. Again, it must be conceded to the sceptical school that Livy, who if these annals existed would surely have consulted them, gives no indication of his acquaintance with them. Mr. Dyer cites evidence favourable to the conservative view; but though favourable, so far as it goes, it is scarcely such as will convince the historical sceptic. Then, even if we admit, what on the whole it is reasonable to admit, that the annals reach up to about the time of the Gallic conflagration, we cannot be sure that they reach beyond that time, nor can we ascertain what was the precise nature of these and other records that survived the fire. "The most ancient materials for Roman history," says Sir G. C. Lewis, "were doubtless unconnected stories, notes of legal usages and of constitutional forms and other entries in the Pontifical books." Both the sceptical and the credulous historian are pretty closely agreed on this point. Some historical facts in the regal period, then, must surely be registered in Dionysius or Livius. But disjointed memoranda are not a history, and the Livian paraphrase, modelled after Fabius Pictor and other myth-reporting historiographers, is such a legendary mosaic that it is difficult to say, when we have removed the palpably impossible, what is the residuum of truth which we are to expect. All agree in rejecting what we have called the impossible; most agree in rejecting the highly improbable; but the less improbable and the probable are the subject of incessant debate. The foundation legend of Rome was, Mr. Dyer allows, invented, but he thinks the belief in the apotheosis of Romulus originated at the time of his death. He argues that the Sabine rape may not be altogether mythical; he gives up the story of Numa's birthday as a fable; he is willing to understand the conspiracy of the sons of Ancus as an attempt of the patricians to get rid of the Tarquinian dynasty; he even admits the presence of a symbolical element in at least one of these stories, while contending for the existence of all the seven kings of Rome and the authenticity of the outline as a whole. He struggles hard to substantiate the reality of the first two kings of Rome. Schwegler impugns the actual existence of Romulus, a god and a son of a god, and Numa, a mortal, but married to a goddess. After all that Mr. Dyer has written, we still find the improbable where he finds the probable, and we are not at all convinced that Romulus ever did exist, or that his regal chronology can be accepted as probable. His king Romus is little better than the old Romulus, and the quintuple confusion, Romus, Remus, Romulus, Rhamnes, Roma, makes us feel as though we had lost our way in a pathless wood. His vindication of a Greek formula for Rome has something to be said for it, but does not coerce our judgment. With regard to the admittedly-probable element in the history or legend of Rome, something might be written, starting from the admissions of Sir G. C. Lewis and Schwegler, with a view to ascertaining what materials could fairly be got out of this history that all might be willing to receive, and how far these materials would be available for the construction of a true story, not on the typical or divination process, but on a positive or matter-of-fact procedure. Mr. Dyer's laborious essay should be consulted by all who are disposed to make

the attempt, and welcomed as a contribution towards the possible solution of this unsettled question, though we are not sanguine as to the success of the enterprise.

Who was Junius? is another of those unsettled questions that may now perhaps be dismissed as sufficiently settled, or as absolutely insoluble. To the evidence adduced by Lord Macaulay we may now add that accumulated by the late Mr. Joseph Parkes.<sup>16</sup> This evidence is not indeed of a direct character, but depends, as Mr. Merivale, the editor and continuator of Mr. Parkes's book, observes, on the extraordinary number of convergent lines of reasoning, all tending in the same direction, and still more, perhaps, in the total absence of anything like disproof. Part of this evidence consists in the indications afforded by Sir Philip Francis of the existence of a guarded mystery, of a secret to be anxiously and carefully preserved. His was a mind habitually and excessively fearful of detection. Occasional conversational expressions, critical passages in his papers cancelled or cut out with scissors, comparison of statements in letters, the exhibition of a knowledge of a certain kind, limited by the years Francis had numbered, supply a very strong constructive argument that the author of these celebrated letters was none other than Sir Philip. The work in which this fresh evidence will be found is not a formal discussion of the authorship, but a comprehensive biography of the assumed writer of those letters. The greater part of the first volume was written by Mr. Parkes, and consists of a life of Francis down to 1768, "including a most minute and searching enquiry into his probable authorship of most of the political correspondence of the *Public Advertiser* to that date. This brings us down to the Junius period. For that period Mr. Merivale has examined an abundance of materials collected by Mr. Parkes, and has compressed into proportionate bulk the ample materials left by Francis himself. The result is a comprehensive and valuable "Life" of a remarkable man, which if sometimes tedious and wanting concentration, contains much that is illustrative of the times, supplies a fund of political information, instructs us by judicious comment, and entertains us with piquant reflections, ingenious aphorisms, or striking personal narrative. Sir Philip Francis, born in 1740, was the son of the Rev. Dr. Philip Francis, the translator of Horace and Demosthenes, an epicurean and even free-thinking clergyman. On leaving St. Paul's School, Philip, through his father's interest with Lord Holland, obtained an appointment as clerk in the Secretary of State's office. At nineteen years of age he accompanied General Bligh to the French coast; and before twenty he took part in Lord Kinnoul's mission to the Portuguese court. In the same year (1760) he acted as occasional amanuensis to Lord Chatham, and in 1763 became first clerk in the War-office. In 1773, after his return from a continental tour, Francis accepted the appointment of member of the new Council of India, with a salary of 10,000*l.* a year. While in India he had a

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<sup>16</sup> "Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B. With Correspondence and Journals." Commenced by the late Joseph Parkes, Esq.; completed and edited by Herman Merivale, M.A. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1867.

severe struggle with Warren Hastings, and ultimately a quarrel, which ended in a duel. In the famous trial of that high-handed Governor-General, the House of Commons refused to allow the name of Francis to be included in the list of the managers of the impeachment, arguing that his personal enmity disqualified him from taking the part of a prosecutor. Among his intimates at this time was Burke, who constantly availed himself of the local knowledge of this bitterest of Hastings' enemies. Afterwards, in the great Whig split, during the excesses of the French Revolution, Burke and Francis took opposite sides, Francis continuing to follow the leadership of Fox. His ambition, however, was disappointed, for when he solicited the office of Governor-General from that statesman during his brief tenure of power in 1806, he was offered the government of the Cape, which he refused to accept. In his later years Sir Philip Francis, who had been presented with a Civil Knight-Companionship of the Order of the Bath by Lord Grenville, lived in close retirement. Sir Philip was twice married. His death took place on December 23, 1818. Sir Philip Francis had a fine but severe taste, and a robust intellect. He was an eminently well-informed man, and his classical attainments were probably superior to those of Charles Fox. An eager, passionate politician, he mingled in every public movement for sixty years. He was distinguished as a debater; he was disinterested in the service of the State; he was sincerely patriotic. But, if we may judge from expressions in his own papers, his was an unsympathetic and unamiable nature. Among all the men of mark whom he knew, there was not one whom he steadily admired, scarcely one whom he did not revile or disparage. Yet this cynical disposition was not incompatible with family affection or practical beneficence to his friends. Neither was Francis an ungenerous man; and, in circumstances in which he might have augmented his wealth at the expense of his conscience, he was singularly free from corruption. His reputation as an author stands or falls with the argument which assumes him to be Junius. Essays, however, or fragments of essays by him will be found in these volumes, which testify to his general ability, his direct grasp of a subject, and his clear discernment of the real issue involved, undistracted by collateral considerations—as in his estimate of the great English revolution under Charles I., and the French tornado of 1789.

The final blast of that terrific storm, in one of its most deadly crises, is the subject of a grave and thoughtful narrative by an extreme Republican author, M. Jules Claretie, "*Les derniers Montagnards.*"<sup>17</sup> In the opinion of their vindicator, the fall of Robespierre, to which this party contributed, was in reality the fall of the Republic. The Thermidorians designed not only to overthrow the "tyrant," but to overthrow popular liberty and right, perhaps in their own interest, perhaps in that of the Bourbons, though the Coming Man proved to be a certain Corsican adventurer, of whose accession to power no one had

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<sup>17</sup> "*Les derniers Montagnards. Histoire de l'Insurrection de Prairial, an III.*" (1795.) D'après les documents originaux et inédits. Par Jules Claretie. Paris: 15, Boulevard Montmartre. 1867.

## *History and Biography.*

witness the race run by horses bred in the Isle of Man, for the silver cup, instituted as a prize by the Great Stanley, James the seventh Earl of Derby.

More purely biographical in its character is a spirited little volume by Mrs. Valentine, a descendant of five generations of seamen, a lady who passed part of her childhood on board Nelson's own ship the "Victory."<sup>23</sup> It is called "Sea Fights," and contains brief descriptions of above thirty of the great deeds achieved by our most renowned captains on the waters from Sluys to Navarino. It seems well suited to the requirements of adventurous boys with a taste for reading.

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<sup>24</sup> "The History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration." By John Clark Marshman. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1867.

Prosper de Barante, whose ancestors were merchants, self-promoted to the rank of territorial proprietors in Auvergne, and who dropped the surname of Brugière to take the name of the estate which they purchased, witnessed and shared the seven successive régimes which have since been the lot of France. Lovingly nursed by his mother, carefully trained and educated by both parents, the youth became a student in the Ecole Polytechnique. Devoted to the natural sciences and disliking mathematics, the boy ran away from school when he was about eighteen, and hid the fact from his parents. After this he led a studious and solitary life, spending a part of each year with his father, who about this time became a widower, and who, in 1802, was made préfet of Genoa. Here Prosper associated with clever and enlightened men, among others with M. Neckker, and enjoyed the sweet and brilliant friendship of his gifted daughter at Coppet. In 1805 he produced his first book. Though it found no favour with the Academy, it has since gone through seven editions, and exhibits, according to M. Guizot, undoubted talent and a genuine power of thought. In the following year the young clerk in the home department, for such was then Prosper de Barante, obtained the appointment of Auditor of State at Berlin. In 1807 we find him holding a similar appointment in Silesia. One of his letters, which had been opened by the Government, and which, if imprudent, betrayed no want of judgment, was the occasion of his recall. He was now nominated to the sous-préfecture of Bressiure, where he cultivated the friendship of Madame de la Rochejacquelein, and listened to a recital of her experiences and those of various Vendéan officers. His narrative of the memoirs of this lady is described by his biographer as a short historical epic, written, as it were, by a companion of the hero. At twenty-six years of age the Emperor made him Préfet of La Vendée. M. de Barante saw, almost from the first, the hollowness of the Imperial system, and the chimerical nature of the schemes of the subjugator of Europe: a man whose vocation was obviously to establish nothing solid and lasting. In 1811 he married Mademoiselle Césarine d'Houtetot, the sister of one of his intimate friends. From 1813 to 1814 he filled the post of préfet in the Loire Inférieur. At an earlier period M. de Barante had predicted the ruin of the Emperor, intoxicated by his victories. "A day will come," he had said to his friends at Bressiure, "when he will attempt the impossible, and fail. Then you will see the Bourbon back again." The day came. The prophet saw his vision realized, and accepted both events. M. de Barante adhered to the House of Bourbon. In 1815-20 we find him privy councillor, superintendent of casual revenue, a member of the chamber of deputies in 1815, and then of the chamber of peers, to which the king summoned him in 1819. His political career terminates with the secession from the Cabinet of the Duc de Richelieu. In 1820 a new epoch of influential activity began, and literature, philosophy, home and foreign history, became his chosen occupation. Among his works may be enumerated "*Histoires de la Convention Nationale et du Directoire Exécutif*," "*Vie Politique de M. Royer-Collard*," "*Reflexions sur les Œuvres Politiques de Jean Jacques Rousseau*," "*Questions Constitutionnelles*," and his great historical work, "*Histoire des Duca de*



Bourgogne." M. de Barante died in November, 1866, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His biographer, who is but a few years younger, claims him for the party of good sense and morality, which is, of course, M. Guizot's own party. We have no room to discuss the question here; but we do not think that the party which claims for itself this title has an adequate conception of the great problems of our time. The memoir which we have just noticed originally appeared in the "Revue des Deux Mondes." The English translation, by the accomplished author of "John Halifax," is the only form in which we know it. It reads like a graceful and happy version.

The principles of the French revolution were held in abhorrence in England. The mob itself was all for Church and State. In Birmingham, the scientific Unitarian, Dr. Priestley, is said to have been disliked not so much for his political principles "as on account of his religious creed, of believing in *one supreme and eternal God*." An account of the riots in which Priestley's philosophical apparatus was destroyed, may be read, with a great deal of curious illustrative matter, in Mr. Langford's "Century of Birmingham Life," a work of which one volume only is yet published. We have found the pictures of life contained in this volume quite as interesting as could be expected.<sup>20</sup> The book is a compilation in which advertisements, paragraphs, and reports, are inserted in chronological order and under different heads, interspersed with explanatory remarks, and forming a sort of continuous if heterogeneous narrative, reflecting each shade of the many-coloured and varied existence during the hundred years ending with 1841. The admirers of the good old times may turn over these entertaining and informing pages and see how like, in many respects, the world's yesterdays in the *Homestead of the sons of Berm* are like its to-days. The food riots of 1867 are paralleled by the tumultuous assemblages all over the country less than a hundred years ago; Birmingham, however, being honourably distinguished by the peaceful conduct of its inhabitants. In 1759, the roughs were excellently represented by the gentlemen, calling themselves *collectors*, stopping stage coaches, plundering lonely travellers, knocking men off their horses, and performing other exploits on the highways. In those days locomotion was slow and sedate. Coaches were advertised to "fly" at the rate of six or eight miles an hour: Sabbatarians stood up for their bitter observance practices; incendiaries wrote threatening letters; servants were the greatest plagues of life; spring steel hoops were made in the neatest fashion, and at the lowest prices. How should we like to have lived in the days of impassable roads and "Brummagem" coinage, perpetual robberies, and perpetual hangings? in the days when an exacting post-mistress required a halfpenny for every letter that she delivered, or in the days when meeting-houses were torn down, gentlemen's houses fired, and men paraded the streets armed with bludgeons, and shouting Church

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<sup>20</sup> "A Century of Birmingham Life; or, a Chronicle of Local Events from 1741 to 1841." Compiled and Edited by John Alfred Langford. Vol. I. Birmingham: Osborne. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1868.

and King? Bad as our own times are, it would be difficult to find better. Birmingham life, however, does not exemplify only the dark side of human nature. In Birmingham, Priestley earned the title of the founder of pneumatic Chemistry; in Birmingham James Watt perfected the steam engine, and Matthew Boulton exhibited his indomitable energy; in Birmingham, William Murdock invented lighting by gas, and Attwood, Scholefield, and their compeers, supported the movement which ended in the Reform Bill of 1832. In short, Mr. Langford has shown that Birmingham, with a name that has an antiquity of 800 years or more, has been honourably distinguished in the various aspects of thought and action from the year 1741, when it was a little hardware village, down to the present time when it has become in reality the "Midland Capital of the realm."

More than thirty years before the period at which Mr. Langford commences his century of Birmingham life, was born in the parish of Rothiemay, in Banffshire, the Shepherd Astronomer, James Ferguson.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Henderson has printed Ferguson's own account of his life, supplemented by an extended memoir, in a handsome volume. His home education, his three months' schooling, his study of the motion of the stars while in the employ of Alexander Middleton and James Glashan, as farm-servant, his instruction by Cautley in Arithmetic, Algebra, and the Elements of Geometry, the kindness shown him by Lady Dipple, his attempt to study medicine, his efforts as a portrait painter, his career as a lecturer, his thirty years' residence in London, are all described in the autobiographical portion of this volume. The second portion of the work, the extended memoir, is long and elaborate. With biographical notices, the author has connected an explanatory memorandum detailing and explaining Ferguson's various mechanical inventions, and accompanying his commentary with numerous illustrative engravings. To a mechanical student these elucidations may be very attractive; but the lay reader will hardly find his idea of a biography realized in Dr. Henderson's diagrams and explanations. The chief merit of this remarkable man is that of a diffuser of scientific knowledge. A popular writer, he has, as Sir David Brewster tells us, illustrated the discoveries of others, and accommodated them to the capacities of his readers. Ferguson was no mathematician. To the day of his death he never understood Euclid. His genius was that of a scientific contriver and improver. He had a wonderful mechanical talent. It was happy for him that he found in his scientific pursuits occupation and interest, for his domestic life was sad enough. His marriage was a misfortune. His daughter, the secret of whose strange disappearance Dr. Henderson has succeeded in discovering—was unaccountably *lost*,—really inveigled out of her father's house by a "noble lord" and his friends. But we must refer the reader for the particulars of this history to the book itself.

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<sup>21</sup> "Life of James Ferguson, F.R.S., in a brief Autobiographical Account and further extended Memoir." With numerous Notes and Illustrative Engravings. By E. Henderson, LL.D. Edinburgh, London, and Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Co. 1867.

We have a little work now to notice which can scarcely be called historical or biographical, except by courtesy. This work is a fictitious narrative in which most of the *dramatis personæ* are real men and women.<sup>22</sup> This tale of "The Great Stanley, or James seventh Earl of Derby, and his noble Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille, in their land of Man," is interspersed with notices of Manx manners, customs, laws, legends, and fairy tales, and copiously illustrated from Manx scenery and antiquities. It is compiled by the Rev. J. Cumming, the present incumbent of St. John's, Bethnal Green, from official and other documents existing in the Isle of Man. Mr. Cumming, formerly vice-principal of King William's College in that antique-mannered island, where the self-elective Keys of the lower house of the insular legislature have only within the last year been transformed into representatives of the people, is well versed in the archæology of the country which he seeks to illustrate. The story which he has given to the world is probably more interesting from its antiquarian and historical lore than as a miniature novel. We are not so sure that his hero was as deserving of our admiration as his biographer represents. His law for fining and mutilating those who slandered spiritual and temporal authorities, his odious spy-system, the free-quarterage of soldiers on the people, and his assertion of a certain feudal right, which was, in fact, an unsettling of all the landed titles of the island and the regular course of descent of property, incline us to form a less favourable opinion of the great Stanley than that formed by Mr. Cumming. On the other hand, the author does his best to vindicate the popular hero, Iliam Dhone, the victim of a pretended trial instituted to avenge a father's blood by Charles, Earl of Derby. Mr. Cumming argues that in urging the claims of the people on the Countess of Derby, William Christian (for such was the real name of this supposed traitor) was only acting the part which the good Bishop Thomas Wilson acted fifty years after when he obtained from the tenth Earl of Derby, the then lord of the Isle of Man, the famous act of Settlement, which has been called the Manx Magna Charta, wherein his lordship restored to the people their ancient tenures which had been uncertain for near one hundred years. With his narrative Mr. Cumming has gracefully blended allusions to the old traditions and usages of this isle of the sea-kings; to the Tynwald Hill, where the laws were promulgated and state affairs transacted; the Lhaa-Boaldyn, or Day of Baal's Fire, a relic of heathenism celebrated on May day, on the eve of which the mountains blazed with fire, and the children spread primroses and Lent lilies at the doors of the principal houses to prevent the entrance of the fairies. Mr. Cumming, too, has a curious passage in which he traces up the origin of the "Derby" of world-wide fame to a gathering of English exiles on the 28th of July, to

<sup>22</sup> "The Great Stanley, or James Seventh Earl of Derby, and his noble Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille," &c. Copiously illustrated from Manx Scenery and Antiquities. By Alfred D. Lemon and J. T. Blight, &c. By the Rev. J. Cumming, M.A., F.G.S., Incumbent of St. John's, Bethnal Green, London. London: William Mackintosh. 1867.

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and Nagpore, he defends Lord Dalhousie's refusal to commit their government to three lads, on the ground that he was authorized by the ancient law of India, and the order of his superiors in England, to incorporate those States with the territories of the paramount power. Neither was Lord Dalhousie in any way accountable for the mutiny. He protested against the withdrawal of military force from India; he did not create the mutiny by his annexation policy, for with the exception of Oude and Jhansi, none of the annexed provinces turned against us, and the great independent princes, Sindia, Holkar, the Nizam, remained faithful to the British Government throughout. The mutiny he holds, with Sir John Lawrence, had its origin in the army itself, the approximate cause being the cartridge affair and nothing else. Having thus exculpated Lord Dalhousie, our author indicates the many examples of his administration in the organization of public instruction, in the augmentation of its various resources, the increase of its revenue, the improvement of internal navigation, and the construction of roads and canals. In particular he instances the *completion* of the Ganges canal, which equals the aggregate length of all the lines of the four greatest canals in France, and records the exertions made by the Governor-General for securing a system of railroads, thus reinforcing the arguments and efforts of Sir Macdonald Stephenson, Mr. Andrew, and Mr. Chapman, the founder of the Great India Peninsular Railway. Mr. Marshman insists on the inestimable advantage which India derives from her annexation to England. He sums up his estimate of Lord Dalhousie's character and career with the remark, "If he had little imagination for the sensitive feelings of princes who represented ancient and effete dynasties, the absence of it was in some degree compensated by his compassion for their misgoverned subjects, and his administration was distinguished throughout by his incessant efforts to benefit the people, whether in our own territories or independent states."

The last work on our list, "La Révolution Religieuse," by M. Huet, is a welcome testimony to the gradual spread of the profound historical criticism of the great school of Tübingen. Though not a servile follower of Baur, or Zeller, the author in general adopts their results. His treatise is divided into four books. The first sketches the general character of the religious revolution of our time; the different phases of modern criticism as represented by Strauss, Baur, Renan; and examines the sources of the "Life of Jesus." The second book treats of the Jesus of history, according to the conception formed of him by M. Huet. The third narrates the rise and progress of Christianity, does justice to Baur's view of the old Jew Christian party, and to his masterly essay on the Fourth Gospel; and treats of the influence and destiny of this religion. In the fourth and concluding book the author notices the contest between science and orthodoxy, estimates the respective movements which characterize existing Judaism, Protestantism, and Catholicism, and announces the ultimate realization of a philosophical theism, and of an interdependence of nations, constituting one believing and fraternal human family.

## BELLES LETTRES.

NOVELS, like bonnets, have their fashions. For the last four years sensation has been the rage. The feast of reason has consisted of murder, bigamy, and detectives. Now, however, we seem to be on the eve of a change. In the very first novel<sup>1</sup> which we take up, we find the hero making the following avowal—

“I would emphasize the fact that my associations in life were, to a certain extent, amongst intellectual men and refined women, and though I have refrained from depicting drawing-rooms, scenes of luxury and elegance, the rustling of silks, the flutter of fans, the noiseless footfalls of lacqueys on velvet carpets, the clumps of wax lights with their tender-tinted souls, the clink of the Dresden tea-service, or the low buzz of conversation from the lips of lords and ladies lounging on gilt fauteuils, it must not be supposed that such scenes (a little more real, perhaps,) were unknown to me; but as they are described by pens more or less eminent, in almost every novel one takes up, I have confined myself to a portraiture of the more vulgar truth of my working life, and of the events which occurred in my humble home in Mrs. Skinner’s lodgings.”  
—Vol. ii. pp. 291, 292.

Doubtless Mr. Sydney Whiting could describe all this, and make even wax-lights interesting, but if he had done so, we should have missed Mrs. Skinner and The O’Aisey, both of whom would have been a great loss. The last is a real creation, humorous and true to life. The story is not good, looked upon as a story. The scenes are, however, when individually taken, most interesting, because so truthfully drawn. The style, too, is epigrammatic. But though, as we have said, Mr. Whiting’s scenes, especially those of London literary life, are truthfully drawn, yet these last do not convey, in our opinion, the whole truth. The shadows, though deep, are not deep enough. The light is too bright. Not all of us, who are literary men, have, like the hero of Mr. Whiting’s tale, noble relatives and friends who own shooting-boxes. Our luck does not come so easily as his, though we drink the full cup of all his troubles. This is the great fault of all tales of London literary life, even of Thackeray’s “Pendennis.” The world only hears of the successful writers. The great charm, however, of the book is The O’Aisey. He is, so far as we are aware, unique in English literature. And yet every literary man knows some O’Aisey, with his unblushing good-natured impudence, and utter want of all principle and morality. It is difficult to give a fair idea of his character by any amount of extracts. His character, in short, makes the book.

“There are two things impossible to describe, a battle and a ball,” said the Duke of Wellington. We may now add a third—one of Mr. Henry Kingsley’s novels.<sup>2</sup> He possesses a very slight notion of art.

<sup>1</sup> “The Romance of a Garret: a Tale of London Life.” By Sydney Whiting, author of “Helionde,” &c. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.

<sup>2</sup> “Silcote of Silcotes.” By Henry Kingsley. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

His style is of the order which has been well described as that of beginning your sentences yourself, and leaving God Almighty to finish them. We never know what is going to happen. His first chapter in "Silcote of Silcotes" begins with a description of sleeping children and ends with a desperate fight with poachers. And so Mr. Kingsley proceeds in his happy-go-lucky fashion. The only impression left upon our mind by the book is that of a number of words like Cavour, La Marmora, and Fanti, names which, Mr. Kingsley tells us, "sound like the ringing of silver bells;" a great deal of fighting, a man who walks down a thunderstorm, and a princess with a real revolver and the finest sapphire in Europe, who finally goes mad. As Mr. Kingsley with engaging frankness admits, when he comes to the turning point and climax of his story, "it is very difficult to know what to say, and what to leave unsaid. The reader must place himself in the situation." Now, this we hold to be the touchstone of the artist—to know what to say. Mr. Henry Kingsley seldom does know what to say, and either supplies the place of thought with tall talk, or, as in this case, leaves the reader to fill up the blank. The novel, however, certainly cannot be called dull, but its liveliness is not of a high order of art. To us it is refreshing to turn from Mr. Kingsley's wild production to Dr. Norman Macleod's artistic story.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Macleod's style is admirable. He possesses, too, many of the best qualities which make a novelist. His humour springs from the heart. His descriptions of nature show him to be, if not a poet, at least to possess the feelings of a poet. His keen insight and power of analysis enable him to draw not mere stock characters, but real living men and women, like the serjeant and his wife. Scotland, we believe, does not regard novels with peculiar favour. The "Starling" ought, however, not only to overcome their prejudices in this matter, but their narrow-mindedness in some others. In many respects, especially in the way in which he draws the lower Scotch orders, Dr. Macleod reminds us of George Eliot's powers. He has the same gift, if we may so call it, of ventriloquism—of really reporting what people do say. His Scotch, too, is genuine Scotch. But above his artistic power we value the spirit of the tale. Such a story as this, with the fine manly character of the serjeant, ought, in these days of vile sensationalism, to be doubly welcomed. We emphatically commend it to all our readers, with a hope that it may be put in the hands of the young, for its healthy tone and generous sentiments. No one can read it without having their better nature deeply stirred.

In her preface, Mrs. Wood states that "A Life's Secret"<sup>4</sup> does "not appear to me so eligible for republication, as some works that I have written." She, however, republishes it by the request of friends. We know how bad poetry is whenever it is published by request, and how dull sermons are when published under similar circumstances. Mrs. Wood's new novel suffers from the same law. It is as dull as

<sup>3</sup> "The Starling." A Scotch Story. By Norman Macleod, D.D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains. London: Alexander Strahan. 1867.

<sup>4</sup> "A Life's Secret." By Mrs. Henry Wood, author of "East Lynne." London: Charles W. Wood. 1867.

the poetry, and as "goody" as the sermons. The object of her tale is to put down strikes. Mr. Dickens had some idea that his mission was to put down the Court of Chancery, and to reform the New Poor Law Act. How far he has succeeded the world pretty well knows. Mrs. Wood might as well write a little tale about Consul Cameron, Mr. Layard, and Earl Russell, in the hopes of reforming the Foreign Office and making King Theodore listen to reason, as attempt to put an end to strikes by a two-volume novel. Besides, bricklayers do not, as a rule, subscribe to Mudie's, and young ladies, who are the great devourers of Mrs. Wood's novels, do not at present enjoy the suffrage. If Mrs. Wood has anything practical to say about strikes, and will put her views into the form of a pamphlet, we shall be most happy to discuss the matter with her. In the meantime we must decline to go into the question, when the characters and circumstances are merely fictitious, and are made subservient to the author's views and the exigencies of a two-volume novel. Such a statement of the case can be satisfactory to no one. The most sensible thing which we can find is a note appended to one of the chapters, by the editor of the magazine in which the story first appeared. "Working men are perfectly right in combining to seek the best terms they can get, both as to wages and time: provided there be no interference with the liberty either of master or fellow-workmen."—(vol. i. p. 220.) If this view of the case was only borne in mind, we should have a great deal less nonsense talked and written about strikes.

"Life's Masquerade"<sup>5</sup> is not so bad as it at first sight looks. The opening chapters are very weak. At this period of his tale, the author's idea of description appears to be a free use of adjectives, somewhat in this style—"the evening was lovely; the sunset glorious; the deep blue of the eastern sky superb" (vol. i. 26),—and his idea of love, a free use of quotations. But he improves as he goes on. As the plot, too, gradually develops, we become more interested with his characters. The author, however, as in the scene on the icebergs, has evidently sacrificed probability for the sake of heightening the interest. We wish, too, he would not use quite such fine words. With him a clerk never wins at billiards but always "triumphs," and a gentleman does not light but always "ignites" his cigar. The work, too, bears evident marks of hasty writing. We should advise the author, who shows signs of being capable of better things, to try a shorter tale, and rigorously to prune off all incidents which are not actually required for developing either the plot or the individual characters.

Notwithstanding the words "Thomas Speight" on the title page, we are inclined to attribute the authorship of "Foolish Margaret"<sup>6</sup> to a woman. It is a long way in advance of the ordinary circulating library novel. Some of the characters, especially some of the women,

<sup>5</sup> "Life's Masquerade." A Novel. In three volumes. London: Charles W. Wood. 1867.

<sup>6</sup> "Foolish Margaret." A Novel. By Thomas Speight. London: Charles W. Wood. 1867.



are drawn with force. Every now and then, too, we meet with true touches of nature. But as a whole, the tale drags. We become wearied with minute feminine details, which may be interesting enough to the writer, but to nobody else.

It is impossible to criticise Thackeray's "Denis Duval."<sup>7</sup> It would be like criticising some unfinished sketch by a mighty artist, when only the outlines of the figures are given, but where we can still perceive the majesty of the design, and faintly imagine what the beauty would have been when the work was complete. Such a work as this can only be looked upon with reverence and sadness,—reverence for the genius which it shows, sadness because that genius was taken away from us in all its strength. In "Denis Duval" Thackeray had found a new vein. His satire was as strong as when he wrote the first pages of "Vanity Fair," but mellowed by time. Here and there, too, he shows touches of poetry, which is so lacking in his great novel. But criticism is out of place. One thing, however, the notes on "Denis Duval" show, that novel-writing is not the easy matter, even in the case of a master like Thackeray, which it is commonly considered. We would entreat novelists to read the supplement, and consider how carefully Thackeray had collected information upon the minutest points which he was going to touch; how, too, he had made rough sketches of the places which he was about to describe. And if this labour is necessary in the case of Thackeray, how much more so must it be in the case of the ordinary novelist? Thackeray's whole life was spent in a close observation of manners and men. The ordinary novelist sits down to write, without having a conception of what he is going to say. He generally knows neither manners nor men. To fill up three volumes is the height of his ambition. But as we have so often said, to write a good novel requires not merely peculiar genius, but indefatigable industry. Thackeray had both, and hence his success. And here we may take occasion to call attention to the new edition of "Vanity Fair,"<sup>8</sup> which is brought out in its original form, with the original illustrations, at a remarkably cheap price. It is, perhaps, the only novel, with the exception of "Romola," which is likely to endure as long as the English language. Amongst other new editions we must not forget that of "Sir Brook Fossbrooke."<sup>9</sup> The tale read, however, far better as a serial, than it does in its present form.

Poetry seems now to flourish more in the north than in the south of England. Not long ago we noticed an admirable collection of Cumberland ballads, containing two songs by Miss Blamire, which are amongst the most beautiful and pathetic in our language. We have now a small volume by a Cumberland poet,<sup>10</sup> which may be put on the

<sup>7</sup> "Denis Duval." By W. M. Thackeray, author of "Vanity Fair." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1867.

<sup>8</sup> Library Edition of the Works of W. M. Thackeray: "Vanity Fair." Vol. I. Smith, Elder and Co. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "Sir Brook Fossbrooke." By Charles Lever. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1867.

<sup>10</sup> "Songs and Ballads." By John James Lonsdale. With a brief Memoir. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1867.

same shelf with Kirke White. Like Kirke White's, Mr. Lonsdale's life seems to have been marked by pain and disappointment. Like Kirke White, too, he died before his powers were fully developed. A delicate pathos and a vein of humour characterize his best pieces. Here, for instance, is the beginning of "The Shipboy's Letter," which shows one or two very homely and natural touches :

"Here's a letter from Robin, father,  
A letter from o'er the sea,  
I was sure that the spark i' the wick last night  
Meant there was one for me ;  
And I laughed to see the postman's face  
Look in at the dairy park,  
For you said it was so woman-like  
To put my trust in a spark.

"Dear father, and mother, and granny,  
I write on the breech of a gun ;  
And think as I sit at the port-hole,  
And look at the setting sun,—  
Father's smoking his pipe beside you,  
While you 'holy-stone' the porch,  
Or are getting clean rigging ready  
For to-morrow's cruise to church.

"You mustn't be hard on the writing,  
For what with ropes and with tar,  
My fingers wont crook as they ought to,  
And spelling is harder far ;  
And every minute a lurch comes,  
And spoils the looks of my i's ;  
And I blot 'em instead of dot 'em,  
And I can't get my words of a size."

Here again is a stanza of a very different strain, from "Robin's Return"—

"And father said as the carol ceased,  
With a smile nigh like a tear,  
'Christmas will scarce be Christmas, wife,  
If our boy should not be here.'"

The second line is very striking and tender, and will remind the classical reader of *δάκρυον γελασᾶσα*. The other pieces in the volume are very unequal. Many of them should not have appeared. No collection of Cumberland songs will, however, be perfect which does not include the "Shipboy's Letter" and "Robin's Return."

Mr. Lytton's new volume of poems<sup>11</sup> presents many difficulties to a reviewer. Mr. Lytton claims, as he has a right, a careful consideration for a work on which he has bestowed so much pains. "Chronicles and Characters" has in fact cost him no less than seven years' labour. There can be no doubt that Mr. Lytton possesses some of the great requisites for a poet. His ear is good, and his facility is wonderful.

<sup>11</sup> "Chronicles and Characters." By Robert Lytton (Owen Meredith). In two volumes. London : Chapman and Hall. 1868.

But he does not balance these qualities with others, which are still more valuable. He possesses plenty of fancy, but lacks imagination. With all his great gifts, command of language, power of versification and melody, he has but little real originality. He is not so much a copyist, as an adapter. We have read "Thanatos Athanatos" several times. Each reading, however, instead of revealing new beauties, displayed its defects. It read at last like a confusion of Shelley, Goethe, and the author of "Festus." We do not for one moment mean in any way to accuse Mr. Lytton of plagiarism. He simply becomes so imbued with certain tones of thought, that he unconsciously reproduces those tones. And this defect is still more seen in the second volume. To give an example of what we mean, let us take the following very pretty lines:—

"Sometimes 'neath dropping white rose-leaves  
I ride, and under gilded eaves  
Of garden bowers where, plucking flowers  
With scarlet skirts and stiff gold sleeves  
Between green walls, and two by two,  
King's daughters, while just a few  
Faint harps make music mild, that falls  
Like mist from off the ivied walls  
Along the sultry corn, and stirs  
The hearts of far-off harvesters."—(Vol. ii. p. 57.)

No one would here dream of accusing Mr. Lytton of plagiarism,—but still it may well be doubted whether the passage would have been written if Mr. Tennyson had never lived. There is a Tennysonian ring about the lines, and we do not want an echo of Tennyson, but a new voice. So again, take the following dirge, which Mr. Lytton has rightly considered good enough to be republished:—

"Pluck the pale sky-coloured periwinkle,  
That haunts in dewy courts, and shuns the light;  
Gather dim violets and the wild eyebright,  
That green old ruin'd walls doth over-sprinkle;  
And cull, to keep her company  
In death, rue, sage, and rosemary,  
And flowery thyme from the faint bed o' the bee;  
For they when summer's o'er make savour sweet,  
To cherish winter; strew black-spiked clove,  
And mint, and marjoram, to make my love  
A misty fragrance for her winding-sheet;  
But pull not up red tulips, nor the rose,  
For these are haunting flowers that live i' the world's gay shows."  
Vol. ii., pp. 103, 104.

Now these lines are also very pretty, and, if they did not remind us of others, would at once stamp the author as a poet. But unfortunately, they remind us of a dirge by Webster, the Elizabethan dramatist, where, substituting animals for flowers, the same tone of thought is found. Mr. Lytton's poetry will not bear analysis. The lines on "Richelieu" and "A Man of Science," are quite unworthy of their subjects. The book, however, will be most likely popular with the public, whose tastes are not critical. Portions of it may even be read with pleasure. The piece which we like most is "A Great Man."

We know nothing of Sanscrit, and are therefore no judges of the merits of the translation of the *Ritu Sanhara*.<sup>12</sup> The title, it appears, means an Assembly of Seasons, "of which the Hindus reckon six, viz. Summer, Rains, Autumn, Winter, Dew, Spring." The poems are certainly very highly-coloured. Some of the descriptions are, however, striking. Here, for instance, is a picture of spring :—

"Behold the warrior of Spring approach,  
Pointing his arrows with bright mango flowers;  
Whose bowstring's formed of rows of clustering bees,  
To wound all hearts, O loved one, with desire."

And here is another, of autumn :—

"Her lotus face with full-blown Kaças clad,  
Clinking her anklets with a joyful sound,  
'Midst amorous songs of swans; and in her hand  
Holding a wand of half-ripe rice, on which  
Her finely-moulded limbs lean for support—  
Behold the Autumn comes, a lovely bride."

This last personification is quite Spenserian. We may add, that the translator has veiled the most erotic passages in Latin, a plan which we would recommend to Mr. Swinburne's notice.

We need do no more than call attention to the second edition of Dr. Carlyle's prose translation of Dante's *Inferno*.<sup>13</sup> It has long ago taken its place amongst the "classics."

If the Americans go on writing so many excellent treatises on philology, we shall soon have to call the English the American language. The latest American writer<sup>14</sup> on the subject is one of the best. And we have especial reason for giving him commendation when we find him making this statement in his preface :—"The chief matter of theory upon which my opinion has undergone any noteworthy modification is the part to be attributed to the onomatopoeic principle in the first steps of language-making. To this principle, at each revision of my views, I have been led to assign a higher efficiency, partly by the natural effect of a deeper study and clearer appreciation of the necessary conditions of the case, partly under the influence of valuable works upon the subject, recently issued." As the onomatopoeic principle has been so constantly advocated in the pages of this *Review*, we can only congratulate ourselves in finding so able an ally in America as Professor Whitney. His eleventh chapter shows how thoroughly he has grasped the whole bearing of the

<sup>12</sup> "*Ritu Sanhara*; or, Assemblage of Seasons." Ascribed to Kalidasa. Translated into English, from the Sanscrit, for the first time. By Satyam Jayati. London: Williams and Norgate. 1867.

<sup>13</sup> Dante's Divine Comedy: "*The Inferno*." A Literal Prose Translation. With the Text of the Original collected from the best editions, and Explanatory Notes. By John A. Carlyle, M.D. Second Edition. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.

<sup>14</sup> "*Language, and the Study of Language*." Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Instructor of Modern Languages in Yale College. London: W. Trübner and Co. 1867.

question. His remarks upon Professor Max Müller's opposite theory are so much to the point, that we feel we shall be doing a service by giving them the widest circulation that we are able:—

"Professor Max Müller entirely rejects both these (the onomatopoeic and interjectional theories), stigmatizing them as 'the bow-wow theory,' and 'the pooh-pooh theory' respectively, and adopts from a German authority (Professor Heyse, of Berlin), a third, which is abridged from his own statement as follows: 'There is a law which runs through nearly the whole of nature, that everything which is struck rings. Each substance has its peculiar ring. . . . It was the same with man, the most highly organized of Nature's works'—and so on. Man possessed an instinctive 'faculty for giving articulate expression to the rational conceptions of his mind.' But 'this creative faculty, which gave to each conception, as it thrilled for the first time through the brain, a phonetic expression, became extinct when its object was fulfilled.' . . . It is indeed not a little surprising to see a man of the acknowledged ability and great learning of Professor Müller, after depreciating and casting ridicule upon the views of others respecting so important a point, put forward one of his own as a mere authoritative *dictum*, resting it upon nothing better than a fanciful comparison, which lacks every element of a true analogy, not venturing to attempt its support by a single argument, instance, or illustration, drawn from either the nature or the history of language. . . . In effect it explains the origin of language by a miracle, a special and exceptional capacity having been conferred for the purpose upon the first men, and withdrawn again from their descendants."—pp. 427, 428.

We deeply regret that we have not space to quote the whole of Professor Whitney's criticism upon what has been well called the *ding-dong* theory. What we have quoted, will show the general soundness of his views. The whole of his chapter on the origin of language should be attentively studied by all those who are wavering between two opinions. Equally good are his remarks and criticisms upon the growth of the English language, and the grouping of languages by relationship. Professor Whitney always writes with a full command of his subject. If we took exception to anything, it would be to some of his derivations, as for instance, that of *schooner*—p. 38. We are surprised, too, to see no mention, in his account of picture-writing, of the Scandinavian *Hällristningar*. But, on the whole, the book is very fully written, and an immense deal of matter has been compressed into a very small space. We strongly recommend it, not merely to the general reader, but to the heads of schools for the use of the upper forms. The study of our own language is still sadly neglected. With such a handbook, however, as Professor Whitney's, there can now be no excuse for ignorance. He has made the study of our language as interesting as a fairy tale.

The most valuable contribution made of late years to Shakespeare literature is decidedly Mr. Dyce's ninth volume.<sup>15</sup> It fittingly concludes his edition of the poet's works. In this case, *Finis coronat opus*. Mr. Dyce has now done for Shakespeare what Bloomfield did for Æschylus,—given us a glossary of all the difficult passages and words. The present volume is, in fact, a dictionary to Shakespeare. The requirements for such an undertaking are manifold. Scholarship of a

<sup>15</sup> "The Works of William Shakespeare." The Text revised by the Rev. William Dyce. In nine volumes. Vol. IX. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.

very rare order is necessary. Many gifts and accomplishments must meet in him who would be a commentator upon Shakespeare. In this case "to know something of everything, but everything of something," is necessary for success. Not merely a knowledge of the contemporary literature of England in the sixteenth century is required, but in some degree of that of Europe. A man, too, must be something of a philologist, an archæologist, and a botanist to explain all the numerous allusions scattered up and down the plays. Finally, he must bring to his task a severely critical judgment. To say that we find all these qualifications united in Mr. Dyce would be to give him credit for powers such as perhaps no single man possesses. Where, however, his own knowledge fails, he always quotes from the best authorities. Where his own archæological researches are limited he gives us the opinion of Douce, and where his natural history fails him those of Yarrell, or Beisly. He brings, too, with him what is no slight qualification in a Shakespeare commentator, an imperturbably good temper. Once or twice, however, he recalls the memory of the pleasant amenities which used to take place between German and English critics over a corrupt passage in a Greek play. We are not now, however, quite sure that a man is an utter villain because he happens to differ from us as to the meaning of a line which was written several hundred years ago, and which probably neither of us understand. Putting aside one or two fits of indignation against Dr. Ingleby and Mr. Collier, the general tone of the notes is excellent. Further, Mr. Dyce always gives credit where credit is due. Lastly, he has exercised a most proper judgment as to the length of the notes. How rich these notes are in information may be seen by a reference to such articles as "old" and "upspring." Here Mr. Dyce's philological knowledge comes into play. In the first instance he points out that the peculiar use of "old" for "very" is not confined to the English language, and gives us a happy parallel in the Italian "vecchio." In the second instance he shows by a reference to Karl Elze that the "upspring" is synonymous with the German "hüplauf," and thus throws a light upon the meaning of the adjective "swaggering," which Shakespeare applies to the dance. Mr. Dyce, in short, so to speak, flings a wider net than most other commentators. He is not only thoroughly at home with Florio, Barret, and Cotgrave, but with our old English dictionaries and modern glossaries. Thus in the passage "He'll lade it dry," Keightley's conjecture, "lay or ladle," is given in the Cambridge Shakespeare. But there is no necessity for any alteration. As Mr. Dyce well observes, "lade is not an uncommon verb," and he proceeds to quote from Coles's Latin and English Dictionary—"To lade a river, decopulo. You may as well bid me lade the sea with a nut-shell." Nor is it merely with dictionaries and glossaries that Mr. Dyce is familiar. He seems to take a special delight in "capping" other commentators with parallel passages and illustrations from the Elizabethan poets. Thus under "lullaby" we find—"That lullaby is unusual as a verb has been remarked by Mr. Halliwell, who cites an example of it: I subjoin another:—

"Sweet sounds that all mens senses lullabieth."

Copley's 'Fig for Fortune.' 1596. p. 59."

It is not to be expected, however, amidst such a mass of matter, that we always agree with Mr. Dyce. Thus under "Longpurples" (p. 343) he quotes a passage from Mr. Beisly to show that the flower is *Orchis mascula*. We think, on the other hand, that the plant intended is *Arum maculatum*, which far more resembles "dead men's fingers" than the orchis, and which with it also bears the grosser name which "liberal shepherds give." So again, under "shard-borne beetle" (p. 392), we think that Mr. Dyce might have given a better interpretation than that which he has quoted from Patterson. Again, too, Mr. Dyce should not regard *The Times* as an authority in philological matters. Under St. Martin's Summer (p. 264), we find the following extraordinary quotation:—"It was one of those rare but lovely exceptions to a cold season, called in the Mediterranean 'St. Martin's summer.'—Correspondent in *The Times* (newspaper) for Oct. 6th, 1864." The truth is that the word is known all over the world where English is spoken. The last person we heard use it had lived the greater part of his life in Jamaica. In some parts of England the word is quite common. Mr. Dyce, had he found the term *Zollverein* in Shakespeare, might just as well have quoted *The Times'* well-known announcement—"Germany has joined the *Zollverein*," as an explanation of the meaning, as its intelligence about St. Martin's summer. We also detect one or two slips in the method of writing scientific names, and are surprised that a scholar like Mr. Dyce should allow such an hexameter as "Militat omnes [*sic*] amans, et habet sua castra Cupido" (p. 489) to pass muster. It will neither scan nor construe. We, however, end as we began. We repeat, the book is the most valuable contribution to Shakespeare literature which we have received for a long time. To those who merely now and then take up Shakespeare it will be most useful; to those who study him a necessity.

What the older school of critics, Elmsley and Porson, would have said to our modern editions of the classics it is difficult to conjecture. We have actually now a Juvenal<sup>16</sup> with notes, illustrated by references to Mrs. Browning and Maurice de Guérin. Nothing, perhaps, is more remarkable than the great improvement which has taken place in our editions of the classics. We have now discovered that this or that reading is not the all in all which it used to be. We now make some endeavour intelligently to understand the author and his times. Mr. Simcox is thoroughly imbued with the modern spirit. Yet his edition is not quite satisfactory. We are not speaking in reference to his scholarship, which leaves nothing to be desired, but to his tone. There is a jauntiness about his style which ill becomes an editor of Juvenal. He tries to be smart, and mere smartness is out of place in the notes to this greatest of satirists. Nor do we think he thoroughly appreciates Juvenal. In the very first sentences of his introduction he brings up the old charge of Juvenal's satire being "declamatory." In our opinion, too, he often sacrifices truth for the sake of epigram, as in the following passage:—

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<sup>16</sup> "Decii Junii Juvenalis." *Satiræ XIII.* Thirteen Satires of Juvenal. With Notes and Introduction by G. A. Simcox, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1867.

"It would be hard to detect any relish for innocent pleasures in all that Juvenal has left us, except in the casual wish that the fountain of Egeria had been left in its primæval simplicity, and in the invitation to Persicus to come to an early dinner at twelve, and hear Homer and Virgil read—a form of dissipation, in Juvenal's judgment, too exciting to be indulged in often."—p. 16.

We think it would not be hard to show how unjust this and several other passages are, more especially those which relate to the *animus* of Juvenal's Satire. Mr. Simcox's faults are those, however, of a very clever man, who has a turn for writing paradoxes, apparently for their own sake.

Mr. Lytton's "Lucile"<sup>17</sup> must, in its new form, we suppose, be regarded as a Christmas book. If anything could breathe life into this almost forgotten poem, it would be Mr. Du Maurier's admirable drawings. We need not praise the artist, whose powers have contributed so much since Leech's death to maintain the popularity of *Punch*, and whose sketches are marked by a humour, which, like Leech's, never inflicts pain. We must add that the binding of the book reflects great credit on the binder.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable features just now in German literature is the cheap reprints of Goethe and Schiller. Thus the firm of Cotta give us the whole of Schiller<sup>18</sup> in twelve volumes for a thaler, and the poems of Goethe<sup>19</sup> in four volumes for the same sum. As a German said to us the other day, Why, a dinner costs more than this in London. We must add that these two editions are printed on very fair paper and in good readable type. They ought to become as popular in England as they certainly will be in Germany. We recommend them to our readers, at the same time expressing a wish that some of our publishers would render the same service in England to our own classics. The only similar undertaking which we can call to mind is Messrs. Macmillan's excellent Globe Edition of Shakespeare, which, we are glad to see, has met with the success which it so thoroughly deserves. But where are any cheap editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Ben Jonson or Chaucer? Where even is there a cheap and readable edition of the poems, still more of the prose works, of Milton?

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### Gift Books.

It would be hardly possible to make a more judicious selection of a work to be ornamented for Christmas purposes than Messrs. Longman and Co. have done in that collection of German sacred poetry which, under the title of "*Lyra Germanica*,"<sup>20</sup> has so long been popularized among us

<sup>17</sup> "Lucile." By Owen Meredith. With twenty-four Illustrations by George Du Maurier. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

<sup>18</sup> "Schiller's Sämmtliche Werke in Zwölf Bänden." Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 1867.

<sup>19</sup> "Goethe's Werke." Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 1867.

<sup>20</sup> "*Lyra Germanica: the Christian Life.*" Translated from the German by Catherine Winkworth, and illustrated by J. Leighton, F.S.A., E. Armitage, A.R.A., and Ford Madox Brown. London: Longmans and Co. 1868.



by Miss Winkworth's admirable translation. The artists, too, who have contributed to the production of this splendid volume are a tower of strength in themselves. All that fine paper and clear printing can do to make it a luxury to read has been lavished on the book. Out of many hundred illustrations three are contributed by F. Madox Brown, six by E. Armitage, and the remainder by John Leighton. We must confess at the outset that our feeling is always against this kind of artistic partnership. In a book of such a decidedly uniform tone the difference of expression given to it by a number of artists produces a sense of disharmony which interferes with the enjoyment of such interpretations as each is prompted to give to the subjects they select. All these artists are now of such established reputation, that we are not called upon to criticise their work, except in relation to the poems in connexion with which their sketches are now published. We think that even Mr. Leighton's admirers must confess that his talent would not lead him naturally to the illustration of sacred poetry, his efforts after a supersensuous but yet physical beauty, displaying but few points of contact with the spiritual aspirations of most of these songs. It may indeed be fairly questioned whether the majority of them stand in any relation whatever to the plastic arts; there is a complete absence of all religious feeling in his sketches, for which no amount of learned symbolism can atone. But we must not forget to call attention to the singular beauty of his initial letters and full pages; these exhibit a fertility of mechanical combination and a graceful *ensemble* that is quite extraordinary. Mr. Armitage is not seen at his best in this volume, and some of his half-dozen are merely bald where they were intended to shine by their simplicity. The best are Mr. Brown's, though even here we must protest against the realism which outruns all taste and feeling in the cramped hands of the Saviour in the Entombment picture. The wood-cutting is in many cases wonderful, but a wonderful mistake: the effects of line engraving have been sought, and of course missed, while the broad simplicity of the wood has in all cases been lost sight of. In this respect Mr. Brown's designs were too much for the woodcutter, and refused to be reduced to the mere prettiness which, it must be confessed, is, after all, the highest praise that can be given to a set of designs intended to illustrate a collection of poetry from which mere prettiness should have been studiously held aloof.

Messrs. Griffin and Co. have published a sumptuously printed series of fancy portraits of some of the chief characters in Shakspeare's plays.<sup>21</sup> They are photographic copies from pictures by Mr. E. G. Lewis, which the publisher qualifies as fine paintings. The originals we have not seen, but if original and poetical conception be necessary to support such an epithet, the photographs are sufficient to show that it is misplaced. They are without exception void of all character, and are inspired by theatrical commonplaces, unredeemed by any individual conceptions. The illuminations in which they are set are by far the most satisfactory parts of the volume: in the mechanical art of gold-

<sup>21</sup> "Shakspearian Creations." Illustrated with Photographs from the fine Paintings of Mr. E. Goodwyn Lewis, set in exquisite Illuminated Borders. By Samuel Stanesby. London: Griffin and Co.

colour-printing they may be called exquisite, but there is a poverty of invention in their design, and an utter absence of that freedom and play of fancy which alone gives value to this style of ornament.

Another volume by the same publishers, much less ambitious, is greatly more to our taste.<sup>22</sup> In the "Poetry of the Year" they have collected some of the finest pastoral and descriptive passages in the works of our greatest poets, and illustrated them with a charming and well-selected series of chromolithographs from Birket Foster, Harrison Weir, Brookes, Lejeune, Duncan, Lee, Cox, and others. Many of these pictures are very charming and appropriate. Most successful where they are landscapes, the book has a thoroughly English aspect, even in its shortcomings, for our school of chromolithography must confess its great inferiority to the French and German works of this description in all that calls for the delicacy and precision required where the human figure is in question. It is true that in a great measure this is a question of expense, and on this account such a shortcoming should not be pressed against a book so beautiful and cheap as the "Poetry of the Year."

The Edina Edition of the Poems and Songs of Burns<sup>23</sup> is a splendid tribute in fine paper and clear print to the reputation of the national poet. The numerous wood-cuts with which it is adorned are all from designs by his fellow countrymen. It was a thoroughly Scotch, but not ungraceful notion, to rely upon the resources of Edinburgh alone, for the production of the volume. These resources prove themselves to have been quite worthy of the trust. The most poetical, however, of the illustrations are the landscapes; those by Mr. Samuel Bough are singularly excellent. The wood-cutting is a shade hard and metallic. The domestic and historical designs are less successful, as witness the strange notion of the Bruce, which stands at the head of "Scots wha hae." But this is not surprising; in such subjects the artist must rely upon the power of his own imagination and feeling. If he does not fairly carry us away, he leaves us cool and critical; while in landscape it is sufficient if he is vaguely suggestive, and often achieves a success which is partly to be attributed to the sympathetic feeling of his critic.

Mr. Bennett's contribution to the Gift Books of the season is a series of photographs from various Scotch localities, bound up with a selection from the Works of Burns and other northern poets.<sup>24</sup> The motto on the title page, from Goethe: "If you would understand a poet, you must know his native country," is of a wider application than to a knowledge of the scenery in which he lived. This, however, is a part of the knowledge, and the generally excellent photographs of this volume contribute their mite to that requisite. Some of them are very happy; the Banks of Doon is taken from an excellent point, and makes a good picture; the view of Loch Coruisk is singularly fortunate in its atmospheric effect, but as a general rule the photo-

<sup>22</sup> "Poetry of the Year." London: C. Griffin and Co.

<sup>23</sup> "Poems and Songs." By Robert Burns. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1868.

<sup>24</sup> "Scotland: her Songs and Scenery." London: A. W. Bennett. 1868.

grapher has taken his views too much *en face*, which seldom contributes to their excellence as pictures. The popularity, however, of photographic illustration, and the care with which this volume is got up, entitle it to share in that expenditure on pretty things which is characteristic of the season.

The drawings in "Golden Thoughts"<sup>25</sup> alone make the book worth far more than its price. Some of our best artists have contributed to enrich its pages. Mr. Wolf, who is not yet appreciated by the general public in the way that he deserves to be, has given us some birds and nests, with that truth to nature and feeling for poetry which he alone can give. Mr. Burton's, Mr. Small's, and Mr. Houghton's landscapes are particularly good, though we wish Mr. Burton would not sketch a cornfield, as at page 191, which looks as if it had been reaped with a reaping-machine. We believe there are cornfields still reaped by the sickle. The beauty of the sky above, with its "wisps" of cloud makes us, however, forget the trim regularity of the stubble below.

Mrs. Valentine has collected a goodly company of well-known authors, and calls their productions by a title from Shakespeare.<sup>26</sup> Shakespeare used to call a company of musicians "a noise," and probably would have called a company of authors by the same term. Mrs. Valentine's "Noise" is as good as any other Christmas "noise" which we have seen. The ladies, however, bear away the palm. In prose Miss Yonge's contribution is the best, and in poetry Mrs. Broderip's.

Publishers are not content with producing Christmas books for men and women, but must issue a special kind for children. The present reviewer most unfortunately has no children, so that his opinion is worth very little on the value of such productions. "School Days at Saxon Hurst,"<sup>27</sup> however, seems to be a healthy sort of book, which boys are likely to enjoy. The powder and the jam seems to be blended, without an undue proportion of the former. For still younger minds we have a most attractive series of little books,<sup>28</sup> very tastefully got up and illustrated, from Mr. Strahan. One of them, "Lilliput Levée," is actually enriched with two charming sketches of children by Millais. This alone, we think, is a sufficient reason why all mothers should at once buy the book.

<sup>25</sup> "Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains." Arranged in Fifty-two Divisions. Illustrated by eminent Artists. London: Warne and Company. 1867.

<sup>26</sup> "Warne's Christmas Annual; Gold, Silver, Lead." Edited by Mrs. Valentine. London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1867.

<sup>27</sup> "School Days at Saxonhurst." By "One of the Boys." Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1867.

<sup>28</sup> I. "Lilliput Levée. Poems of Childhood, Child-Fancy, and Child-Like Moods." London: Alexander Strahan. 1867. II. "Æsop's Fables." A new edition. Edited by Edward Garrett, M.A. With one hundred Illustrations by J. Wolf, J. B. Zwecker, and T. Dalziel. London: Alexander Strahan. 1867. III. "The Washerwoman's Foundling." By William Gilbert, author of "Dr. Austin's Guests," &c. London: Alexander Strahan. 1867. IV. "Edwin's Fairing." By the Rev. E. Munro, M.A., author of "Harry and Archie." London: Alexander Strahan. 1867.

511  
186



# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
<b>I. <i>Don Quixote.</i></b>	
1. El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha. Compuesta por MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. La Academia Real de Espana. Madrid.	
2. Vida de Miguel Cervantes Saavedra. Por D. MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARETTE. Madrid . . . . .	299
<b>II. <i>The Pilgrim and the Shrine.</i></b>	
The Pilgrim and the Shrine ; or, Passages from the Life and Correspondence of Herbert Ainslie, B.A. Cantab. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868. . . . .	327
<b>III. <i>Modern Notions of Government : the Irish Question.</i></b>	
1. England and Ireland. By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Longmans. 1868.	
2. A Letter to the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, M.P., on the State of Ireland. By JOHN EARL RUSSELL. Third Edition. London: Longmans. 1868.	
3. Anarchy and Authority. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Cornhill Magazine for February. Smith and Elder. 1868 . . . . .	344
<b>IV. <i>Hindu Epic Poetry : The Mahābhārata.</i></b>	
1. Indische Alterthumskunde. Vols. I.—IV. By CHR. LASSEN. Bonn and Leipzig: 1847—1861. (Vol. I., 2nd edition, 1867.)	
2. The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. TALBOYS WHEELER. Vol. I. London. 1867.	
3. Original Sanskrit Texts: on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions. By JOHN MUIR. Vols. I.—IV. London: 1858-1863; Vol. I., 2nd edition, 1868.	
4. Le Mahābhārata. . . . Traduit en Français. Par HIPPOLYTE FAUCHE. Vol. I.—VII. Paris: 1863-1867 . . . . .	380
<b>V. <i>Popular Education.</i></b>	
Memorandum on Popular Education. By Sir J. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH, Bart. Report of the National Conference on Education, held at Manchester, 1868 . . . . .	421
<b>VI. <i>The Church System of Ireland and Canada.</i></b>	
<i>The Times</i> , March 11th, 13th, 14th, and 17th, 1868: Debate on the Condition of Ireland . . . . .	442

ART.	PAGE
VII. <i>Spiritual Wives.</i>	
<i>Spiritual Wives.</i> By WILLIAM HEWORTH DIXON. Third Edition. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1868 . . . . .	456

VIII. *Democratic Government in Victoria.*

1. <i>The Argus.</i> Melbourne: 1855-67.	
2. <i>The Spectator.</i> Melbourne: 1865-66.	
3. <i>Essays on Reform.</i> Article: "The Working of Australian Institutions." By C. W. PEARSON, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867 . . . . .	480

*Contemporary Literature.*

Theology and Philosophy . . . . .	524
Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels . . . . .	542
Science . . . . .	564
History and Biography . . . . .	573
Belles Lettres . . . . .	595

THE



WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,  
1868.

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"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

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

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# CONTENTS.

ART.

## I. *The Character of British Rule in India.*

The Annals of Rural Bengal. By W. W. HUNTER, B.A., M.R.A.S.,  
Bengal Civil Service. Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co.  
London: 1868 . . . . .

## II. *Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament.*

An Introduction to the New Testament, Critical, Exegetical, and  
Theological. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., of the Univer-  
sity of Halle, and I.L.D. \*In two volumes. Longman,  
Green and Co. London: 1868 . . . . . 36

## III. *Co-operation applied to the Dwellings of the People.*

1. Happy Homes for Working Men, and How to Get Them. By  
JAMES BEGG, D.D. London: 1866.
2. Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions Abroad regarding  
Industrial Questions and Trades Unions. London: 1867 . 75

## IV. *Nitro-Glycerine: The New Explosive.*

1. Watts' Dictionary of Chemistry. Longmans. Vol. II. 1864.
2. Chemical News. Vols. XIII., XIV., XVI. London. 1866-7.
3. British Association Reports. 1866.
4. Comptes Rendus, Tome LXIII. 1866.
5. Berg und hüttenmännische Zeitung. 1867.
6. American Artizan. 1866.
7. Scientific American. 1866.
8. American Journal of Mining. 1866.
9. Private communications, &c. &c. . . . . 93

## V. *The Marriage Laws of the United Kingdom.*

1. A Practical Treatise on the Laws of Marriage, Divorce, and Legi-  
timacy as administered in the Divorce Court and the House  
of Lords. By JOHN FRASER MACQUEEN, Esq., of Lincoln's  
Inn, Barrister-at-Law. London. 1860.
2. Notes on the Marriage Laws of England, Scotland, and Ireland,  
with Suggestions for their Amendment and Assimilation, in  
a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor. By  
JAMES MUIRHEAD, Advocate, and of the Inner Temple,  
Barrister-at Law. London and Edinburgh. 1862.
3. The Marriage Laws of England, Scotland, and Ireland, being a  
Paper read at the Meeting of the Social Science Association  
at Edinburgh on October 13, 1863. By JOHN CAMPBELL  
SMITH, M.A., Advocate. Edinburgh and London. 1864 . 104



ART.	PAGE
<b>VI. <i>The Incas.</i></b>	
1. <i>Antigüedades Peruanas.</i> Por MARIANO EDUARDO DE RIVERO y Dr. TSCHUDI. Vienna.	
2. <i>Comentarios Reales de los Incas.</i> Por el Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA. Nueva Edición. Madrid.	
3. <i>Memoria sobre las Antigüedades Neo-Granadinas.</i> Por EZEQUIEL URICOECHA. Berlin.	
4. <i>Diccionario Quichua.</i> Por el R. P. Fr. HONORIO MOSSI. Sucre.	
5. <i>Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names.</i> By THOMAS INMAN, M.D. London . . . . .	118

### VII. *Church and State.*

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. <i>An Address on the Connexion of Church and State.</i> Delivered at Sion College on February 15th, 1868. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Second Edition. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868. |     |
| 2. <i>The Social Influences of the State Church.</i> By EDWARD MIALL. London: Arthur Miall, 18, Bouverie Street. 1867.   |     |
| 3. <i>The Times</i> , Wednesday, May 6th, 1868. (Report of the Church and State Meeting at St. James's Hall.)  |     |
| 4. <i>Essays on Church Policy.</i> Edited by the Rev. W. S. CLAY, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868 . . . . .  | 151 |

### VIII. *The Spanish Gipsy.*

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| <i>The Spanish Gipsy.</i> A Poem. By GEORGE ELIOT. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London. 1868 . . . . . | 183 |
|---|-----|

### *Contemporary Literature.*

<i>Theology and Philosophy</i> . . . . .	193
<i>Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels</i> . . . . .	214
<i>Science</i> . . . . .	237
<i>History and Biography</i> . . . . .	242
<i>Belles Lettres</i> . . . . .	259

THE  
WESTMINSTER  
AND  
FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

APRIL 1, 1868.

ART. I.—DON QUIXOTE.

1. *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*. Com-  
puesta por MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. La Academia  
Real de España. Madrid.
2. *Vida de Miguel Cervantes Saavedra*. Por D. MARTIN  
FERNANDEZ DE NAVARETTE.\* Madrid.

THERE have recently been published two new editions of "Don Quixote," of the class styled "sumptuous." One is a reprint of one of the worst translations in the English language, and the other is in Spanish. The first is illustrated by M. Gustave Doré, who, if anything, understands his author even less than the translator; and the second, we are informed, was printed in the same Manchegan prison where Cervantes was once confined, and which was, in truth, the cradle of his immortal romance. These are the two latest editions of the great Don, but we do not think they will add anything to his fame.

"Don Quixote" is the world's pantomime. Children laugh at it, and clap their hands; young men and maidens find in it their best and happiest thoughts, the expression of their purest feelings, while, at the same time, their dreams and high vaunting ambitions are turned into the greatest fun. Old men renew their childhood in it, and call to mind the days when they,

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\* Translated into English by "Thomas Roscoe, Esq.," and published by Tegg as an original work. There are not six lines of original matter in the whole book, except the headings of the various chapters.

too, were young, and had their dreams; and they now see, in the pages of the very same book, that the ridicule cast upon them was only too well deserved; not indeed for the fire which as young men they threw into the working of their schemes, not for the overbearing enthusiasm which for a time burnt up all selfishness in their natures, but for their blindness to common things, and the preference they had for flights of faith, or fancy, over common sense. A real Christmas pantomime, and full of Christmas charity and brotherly kindness. The laughter which rings through it is a laughter which mellows, as well as brightens, the heart. The situations and transformations are very startling. But there are no stage tricks, no sleight-of-hand. You see them with your own eyes, and you laugh and cheer without being deceived. No clown and slippered pantaloon with spectacles on nose, harlequin and columbine, ever presided at such matchless sport, or produced such rapidly changing scenes. And such scenes! All natural, for the most part gay, many fragrant with the breath of lowly flowers—others stately as wisdom; and not one intentionally impure or unholy thought among them all.

We might carry that figure of the pantomime still further. It is full of sly hits and asides, not only on the fleeting topics of the time, but on the gravest subjects of all time. If it differs from the pantomimes of our day, it is that there is no doggerel in it, no stupidity, no vulgarity. Great as the distortions are, and frightful, even to fascination, some of the masks, yet they are all of nature's own workmanship. Its author was a poet whose very prose is music; and, as there never was a poet whose heart was not touched with God's love—or how should he see God's truth?—so Cervantes wrote this pantomime, as we have called it, out of a heart full of gentleness and goodness; and therefore not only is it

“ Rich in fit epithets,  
Blessed in the lovely marriage of pure words,”

but there is not a scene all through it which is not clothed with nature's own raiment.

It has been said that the “Don Quixote” is streaked with delicacy, and some illiterate persons have ventured upon comparing “Don Quixote” with “Gil Blas,” and say that the one is as unchaste as the other. This may be M. Doré's notion, for aught we know, but it is not the verdict of any of the wise and learned men, or the pure-minded gracious women, of all countries, who have read them both.

We do remember that a similar charge was brought against our own great poet in a Review, which, though with little elegance, yet with a certain force, states the case exactly:

"Thousands of unhappy spirits, and thousands yet to increase their number, will everlastingly look back, with unutterable anguish, on the nights and days in which the plays of Shakspeare ministered to their guilty delight."\* To charge Don Quixote with uncleanness, is about as sapient as it would be to charge him with cowardice; and there is as true a resemblance between the Knight of the Rueful Visage and the Scamp of Santillana, as between a smart French valet of loose principles and one of nature's gentlemen.

We do not say that there are no scenes in the "Don Quixote" which we could have wished omitted. But how omitted? Just as we may wish love had never been debased, woman had never fallen, and man had never proved disloyal. But, as Coleridge says of the same charge brought against Shakspeare, "All the characters are strong; he keeps at all times in the high road of life, he has no innocent adulteries, no virtuous vice; he never renders that amiable which religion and reason alike teach us to detest, or clothes impurity in the garb of virtue. If now and then he occasionally disgusts a conventional sense of delicacy, he never injures the mind. Vice does not walk in twilight, or lurk in secret places." Besides, these offences against a decency reared rather in Wardian cases than in the fresh air, are not committed wantonly, but for the sake of merriment. What he says is always such as to raise a gust of laughter that would, as it were, blow away all impure ideas, if it did not excite an abhorrence for them.

But the fact is, no work has ever been so badly "done into English," or so cruelly and even wilfully defaced, as that of this most upright gentleman. Our first translation—which was Shelton's—was not from the original Spanish, but from an Italian edition, greatly corrupted; and though Shelton's work will ever be valued for its quaintness, yet it is quite untrustworthy as representing the singular beauty of the great original. This translation had the singular ill-luck to be followed by the "Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote," by Sir Edmund Gayton, which are in many cases gross and stupid, and throw no true light upon the work. Then came the "Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love," in 1651; the Paraphrase of Phillips in 1687; "The Diverting Works of the Famous Miguel de Cervantes, translated by Ned Ward," in 1709; and several others of minor importance, except that they were made to suit a very low and corrupt taste and had to be sold in the dark. But Smollett is decidedly the most to blame for whatever charges of indelicacy have been brought against our "divine madman." We had just before

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\* The *Eclectic*, quoted in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. viii. p. 111.

translated "Gil Blas" into English, and using a corrupted French edition succeeded in importing into the "Don Quixote" the unchaste spirit which runs through Le Sage's book. And this stain ought never to have been cast upon us; we who were the first, even before Spain herself, to give to the world the best and most perfect edition of "Don Quixote" in Spanish, which up to 1777 had existed. "Twice as long as it took Jacob to serve for Rachel" did it take the Rev. Dr. Bowle to collate and edit this most admirable edition. Still, Tonson's edition of 1756, translated by Jarvis and others, was an exception to all the rest, being not only the work of several scholars, but produced direct from the original. It was, however, a costly book, and far beyond the reach of the reading public. Smollett, no doubt, was the first popular translator into English, and upon him we must fasten the charge of having done the "Don Quixote" the greatest damage in public estimation. The translation of Motteux is good, but in many passages only a paraphrase from the French, and is chiefly valuable for the learned notes it contains by Lockhart. Great improvements have since taken place, and Jarvis, as recently revised, is very good, though there is still much room for mending. It would have been happy if all his translators had looked upon their vocation in the same spirit as that in which Cervantes estimated his, in the well-known passage:

"My history, perhaps, may need a commentary to make it intelligible?" "Not at all," replied Samson, "for it is so plain, so easily understood, that children fondle it, the youth read it, men understand it, and the old folk praise it: in short, it is so winnowed, so conned, and so well known by all sorts of people, that no sooner is a hungry hack seen than all exclaim, "Yonder goes Rozinante." But none are so given to reading it as your pages. In every nobleman's ante-chamber you will be sure to find a "Don Quixote." If one lays it down, another takes it up; one asks for it, another snatches it, in fine, this history is the most pleasant and the least hurtful amusement that has ever been seen, for it contains not a single impure word, nor a single thought that is not thoroughly catholic.\* "To write otherwise of me," replied Don Quixote, "had not been to write truths, but lies; and historians who lie deserve to be burnt like coiners of base money. . . . But it appears to me, Señor Bachelor, that to write books, whether of history or other kinds, much knowledge is required, as well as a mature mind; and wit and humour belong only to great geniuses. In comedy, no character requires so much ingenuity as the clown, for he must not in reality be what he appears to be. History is a thing sacred, for truth is essential to it, and where truth is, there is God Himself. *But some imagine that books are as easily produced as pancakes.*"†

\* *Muy catolica* is also a phrase meaning healthy.

† Part II. chap. 3.

Cervantes also knew how much his chief work would suffer from translations; though happily he never knew to what an extent he was to suffer at the hands of English translators. "It appears to me that a translation from one language to another, excepting the noblest of languages, Greek and Latin, is like looking at a piece of tapestry from the back—the figures are seen indeed, but through a maze of threads which obscures them, and not in the form and colours they are worked in front."\*

To select a single extract from the "Don Quixote," which should serve as a sample for the whole, would entail upon any one the same difficulty and perplexity as the Don himself encountered when seeking an appropriate name for his horse, his mistress, and himself. We will take the first that comes. It is from the 58th chapter. Knight and Squire were on their way to Barcelona, when they meet with what Sancho looked upon as a happy omen, and he exclaimed—

"Truly, O master mine! if what has happened to us to-day may be called an adventure, it has been one of the sweetest and pleasantest that has befallen us in the whole discourse of our travels. We have come out of it without cudgels or surprises. We have neither put hands to our swords, nor beaten the earth with our bodies, nor are we famished of hunger, and blessed be God I have lived to see all this with my own eyes."

"Thou sayest well," replied Don Quixote, "but I would have thee know that all seasons are not the same, nor run they with the same chances; and these, which the vulgar commonly call omens, have no foundation whatever in reason, and will be looked upon by the wise only as happy incidents. Your omen-monger rises early in the morning, leaves his house, and meets a friar of the order of the blessed Francisco, and as if he had encountered a dragon, hurries back, and returns to his house. Another dotard spills the salt on the table, and his heart at once overflows with melancholy, as if nature designed to magnify such trifles into signs of coming events. A wise and Christian man will not pry too closely into what Heaven is pleased to do. Scipio, as he arrived in Africa, stumbled as he leaped on shore; his soldiers took it for an evil omen, but he embraced the ground and said, 'Africa, thou canst not escape me, for I hold thee in my grasp.'"

\* \* \* \* \*

"I was amazed, Señor," said Sancho, changing the subject, "at the Duchess's maid, Altisidora; bravely must she have been pierced and crushed by him whom they call Love, who they say is a blind little fellow; and with all his short-sightedness, or rather no-sightedness, only put a heart before him—no matter how small—and he will send his arrows through it, as if it were a target. I have heard it also said that maiden bashfulness and modesty serve to blunt and turn aside those deadly darts, but in this Altisidora they seem to be rather whetted than blunted."

“ ‘Observe, Sancho,’ said Don Quixote, ‘love is not only no respecter of persons, it bursts all bonds of reason in its course; it is like death, who strikes alike kings in their high palaces and shepherds in their lowliest huts, and when he takes entire possession of a soul the first thing he does is to rob it of all fear and all shame: it was thus that Altisidora made a declaration of her desires, which begot in me confusion of face rather than pity.’

“ ‘What brutal cruelty!’ exclaimed Sancho. ‘O monstrous ingratitude! For myself I can only say that the least loving word from her would have made me her slave at once. *Hideputa!* O what a marble heart, what bowels of brass, and what a soul of flint! But I can’t think what this maiden could see in your worship that so enslaved her; what manners, what spirit, what grace, what looks—what any of these, or all of them put together—made her fall in love with you? For, by my troth, many times I have stopt to look at your worship, and from the tip of your toe to the end of the longest hair of your head, I see nothing but what is more likely to scare one than to make one fall in love; and having heard it said that beauty plays the chief part in love, and your worship having absolutely none, I cannot see how the poor thing was smitten.’

“ ‘Attend, Sancho,’ answered Don Quixote; ‘there are two kinds of beauty—one of the soul and one of the body: that of the soul illuminates all, and shows itself in the mind, in modesty, in good conduct, in the liberality and goodness of breeding; and all these parts may be found in a man of no outward attractions; and when this beauty captivates, and not that of the body, it produces a love superior and intense. I know, Sancho, that I am not handsome, but I also know that I am not deformed; and it is enough for a man to be well loved, if he be not a monster, should he possess those gifts of the soul I have described to thee.’

“ Whilst thus conversing they entered a grove by the wayside, when, suddenly and unexpectedly, Don Quixote found himself entangled in some nets of green threads which were stretched from tree to tree, and, without imagining what they could possibly be, said to Sancho, ‘It appears to me, Sancho, that these nets promise us one of the newest and strangest adventures we have yet had. May I die, if it is not those enchanters trying to ensnare me and stop my way, in revenge for my coldness towards Altisidora. But I tell them that though these nets which seem to be of green thread, were made of adamantine chains, or stronger than that in which the jealous god of smiths ensnared Venus and Mars, I would burst them asunder as if they were only rushes of the marsh or ravelings of rags.’ As he was about to break through them, there came from among the trees two most lovely shepherdesses—at least they were dressed as shepherdesses, except that their tunics were of the finest brocade and gold tabby. Their hair, loose and flowing over their shoulders, and bright as the sun, was crowned with wreaths of green laurel and purple amaranth entwined. They appeared to be from about fifteen to eighteen.

“ Sancho was amazed, Don Quixote was struck with wonder at the sight, whilst the sun in his course stood still to behold them! The

whole four were speechless. The first to speak was one of the two damsels, who said to Don Quixote, 'Hold, Sir Knight, tho nets we have stretched in this grove are not to molest you, but are for our amusement—do not break them; and as you may wish to know why we have spread them here, and who we are, I shall in a few words tell you. In a village, some two leagues from hence, there live many persons of wealth and consideration, hidalgos and others, who agreed, among their friends and relatives, their sons and wives, their daughters and neighbours, to hold an entertainment in this place, which is one of the most pleasant in these parts. We have formed a new Arcadia, the damsels dress as shepherdesses, the young men as shepherds, and we have learnt two eclogues—one by the famous Garcilaso, and the other by the most excellent Camoëns, in his own Portuguese, which at present we have not represented; we only came yesterday. Our tents, which they say are those of the field, are pitched among the trees on the margin of a flowing stream, whose waters fertilize these meadows. Last night we hung up these nets to catch such gentle little birds as our calls might allure to the snare. If you please to be our guest, Señor, you shall be entertained liberally and courteously, for here we allow neither care nor melancholy to enter.' She spoke, and was silent.

"To whom Don Quixote replied, 'Truly, most fair lady, Actæon was not more lost in wonder when suddenly he beheld Diana in the bath, than I am in gazing on your beauty. I applaud the matter of your entertainment, and for your invitation I thank you, and if I can serve you, command me with the certainty of your being obeyed, for my profession is none other than that of good deeds, in the service of all mankind, but more especially of the nobility whom you represent. And for these nets which perhaps cover but a small space, if they embraced the total rotundity of the earth, I would, rather than break them, seek new worlds by which to pass; and that you might give some credit to this seeming flight of fancy, know that he who promises is none other than Don Quixote de la Mancha, if perchance that name has reached your ears.'

"*'Ay! amiga de mi alma,'* she exclaimed to the other shepherdess, 'what grand fortune has happened to us? Seest thou this gentleman now before us? I tell thee that he is the most valiant, the most *inamorato*, the most courteous, in the world; if, that is, a history which I have read of his exploits does not deceive me. And I will bet that this good man who is with him is that Squire Sancho Panza, whose pleasantries none can equal.'

"'It is true,' said Sancho, 'I am that same pleasant person, and that same squire your ladyship mentions, and this gentleman is my master, the same Don Quixote de la Mancha, printed and historified.'

"'O my friend,' said the other, 'entreat him to stay, that our fathers and brothers too may have the infinite pleasure of seeing him. I also have heard, as thou hast, of his valour and goodness; and, above all, that he is the most true and loyal of lovers, and that his lady is one Dulcinea del Toboso, to whom all Spain yields the palm for her beauty.'



“ ‘And with justice,’ said Don Quixote, ‘unless your own unequalled beauty put it in doubt! But, ladies, seek not to detain me, for the duties of my profession leave me no repose in any case.’

“ At this moment a brother of one of the shepherdesses, himself dressed after the same fashion as a shepherd, joined the four. They told him that he who was with them was no less a person than the valorous Don Quixote de la Mancha, and the other, Sancho, his squire, of whom he had heard in history. The gallant shepherd saluted him, and begged that he would go with him to their tents, to which Don Quixote, unable to refuse, consented. At that moment the nets were drawn, and they enclosed a great number of different little birds, which, deceived by the colour of the threads, had been snared in their flight. There were assembled on that spot some thirty persons, all bravely dressed as shepherds and shepherdesses, who, on the instant, recognised Don Quixote and his Squire, whom they received in a manner much to their satisfaction, for all had heard of their history. They now repaired to their tents, where they found tables set with all that was rich, abundant, and clean. They honoured Don Quixote with the chief place, and all gazed upon him with pleasure and admiration.

“ On removing the cloth Don Quixote rose, and in a calm voice said, ‘Of the great sins which men commit, some declare pride to be the greatest, but I say it is ingratitude—and truly has it been said that hell is full of the ungrateful. From that crime I have ever shrunk, ever since I have had the use of reason; and if I am not able to repay the good works done to me in other similar good works, I put in their stead the desire to do so, and when this suffices not, I publish them—for whoever declares publicly the favours he receives would return them if he could, and the greater part of those who receive are inferior to those who give. Thus it is with God, the great giver of all, whose blessings man can never return except in gratitude. So it is with me; I thank you for what you have done me, but I cannot respond to you in the same way, and I must content myself with doing the little which is within the limits of my power. I offer what I am able to perform, and what I have in my store—and I say that I will, in the middle of the highway, which goes to Saragossa, maintain for two whole days that these ladies, shepherdesses in disguise, are the most beautiful and the most gentle in the whole world, with one exception, the peerless Dulcinea del Toboso, sole mistress of my heart; without offence be it spoken.’

“ Sancho, who had been listening with great attention, raised his voice aloud and said, ‘Is it possible that there are any in the world who will dare to say and to swear, that this master of mine is mad? Tell me yourselves, gentlemen shepherds, is there any village priest, ever so wise, or be he ever such a scholar, who could speak as my master has spoken? Is there any knight errant, whatever be his fame for valour, who would offer what my master here has now offered?’

“ Don Quixote, in choler, and his face on fire, turned on Sancho and said, ‘Is it possible, O Sancho! that there is a single person on all this

globe that would say thou art not a fool, lined with folly, and bound with what malice and knavery I know not? Who gave thee liberty to meddle with my affairs, or to inquire if I be wise or foolish? Silence, and presume not to answer me, but go and saddle Rozinante if he be unsaddled, and let us hence, that I may do what I have engaged; for, resting in the justice of my cause, I hold as already vanquished all those who shall dare to dispute with me.' Then, in great haste and fury he rose from his chair, leaving the lookers-on amazed, and in doubt whether he was mad or not. They did all they could to dissuade him from such a challenge, assuring him that they were convinced of his gratitude, and that new exploits were unnecessary to prove his valour, for sufficient had been recorded in his history. But for all that, Don Quixote was not to be moved, and mounting Rozinante, bracing on his shield, and seizing his lance, he put himself in the middle of the highway, not far from the green meadows where they were. Sancho followed on his Dapple, with all of that pastoral crowd, desirous of seeing what would come of that indomitable and amazing resolve.

"Don Quixote being posted in the middle of the road as we have seen, troubled the air with such words as, 'O! ye pilgrims and passengers, knights and squires, whether on foot or mounted, who are passing or shall pass, in these two days that are to come, know that Don Quixote de la Mancha, knight errant, is here posted, to maintain that in the nymphs who inhabit these fields and groves are united all the beauty and grace of the world, leaving on one side the mistress of my soul, Dulcinea del Toboso. He who maintains the contrary will find me here.' Twice he repeated these words, and twice they were in vain repeated.

"But the good luck which watched over his affairs, ordained that a company of horsemen, many with lances in their hands, should pass that way, galloping in a phalanx at full speed. Those who were with Don Quixote, as soon as they saw the approach of these, turned their backs and left the road, for they knew, if it happened as they expected, there would be some danger. Don Quixote alone, with heart undaunted, remained; and Sancho sheltered himself beneath the haunches of Rozinante. The troop of lancers came on, when one of them, in advance of the rest, shouted, 'Out of the way, *hombre del diablo*, or these bulls will tear thee to pieces.'

"'Ea! Canaille!' replied Don Quixote, 'for me there are no bulls worth a straw, even the wildest bred on the banks of the Xarama. Confess, brigands, without reserve, that it is true, which I have here declared, and if you do not it is me you have to meet in combat.'

"There was no time for the horseman to reply, nor for Don Quixote to move out of the way if he had wished, before a troop of mad bulls and men, with a multitude of herdsmen and others to keep them close, who were driving them to a place where the next day they were to be baited, rushed over Don Quixote, and over Sancho, over Rozinante and the Dapple, bearing them to the earth and rolling them over and over.

"There lay Sancho crushed, Don Quixote stunned, Dapple be-

cudgelled, and Rozinante in woful case. But at last they all rose, and Don Quixote in hot haste, stumbling here and falling there, rushed after the herd, exclaiming, 'Hold, await me, brigand scum; a single knight defies you all without conditions, and who scorns to belong to them who say "Make a silver bridge for a flying enemy."' "

"But not for this did the hurrying horsemen stop, nor took they more notice of his threats than if they had been last year's clouds. Fatigue kept Don Quixote from the pursuit, and vexed more than vengeful, he sat down in the road waiting for Sancho, Rozinante, and Dapple to come up. On their arrival, master and man remounted, and without returning to take leave of the feigned or disguised Arcadia, went on their way with somewhat more of shame than satisfaction."

Don Quixote did not slay many giants, but he put to death the old unnatural romances. He divested Fiction of her gigantic form, her tremendous aspect, her frantic manners, and brought her clothed anew to the level of common life. This was, if not the principal object, the moving cause of Cervantes writing the "Don Quixote." After saying in his preface "It was my earnest desire that this offspring of my brain should be as beautiful, true, and living as I could make it," he goes on to say, in the 47th chapter, "Those tales of chivalry are very hurtful to the common weal—they create an idle and false taste—they are inconsistent and monstrous—they are bad in style—they abound in absurd exploits and lasciviousness—they are bad in sentiment, and in short should be banished every Christian country." And Cervantes set himself to that work. But he was not the first to call public attention to the pernicious effects of a base literature, whose only object was to intoxicate the mind. A public opinion had begun to express itself on that subject, and but for that public opinion Cervantes had never written his famous satire. In 1555, that is, ten years before the "Don Quixote" was written, the Cortes presented a petition to the Emperor Charles V. on this subject, and it is worth reading:—

"Moreover, we declare that it is very notorious what mischief has been done to young men and maidens and other persons, by the perusal of books full of lies and vanities, like *Amadis*, and works of that nature. Since young people from their natural idleness resort to this kind of reading, and becoming enamoured of love scenes, feats of arms, or other nonsense which they find set forth therein, are led, when appropriate circumstances offer, to act much more extravagantly than they otherwise would. And many times the daughter, when her mother has locked her up safely at home, amuses herself with reading these books, which do her more harm than she would have received had she gone abroad. All of which redounds not only to the dishonour of individuals, but to the great detriment of conscience, by diverting the affections from holy, true, and Christian doctrine, to

those wicked sensations by which the wits are completely bewildered. To remedy this, we entreat your Majesty that no book treating of such matters be henceforth permitted to be read; and that those now printed be collected and burnt, and that none be published hereafter without special licence. By which measure your Majesty will render great service to God as well as to this kingdom."

That may be said to have been Cervantes' commission, and he executed it right manfully. As for the interdict of Carolus Magnus, it was simply so much royal waste-paper. It had no other effect on the Spanish mind than all such edicts generally have, it gave greater zest to the perusal of the forbidden thing. Had we travelled in those days through Spain we should have seen in the corn-fields, during the heat of the day, the reapers lounging under the trees, listening to one of their number—or, as it often happened, a travelling priest—reading or reciting the acts of Don Belianis—Palmarin of England—and Bernardo del Carpio in mortal combat with Roland at Roncesvalles. All the way-side inns at the same hour of the day would be crowded with old and young of both sexes, eagerly drinking in, not *vino tinto*, or any other wine, but the same class of stories, and getting intoxicated on such literature as "Jack the Giant-killer," and the "Seven Champions of Christendom." But a change was about to take place, and let no one say that the revolution wrought by Cervantes was one of the least which has been made in the history of popular education.

To estimate Cervantes and his work aright let any one propose to himself the task of extinguishing the flimsy romances of our day, with the female Braddons—the Woods—the Ouidas—the Thomases, and all such as cometh up as weeds, not by writing better novels, but by writing one single novel, in which the excellences, whatever they may be, of all these shall be preserved, while their extravagances, vulgarities, and caricatures will be so mercilessly ridiculed, as that all men, at least, would blush to be found reading them. He will find it no easy task. He must bring to it a vast amount of real knowledge, the finest temper, a genial heart, and all the Christian virtues, without any of what may be called the Christian asperities. That he would find, perhaps, the least easy of the great satirist's attributes to acquire, and yet it was the absence of this bitterness and acrimony which distinguished his life. The reformation Cervantes wrought may be said to be on that very account more lasting as it was more natural, and more implicit as it was more genial, than that of Luther. For in religion, whilst we have ten times more learning, we have a hundred-fold more insipidity, shallowness, and meanness; whilst in literature we have to thank God and Cervantes for an increase of good humour, pleasantness,

originality, kindness, and all that makes human nature loveable, and the fields and skies, the trees and flowers dear to us.

The last Spanish romance of chivalry before "Don Quixote" appeared, was published in 1602. It was the last. They had bidden defiance to imperial edicts, but they were to be extinguished by Cervantes' ridicule—

"That soft and summer breath whose subtle power  
Passes the strength of storms."

But it must not be thought that this was all Cervantes had in view, or that he confined himself to tilting at books of chivalry. His repeated declaration that this was his chief end and aim, seems to have been intended to quiet the minds of court politicians, and the professional guardians of the faith. But, without going the length of some supersensual critics who wish to make out that "Don Quixote" is the representative of the inner spiritual life, and Sancho Panza the mere outside vulgar flesh, there can be no doubt that Cervantes felt within himself the power to elevate and instruct his countrymen, and for this he girded up his loins. His purpose was therefore discursive and untrammelled, and his range was as wide as the reign of superstition, and the corruption of faith, morals, and literature. No modern writer has shown himself to possess a greater or more accurate power of observation. Not one, even Scott included, has been so painstaking and industrious; and no author of fiction ever misled his readers less than he. Being a layman, and the Holy Inquisition in full force, with its thumb-screws, dungeons, and boots, he sought to teach men through laughter and smiles, supposing laughter and smiles to be the legitimate and peculiar property of the secular mind. And certainly it cannot be asserted, by us at least, that Cervantes was far in the wrong. This was his glory; he made his countrymen natural, he restored their healthy taste, and thereby purified their affections; and afterwards the wretched fire-works, the blue-lights, and pasteboard enchantments of the sham sages all went out, and no one was ever after able to set them going again.

An anecdote has come down to us, preserved by Disraeli, which clearly shows that Cervantes aimed at higher game than snuffing out such trifles as "Jack and the Bean-stalk" or "The Seven-league Boots." M. Du Boulay, who accompanied the French ambassador to Spain in the time of Cervantes, called upon the satirist to compliment him on the great reputation he had acquired by his "Don Quixote," on which Cervantes replied in a whisper, "Had it not been for the Inquisition, I could have made my book much more entertaining." This may be con-

firmed on reference to the Index Expurgatorius of 1667, p. 194, and again for the year 1790, p. 51, which direct the expunging of certain lines from the "Don Quixote." The expunged lines were very harmless, but they sufficed for those who were bent on the destruction of their author. This precious Index was first published in the year of our Lord 1546; and, twelve years later, Philip II. ordained the punishment of death against any person who should have in his possession, or sell, or buy, any book mentioned therein. The social history of Spain at this period, and for ten years later, should be read by those who would fully understand "Don Quixote," and be able to appreciate the genius and courage of Cervantes. This was the period when, after a short but decisive struggle, all Spanish souls were handed over to the care of a beadle, when the Inquisition was in the full glow of its pomp and glory, and Cardinal Ximenes, one of the stoutest-hearted bigots the world ever saw, was its chief inquisitor. A proverb also—one of those national nails driven in a sure place—has come down to us from that time, perhaps first used by Cervantes himself, "Con el Rey, y la Inquisicion, CHITON." And, putting together the anecdote, the Index, and the proverb, we need have no doubt but that the dark spirit of Philip Secundus, which hung like a blight over all Spain, overshadowed the inkpot of Cervantes.

But for all that, the man whose pen was mightier than Philip's great father's sceptre, was not to be cowed by such a miserable owl as his son, "and while he delighted the idlers of romance by the jokes he scattered among them on the false tastes of his predecessors and of his rivals, he delighted his own heart by his solitary archery, well knowing what amusement those who came another day would find in picking up his arrows and discovering the bull's-eye hits." Walter Savage Landor goes farther, and says that the most dexterous attack ever made against the worship of the Virgin—the principal worship among Spanish Catholics, which opens so many side chapels to pilfering and imposture—is that of Cervantes. "Surely your highness could never have imagined that Cervantes was such a knight-errant as to tilt at knight-errantry—a folly which had ceased almost a century—if indeed it was any folly at all; and the idea that he ridiculed the poems and romances founded on it is impossible, for they contained all the literature of the nation, excepting the garniture of chapter-houses—theology, and pervaded, as with a thread of gold, the beautiful histories of this illustrious people. Charles V. was the Knight of La Mancha, devoting his labours and vigils, his wars and treaties, to the chimerical idea of making minds, like watches, turn their indexes

to one point. Sancho Panza was the symbol of the people, possessing sound sense in other matters, but ready to follow the most visionary in this, and combining the most implicit belief in it with the grossest sensuality. For religion when it is hot enough to produce a rank enthusiasm, burns up and kills every wholesome seed entrusted to its bosom."

A part of that criticism of Landor's is somewhat far-fetched, but when we know that the gallant old man, communing with his own heart in his Andalusian jail, pointed his shafts at one of the crying political abuses of his day, that of appointing mercenary Sancho Panzas to rule over the vast kingdoms of Mexico and Peru—men who at the same time were utterly void of Sancho's natural sense and humour—and had the courage to laugh at bodily torture as a means of grace, to deride witchcraft, and hold up to scorn the holy Inquisition itself; and when, more than all, he dared to call in question another peculiarly priestly institution, in declaring, "For my part, Sancho, I verily believe there are some good people in hell"—meaning, of course, the sacerdotal place of that name—made up, as he knew it to be, by only sham horrors, pasteboard devils, and phosphorescent hobgoblins, to gender fear in low souls and vulgar hearts; we may be sure that such an awful sham as that of the worship of the simple peasant girl of Judea would not pass unheeded. There is a remark in the 31st chapter, occurring in a conversation between Don Quixote and Sancho, which certainly confirms that opinion. The Don, speaking of his peerless one, says—

"Dulcinea is so reserved that she would not have her thoughts known, nor would it be proper for me or any one to reveal them."

"If so," replied Sancho, "why does your worship send all those whom you conquer by that mighty arm to present themselves before my lady Dulcinea, for is not this to tell all the world you are in love with her?"

"O idiot!" returned Don Quixote; "seest thou not, Sancho, that all this redounds the more to her exaltation? For thou must know that in this our style of chivalry it is to the honour of a lady to have many knights-errant who serve her merely for her own sake, and that without hoping for any other reward for their zeal than the honour of being numbered among her knights."

"I have heard it preached," answered Sancho (and this is our point), "that our Saviour is to be loved with that kind of love, and that for Himself alone, without our being moved thereto by the hope of glory or fear of punishment."

And those are courageous words, and the Spaniards must have been dull indeed not to have seen through them. But they did see through them. The common people heard him gladly.

Four editions of the first part were printed in Madrid immediately after its appearance. Philip III., as he was one day looking out of a window, saw a man walking on the banks of the Manzanares with a book in his hand reading, and now and again bursting with laughter, and the laughter was so lusty that the monarch was pleased to say, "Either that man is mad, or he is reading Don Quixote." Everybody laughed at it, for laughter is catching. But before the ring of the laughter had died away the sting of the truth had entered. The priests and levites felt it and writhed helplessly, for they dreaded the people, as the priests and Levites of all sham faiths ever did and do, when the people get possession of a truth not trimmed with their shears. And so Cervantes, though he made many rich, himself remained poor. Indeed, in one sense it might be said, in spite of the four editions published at Madrid, in spite of the royal anecdote, and the fact of no nobleman's ante-room being without a "Don Quixote," that Cervantes was not only poor, he was neglected. He was not fêted nor sought out. Truth to say, he did not wear the court livery. Society was shy of him. It was not accurately known among the Pharisees whether he was "sound" or not, and the butterflies of royalty deemed it unsafe to be seen in his company. In short, he was one of those of whom the world was not worthy; and we may be thankful that Cervantes, when he gave the world "Don Quixote," was not in favour with all men, for that is both grace and nature's mint-mark of a man. "Lope de Vega, now, his great contemporary, was very popular. He once presided at an auto-de-fé. He was certainly mighty at court. All the world swore by him, and made a proverb of him. He could give you an acceptable five-act tragedy in as many hours. Lope, who was among the revilers and secret enemies of Don Quixote, was the greatest of all popularities, past or present; and perhaps the greatest man that ever appeared among popularities has not, however, proved to be a sun or star in the firmament, but is as good as lost now and gone out, or plays at best, in the eyes of some few, as a vague aurora borealis and brilliant ineffectuality. Cervantes sat obscure at the time, all dark and poor, a maimed soldier, writing in a prison."\*

Where he came from no one accurately knows. Madrid, Seville, Toledo, Lucena, Esquivias, Alcazar de San Juan, Con-suegra, and Alcalá de Henares, all claim the honour of being the cradle of his birth. Nor is it known for certain where his dust now rests. His was indeed a hard service,



“The weariedst . . . life  
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment  
Can lay on nature.”

But for all that—as soldier, as captive in a foreign land, in peril among his own countrymen, or as author—he is ever the same: a wise, noble, patient, pure-hearted, truthful gentleman. One

“That ever with a frolic-welcome, took  
The thunder and the sunshine; and opposed  
Free heart, free forehead.”

And be sure that it was not for any mere sawdust stage that our great pantomime was written. The asides, the satire as polished as a Damascus blade, were not only aimed at events of local or fleeting interest, but at all shams, follies, and impostures; but, before all, at those shams, and the priests of shams, which hurt men's souls. They were hurled against the lie which sinketh in, against that detestable morality which strives to “make the best of both worlds,” against those instructors who are rough to common men,

“But honeying, at the whisper of a lord;”

against those pastors who are rogues in grain,

“Veneer'd with sanctimonious theory.”

As regards style and mode of treating his subject, we learn from a passage in the 47th chapter, that Cervantes wrote on purpose in imitation of the tales of chivalry, because, he says, “that style of writing affords an ample field for the exercise of genius, such scope for descriptive power in painting storms, shipwrecks, and battles.” And Cervantes had been in many, and was one of them

“Who, by the art of known and feeling sorrows,  
Was pregnant with good pity.”

“There is also,” he proceeds, “such room for depicting character, especially of the military hero; his foresight in anticipating the stratagems of his adversary; his eloquence in encouraging or restraining his followers; his wisdom in council; his promptitude in action. Now he paints a sad event, and now a joyous one. Sometimes he discourses on a valiant and true knight, at others on a rude and lawless one; now on a noble and warlike prince, then on a good and loyal subject. He may show himself an excellent astronomer or geographer, a musician or statesman; he may occupy himself on those qualities which constitute the perfect hero, either uniting them in a single person or distributing them among many: and if all this be done in a natural and pleasing style, a web of various beautiful texture

might surely be wrought, which should charm while it also instructed. The freedom indeed of this kind of composition is alike favourable to the author, whether he would display his powers in epic or in lyric (for there may be an epic in prose as well as in verse), in tragedy or in comedy—in short, he may occupy himself in every department of the sweet and gay sciences of poetry and oratory.”

Such was the scope Cervantes allowed himself in the “*Don Quixote*.” His views of life were not narrowed by creed, or little system, or peculiar garb; whatever subject he broached it beamed with life. The intense reality of his nature made what in other men’s hands were only sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, perennial forces. His great loving heart made his knowledge life-giving; and the poor professional faith of the temple, the fashionable faith of his day, cut to a pattern, and regulated to a shade, was ashamed of herself before him. And

“Tho’ there often seem’d to live  
A contradiction on the tongue,  
Yet Hope had never lost her youth,  
She did but look through dimmer eyes,  
Or love, but played with gracious lies  
Because he felt so fixed in truth.”

On the great question of all time, and which it is for ever the privilege of men to preserve and fight for, the trumpet of Cervantes gave no uncertain sound.

“‘Liberty, Sancho, is one of the most precious gifts which Heaven has bestowed on man. The treasures of the earth or sea are not to be compared to it. For liberty, as for honour, man must be prepared to die. I say this to thee, Sancho, because I saw thee eye with so much pleasure the abundance and luxury with which we were served in the castle. Yet in the midst of those choice banquets and iced wines, I suffered all the pangs of hunger, because I could not enjoy them with the same freedom as I should had they been mine own. Favours and gifts and alms are gyves on the mind, destroying its independence. Happy the man to whom Heaven has given, if it be but a crust of bread, so that he be under no obligation to any except God himself.’”

For a man to have uttered that in a land where beggary was accounted a means of grace, and beggars were canonized every six weeks, where pauperism was at a premium, and pauper houses had become the very gates of heaven, he must have been a man born to

“Face the spectres of the mind,  
And lay them.”

Who shall say that much of the realistic power of the “*Don Quixote*” is not derived from the myriad proverbs which are scattered [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—*NEW SERIES*, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. Y

tered through its pages. "A man of fashion," observes my Lord of Chesterfield, "never has recourse to proverbs, or vulgar aphorisms," which may be quite true, my lord, seeing that a man of fashion is a thing made by a tailor. But Sancho Panza, sighing forth proverbs, is a work of nature: he supplies us with no ideas in tailoring, it is true, but he does supply us with the common heart and life of a nation. Proverbs, it has been well said, embrace the whole sphere of human existence. They take all colours of life. They are often the finest strokes of genius; they open up for us the universal heart of man; they are the treasures of the world's thought, the salt which seasons its common talk; and as, Don Quixote says, while discoursing on literature and art—"The mind receives pleasure from the beauty and consistency of what is presented to the imagination," so Cervantes, with this instinct of the imagination strong within him, has by means of these proverbs thrown a living atmosphere over every scene and landscape in which the figures of the foreground are Sancho and the Don, Dapple and Rozinante.

"Take my word for it, Sancho," said Don Quixote [as if quoting from the Chesterfieldian *Tailoring Book*], "those proverbs of thine will one day bring thee to the gallows. Where dost thou find them? Let me entreat thee, Sancho, when thou art come to thy government to eschew proverbs."

"God alone can remedy that," replied Sancho, "for I know more than a handful of proverbs. But I will take heed in future to use only such as will become the gravity of my place—for in a full house supper is soon dressed—he is no fool who can spend and spare—he that cuts does not deal—and, with the big trumps in our hand the game is sure."

"There thou goest; whilst I am warning thee against the prodigal use of proverbs, thou pourest upon me a whole litany of them. Attend to me, Sancho; I do not say a proverb is amiss when aptly and seasonably applied; but to be for ever discharging them, hit or miss, will make thy conversation insipid and low . . . . Let thy sleep be moderate, for he who rises not with the sun enjoys not the day. Remember, Sancho, that diligence is the mother of good fortune; and that sloth, her adversary, never realized one good wish."

"Who is talking proverbs now?" retorted Sancho. "But I beseech your worship, if you think I am not fit for this government, I renounce it from this time forth, for I have more regard for a single nail's breadth of my soul than for the whole of my body; and plain Sancho can live as well on bread and onions as Governor Sancho on capon and partridge . . . . Besides, sleep makes us all alike; while I am asleep I have neither fear nor hope, nor trouble nor glory. Blessings light on him who first invented sleep. It is a cloak which wraps all human infirmities; it is meat to the hungry, drink to the thirsty; a fire to warm, a breeze to cool; it is the general current coin which can buy all things; the scales in which the shepherd

weighs as heavy as the king—the simple with the wise.’ . . . ‘But call to mind who it was first put this idea of governor into my head—who but yourself? Alack! I know no more about governing islands than a bustard; and if you fancy, in case I come to be a governor, that the devil will fetch me, in God’s name let me go to heaven plain Sancho, than Governor Sancho to hell.’

“‘*Por Dios*, Sancho, for those last words of thine I think that thou deservest to be governor of a thousand islands. I never heard thee talk so eloquently, which proves to me the truth of the proverb thou hast often cited—Not with whom thou art bred, but with whom thou art fed.’

“‘It is not I alone who am a stringer of proverbs,’ remarked Sancho; ‘they fall from your worship’s lips in couples. Though I think them more pat than mine, still they are all proverbs.’”

And thus these two, throughout this immortal romance, communing together in the wit and humour of their common nature and the spirit of their nation, give to their simplest as to their greatest adventures a life-power which all nations who possess great, earnest, practical truths, must ever sympathize with, whilst they draw instruction and pleasure from, them.

Another power—and we make these observations without any plan, and as passages from the great book occur to us as we write—another power which makes the “Don Quixote” perennial, is that by which Cervantes presents to us rather than represents the scenery and characters of Spain and the Spaniards. The magnificent sierras, the murmuring brooks, the sunny plains, and the pastoral valleys seem to belong to a land which is made the peculiar region of romance from Córdoba to Roncesvalles. It is indeed a book which

“Preserves

• The eternal landscape of the past;”

with the grandeur, gallantry, shame, and misfortune of a great but fallen nation.

Yet another excellence is in the marvellous readiness with which the Knight of the Windmills conceives, and the gravity with which he is prepared to execute the most extravagant ideas, all of which, while they bear the strictest analogy to the romances of chivalry, are at the same time crumpling them up in the hand of satire.

“‘Pardon me,’ is Don Quixote’s address to Maritornes, while that frail one is playing upon him a very practical joke—‘pardon me, dear lady, and retire, and do not, by any further disclosure of your sentiments, make me seem to be yet more ungrateful; but if I can repay you by any other way than by a return of passion, I swear by that sweet enemy of mine to gratify you at once, even though you should

demand of me a lock of Medusa's hair, which was composed of snakes, or, I will give you a casket of sunbeams!"

But readers of the "Don Quixote" who are unacquainted with the adventures of Amadis de Gaul, Esplandian, Florisimarte, Reynaldos de Montalbin, Palmarin of England, Arthur and those of the "Table Round," all of which and a hundred others Cervantes studied most carefully in order to polish his satire and point the barbed shafts of his wit—unless, we say, readers know something of these, it is only a mistake to suppose that they can fully comprehend the scope and spirit of the "Don Quixote." We should expect the "Pilgrim's Progress" of John Bunyan to be about as entertaining and instructive to a Chinaman, as "Don Quixote" in all its fulness would be to an Englishman unacquainted with the history of Spain and the old tales of chivalry. There are of course a thousand things to laugh at which require no special knowledge. The whole work breathes that air of romance, that aspiration after imaginary good, that longing after something more than we possess, that in all places and in all conditions

"Still prompts the eternal sigh,  
For which we wish to live or dare to die;"

and it has supplied the whole of civilized Europe and America with such appropriate cases and striking illustrations of the universal principles of our nature, that we may dispense with any acquaintance with the lore of troubadour or knight. Still we must tell all those who know nothing of such lore that they will remain utterly in the dark as to that fine mastery and plastic power with which Cervantes wrote, and which is the life and soul of "Don Quixote."

A further excellence, and one which has served to make "Don Quixote" the most loveable companion of all cultivated minds, is the chaste, sweet music of his words. If it be true that the secret charm of all great national writers lies in their diction, then will Cervantes live for ever in the first rank of national authors. Unhappily we have not at present a literal translation in English of "Don Quixote," and therefore this attribute of the great Spanish satirist is lost upon merely English readers. But as our knowledge of Spain increases, if Spain herself rise from the ruins of her ancient glory to take her place among the nations who lead the world, and from which she need not have fallen, but that she persisted in slaying the prophets which were sent unto her, as her provinces become penetrated with roads, and her capitals and courts are linked together, then we may have an English edition of "Don Quixote" whose very words shall be esteemed as "apples of gold set in pictures of silver."

To show to what extent "Don Quixote" has suffered at the hands of English artists, let us take one small picture, easy of transfer from the easel of Cervantes to our own, and which no excuse can be made for its being not merely spoilt, but changed and falsified.

Here is Mr. Phillips's abominable daub of Dorothea :—

" 'Heavens! is it at length possible that I have found out a lurking hole wherein to conceal myself from the eyes of all mankind, and where to bury this ponderous load of flesh and garbage, a burthen too heavy for my oppressed soul? How happy am I to find in these mountainous solitudes that repose and tranquillity which is not to be found among men; and where I may have liberty to tell Heaven a piece o' my mind, and condole the misfortunes with which I am unjustly overwhelmed. Compassionate Heaven, hear my complaints; 'tis to you that I address myself, for men are fools and knaves, and you alone can give me consolation, and tell me in plain English what I have to do.'

"Thereupon the curate and his company, curious to know what son of tribulation it was that uttered these doleful lamentations, followed their noses where their ears directed them. Nor had they gone above twenty paces before they spy'd a young lad, to all outward appearance, sitting at the foot of a rock under an ash tree. He was clad in a country habit; but his face they could not see, being bowed almost upon his knees, as he sat washing his feet in a clear and purling stream that glided gently by. They approached him so softly that he never perceived 'em, so that they had the leisure to survey a pair of thighs, so plump, so white, so well shaped, that nothing could appear more beautiful.

" 'Bless us,' quo' they, 'such thighs and legs and alabaster feet as those were never made to follow\* plough-tails or tread garden-plots.'

"Thereupon the curate, who began to smell a rat, beckoned to the rest of the company to go and hide themselves behind the rock. . . . Instead of a comb to disentangle her hair she made use of her fingers, which, by consequence, were very small. That accident made another discovery, of her arms and hands surpassing in whiteness all the ermines or snow that ever fell from the sky. Which astonishing beauties so ravished their admiration and increased their curiosity, that they resolved to accost her, and see who she was. The young lady hearing a noise, peeped through her hair as through a window, and seeing three men coming toward her, only stayed to take up a bundle which she had, and took to her heels with all the speed she could. But her bare, tender feet, not being able to endure the rudeness of the stones, down she fell, poor soul. The curate then overtakes her, and plying her with new *crumbs of comfort*, makes offers to help her, when she, opening the coral gates of her lips, said—

" 'Since these solitary hills have not been able to conceal me, but that my hair has betrayed me, it will be in vain for me to play the

counterfeit any longer with you that can tell, I see, an apple from an oyster.'”\*

And here is Cervantes' most touching, most gracious picture of the same lady.

“*Ay Dios!* Is it possible that I have found a place that will serve me as the secret grave of the weary body I carry so unwillingly? Surely yes; if the stillness of these hills does not deceive me.

“Unhappy me! that these rocks should be more friendly than my kind, that only here I may pour forth my complaints to Heaven, since from not a human being on the earth can I hope for counsel in my doubts, comfort in trouble, or redress for my wrongs.”

“These words were overheard by the priest and those who were with him, and gathering their meaning from the tone in which they were uttered, they rose up in search of their author. They had not gone more than twenty paces, when, from behind a crag, they saw, seated at the foot of an ash, a youth dressed as a rustic. They could not at first see his face, as he was stooping down to bathe his feet in the brook which ran by. So silently did they draw near that they were unheeded, so intent was he on washing his feet, which seemed more like two pieces of pure crystal among the pebbles of the brook than aught else. They were lost in admiration of their beauty and whiteness, and it was evident to them that such feet were not made for breaking clods, following the plough, or running after oxen, as the dress of the youth denoted. The priest, who went first, perceiving that they were unobserved, now made signs to the two to crouch behind certain rocks which were there, and they did so, watching intently all that the youth did. He was clad in a buff jerkin, girded with a piece of white linen; his drawers, gaiters, and cap were also of buff. The gaiters were removed, and the drawers pulled up, discovering more than half of the legs, which appeared to be of white alabaster. After bathing the lovely feet he wiped them with a handkerchief, which he took from his cap, on removing which he displayed such an incomparable beauty, that Cardenio whispered to the priest, ‘This is not a human, but a divine person.’ The youth then took off his cap, and shook out his hair, whose golden glory the sun might have envied. Falling in luxuriant masses over her shoulders the woman, and she a gentle one, was revealed, and to two of them the most lovely woman ever seen. Her long and golden tresses covered not only her shoulders but every curve of her body, her feet only excepted. Her hands served her for a comb; and if the feet in the brook seemed like pieces of crystal, the hands in her tresses appeared like snow wreaths. Her beauty made the spectators eager to know who she was, and they resolved to accost her. At the

\* “The History of the most Renowned Don Quixote of Mancha, and his trusty Squire, Sancho Pancha.” Now made English according to the humour of our modern language. By J. Phillips. London: at the Golden Dragon, in West Smithfield. MDCLXXXVII.

movement they made the lovely girl lifted her face, and parting her hair from her eyes with both hands, to see who or what was approaching, and hardly catching a glimpse of them, she rose with haste, snatched up a bundle, apparently of clothes, and without staying to put on her shoes or bind up her hair, fled, filled with fear and alarm. But she had taken only six steps when, the tender feet unable to bear the cruelty of the stones, she fell to the ground. The three saw it and flew to her, but the priest was first, and exclaimed, 'Do not fly, lady, whoever you are. There are none here but those who desire to serve you; there is nothing to alarm you; and neither can your feet, nor we, allow you to run away.'

"Surprised and confounded, she could make no reply. The priest then taking her by the hand, said, 'That which your dress, Señora, hides from us your hair has discovered. It is evident that no slight cause has moved you to disguise a beauty in a habit so unworthy of it, and led you to a solitude like this in which it has been our fortune to find you. And if it be not given us to 'redress your wrongs,' you shall at least obtain from us counsel in your doubts, and comfort in your trouble. So that, *Señora mía*, or, *Señor mio*, whichever you choose to be, pardon us for our intrusion, but give us the opportunity of serving you.'

"Hearing herself thus addressed, the disguised maiden stood like one amazed—her eyes fixed upon them, her lips parted, but speechless, like some rustic suddenly brought to gaze on some rare thing he had never seen before. After a few more words from the priest, to the same effect as the first, and heaving a deep sigh, she broke the silence, and said, 'Since the solitude of these hills has failed to conceal me, and my own hair has betrayed me, it would ill become my tongue to lie. I thank you for your kindness and offers of service; but such is my misfortune, that I can only expect from you compassion, rather than counsel, and incredulity rather than sympathy; but that I may not suffer in your good opinion for being found in this dress, and alone, things which taken together, or separately, are sufficient to bring an honest credit into disrepute, I shall tell you the cause, whatever pain it may give me.'

"She spoke with so much grace, and in a voice so sweet, that they were still more charmed, not less with her gentleness than her beauty, and they again desired her confidence, and that she would command them as she pleased. Having in all simplicity put on her shoes and stockings, and gathered up her hair, she seated herself on a rock, and the three placing themselves around her, with much effort to restrain her tears, in a clear, calm voice, she began her story thus."

If our limits admitted, it would be easy to multiply instances in which the purity of the "Don Quixote" has been absolutely changed into utter ribaldry in the hands of the English translators.

The thirty-seventh chapter, in which occurs the speech of the Don, commencing with "Away with those who say that letters have the advantage over arms," brings him before us in one of



his lucid moments, and makes us exclaim—surely this is not madness, but rather

“Sweet bells jangled, out of tune,”—

matter and impertinency mixed,

“A mind which, dolphin-like, soars  
Above the element it lives in.”

But Don Quixote was mad. He is in truth a faithful historical picture of a race of madmen in that age very numerous in Spain. There were probably more “divine madmen” and “inspired idiots” in Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries than in all the rest of Europe; and in so far as Charles V. or the Duke de Lerma were mad, whom the Spaniards persist in saying were originals of Cervantes’ Don Quixote, so far are their characters found portrayed in this, the most accurate prognosis of insanity ever given to the world. Whilst it is true that Spain was the first nation to build lunatic asylums, it is no less true that insanity and the cure of insanity was never scientifically handled until Cervantes wrote his “Don Quixote.” And that shows us the noble soul and great tender heart of Cervantes. He discovered the only rational method of curing chiromania, and he used all his might to bring mankind from under the guidance of those who were its victims. He does not present us with the spectacle of one man leering at another’s madness, but he does ask us to laugh at the infatuation which, if unchecked, will most certainly issue in madness, especially such infatuation as rushing on the evils of the world in a pasteboard helmet, with an old target, a worm-eaten lance, and mounted on a screw like Rozinaute. Many such men there were in those days, men of whom it may be said that the world has suffered more from their good-natured enthusiasms than it has suffered from the evil designs of the bad. When Columbus designed to people heaven with Indians from the New World which he discovered, and the priests of those days also taught that men’s bodies might be enslaved for the good of their souls, both Columbus, and the Church, and the kings who then were its nursing fathers, did do one of the deadliest injuries to the world it has ever suffered. When Ignatius Loyola gave up reading books of Gentile chivalry and took to himself a series of still more marvellous romances, “when he found in the legends of the saints a new field of emulation and glory, when he contrasted their self conquests and their high reward with the achievements of Orlando and of Amadis, when he compared those peerless damsels for whom Paladins had fought and died, with the awful image of feminine loveliness and angelic purity which had irradiated the hermit’s cell,”\* when this Loyola plighted

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\* Stephen, Ecc. Biog.

his fealty to the Virgin Mother, and grasped a shield made by himself out of a parchment missal with which to cover the church, and went forth armed with the terrible powers of the world to come, swearing to bathe in the blood of her enemies the sword once desecrated to the mean ends of earthly ambition, then there was preparing for the world one of its most awful scourges. How this dreadful madness developed itself in the New World, where, in the cause of religion, an ancient kingdom, and one of the peaceullest and best of all the ancient kingdoms of the earth was overthrown, and millions of quiet human beings swept into darkness by the tortures, exactions, and spite of these infernal Spanish Christians, may be seen by those who care to follow the countrymen of Don Quixote in their exploits in Mexico and Peru.

Without wishing to limit the range of Cervantes by pretending to produce the actual original of Don Quixote, we may say that it seems to us almost incredible that the founder of the Jesuits was not the prototype of the Knight of the Rueful Visage. Let us put the two portraits together for a moment, and though it may well be that Cervantes'

“ free drift

Halts not particularly, but moves itself  
 In a wide sea . . . . [and that] no levell'd malice  
 Infects one comma in the course he holds,  
 But flies an eagle flight, bold and forth on,”

yet if our parallel comes out straight, and San Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compania de Jesus, is none other than El Ingenioso Hidalgo, Don Quixote de la Mancha, we may perhaps take to reading our “Don Quixote” afresh, and learn the proper way of estimating and treating in these our days the fantastic ways of the mad saint, and his equally mad squires and followers. Space alone compels us to be brief in our parallel references. We quote from the “Vida de S. Ignacio de Loyola, por el P. Francisco Xavier Fluvia,” “of the same company,” printed in Barcelona, 1753, nearly two centuries after the writing of the “Don Quixote,” so that Cervantes is clear of any plagiarism of style or statement from that work.

As Don Quixote began his career by parting with his patrimony to buy books of chivalry, so we find Ignatio “bound captive to the world in chains of gold”—a splendid horseman of superhuman valour, “for he once made single-handed a whole street of armed people fly, who were insulting a priest.” “He was devoted to the ladies by his natural gallantry, without being moved thereto by anything less pure.” “He served the world in this spirit of the natural man for thirty years, *which all his life after he mourned as so many years lost.*” He literally stripped himself of all he had in the world—not, indeed, to buy books of chivalry—

but to become the "greatest knight of the church which the church has ever had."

But it is after his "prodigiosa conversio" that his madness begins, and the likeness to our pale and awful visaged Don comes out. During the siege of the castle of the Loyolas in Guipuzcoa, Ignatio's life was in imminent peril, and he sought "to put himself right with God" by confessing his sins. He does this, not in the regular way by going to a priest, but, as Don Quixote was knighted by a knight of his own brain, so Ignatio, to make his confession more "confounding" to himself, confesses, not as a sane catholic would, to a priest, but to a common soldier, "for which act of great humility God vouchsafed his grace." Ignatio is wounded, "and up to the middle of the night it is certain that he must die; but there came one from heaven who was none other than the glorioso Apostol San Pedro, who, indulging him with a sight of himself, gave him life, leaving him entirely out of danger; and in return for this visit the saint gave the Apostle a poem which he had made in his praise during the din of arms. Thus God disposed that the Prince of the Apostles should favour him, whom afterwards he would employ in defending his chair, in fortifying the Church, and in spreading the faith throughout the world."

Whilst his broken leg was setting, he asks for books of chivalry, "but by the Divine interposition none could be found. There were, however, some lives of the Saints, which are commonly called *Flos Sanctorum*," written in Spanish; and these "worked more on his soul than his recent dread of death, or the visit of Saint Peter." The effect of all of which on that noble maniac being exactly the same as it was on Don Quixote, the fundador crying out, "O, to do the same as St. Francis, to follow the steps of St. Dominick!" and thus "he was ever proposing to himself the greatest, most difficult, and arduous enterprises, impelled thereto by the generosity of his nature, but much more by the grace of God. But as he was a novice in virtue, he conceived the idea that he must do great penances, and for this he dressed himself in a sack; he also bound round his naked body an iron chain; he flogged himself so much and so often, as to draw the blood; he slept on the hard floor; he would only eat herbs; and he was bent on uniting in himself all the austerities he had read of in the saints, and after these rigorous mortifications he would walk barefooted to Jerusalem, visit the sacred places, release the Christian captives, preach to the Turks and Mahometans the faith of Jesus Christ, eagerly desiring to die the same death, and obtain, one day, the crown of martyrdom." He then rises in the middle of the night, and is favoured with an earthquake; when "the Holy

Virgin with the child Jesus in her arms" appears to him, which certainly is one of the most marvellous of miracles, and surpasses anything recorded in any book of chivalry that Don Quixote ever read. The saint at last is able to leave his bed, and he goes to pay his vows at the Chapel of Monserrate. On his way he falls into conversation with a Moor—a civilian, of whom there were many in those days in Arragon. They talked about the Holy Virgin; the Moor objects to her being called the Mother of God, *on which Ignatio gets on fire, and determines to fight him.* Alarmed, the peaceful Moor fled by one of the two roads which there crossed each other, and disappeared. Ignatio, desiring to be led by the will of God, *threw the reins on the neck of the mule, and let her take the road she might be directed to take, &c.* But he did not come up with the infidel. He reached the convent of Monserrate dressed as a knight and nobleman of Spain. *His sword and dagger he hung up in front of an image of the Virgin,* but his magnificent suit of clothes he exchanged for those of a wayside beggar, and he was now fairly on his way to Jerusalem. "But he had scarcely gone a league when he was overtaken by a minister of justice." The poor beggar who had received the saint's fine clothes was taken into custody as a thief, and Ignatio had to give evidence of his having so parted with his velvet suit before the mendicant was released. This he did, but refused to tell who he was, or whither he was going. This is only equalled in its consequences by Don Quixote's interference with the unhappy Andreas and the galley-slaves. Loyola also has his enchanted cave in Barcelona—the cave of Manresa—where his interviews with heaven and hell, angels and devils, are as numerous and as authentic as the dreams of our own more harmless madman in his enchanted cave of Montesinos. Loyola falls into a swoon, after which he has to be comforted by some substantial and wholesome food, the account of which might have been taken from chapter xxii. of our satire. According to this *Vida* of Loyola, it would seem that the existence of the cave of Manresa had once been questioned by Spanish sceptics, as well as the wonders which the saint had seen; his biographer, however, is in possession of irrefragable evidence and numerous witnesses, among which is a stone found in that unwholesome hole "covered with blood." If the reader will turn to chapter xxv. of "Don Quixote," he will see in what manner a similar scepticism is made use of by Cervantes. Poor Loyola, who had given out that he had seen Christ and his mother more than thirty times in the cave, sometimes together, sometimes apart, was favoured with still more stupendous visions afterwards, and one Sunday morning "at mass, and as the priest was raising the host, he saw

in it clearly, lighted as by a celestial light, the very body of the child Jesus." This amazing transubstantiation has only been equalled in the adventures of Don Quixote in his twenty-ninth chapter, where he not only annihilates space, but transforms men into devils, and flour-mills into castles.

Lack of space compels us to draw our parallels to a close, but we must express our conviction that if this Life of Loyola did not bear the stamp and authority of the Society of Jesuits, as being issued under its sanction, and that of the king, we could arrive at no other conclusion but that another great satirist had arisen in Spain to do the same for the lives of the saints as Cervantes had done for the lives of the knights. Between the famous hero of Cervantes' romance and the famous father of the Jesuits there is only one sad difference—Don Quixote was restored to his senses, Ignacio Loyola died mad.

Yet it must not be thought that Cervantes' philosophy of life consisted in always having an eye to the main chance, that whilst he ridicules the men smitten with the illusion of bright visions, which made them disregard the evidence of sense when it opposed the conclusions of their imaginations, he would have us think that heroism, personal prowess in the battle of life, self-denial, and deeds of mercy done to wronged or suffering man, are not essential to a life, noble, and full orb'd. On the contrary, his own life, and this great satire of his, prove that "none shall have shrines erected to their memory in the hearts of men of distant generations unless his own heart was an altar on which sacrifices of self-devotion and magnanimous self-denial were freely offered." His large-heartedness, his bold prophetic shadowing forth of good things to come, his singleness of mind, his high courage, his gentlemanliness, and above all his reverence for woman, makes Don Quixote dear to us. He goes through much misery, his humiliations are constant and numerous. He is cheated, cudgelled, stoned, ridiculed by the mob, imposed upon by dukes and lordly folk, priests, women and families, but he never excites our contempt. The ridiculous affair of the fulling mills was certainly very nearly restoring his reason, but Sancho presuming to make it a subject of jest and coarse satire, his infatuation continues in spite of ocular demonstration—"Fulling mills! How should a knight such as I am know the roar of mills from the din of war?"

Your Sancho Panzas and all selfish, base, and cowardly souls who console themselves for being tossed in a blanket by getting off without paying their score, who for a consideration will go in stag's horns in the forest at the dead of night, who bellow before they are hurt, who die of fright and take refuge in buck-baskets, these fall beneath contempt, except that they too make us laugh.

The life of Cervantes remains to be written. He lived in an

age when the heavens were robbed of their sweet smiles by clouds of a gloomy theology, and the sun itself was hidden by clothes-lines of myriads of priestly vestments hung across it, yet he strove to teach his countrymen through joyous hearty laughter, and to reform abuses by ridiculing them; hence the "Don Quixote" is a satire without bitterness, for it sprang in a heart large and loving, and full of generous purposes. He warned mankind of the horrors of madness, to save men if it were possible from going mad; and if that could not be, then to guard the world from madmen's schemes, reforms, and promises. He designed and manfully carried it out in spite of neglect, poverty, and sorrow, to teach men that if they would do well and see good days they must live free,—free of all holy Inquisitions, or the enforcing of Levitical laws by means of pincers and boots, free to love flowers and smiles and gladness as well as the weightier matters of the law, and must have a free highway to heaven, cleared of the toll-bars of priests.



## ART. II.—THE PILGRIM AND THE SHRINE.

*The Pilgrim and the Shrine; or, Passages from the Life and Correspondence of Herbert Ainslie, B.A. Cantab.* London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868.

**T**HIS significant book would have been given to the world eight years ago had not insuperable obstacles compelled the editor to postpone its publication. Published at the intended earlier date it would have appealed with a force proportional to its comparative freshness and novelty of thought and sentiment to the consciousness of the fit audience whom we trust it will still find. Printed some eighteen years ago it would still more effectually have represented the intellectual movement of the century. The ideal and material revolution in the midst of which we live was then sufficiently conspicuous to be recognised, and not too familiar to be impressive. Somewhat before that time the double impulse which two noticeable men of opposite modes of thought, Thomas Arnold and John Henry Newman, had done so much in their day to evoke, had made itself generally felt. The "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," in which Coleridge had at a prior period formally raised the question of the nature and degree of the inspiration of the Canonical writings, had been succeeded by the bolder criticisms of the great schoolmaster whose rejection of the Mosaic Cosmogony, whose admis-

sion of the spurious character of the prophecies ascribed to Daniel, and whose relegation, to the legendary category, of Biblical narratives, usually assumed to be historical, deeply impressed the awakening intelligence of some among his more candid contemporaries. While Arnold was thus employing his influence in the extension of free inquiry, that other eminent man whom we have placed in discordant conjunction with him, was using all the powers of a subtle ratiocination to withdraw "the supports upon which Protestant Christianity had been content to rest its weight," exposing the infirmities of the commonplace theology, substituting for the authority of reason faith in his "realized ideal," the holy catholic church, and professing to reconcile the claims of the two great rivals, Science and Revelation, by the assertion of a transcendental mesothesis, as illustrated in the assumption of an absolute motion, an equivocal and unverifiable hypothesis.\* A few years after Newman's secession from the Church of England, a former admirer published the religious romance from which we have borrowed the substance of our last sentence, a fiercely earnest and imprudently sincere book, "The Nemesis of Faith," with its impassioned wail, its rebellious cry, its pathetic touches, its occasional splendid eloquence and its tragic moral. About the same time a near relative of the true Chief of the Oxford revolt, escaping from the trammels of religious Protestantism by a mode strongly contrasting with that of his gifted brother, embodied his beliefs and inward experiences in two sceptical and devout volumes, one entitled "The Soul," the other "Phases of Faith." It was about this time, too, that the writings of a man of extraordinary literary genius and inordinate wilfulness of view, Thomas Carlyle, began to fascinate the mind and modify the opinions of young, ardent, and aspiring men. The "Discourse" of Theodore Parker, the "Essays" of Emerson, the "Inquiry" by Charles Christian Hennell, the translation of Strauss's "Leben Jesu," and De Wette's "Introduction to the Bible," Bailey's "Festus," the poem of its day, Tennyson's exquisite "In Memoriam," were the representative books of the period of which we consider this new Pilgrim's Progress a faithful exponent. The Positive Philosophy too, tidings of which had reached our wanderer's ear, was then beginning to attract notice. Introduced by Mr. J. S. Mill in a work of perennial excellence, and subsequently expounded by Mr. G. H. Lewes, its merits were recognised here and there by a solitary student, who had lost faith in the authoritative assertions of theologians or the brilliant but delusive promises of metaphysicians. Though some

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\* "Scripture says the earth is stationary and the sun moves; science that the sun is stationary and that the earth moves, and we never shall know which is true till we know what motion is." We presume that the incident recorded p. 157 of the "Nemesis of Faith" is historical.

of the books in our Pilgrim's library (which does not include all we have catalogued above) are not yet antiquated, the story of the progress which they aided will probably be found less coincident with existing tracks of thought than it would have been had we heard it in earlier days, when fresh from the discussion of opinion to which it points, or more familiar with the presentment of external circumstances correspondent in time. It now affects us as an epilogue; it would once have affected us as a prologue. It might have been a herald trumpet: its music now is rather that of a dying echo; for our Pilgrim, or his Editor, himself acknowledges that "watching the progress of the age, he has seen the Romantic subsiding into the Familiar, the Prophetic into the Past." The work however is still a significant work, is still related to the times, has still a face turned towards the future. The problem of Faith *versus* Reason still continues to preoccupy the mind; the hunt for truth is not over any more than the hunt after gold. We may still inquire with the pilgrim whether the future remedy for slavery will not lie in the common inclusion of the black and the white, though with distinct integrity, in the same State. We may still ask what protection eccentric individuality, or æsthetic independence, or conscientious diversity may reasonably demand, in those latitudes and longitudes where the theory of human liberty is condensed by enlightened patriots like Herbert Ainslie's consistent American, into the generous aphorism—"Ours is a free country, and the majority wont allow it."

In characterizing Mr. Ainslie's autobiography, we may borrow the editor's own language. It is essentially what it professes to be—a simple record of the actual life of our day. Assuming the shape of a story, it is substantially fact. Incidents may be invented or embellished, conversations substituted for direct reflection, and the ultimate issue of the Pilgrimage, the discovery of the Shrine, may (since such an ending is indispensable to the ethical purpose) be not an actual, but an imaginary, though perfectly natural consummation. We have called the book a story; but we must warn the reader that its interest does not lie in the plot. Plot, indeed, there is none. Persons there are; but rather persons of a dialogue than persons of a drama. The merit of the work does not lie in the successful description of high actions or high passions, or in the masterly evolution of character, or in pathetic or stimulating incident. Its merit consists, its interest lies, in the sincere statement and attempted solution of the cardinal problem in our own day, how to reconcile the claims of individual conviction with the claims of social duty, how in the surrender of the old traditionary belief to retain a devout faith, to regard the world as the true sphere of our action, yet to live above the world in its worldlier aspects; to be at once



the practical man that works and enjoys, the contemplative man, that knows the order and the uses of the world, and the religious man, in whom knowledge and work have not extinguished the sentiment of a holy ideal. The effort, successful or not, to show how the sceptic may face and lay his doubts, to portray the growth of believing thought, and to present a possible solution of the great question which is agitating almost every reflecting man and woman, is, in the form selected by the autobiographer, a courageous and original effort.

This series of "Passages from Herbert Ainslie's Life and Correspondence" differs from the "Nemesis of Faith," a sort of companion creation, with which it may be contrasted rather than compared, as life differs from death, or health, from disease. Herbert Ainslie argues calmly, analyses with a logical composure, and is playful, witty, and humorous when occasion permits. Unlike the traveller "of whom it was said he had gone round the world without ever going into it," he is rich in experiences gathered from converse with outward life, or harvested by quiet meditation. If in some passages we find a record of grim adventures, in others are chronicled happy meetings, pleasant memories, sallies of exulting faith. In one important aspect the early career of Herbert Ainslie contrasts very favourably with that of Markham Sutherland. The hero of the "Nemesis" is a moral prisoner. He is a sceptical clergyman, a character which we can assure our readers is not unknown in the Church of England. The mental uneasiness which had harassed the layman, ripened into conviction of the untenableness of his creed after he had taken orders. In a moment of passionate abandonment he betrays his secret, or rather, by his unguarded language invites an attack which malicious opponents are not slow to prosecute. Summoned to the presence of the bishop, he makes his confession, and, in the end, resigns his preferment. The sacrifice, however, came too late. "In him," says his biographer, "the destruction of religion was the destruction of the worshipper." He escaped, indeed, from the thralldom of a professional adhesion to a Church whose creed he had rejected, but only "with his moral insight distorted, and with his spiritual constitution too shattered to enable him to face successfully the trials of life." It is different with the hero of the present work. Herbert Ainslie made his decision from the first. After graduating at Oxford, he saw that the hour was fast approaching when he would be required to subscribe to the Articles, and, closing with the offer of a family living, enter into Holy Orders. Eager to "breathe the pure air that blows on the old silent hills of God," he obtained from his parents and guardians a year's grace, accepting a sort of mission to one of the

West India Isles, to look after some property belonging to the family. A way-out once before him, he never returns to the bondage of conventional opinion. The living he relinquishes to the acceptance or refusal of a younger brother, and wanders in quest of truth and work, over sea and land, seeking gold in California, and finding a home in Australia. With him, the inward struggle was but a brief one. This choice of Hercules was soon made. The great trouble was not the change of a career, the sacrifice of a defined social position, the loss of a secured income, it was the sorrow which the thought of the rupture of old ties, of the sweet bonds of a happy home, caused him. In the conversation with his friend, Charles Arnold, who argues for latitude of interpretation, and advises the adoption of a profession, the active realities of which would soon eclipse scrupulous abstractions, Herbert half soliloquizes, half addresses his friend—

“I should like to have some of the details of the early Christian life: to know how one of them, a member of some devout Pagan family, comported himself when the light of a higher life dawned upon him, and the joy of it was succeeded by revulsion, on thinking of the grief his apostasy would cause his good, pious old parents.”

In the sequel, the domestic problem here suggested receives no solution. As we have seen, Herbert Ainslie postpones disclosure, and meanwhile escapes. Once out of that charmed circle of love and terror, he finds his determination strengthen. He resolves that he will never take orders; he declares that he has no mission to break hearts; he decides that he will not return home to inflict, by an open and unavoidable avowal, inexpressible suffering on a mother, who would indeed believe in the purity of her son's motives, but would sorrow intensely; or to witness the cruel irony of a father, who would resign himself with a sigh, to the inscrutable decree that makes a son of his a reprobate, and try to comfort himself with a belief that it is all for the glory of God. In the form of a dream, however, he presents us with a natural and vivid realization of what his position would be if he returned to that Eden whose gates had closed on him. He might, on the hypothesis of a different decision, have described the sorrow, perplexity, and bewilderment of those dear ones whose faith, with its early hopes and its inveterate fears, the apostate son or brother sees himself compelled to abandon, and silently ignore or openly controvert. He might have described the dejection, as of the blackness of death, which overcasts the soul of the man who disbelieves out of a greater belief, but who is dismayed at the darkness of the shadow which his presence casts, in the home where the old affection tolerates or even welcomes him still; he might have portrayed

Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—*NEW SERIES*, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. 2

the anger and irritation, the preternatural gloom, the intolerable reciprocal sense of wrong, the nightmare-like embarrassment, in which friends, suddenly assuming the shape of enemies, and stricken as with the curse of Babel, break out into half-articulate utterances, each for ever more hopelessly incomprehensible to the other; he might have heard, not in dream only, but in reality, the sentence of expulsion; or he might have recorded the speechless grief, or the agonizing cry, or the grave, sad rebuke of some fair girl tenderly beloved, when he was compelled to divulge his terrible secret, to accept the word of rejection from her lips, and to leave her to bear her share of the common sorrow, aggravated by the flaming anticipation of the unspeakable agonies that await the soul of the man that she has once loved, but whom now she must love no more, with that magical sweet love which made all earth a fairyland. Believing that such experiences have not been altogether strange to English homes in this distracted time, we have ventured to fill in Mr. Ainslie's outline, or rather to intimate how he might have pictured this struggle in its inward movements and in its outward consequences. It will be forgiven us if, in passing, we warn men younger than ourselves, harassed with obstinate theological questionings, not to commit the fatal error of attempting lifelong concealment of doubt, much less that of entangling themselves in those ensnaring vows which leave their victim no alternative but that of stifling conviction, quenching the light of the soul, violating the purity of a tender conscience, or of facing under aggravating circumstances a sort of social martyrdom, by bursting the bonds of an unendurable imprisonment, of encountering, it may be, not the Furies that scare with angry looks, or torture with the material scourge, but the avengers of holy love and simple faith, and truth in life and thought, that punish with "beautiful regards."

The decision of Herbert Ainslie spared him and spared all whom he loved those bitter hours of intense sorrow which a different determination would have brought with it. A division, indeed, there was between himself and his family, but no lifelong complications, no loss of spiritual health. He was free from the moment when he made his final election to seek for a faith that could console and sustain him, for a vocation that he could follow without prejudice to the integrity of his spiritual being, for a life in which he should find his own happiness in dedicating himself to the service of others. His pilgrimage, his double pilgrimage, might now commence: his external pilgrimage, with its adventures on shore and sea, and his intellectual pilgrimage, with its wanderings of careful thought, its search for the distant shrine of which he dreamed. We will follow him, with unequal steps, in his devious route through both, remembering only that the interest of the

geographical excursion is in general subordinate to that of the mental excursion.

Bounding over the blue, snowy-crested, racing billows of Biscay, with a mind growing vast and luminous in proportion as the sea-suffering body sank in weakness and lassitude, crossing the broad bosom of the Atlantic, and joyfully touching land at last, our pilgrim visits every island between Barbadoes and Jamaica, and is delighted with his first experience of tropical scenery. In Jamaica he passes a few days in a plantation, where luxuriating in "the intense pleasure of being still, of lying on the grass, by turns dozing and gazing up into the boundless blue, or watching the blacks at work—a happy chattering race, described exactly in some of Captain Marryat's novels"—cheered and invigorated by the glimpse of a beauty before unknown, he presses on to Panama. At the Isthmus he finds the old Spanish population roused from their quiet repose of decay by an irruption of gold-hunters from the North American States, and after breathing the cool delicious upland air near the fallen city of Pizarro, crumbled and buried under forests, he catches the common contagion, and joins Texan rangers, Mexican traders, farmers, lawyers, slave-owners, and a miscellaneous crew of gold-seekers, in a voyage to the Sacramento. On board the *Killooney* he meets with one character who interests him much. He is known only as the Major. A reserved, though not ungenial man, brooding ever over some secret sorrow, he is pleased with Herbert's society. In the end they become fast friends. One hundred days from Panama they enter the Golden Gate, and Herbert and the Major agree to keep together. For the explanation of the secret sorrow of the "simple and yet great souled Major" we shall send the curious to the record itself, nor shall we dwell on the community in labour, the fellowship in suffering, or the ultimate severance of the two friends. As a gold-finder our traveller is by no means fortunate. After ample expenditure and months of hard work the selected settlement disappointed his hopes. Instead of the expected bed of clay glittering throughout with scales and lumps of gold, the adventurer gazed only on bare granite, smooth and polished by the ceaseless rushing of the waters. At length rumours reached California that a great rival to her has started up in the far South, that in Australia gold fields have been found equal to hers. Flying from the land of vain labour and baffled hope, of reckless violence and unmitigated self-seeking, Herbert, who through all this degrading circumstance and coarse association still preserved his noble freshness and purity of character, seeks the new world of the South Seas. We will let him describe his vision of the Happy Isles for himself, with some abridgment of the original description:—

"We glide on as in a pleasant dream. Such days, such nights of

beauty. We have passed the sun, and our noonday shadows point to the south. Higher yet, and higher in the nightly sky, rides the Southern Cross; soon will the Southern Isles appear. An end to dreaming now, for much caution is necessary to thread with safety the coral labyrinths of these seas. Sometimes in a moment the deep blue of fathomless ocean gives place to an almost milky white, and at a short distance appears a cluster of little circles of coral, presenting their rims just above the water, and looking like so many white fairy rings, enclosing lagoons of stillest water. . . . One, two islands are passed, mere knolls of palm trees, apparently growing out of the ocean. At last higher land appears in sight. A few hours more, and we glide along a reef-bound shore, catching glimpses of lovely valleys in among hills covered with unfading green."

Guided by a pilot through an opening in the reef, our Pilgrim finds anchorage in still water, so clear that "gazing many a fathom down he can see the branching coral of white and red, and gaily coloured fishes darting about or pausing among the boughs in a tree." At length he finds himself in a beautiful little bay edged with a narrow strip of white beach—

"The shore is lined with groves of orange and citron, bananas, cocoa-nut, and bread-fruit trees. Under the shade are ranged the huts of the natives, spacious and well built. Walking down to meet us on our landing comes a fair girl of some fifteen summers, or rather of one summer of fifteen years long, and beautiful as a dream, with soft dark eyes and long, glossy, black ringlets hanging down her glowing shoulders, and revealing a bust and figure of most perfect form. Her smooth, shining skin is of whiter hue than the other natives. She is clad with the prevailing cincture of weeds, from the waist nearly to the knees, and is now in the full perfection of fresh womanhood and beauty. Serene and dignified as an empress, and yet purely artless and unconscious, she advances towards us. I think of '*vera incessu patuit Dea*,' and the little Frenchman throws up his arms and exclaims, 'This is an Arabian Night.' There are missionaries and other white men on the island, so she may have learned a little English. 'What is your name?' 'Maleia,' is the response, in soft Samoan accents; for we are upon the island of Upolo, one of the Navigator's or Samoa Group. Beautiful Maleia thus understanding me, we soon become friends, and I decorate her fair neck with some trinkets I had been careful to bring with me. Directed by her, the little Frenchman seeks the abode of the white men; and she leads me in search of fruit to the adjoining banana grove. Here Maleia selects for me the finest bananas, and when I have enough of these, shakes down a green cocoa-nut, and opening it carefully, gives me a draught of milk, sweet, refreshing, and delicious. The white kernel is soft as thick cream. Here reclining under the great banana leaves, the moist and balmy air, laden with fragrance and indescribable richness, throws a mantle of oblivion over all the past, shrouding all its cherished schemes in far indistinctness and inducing a longing to dream away the remainder of life undisturbed alike by regret and desire. Here one learns to sympathize

with Adam in his garden of delights, and to feel that he would have been a heartless wretch—what Yankees call a ‘mean man’—had he refused the apple at Eve’s hand.”

Maleia tells him her little history. Having had a white man for her father she is proud to claim kindred with white men. Our traveller stands now at the “gateway of the day,” but the dawn comes and he leaves this glorious dusky maiden, the heavy blossomed bower, the summer isles of Eden, this vision of the dreamer of Locksley Hall. He sees that he is as little fitted to make the lovely savage happy, as she is able to satisfy the heart of him, the cultivated man of Europe. He eats his last lotus and tells her he will eat no more.

“I have told her this. With a quiet, thoughtful air she listened, as if not fully comprehending me, and then said, first proudly, ‘Maleia got white blood too—Maleia no Samoan;’ then sadly and reproachfully, ‘Why go when you fond of Maleia; go when you tired of her.’ And this was all she said until I reached the end of my explanation, when she replied, ‘Maleia no understand; but Maleia sorry.’

The dream of the summer seas ended, the disenchanting wanderer presses on to the accomplishment of his great purpose. Once more the Pilgrim seeks his shrine—the man a faith, an occupation, and a home. In one of the principal churches of Sydney he describes himself as listening with deep indignation to a “lovely discourse,” in which the preacher (who may be heard without going to Australia) maintained that that simple utterance of woe, “I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me,” incontrovertibly established the existence of a future life, and David’s belief in it, as well as of the great improvement of his faculties, without which he would have been unable to recognise the inmate of the royal nursery in the society of glorified angels: “especially as old men do not generally take notice of infants so as to know them apart!” During the sermon, our half-uncivilized gold-digger could not forbear from expressing his appreciation of the logical powers and philosophical speculations of the preacher. A young lady in the same pew is startled at first by his curt criticism, “Stuff,” but after listening for a few moments, she entirely agrees with the critic, whispering to herself, “Why so it is.”

With this young lady, the daughter of a Mr. Travers, an Australian sheep-farmer, he forms an intelligent and noble friendship. In her he recognises a soul open to all the universe. She realizes successively the various ideals of womanly perfection which he finds in Shakespeare. She is Miranda, Viola, Beatrice, Cordelia. “She is not beautiful, but Beauty; not religious, but Religion.” She is the original of all the Madonnas; and, through her inspiration, he is at last enabled to “beat his music out.” He now finds a haven of content, and a shrine at which he may

baunched by the forcible imposition of external authorities in Church and State through so many ages, that a true sense of the virtue of toleration scarcely exists as yet even in an embryonic form. The tyrannies over each other exercised recently by certain associated artisans, speak ill for the apprehension on the part of certain classes of what liberty in a normal state should be. The cries in some quarters for suppressing by law the sale of spirituous drinks, and the attachment to legal safeguards of Puritanism on the part of influential bodies of Englishmen, as well as many other retrograde symptoms, show that Government has a sufficient work before it in guaranteeing to all individuals the utmost amount of personal freedom. Here then is a natural and beneficial function for Government to perform. Let Government become the main and ever-present example of a voluntary institution conducted in the spirit of liberty by interfering as little as possible with the wills, sentiments, and actions of honest men. Let it only venture to put forth its irresistible strength when honest men are tyrannized over by dishonest, and when liberty itself is in danger of being scouted from the face of the land. In the name of such a policy as this, the Government of England would proceed at once to give every security to associations of individuals which it gives to individuals themselves for the safety of their common funds and for the discharge of their debtors' obligations. The purposes of the association would be simply indifferent, and Trades' Unions would be treated as impartially in this respect as if their operations were never accidentally attended with circumstances lamentable in themselves but wholly independent of the nature of the organization itself. At the same time actual tyranny, when discovered, would be punished as severely as any other breach of the ordinary criminal law.

We limited ourselves by saying that associations of individuals should have the same favour shown to them in the matter of debts as individuals themselves, because we are of opinion that it is in the long run an erroneous policy which leads Governments to legislate in the matter of contracts at all. It is no doubt difficult or impossible at present to curtail the operations of Government in this direction, when the notion of the essentially legal characteristics and incidents of a contract has become so indelibly imprinted on the national mind. At the same time it is well to remember that whatever legal force the Government gives to contracts, so much it withdraws from their moral weight. It guarantees to one contractor some further security over and above the moral honesty of the other contractor, and so, by rendering pure honesty of itself a less marketable commodity, conduces to its depreciation. That a state of society might be such as to dispense with a law of contracts altogether, is obvious from what is witnessed about us in the conduct of the

an invincible repugnance. Starting with the assumption of total depravity, Calvinism, he contends, repudiates nature and seeks to suppress individuality. It is the apotheosis of selfishness and caprice. It represents God as creating, destroying, and saving, mainly if not entirely from motives of self-aggrandizement. It incites man to do what is right by no higher consideration than that of saving his own soul. It punishes the innocent that the guilty may be saved. It fails in the purpose it has in view, for, after 'all, the great majority of men are lost. It assumes in the Heavenly Father an inability to forgive his repentant children, whom he had created weak, ignorant, and liable to err, without a compensation of blood and agony. It assumes in a being of infinite goodness a capricious injustice, since to gratify his vindictive impulse he consents to pardon the guilty at the expense of the innocent. It makes will the basis of right, instead of making right the object of will. If the real charm of Calvinism consists in its apparent logical sequence, that charm, as our Pilgrim tells us, ceases to be felt when the reasoning faculty is adequately developed. "The very ascription of Deity to Jesus involves the injustice of God, for it implies that he required of man what was utterly beyond human power to perform."

A considerable number of Christian men, lay and clerical, reject this doctrine in its more revolting aspects. We have called it the popular theology. To us it seems that the popular theology is essentially the theology of the Bible. It is the theology that poisoned our youth; it is the theology that perverts unsympathetic and unrealizing minds, and invites them to contemplate "the torments of the damned as one of the principal delights of the saved." The free theologian may repudiate the doctrine of plenary inspiration, and relegate the story of Adam's fall and the dogma of hereditary depravity to the same intellectual limbo to which many good and useful clergymen have consigned the Mosaic Cosmogony and the Noachian deluge; but the continuity of Scripture, and the authority of the English Church, disallow their liberal exegesis. The historical existence of Adam is assumed by St. Paul, is guaranteed by Jesus, is asserted in the Liturgy. The theory of marriage and divorce, as held by Jesus, presupposes the truth of the story of the fabled parents of mankind; and in the Marriage Service the voice of the Church re-echoes the teaching of the man whom the Church deems divine. Even the doctrine of eternal punishment is, we fear, not only the doctrine of popular but of Biblical theology. Knowing what can be fairly urged against it, we are still of opinion, on grounds both of language and exegesis, that the doctrine in the gospels of a future state is that which we find in



the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, taking the words in their natural signification. "He prepared in the depth of Gehenna flakes of fire and burning coals for their punishment for ever in the world to come, who have not kept the commandment of the Law in this world." Jesus himself, in the gospels, teaches the dogma of endless vindictive punishment.\*

Revolting against the selfish and unnatural creed of the Church, as he had heard it expounded, the Pilgrim was led to consider its evidences, and in particular to test the value of the dogma of plenary inspiration. He began by making a collection of Biblical adversaria, and though he gave up the task as a barren one for himself, he advises every Bibliolater to undertake a similar one. It was once remarked by a liberal clergyman of our acquaintance, that critics who constitute themselves defenders of the faith, adopt the singular practice, in their attempts to reconcile science and revelation, of rejecting the obvious and probable meaning in favour of a remote and barely possible interpretation. Such a procedure carries with it its own condemnation. In a similar spirit our Pilgrim observes, "Men use their educated moral sense to extract the good and reject the evil; but they seem to lay it aside when they declare that the whole is good at the very moment that they are explaining away the obvious meaning of passages that shock them." This doctrine of plenary inspiration, which has replaced, with most educated men, the fetish dogma which ascribed every word in our Bibles to the dictation of an infallible Intelligence, is itself one which is slowly dissolving, even in the Church. There are clergymen who deny the authenticity and genuineness of the Book of Daniel; there is one at least whose estimate of the Apocalypse closely agrees with that of the best German critics. The late Mr. Robertson acknowledged that the idea of an immediate approach of the end of the world was entertained by the earliest teachers of Christianity, and contributed greatly to the speedy triumph of that religion; and critics, otherwise orthodox, are willing to make large concessions. One surrenders the integrity of Mosaic authorship; another admits the presence of legendary elements in the old narrative of patriarchal life; another allows the distinction between the first and second Isaiah. Quite recently, if we may trust the report in the *Guardian*, Dr. Irons, who can hardly be suspected of neological proclivities, has undertaken to show that we need not accept Old Testament miracles, except where expressly stamped by our Lord's acceptance of them, and that New Testament quotations from prophecy are not con-

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\* See Georgii's "Eschatology," and Zeller's "State after Death," in "Theological Annals" for 1845, 1847.

clusive evidence of foreknowledge in the prophecy itself.\* When so much is conceded, it is manifest that the right of free inquiry is conceded with it. The surrender of the doctrine of plenary inspiration becomes a question of degree and time. No broad line of demarcation can be drawn, and the critic who detects legend in the Pentateuch, is inconsistent if he ignores its presence in the Gospels. Read in the light of an intelligent criticism, the sacred volume of old Hebrew literature recovers its native splendour, and glows all over with the vigour of new life, and with a freshness as of morning dawn. We are sorry we cannot give Mr. Ainslie credit for a very critical appreciation of either the Old or New Testament. His studies indicate no acquaintance with the learned researches of the eminent German theologians, Gesenius, Ewald, Meier, Baur, Zeller, or Schwegler. Still we doubt not he was a careful reader, with a fine sense for discriminating between the spirit and the letter, the real and the accidental, in Hebrew or Christian legend. He insists that the Bible is a representative book, free and open to all; and in one phase of his pilgrimage, discovers, in the gradual development of truth in the Bible history, not a variation of statements, as a friend suggests, to adapt them to the growth of the human mind, but merely the result of man's own mental growth. He finds in the religious experience of the old Bible saints, an appeal to an ideal law. He sees in Christianity a worship of the divinest character, as exemplified in a human form. He conceives the true work of Christ to have been to call into glad activity the secret life of the soul; to kindle a moral enthusiasm for holy thought and action, to evoke the conception of an internal and voluntary goodness. Mr. Ainslie, too, is nearly right when he says that Jesus, recognising intensely the all-winning loveliness of his idea, and feeling that it would never lack ardent disciples to propagate it, was indifferent to ecclesiastical organization, leaving it to each age to devise such means as the varying character of the times might suggest. It was a necessary conclusion with such an inquirer, that the Christian Church consists of all who follow a Christian ideal of character, no matter whether, or in whom, they believe that ideal to have been personified.

This ideal, the sole ideal that we can have, is in the last analysis a human ideal. The Pilgrim adopts a sentence from the "Social Statics" of Mr. Spencer, whom he calls the Euclid of Ethics: "Morality is essentially one with physical truth. It is a kind of transcendental physiology." Evil with him is that which abridges or arrests; the only sin against God is the sin against

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\* Among the subscribers to the Davidson Testimonial are the Bishop of St. David's, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Dean of Westminster.

ourselves ; the only way to serve God is to serve man. While he holds with Shelley that the great secret in morals is love or a going out of ourselves, a self-identification with others through sympathy, he defends the selfish theory of ethics, on the ground that the highest selfishness will find the most intense satisfaction in the happiness of others, even though it involve self-denial, and even self-sacrifice for the welfare of others. Our sole objection to this statement is that it is liable to misapprehension. In one sense indeed, it is impossible not to act from a selfish, that is, a personal motive, from a motive springing out of individual consciousness, but it is courting misconception to call such an action or motive selfish: It is the highest manifestation of the affectional nature, and in the popular and expected sense of the word, is not selfish. To feel pain in the pain of others or pleasure in the pleasure of others, is an ultimate principle in the human constitution, and is no doubt biologically explicable. In the only sense in which we care to contest the point, this is not a selfish but a disinterested element in man, the source of the purest devotion to the welfare of others, and the spring of our own sweetest happiness ; for, the grand specific against the cares and sorrows that corrode life, or the self-preoccupation that multiplies misery, is to live in and for others—the only nobly impersonal religion is to do good to others, hoping for nothing again.

In his theory of life and the world the Pilgrim, though hardly a disciple of the positive philosophy, inclines to accept its initial principle of applying to all subjects, mental, political, and social, the method which has been hitherto confined to physical science. Gradually arranging in harmonious order the facts accumulated by experience, he would ascend from the highest philosophical to the highest religious idea. The regular, tranquil, and benign course of the universe excites in him feelings of joy, wonder, thankfulness, and admiration. Seeking the universal soul that underlies and harmonizes all manifestations, he complains of that intellectual populace which recognises the divine presence only in exceptional power and force, not in the quiet constancy of nature and the unobtrusive action that shows the daily beauty of her working. This deplorable insensibility characterizes all from whom an ignorant familiarity hides the real glory of the world, and is not confined to the subjects of the following illustration :—

“ A party of Indians came up to me one day while I was gazing with delight on a hollow in a hill-side, covered with a carpet of flowers of most exquisite colours, a perfect marvel of beauty, which I tried in vain to make them see and appreciate ; but I could get nothing out of them but that it was always so at that spring season, and that the flowers were not good to eat.”

Though maintaining that all ideas result from experience, the Pilgrim, whose speculations occasionally perplex us, transcends experience when he proclaims his faith in a universal unity. If we understand him rightly, he conceives the world as a body containing mind and evolving thought. God creates the phenomenal universe as man creates his own character and position. "The only intelligible idea of God," he contends, "is that which includes all extremes of existence." In one passage he writes, "Matter is eternal;" and a little after he asks, "If matter be self-existent, why not also its inherent law of the mutual tendency of its atoms?" He seems half inclined to adopt a kind of Pantheism, which represents all things as a manifestation of a supreme being that underlies all phenomena, and teaches that these manifestations vary with the divine will, and are mutually dependent, reconciling this belief with the conclusions of science by postulating a sovereign will, whose motives have their basis in the nature and condition of things: "so that in this manner also, the sequence of events appears governed by constant laws." On the relative claims of Theism or Pantheism to our allegiance he can hardly, however, bring himself to pronounce a final sentence. He thinks that the difference may be a matter of temperament, that both may possibly be true for the same individual; the emotional part of our nature requiring one, and the logical part the other. He confesses that he has no innate or intuitive perception of Deity, none of the necessary existence of God, except as an ultimate postulate to a common assumption. In attempting to form a conception of a personal God, he complains that he is but deifying the final product of his own faculties—a projection of himself, like the image of the wayfarer reflected from the Brocken, only huge and indefinite. He compares the God of his search to the lowest rock—"You know the story: the child inquired of its grandmother what supported the ground. 'Rocks,' answered the old lady. 'And what supports the rocks?' 'Why, other rocks, to be sure.' 'But what is there under all the rocks?' 'Why, bless the child! there are rocks *all the way down.*'"

In this indefinite Idealism the Pilgrim is contented to rest. To have faith in a transcendent Conscious Being, to feel himself homogeneous with all of the universe that comes within his range, to recognise the threefold unity of Beauty, Goodness, and Truth, the revelations of Science and Art, the duty and blessedness of self-devotion, to discern in the character of a pure, true, compassionate woman, the best and nearest revelation of the Divine in nature, and to feel himself exalted and transformed by the influence of this faith in a holy ideal, this marriage of true minds, this life in others, is the happy issue of his

mental wanderings. This is the shrine in which the Pilgrim kneels.

A similar pilgrimage is not unfrequent in the present day. Everywhere we see signs of revolt or disaffection against traditional authority, inconsequent Protestantism, or sophistical Established Churches. We are very far indeed from thinking that the voice of hoar antiquity, as it reverberates through the many tottering shrines of Christendom, has lost its charm, or from anticipating or desiring the speedy overthrow of the great Christian Temple. But we believe that sooner or later the old dogma will be found bankrupt; that the revolt which has begun in the circle of thoughtful and inquiring men, will spread through every rank in society. Already unbelief may be heard sedately expressing a courteous dissent, or breaking out into abrupt defiance, or whispering with timorous hesitation, a half-hearted No. In literary or scientific circles, among men eminent for philosophic thought, among politicians, among theologians, where women gather or men meet, freedom of thought and freedom of speech are more common than complacent orthodoxy dreams. The amount of suppressed scepticism is incalculable. The fear of the folk or the love of the folk secures a temporary and outward acquiescence. The husband who has abandoned the creed of his home confides the secret to a sympathizing friend, bargaining for silence while he does so, for, for peace's sake he worships at the altar he disavows; the daughter, who has her budding heresy, cherishes it in secret, knowing that an open avowal would make enemies of those of her own household. The decrease in the number of candidates for holy orders, said in one diocese to amount to two-thirds of the original annual quota, is a significant fact of evil augury for the Church. Everywhere the Pilgrimage has begun, and we are convinced that it will terminate before many generations are over in the general movement of society from the temples of old and blind authority to the shrine of a living and illuminating faith.

In the meanwhile we welcome the graceful and temperate expression of the new tendencies which we find in these "Passages of Herbert Ainslie's Life and Correspondence." We do not say that the author has solved the problem; but he has stated it intelligibly, and has shown how, in accordance with his own experience, a solution may be found. The particular shrine in which he worships is one that men can rarely hope to reach. Union with a noble and beautiful woman, a visible embodiment of the highest excellence, has no doubt a purifying and exalting influence, but it is not every Pilgrim that will find a "Holy Mary." Men less privileged than our hero must be content with such standards

and examples of human worth as a common experience may supply. Familiarity with the lofty thoughts and generous actions of the great and good of all time has a magical efficacy only less than that of love. In the idea of a humanity realized in the past and future, no less than in the present, in the inspiration drawn from the lives of the heroes and saints of Paganism, as well as of the heroes and saints of Christendom, lies the source of fresh energy for work, increasing desire for knowledge, and growing enthusiasm for goodness. Here is an ideal, and an ideal that is also a reality, a loving allegiance to which will make us "effective combatants in the great fight which never ceases to rage between good and evil." If we must at present despair of finding such a faith as all can accept, we can at least live out such faith as we have. The one imperative need is that every man shall be true to the ideal in which he believes. Theism has, or seems to have, its logical and philosophical difficulties, Pantheism its obscurities and moral dangers, Positivism its spiritual limitations; but the belief in a Divine Personal Consciousness who created and preserves the world, or in an impersonal Intelligence which is the life of the universe, or in a Humanity omnipresent to us, and in the nobler servants of humanity, in the collective mind, affection, and action of the intellectual benefactors of the race,—any one of these ideals, honestly and faithfully accepted, has power to raise man above himself, and associate him with that higher life which stimulates aspiration and practical effort, the crowning end of all emotion, by enlarging the circle of our desires, our knowledge, and our love. For our Pilgrim utters a true oracle when he says that it is still within the limits of the Finite and the Knowable that the whole duty and happiness of man must be sought. Like Faust, yearning for heaven's fairest star, but more than contented in the end to drain a marsh, henceforth a new dwelling-place for countless generations, we return from the contemplation of our holy ideal to the life in human affection, to the work of common improvement, to the abiding interests in science, art, and practice, that offer at once excitement, occupation, and reward.

These are some of the thoughts suggested by this new "Pilgrim's Progress," through which we have accompanied the subject of the tale. We have but little now to add on the volumes which record these mental wanderings in forbidden ground, and the external travels which correspond to them; and that little must be briefly said. Deficient in characterization, deficient in plot interest, it is the recital of the hero's mental pilgrimage that is the true charm of the book. But in addition to the attraction that many will find in this tale of intellectual adventure, in

the animated and often cogent indictments against a traditionary religion and a church which exists not "for the discovery of truth, but the preservation of doctrine," in the expression of valuable thought and healthy sentiment, less speculative and more entertaining matter will also be found—pictures of scenery in California and Australia, sketches of wild life among the gold hunters, graphic descriptions of the magnificent blue butterfly, or the shrill-voiced light-green cicada, or the bright-yellow whip-mimicking snake of Panama, or of splendid tiger lilies whose red and speckled blossoms hang heavily in the noon-day heat. In its pages we meet with sagacious comment, bold conjecture, pleasant anecdote, or witty remark. The repose of the book is like that of the "noble graudeur" of the trees which our traveller invokes. The style is transparently clear, the language pure, natural, and of Greek-like beauty. The author has tried to realize his ideal of the novelist's mission. We hope to meet him again, and to see him approximate still more closely to his high standard, in the delineation of more complex scenes of life and wider diversities of thought, feeling, and action.

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### ART. III.—MODERN NOTIONS OF GOVERNMENT: THE IRISH QUESTION.

1. *England and Ireland.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Longmans. 1868.
2. *A Letter to the Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, M.P., on the State of Ireland.* By JOHN EARL RUSSELL. Third Edition. London: Longmans. 1868.
3. *Anarchy and Authority.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD. *Cornhill Magazine* for February. Smith and Elder. 1868.

IT is impossible even for a calm observer to overlook the fact that, at the present moment, there are in this country an unusual number of grave political problems calling for immediate solution. Upon the success of such solution must depend the destiny and welfare of the English people for generations to come. In the absence of thought, and knowledge, and skill, all attempts at such solution are little better than child's play or gambler's throws. If any hope is to be entertained for the future, a certain measure of agreement must be attained sooner

or later as to what government means, what are its uses, and what are its limits. Some fixed axioms must be accepted as to the true policy generally adapted to modern European countries, and especially to England, in respect of all such primary matters as land, education, religion, and economical progress. A term must be set to the endless disputings about first principles, in order to the divergencies of opinion that must still exist being raised to a higher platform, and finer differences receiving the consideration that is their due. As things now are, the world of talkers and would-be thinkers is divided between empirical dabblers in the questions of particular policy that crop up from day to day, and closet students to whose political eye-sight, ever fixed upon some indefinitely removed future, each event of actual daily life is only colourless or disturbing. There is an urgent demand for a new race of politicians, serenely calm and yet intensely sympathetic, never overlooking the minutest perplexity in the political situation of the passing hour, and yet none the less having a tenacious grasp upon deep-laid principles of policy far over-riding in their interest every special use to which they may be put.

Most Englishmen have their private views as to the kind of matters with which they like or wish to see Government interfere. They suffer as much torment from the mention of any theory different from their own as from the story of persons with monstrous appetites dining off a strange dish or trying to make popular a hitherto unused article of food. If it be suggested that Government should withdraw from any field up to this time occupied, the well-to-do citizen is palsied with the horror of anarchy. Is it insinuated that in some other field Government might advantageously do more than is done now?—an alarmist shriek is inevitably echoed from every side, awoken by the threatened advent of tyranny and despotism.

These facts, which the commonest experience, enlightened by a study of the daily papers, renders familiar to all capable of approaching them, speak ill for the general intelligence abroad on matters of political importance. It cannot be, in truth, that as to the true province of Government, each man is a sufficient measure to himself. It must be that on this topic there are some views which are nearer the truth for all men than are all other views, and it must be better for all men to hold and act upon the views which are nearer the truth than those which are farther removed from it. The experience of past ages, the ascertained facts of human nature, the result of current observations conducted from day to day, must favour some theory as to the true province of Government, rather than any other. If no theory has yet been reached, it can only be that past history and current facts



have not yet been patiently studied with this view. It is also true, no doubt, that all the grounds upon which any theory whatever might be based are so shifting in their nature and rest upon historical events so imperfectly recorded, as well as upon observations so inaccurately made, that the most certain theory attainable cannot be free from a large number of limitations and doubts. The pause in public life interposed between the passing of an Act for the redistribution of the forces of Government and that Act being carried into operation, affords a natural season for considering how the forces of Government ought to be employed ; what is the work they can do with the greatest advantage, and what is the work they cannot so much as attempt without doing far more harm than good. It may prove that in the solution of this problem is contained a sure ground of hope for the country under the natural apprehensions excited by what is held by many to have been spasmodic and inconsiderate legislation. It may even turn out that in a new conception of the true sphere within which Governmental agencies ought to confine themselves, there is enclosed a nobler idea than any yet familiarly entertained of the possibilities of human nature and the destined elevation of the race.

It might have been expected, as has been the case, that the chaotic views abroad as to the true functions of Government would excite different reactions, taking the form of distinct theories, varying considerably according to the quarter from which they emerge. It will be as well briefly to investigate these competing efforts at a solution before expounding our own. They are all valuable contributions to a scientific discussion of the whole subject, and, if not of any real or lasting worth in themselves, furnish at least a clear account of what is lurking in the minds of large numbers of people who are unable to express, any more than to justify, their creed. The three prominent theories now in vogue among the most influential writers and thinkers of the day may be classed as the *aesthetic*, the *patriarchal*, and the *utilitarian*. We shall proceed to examine and dispose of each of the theories in turn.

The *aesthetic* theory of the province of Government is probably that which has the greatest charms for the more refined classes of English society. The ultimate object ever kept in view by this theory is the worthiest and grandest. It is nothing less than the cleansing of all members of the community from all impurities and vulgarities in their feelings, occupations, and tastes. It is the direction of the whole national spirit to an ideal outside itself, partly intellectual and partly moral. It is the final extinction of all narrow feuds and rivalries, all indulgence in grovelling pleasures, all selfish and mean aspirations. It com-

prises, lastly, the exquisite refinement of the national sensibility, the due recognition of authorized standards, the complete self-subordination of each individual now living to a mighty whole diffused over the past, the present, and the future. Such is the object to the attainment of which this theory of the functions of Government is to pave the way. It is no contemptible one indeed. Rather does it contemplate objects which must form an essential and preponderant part of the whole objects contemplated by any plausible theory whatever. Now, the main agent to be entrusted with the promotion of these magnificent ends is an abstraction called "the State," and the instrument to be employed by this abstraction is an indescribable implement named "culture." Any attempt to restrict or even explore the meaning to be attached to the word "State," would be repudiated by the leading expositor of this theory, as displaying something of our "national inflexibility," and savouring of that vulgar attachment to logical precision which is one of the darkest blots on the English temperament. We must rather float amidst delicious ethereal vapours, one sense gliding by imperceptible gradations into another, and the whole critical nature dissolving away beneath the luscious aroma of a sensuous rhetoric, scorning the coarse trammels of "philosophy," "science," and logic. To define and become intelligible is to be rough, vulgar, and unfitted for polite society. At the risk, however, of final ostracism from the abodes of the blest, we will venture to bind down in words the meaning that really is attached to "the State" in the exposition of this theory. It is held that there ought to be some elevated mirror or reflecting background for the collection and concentration of all the best floating notions scattered throughout the community; and that, in default of such a background being provided, these notions must be wholly lost or frivolously wasted. Thereupon general anarchy prevails, each one doing what is right in his own eyes, and no reference being made to any permanent standard of taste, morals, or intellectual truth. This ideal background demanded by the theory in question is then, by a piece of sly rhetorical jugglery, identified with the sovereign political authority of the country, and the word "State" is made to cover every kind of national organization presumably devoted to doing the whole people good of any sort whatever. It is against this surreptitious change of the point of view that we remonstrate. Admitting wholly, as we do, the value of such a protest against a narrow and licentious reign of so-called individualism, and appreciating to the full the necessity for authorities of all descriptions representing the collective reason of mankind on different topics, we fail to see any connexion between ever so

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. A A

elaborate an organization of such authorities and the Government of the country. The Government of the country operates mainly or wholly by physical pressure. It is the expression of the will of the strongest, the most physically effectual. Its main instruments are soldiers, police, tax-gatherers, and bureaucratic officials. These are of the very essence of Government, and they are found invariably in all governments of whatever form. It is, no doubt, true that most governments have affected to use many more instruments than these for a great number of very different purposes. We shall hereafter discuss the propriety of this usurpation. At present we only note that this more extensive machinery cannot be held to be of the essence of Government, because it is differently constructed in all governments, is absent altogether in some, and does not directly subserve what must be allowed to be the original end of all governments—the protection of person and property against the assaults of lawless men. Thus the theory we have named *æsthetic* is, in fact, no contribution whatever to the foundation of a new science of politics. It is gorgeous in its promises ; but, just at the moment when expectation is most ripe, fails entirely of performance. The value of an organized authority is seductively enough carried over to the credit of the physical machinery called for by the need of protecting life and property ; and because a moral authority and a police agency are each severally indispensable by themselves, we are led on, without knowing it, to think them both the same. We, that is, such of us as are properly impressed, go away from the lecture prepared to support, with all our hearts, every measure, however extravagant, for compulsory education, the reinforcement of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and a general legislation in favour of what is currently held likely to be good for men's souls at, and after, the day the Acts come into operation.

The next theory to be passed in review, the *patriarchal*, is a more generally familiar one, and, in fact, is an old friend with a new face. We all flatter ourselves we have pretty well grown out of the primitive superstition of the King being the father of his country ; and we are most of us fully primed with the last constitutional novelties, to the effect that Government is to be “by,” and not only “for,” the people ; that kings reign, not by Divine right, but by the will of their people, and that the glorious right of revolution is one of the most cherished birthrights of every Englishman. Yet still, with certain classes of newspaper writers and theologians in this country, a series of notions is as rampant and as mischievous as ever, implying that Government is something peculiarly sacred and inscrutable ; that it has lordly functions to discharge, of which no mere reason-

ing can ever divest it; that it is a trustee for the people of certain mysterious good things in the way of morals and improving legislation, just as a father is for his children or a guardian for his ward. *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.* These patriarchal enthusiasts exist, under a very innocent appearance, on every side of us. They are misled, not as with the former class, through their taste and artistic susceptibilities, but through their morality, their religion, their superstitious timidity of walking alone. They need, truly enough, leading-strings themselves, and they naturally assume a like need in all their fellows. It is this curious living fossil of a past age which is at the root of so much of the impracticableness of many otherwise clear thinkers on such subjects as the union of Church and State, national education, and religious disabilities. The sentiment which thus first idealizes all authorities of all kinds, and then goes on to amalgamate them all into a sublime but fictitious unity called "the State," is so amiable and even beautiful, that we could wish it rested upon anything whatever except a pious imagination, or were even simply innocent. We are compelled, however, in the name of human reason, a due use of which, after all, is the highest or only piety, to protest against this patriarchal theory of Government as supported by nothing but a mass of mental confusion and misconception. The phenomena of Government are just as much, and just as little, mysterious as the relations of master and servant, officer and private soldier, employer and employed. Each of these relations, though it may have been created at first through casual incidents of many kinds, continues to exist for certain definite ends. Each of these relations may be terminated in certain definite ways, and during its continuance the mutual services due from each of the parties to the other admit of being mapped out and limited with the greatest possible precision. It is of course true that in a vast society going to make up what is called a nation, men are brought into contact with each other in a manifold variety of ways and modes of association which it may not be always easy to describe and define in exact language. A church, a political party, a school of thought, a literary guild, a charitable society, are all instances of different modes in which the members of a community may unite to form independent corporations, more or less distinct in their mould and fashion, and more or less nearly co-extensive with the whole body of the nation. It is true that with respect to the history, purposes, limits, and authority of all such institutions, there may be occasionally moral elements present which it is difficult exactly to evaluate, and which on this account may seem to impart to them what

the supporters of the patriarchal theory mean when they dimly hint at a mysterious sanctity or incalculable force. Now just as in the case of the *æsthetic* theory we saw that its main patron was led on by his love of moral and intellectual control, coupled with his aversion to all merely mechanical contrivances, to identify under the name of "the State" every source of proper influence and power coming down from above, so are those who maintain the view now being considered, victims of a very similar delusion. Their affections are trapped, not by the intellectual beauty of a supreme moral authority, but by its impenetrable origin and its imposing grandeur. The result is the same ; one step further on, and every moral influence proceeding from large bodies of men associated for any beneficent purpose whatsoever throughout the community, is blended into one, and that one is irresistibly confounded with the organization of Government necessarily in existence for the purposes of taxation and the protection of society against the more palpable violations of order.

There is, thirdly, to be noticed, the *utilitarian* view of the province of Government. This is perhaps the view most popular among such of the better informed and more wealthy classes of English society as are regular students of the more fashionable daily papers, and manage to spare out of their busy idleness a certain amount of time for *dilettante* political speculation. This mode of looking at the subject is of the greater importance to us, as it received its first impetus and still draws its main nourishment from a school of philosophers whose influence has, for some years past, excelled that of all others over the youthful generation of Englishmen. Such a circumstance not only points to the probable existence of some important elements of truth in the theory, but also exacts from us a special amount of respect and care in the process of considering it. We believe that this theory is less dangerous than the two former ones, inasmuch as it does not by its assumptions exclude any other competitive theory on the subject. On the contrary, we are of opinion that our own theory, which we shall presently produce, is a legitimate consequence of the utilitarian view, when that view is fully brought to bear upon all the complex facts of the case. In fact, it matters little whether our theory is deduced from this other one, or whether it is proved independently. The real value, however, of the whole utilitarian philosophy has been so much impaired and necessarily misrepresented by the terms in which it has been couched, that it is now time, wherever it is possible, to adopt a different standing-point altogether.

The *utilitarian* view of the province of Government avoids, on the face of it, all the confusions inherent in the two other

theories due to mixing up into one all authorities of all kinds in the nation, and calling them "the State." The supporters of this view comprehend most clearly the difference between the power of physical compulsion essentially presupposed in Government, and the manifold moral engines which happen accidentally to be wielded in some countries by the same hands to which the forces of Government are entrusted. At the same time they recognise no mysterious foundation or supernatural attributes in Government. It is as wonderful as the existence at all of human beings gifted with such a nature, and surrounded with such conditions as they are, and no more so. Government is for them simply one of many instruments for promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number of sentient beings in the community. It is more complex than other instruments because it cannot be wielded without the concert of a large number of persons of very different qualifications, interests, and characters. But the ends it has to subserve are in the highest degree distinct and intelligible. It has to do for the people as a whole what individuals or voluntary associations of individuals could not, or would not, do so effectually, so rapidly, or so judiciously for themselves. This instrument is, throughout this theory, supposed to be regulated by a committee of the people, who are ever on the alert to see what is best to be done for the nation, and how it can be most expeditiously set about. Government is held to be best when each individual member of the community is least taxed, either in his head or in his pocket, to carry it on, and at the same time receives the largest benefits in the way of security and all kinds of material, moral, and intellectual advantages from the fact of its being carried on. It is held to be worst when, on being thus treated, either as a co-operative association or a mutual insurance society, it fails in its work; when the burdens are excessive and unequally distributed, whilst the advantages are precarious or overbalanced by preponderant mischiefs. Thus on this theory of Government there is no line of any distinct sort drawn between what a Government ought to interfere with and what it ought not. A certain deference is indeed paid to the necessity for developing the individual by not hampering him at every stage of his conduct with incessant restrictions and directions from without. At the same time even this deferential feeling is controlled by a tender consideration for the alleged claims of all other individuals, by the imagined interests of posterity, and by a certain instinctive and prurient love of legislation through which statesmen are habitually led to justify their own existence to themselves and others by incessantly making laws.

Fresh questions are thus opened up at every fresh proposal

for some legislative enactment. What are the interests of the particular persons whose actions are to be controlled by the new law—what are the competitive interests of all other persons—what are the immediate benefits and mischiefs to all parties concerned—what are those more remote—what in the particular case is the true measure of the claims of individualism, what of those of social order and national organization? Such are instances of the multiplicity of problems which have to be solved, or which ought to be solved, on the theory proposed, at every legislative change. It is manifest to all that under our representative system no such careful and minute inquiries are so much as possible. It would require a practised statesman and a patient philosophic student to solve any one of these problems as they need being solved in any given case. Instead of this a solution of all of them has to be grasped at rashly, darkly, impetuously by men whose whole attention, before entering on their Parliamentary life, has been either absorbed in the conduct of some very special, and therefore narrow, department of affairs, or in the fashionable diversions of country or town life. The result is the sort of haphazard and incongruous legislation which might have been looked for, bearing upon every kind of business and every sort of human interest. Now it is some particular town, now some particular trade, now some particular classes of workmen in that trade, now the church, now education, now public-houses, now lodging-houses, now sewers, now public libraries, now public banking, now the transmission of letters, now the cholera, now the small-pox, now the cattle plague, that loudly calls through the voice of some would-be statesman for special and novel legislation. We know well enough that this voice, qualified, or perhaps intensified in loudness by other voices, is generally listened to not without effect. The result is the good government which Mr. Lowe and his followers think the grand test of an efficient representative assembly. We are well aware that the best supporters of the *utilitarian* theory of government affect to have attained to a certain precision in announcing their position to which we may seem to be doing injustice. It is true they have done their best to search for some universal principles which may be a partial guide to statesmen in legislating for the people. They have found by a steady use of the aids of experience and observation large classes of affairs from which they would absolutely expel the interference of Government on any pretence whatever. Some affairs they allow the Government to take part in by way of patronage, general superintendence, and supplementary help. Other affairs again they would commit entirely to the hands of Government as being least fitted to be managed by private persons, and likely to be most materially

advanced by the particular resources at the disposal of Government. The readers of modern works on political economy, and of the speeches made in Parliament by the more philosophic statesmen of the day, must be familiar with this mode of drawing lines and of anxiously looking about for fresh general principles to assist the practical working of the theory that Government has to be turned to the greatest possible account as an instrumentality for promoting the positive welfare of the whole people.

Now this theory assumes, first of all, that there is a small portion of the whole people who are competent to decide what is most conducive to the positive welfare of the whole people, and therefore, of course, in what that ideal welfare really consists. Secondly, it assumes, that this small portion, nominally representatives of the whole people, having at their disposal a physical force capable of operating anywhere, or in any way, are entitled and empowered to use that force for any purpose they choose. These two assumptions underlie all popular notions upon current politics. All cries for class or personal representation, all the struggles of parties within and without the Houses of Parliament, all the acrimonious bitterness called forth by the shifting of the forces of Government, rest simply upon a general confession that the persons holding the helm of Government are entitled to decide for all the rest what is best for all, and, if they choose, to express their conclusions in Acts of Parliament.

These are the natural marks of a transitional epoch, which, we trust, will not last long. In times gone by the King, or the King in company with a few intelligent politicians, were the only rulers of the nation, and the only persons who were at once competent and disposed to take part in governing the nation. The greatest uniformity of sentiment on politics, morals, religion, and social matters generally prevailed everywhere. The nation was distributed into quiet agriculturists, unaggressive artisans, and leisurely gentlefolks. Out of these last a very few devoted themselves to the study of politics, such as it was then understood to be, that was, the best mode of applying universally recognised principles to new cases as they presented themselves from day to day. These mere professional politicians were at once assisted and kept in check by the advice and criticism of the Houses of Parliament, as well as the personal influence of the King. Nothing can be more opposite to this state of things than the political situation of England at this day. There are no common principles whatever on any topic of large moment generally accepted by any but a very minute body of the whole population. There is the keenest susceptibility to political excitement which is ever being stirred into chronic action by a general love of domineering over others, as well as by vehement desires on the



part of persons and classes to promote their own real or imagined interests. Amidst all the prevalent disagreement, even upon what once seemed mere self-evident axioms, all the struggling and competitive life pressing in upon the engine of Government from every direction, and making it reel over, now on this side, now on that, all the reckless repudiation of authorities of every kind, on every subject, the *utilitarian* theory of Government is utterly valueless. It is of no use to keep balancing by repeated use of logical scales the comparative value of Government interference in these classes of matters and in those. Principles must be very broad and very translucent to have a chance of being attended to in the present day. In the hurry of legislation, and amidst the rivalries of self-interested factions, an appeal to remote consequences, however urgent, and even solemn, is held to be simply ludicrous. Some universal principle must be looked for which will deal in the mass with all legislation whatever for the positive welfare of the community. Some ground must be discovered, if there be any, by standing on which both aristocratic and demagogic insolence and stupidity can equally be defied. Some mode of treating all political topics, if there be any such, must be elaborated which the fanatical quack cannot gloss over, the conservative shall in vain seek to hide out of view, the radical shall fail to exaggerate and pervert.

In the last number of this *Review* we attempted to point out what we held to be the characteristic dangers of the democratic reign about to be inaugurated in this country. We professed it to be our opinion that the particular classes of society to which the suffrage had now, for the first time, been extended, were, at the present time, conspicuously wanting in those qualities, moral and intellectual, which go to form good and efficient citizens. In some quarters we have been charged with treachery to our Liberal sentiments for holding these views. It is not worth while here to discuss this new and retrograde definition of Liberalism, which would narrow and confine its votaries to a superstitious acceptance of the dialect accidentally in use among a limited section of the community, be it large or small. The shades of all the great liberators of English thought from Milton to Bentham, would rise to witness against us if we showed our unfaithfulness to the traditions of English Liberalism by servilely flattering any class of our countrymen, or by being cowed into an inanimate bondage to crystallized axioms on any topic whatever. It is because more than all other good things for a people, we cherish the claim of each individual citizen to free thought and free speech that we desecrate, it may be with an almost nervous timidity, afar off the possible dangers to this freedom to be apprehended from democratic rule. The notorious examples of modern democracies

undeniably suggest such fears. The ignorance prevalent among our poorer population, and the debased and crouching habits in which they have been reared, reasonably intensify those fears. It is because we believe strongly, and not without enthusiasm, in the root principles of democracy that we would raise a warning voice against any such sanguine hopes in the value of mere democratic forms as would prevent the population being trained in the special way a democratic constitution demands. A true democracy is great and free just in proportion as a false one is poor and degraded. It is because we believe in the possibilities that are latent even in the meanest of our countrymen, that we abominate the torpid slavery in which they have been so long and pitiably bound hand and foot. But in order to bring about a true liberation of the whole people, it serves little to cry out that they are free already. It is no way of constructing a state made up of citizens worthy, self-regulated, and self-sacrificing, to join in a sentimental conspiracy to call evil good and good evil, to put darkness for light, and light for darkness.

We believe that the true solution of the difficulties of democracy in the future is to be found in a new theory altogether of the province of Government. It is evident on the face of it that the most alarming and perplexing incidents of a democracy depend for their value and magnitude upon the theories of Government now in vogue. Whether, with one school, it be held that Government ought to be the fountain of good taste and elegant fascination, or with another, that it ought to watch with parental eye over all those who, either by some divine behest are committed to its charge, or who have voluntarily subordinated themselves to it as to a supreme directorial committee, or with another, that, in the interests of all, Government ought to do a great deal for the governed in one kind of affairs, but nothing whatever, or very little, in another, it is the universal persuasion that in some matters the governing section of the nation are wiser than all others outside its ranks, and that they can bring their wisdom to bear in practical legislation with great advantage to all the individuals of which the nation is composed. Both these positions we are prepared to dispute. We believe that in all matters whatever at the present day in England, the governing body in the nation is less wise in conceiving and executing the operations of which the nation stands in need, whether material or moral, than individuals or associated bodies of individuals to be found in the community. We also hold that the damage entailed to individual growth, development, and ultimate happiness by Government interference of almost any sort whatever, is so enormous that in the great majority of cases the best possible legislation in the immediate present is

bought at a price too ruinous to justify the expenditure. The consequence of these positions, if they are established, would be that it ought to become more and more the policy of Government to withdraw from all fields whatever in which it now expatiates at large. The last fields left to it would be a criminal jurisdiction, exercised in order to restrain the few peccant members of the social body from interference with the rest, and certain more or less inactive trusteeship of land and locomotive organization to which we shall hereafter more especially allude. The criminal jurisdiction would become more and more superfluous as education and other moral influences operated more effectively and pervasively throughout the whole nation.

1. We shall begin by considering the general effect on individual development of interference on the part of the state. And here we must first notice an inaccuracy of definition which has crept into all arguments on this subject. Nothing is more common than to oppose to each other the "individual" and "society," or the "private citizen" and "the State," or "self" and "others." It is supposed in the use of all these contrasted expressions, that on the one side is a natural savage man, brought up in the woods without any contact with or knowledge of his kind, and, on the other side, a highly artificial society made up of most accomplished persons, bound together by every possible tie of sympathy, interest, and custom. It is then indirectly suggested that the more the savage man is controlled and repressed and fashioned in every way by the corporation of domesticated men, the better for him, and the better for everybody. It is easy to go on from this and deduce the greater comparative value of a good or even an imperfect Government, as compared with any system of individualism, however modified. But the above is very far from being a true statement of the conditions of the problem. An individual Englishman, when opposed to a society or number of individual Englishmen, is a man in possession of a large number of social faculties very considerably developed. His love, his hatred, his ambition, his curiosity, his powers of observation, his sense of dependence, his hopes, his fears, have all been brought out and nurtured into very energetic life, even in the case of the most torpid of mankind. The problem as to the relations which ought to exist between a single one of such men and a number of them, never becomes of practical moment till men have in fact left the state of savage isolation (even if that ever could exist, which is impossible) far behind. The question, therefore, in all these cases, is not how under a given readjustment of those relations it would fare with a man's animal and merely selfish propensities, but with that which is his eminently human characteristic, the assemblage of his social instincts. Thus

when we speak of the development of the individual being the main end of the national union, we mean the cultivation of every one of the social instincts and faculties. We wish man to attain to the capacity of the deepest love, the strongest hate, the warmest sympathy, the keenest concern for the progress of others, the most devoted spirit of self-sacrifice, the most masterly power of self-control. These ends, and ends like them, which we need not here stay to enumerate, we deem of such inestimable value that no national advantages of any other kind can be a substitute for them. It is to the proportionate eliciting of every one of the social faculties of all citizens that every instrumentality, material and moral, must serve. By their success in this work of all others must the efficiency and value of such instrumentality alone be measured. No accumulation of mere wealth, no portentous economical mechanism, no celebrity of a nation's arms, or even arts, can be accepted as a product worth a moment's attention, if the price of the citizen's whole moral life is paid to secure it.

Now it is admitted by some that the ends of the national union here contemplated are indeed the right and only worthy ones, but it is added that it is a matter of experience that Government can do much to secure these ends. Government (it is said) can put individual citizens in the way of combining more readily and frequently with each other, or can teach them whom to have intercourse with and whom to shun. Government, by sanctioning a particular religious creed, can point out to its more ignorant citizens what are the proper objects of their religious awe, who are the safest companions to select as associates, who are the dangerous and prowling reprobates they would do well to keep at a distance; or at any rate, Government can bind the people together in a close union with each other, through their perpetual and intimate dependence on itself; so that the social tie may become binding upon the very instinctive habits of the people with all the indissoluble tenacity with which a law of nature binds.

Such sentiments as these we believe to be radically vicious. They form the deep undercurrent of all modern falsities on the nature and province of Government, and they are, when laid bare, nothing more than a reproduction of the obsolete theories which have prevailed at the darkest epochs of human history. Their worst error lies in an entire misapprehension of the true nature of man and of the true and sole conditions of social development. It cannot be repeated too often that the most diligent use of bladders is not swimming; and the acceptance of ever so orthodox a bundle of other people's thoughts and sentiments is removed poles asunder from thinking. This ineradicable taste on the part of political theorists of different schools to precipitate moral

changes, and by a process of diplomatic conjuring, to call into being the fruit without sowing the seed, is the result partly of childish impatience, partly of contempt for the human spirit. Be it known that such qualities as we call love and hatred, sympathy and antipathy, will not, obediently to our call, spring up here and there and everywhere so soon as ever a motive for their apparition is presented. They need a thousand genial influences which no state machinery, however subtle and delicate, can originate or control. Above all they need that which the very notion of machinery absolutely forbids, that is, a sense of inviolable freedom. About nothing whatever has so much been talked and written as about freedom. Yet after pages and pages of our national history have been stained with blood in this name, after orators have harangued and the press vomited volumes of rhetorical writing in this cause, the real meaning and need of absolute freedom is almost as obscure as ever at this day. It is still generally held that the mass of men are gifted with a suicidal instinct which will inevitable lead them on to their own ruin if they are left for an hour to themselves. It is believed that virtue and goodness, so far from being their own reward, can only be rendered palatable or endurable by the incessant application of the schoolmaster's lessons not without his rod. The nation is held to be one vast household, of which the millions are for ever in the nursery and a very few select grown-up people in the drawing-room. Those select ones have by some good chance got hold of a few secrets as to how people ought to live and what they ought to be. But these secret revelations must never be divulged to the infantine mind hopelessly grovelling for ever in its innocent simplicity. All that can be done is to bring those little ones up to a pretty simulation of all that is good and true, to cherish in them a few spurious virtues, to chastise the more erratic trespasses, to tutor them at the least into habits of leaning more and more submissively on their wise preceptors, and even, if it may be, admiring that blessed constitution of things by which their betters are ever in one apartment, and they, poor weaklings, are condemned to be shut up their whole life long in another.

It will not be supposed from these observations that we under-rate the real difficulties of educating the human spirit, so that its several varied faculties shall reach the greatest amount of independent development, and at the same time preserve throughout a proper and immutable subordination the one to the other. Not the most enthusiastic state preceptor can be penetrated with a deeper sense of these difficulties than we ourselves. If it be true that this spiritual training is the sole end of all the appliances of civilization, if in behalf of this ultimate object all minor and transient aims must be sacrificed without remorse, it

is also true that the obstacles in the way of a true and widespread evolution of individual character throughout a large community seem almost insuperable. From the very definition given above of the individual, that is, of the whole group of human faculties, social as well as self-regarding, it follows that this evolution cannot be carried on in the secret recesses of the convent, nor without assiduous contact at every point of each with all. Mere licentious excess, eccentricity, abnormal growth, or defect, are as far as possible removed from the kind of results to which we would point. Unity, harmony, co-operation, infinite sympathy, all illuminated by the contrasted rays, melting imperceptibly into each other, of a rich individual variety, due to differences of physical structure, situations, and work, are the products after which we aspire. To attain and secure these products all kinds of independent organization will be rendered indispensable. Churches, schools, academies, corporations, clubs, institutes, guilds, trades' unions, masters' unions, assemblies of all sorts, governed now by one presiding principle of association, now by another, will never be superseded as modes of concentrating and diffusing a thousand kinds of independent energy, and a thousand forms of individual sympathy finding its needed satisfaction in nothing else but common work, in company with numberless others having like wants and like capacities. From these varied modes of aggregation of units will be generated authorities on all sorts of subjects, who will be gradually estimated and deferred to in proportion to their intrinsic worth. Habits of measuring authorities with one another, and of ascertaining, as by instinct, when to comply and when to revolt, when to learn and when to teach, when to lead and when to follow, will be fashioned by an early education, and confirmed by the discipline of life. Less and less time will be lost and faculties expended in discussing over again exploded notions, or in criticising institutions none will be left to defend. All will unite either in increasing the material wealth of the community, or advancing farther and farther the outposts of ascertained truth. A genial reverence for others will march side by side with an exact estimation of each man's own self by himself. Selfishness even will have become sublimated into what is in the highest degree unselfish, inasmuch as each man's anti-social instincts will have become so inextricably bound up with what is eminently social, that he and others will in vain seek to disentangle the one from the other. In seeking his own glory or welfare, he will be, unknown it may be to himself, swayed by a far higher emotion than any mere brutish impulse. In seeking the welfare of his fellow-man he will be luxuriously indulging an ardent passion, and be satisfying that which has in him taken the place of the narrowest and most selfish propensity.

Henceforward he will look to the world outside himself for help, and not for restriction. He will love his brother man, because he has ceased to fear him. Rigidly abstaining from all intrusion on the field of action occupied by his neighbours, he will be able to rely on an equal respect from every quarter for the field occupied by himself. The result will be co-operation without slavery, independence without license, toleration without apathy, and the most perfect and incessant communication between all, with the minutest loss to the indefinite variability of each.

Now no unprejudiced reader will deny for a moment that these ends are desirable in themselves, that indeed they include everything that is precious in the conception of national life, or for which it is worth while keeping in action the machinery of civilization. It is our opinion that the interference of Government has naturally a direct effect in deferring the accomplishment of these ends, and keeping up an artificial and meaner order of things, which are a miserable substitute for the social state above portrayed. The necessity for Government at all is due to the unequal rate at which the population of a country becomes civilized. In every country, even from the earliest times, there are always found some who have higher conceptions of the social state than the rest. At first, those possessed of the loftier aspirations, are a very small minority of the whole. As time goes on, supposing progression to take place at all, this minority continually increases. A great gap, which is ever widening, separates those who wish for orderly rule and those who are indifferent to it or resent it. The former, through their willing obedience to discipline, and their presupposed superior intelligence, are constantly raising higher and higher their conceptions of a social state. They keep forming within the nation new associations of all kinds, for moral, industrial, and military purposes. They create an ideal of national unity, and construct for themselves a horoscope of the national fortunes. All this time the other sections of the community who, from the first, were indifferent to the process of forming a State, may not have progressed at all. These descendants of the boorish dissidents may continue for ages as ignorant and grovelling as their first fathers. Part of them may be content to earn a livelihood as slaves and dependents of the ruling body of the nation. Another part may resist all attempts to attach them to the current civilization, and prefer to pass a precarious existence in life-long hostility to it. Both these classes may be recruited from time to time by isolated members of the ruling class, exiled from the abodes occupied by their natural confederates through misfortune, errors, or breaches of the conventional discipline enforced. Now the true function of Government is the compulsory repres-

sion of these ignorant and barbarous hordes thus hovering for long ages on the skirts of the civilized portion of the community. It would be unreasonable to allow all the generous efforts of the finer part of the community to be impeded and disappointed for ever through the intrusive mischievousness of a very small fraction of the community, possessed neither of the spirit to live a national and social life themselves, nor of the knowledge to appreciate the meaning of that life in others. Thus, one of the first steps of a Government, as it is becoming conscious of its own existence, is to originate a system of law. There is in early codes no distinction between criminal, civil, and religious law. The simple and primitive object is to protect the nascent State against the ill-regulated invaders by whom its security is daily menaced. But the extension of this narrow field is almost contemporaneous with the creation of the field itself. Making a law implies the creation of certain so-called rights. These rights are nothing more than definite degrees of controlling power to be exercised by one or more persons over one or more other persons in the community. When once the different powers have been thus meted out by law to different persons, whether as respects person, property, good name, the family, or the State itself, every person, of whatever class, who resists this power, or, in other words, invades these rights, is equally punishable in some assigned way. Thus the governing authority comes to get a jurisdiction over all persons whatever within the community, and soon becomes the main arbiter of all disputes about promises, all personal injuries, all attempted disturbances of claims to ownership. The transition is rapid to a general superintendence of all the affairs of the community; to watching over the health, the riches, the morals of individuals; to defining the conditions under which persons shall associate together for any purpose whatever; to executing national and local works, and generally to stimulating the supposed dormant imagination and energies of the whole people.

In this way the great chasm between the early and natural province of Government and what we hold to be its present unnatural province has been bridged over. A simple system of defensive machinery, consisting mostly of law addressed to the criminal classes of society, is, we believe, the ultimate form to which Government must come, if any high type of society is ever to be attained. We have pointed out above what are the main features of such a society. Above all other conditions for its foundation is absolute voluntarism and exemption from all kinds of pressure. It may be that for a time the interference of Government may be demanded to secure to individuals and associations of individuals this liberty. The moral habits of the nation have become so de-



bauched by the forcible imposition of external authorities in Church and State through so many ages, that a true sense of the virtue of toleration scarcely exists as yet even in an embryonic form. The tyrannies over each other exercised recently by certain associated artisans, speak ill for the apprehension on the part of certain classes of what liberty in a normal state should be. The cries in some quarters for suppressing by law the sale of spirituous drinks, and the attachment to legal safeguards of Puritanism on the part of influential bodies of Englishmen, as well as many other retrograde symptoms, show that Government has a sufficient work before it in guaranteeing to all individuals the utmost amount of personal freedom. Here then is a natural and beneficial function for Government to perform. Let Government become the main and ever-present example of a voluntary institution conducted in the spirit of liberty by interfering as little as possible with the wills, sentiments, and actions of honest men. Let it only venture to put forth its irresistible strength when honest men are tyrannized over by dishonest, and when liberty itself is in danger of being scouted from the face of the land. In the name of such a policy as this, the Government of England would proceed at once to give every security to associations of individuals which it gives to individuals themselves for the safety of their common funds and for the discharge of their debtors' obligations. The purposes of the association would be simply indifferent, and Trades' Unions would be treated as impartially in this respect as if their operations were never accidentally attended with circumstances lamentable in themselves but wholly independent of the nature of the organization itself. At the same time actual tyranny, when discovered, would be punished as severely as any other breach of the ordinary criminal law.

We limited ourselves by saying that associations of individuals should have the same favour shown to them in the matter of debts as individuals themselves, because we are of opinion that it is in the long run an erroneous policy which leads Governments to legislate in the matter of contracts at all. It is no doubt difficult or impossible at present to curtail the operations of Government in this direction, when the notion of the essentially legal characteristics and incidents of a contract has become so indelibly imprinted on the national mind. At the same time it is well to remember that whatever legal force the Government gives to contracts, so much it withdraws from their moral weight. It guarantees to one contractor some further security over and above the moral honesty of the other contractor, and so, by rendering pure honesty of itself a less marketable commodity, conduces to its depreciation. That a state of society might be such as to dispense with a law of contracts altogether, is obvious from what is witnessed about us in the conduct of the

relations of daily life among the higher classes of English society. With these and with members of sporting circles, so called laws of honour and laws enforced by the sanction of a rigid public opinion act as more than an efficient substitute for government compulsion. The result is the elaboration of far finer theories of moral obligation than other classes of the community are generally disposed to recognise. With respect to the possibility and advantages of dispensing with legal remedies for breaches of contract in matters of trade, it is well known that the moral tone of merchants has been at certain periods so high that, as between two countries at war, of which England was one, when no legal remedies could be obtained for the breach of contracts made during the war, there are signal instances of negotiations involving very large sums of money being conducted by both parties for a long course of time with unfailing punctuality. Morality rose as government interference withdrew. In the present day we have had most disastrous instances of the baneful effect of placing trust in law instead of looking to the honesty, prudence, and solvency of bodies of men associated together for the conduct of important enterprises. Supposed liens on railway property have had their value divested in a day by the decision of a court of justice. Claims of innocent creditors who have lent money to a banking company, on the faith of an untruthful, if not fraudulent prospectus, have been nullified by a decision in another like court. The bankruptcy law is in a state of utter chaos, and legislators are called away from a hundred other matters of every variety of importance to consider, in the case of some of them, it may be, for the first time in their lives, what ought to be considered an act of bankruptcy, which among the creditors, if any, ought to be appointed assignees of the bankrupt, what degree of protection ought to be accorded to him, and by what anticipatory mode of "composition" the final bankruptcy could with the greatest benefit to all parties be averted. If once it were known that no bankrupt law existed in the country and all imprisonment for debt were also abandoned, the immediate consequences might no doubt be such as to favour unduly large numbers of improvident and dishonest traders. We believe, however, that the consequences in a generation or two would be to get rid of this class of traders altogether. There would be a greater premium put upon mere honesty pure and simple, apart from its alliance with legal chicanery, and the only road to profitable contracts of an extensive nature with a number of creditors would be through a tried reputation for honesty and mercantile caution. Creditors could lend more largely to such men than they can afford to do at present, when any single creditor can arrest an important and lengthened operation at any early stage by calling

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—New Series, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. B B

for a compulsory distribution of assets, to the ruin or damage of the creditors, the contractor, and the community. On the other hand, the mere speculator would be driven from the market altogether, as he would be unable to offer any legal security for the money he might otherwise thereby contrive to borrow from ignorant and improvident persons.

These views stated in this form every one will probably accept. What is wanted, however, to make them bear real fruit is that essential requisite of all success and greatness, which in worldly matters is called long-sightedness, and sacred ones, faith. Men will persist in loving and hugging the present and sacrificing in favour of it an indefinitely extended era of elevated national life. It cannot be denied, indeed, that uneducated and sottish and maimed as are the bulk of the population at the present day, owing to ages of servile dependence on everything but themselves, a sudden contraction of the sphere of government would be fraught with wide-spread misery and anarchy. It would be like withdrawing the bandages in which a restored limb has been too long enfolded, or the staff which a child has too long clung to in the process of learning to walk. It has been shown, however, already that the best government that ever existed, or can exist, the wisest measures that ever were contrived, the most subtle and adequate machinery for bringing those measures to bear that ever was worked, are simply perilous phantasms if they stand in the way of the full, free, and perfect development of the temperament and spirit of the people. Institutions have their value, machinery has its value, organization has its value, but simply as subordinate aids to spiritual growth. Where such contrivances are for a time voluntarily created and kept in being by the people themselves, for the purpose of regulating the national life, they may even be in a high degree advantageous. But if they repress that life by ever so little, or if they get, owing to a superstitious and indolent fetichism, to be treated as worthy substitutes for that life, they are enemies in the midst of the land more deadly than foreign foes, or even home-born traitors.

II. It may be well, with a view to enforce this doctrine still more distinctly, to notice some of the particular departments in which the English Government has thought itself imperatively called upon to interfere, and to observe the kind of success which generally has attended such interference.

It is not saying too much to assert that the wealth, the education, and the morality of the English nation have severally been more cramped and paralysed by the intrusive operations of Government than by any other single cause, or all other causes put together. The anxious desire to prevent human folly

reaping its natural fruits, to stand between imprudence and its appropriate penalty, to keep up as long as possible a show of material prosperity amidst a bloated mass of moral rottenness, has led to an incessant tampering with commerce and money, of which the evils are all the more pernicious because they are often concealed out of sight. Such a policy it was which led to the monopoly accorded to the Bank of England, and which dictated the long course of banking legislation culminating in the Bank Charter Act of 1844. Had the politico-economical views which originated this Act been as sound as we believe them to have been the contrary, surely it was not the part of the governing body of the nation to protect the subject citizens against the consequences they might suffer from erroneous views of the nature of banking, or from undue confidence in speculating companies. The natural check to the recurrence of such consequences is the increase of knowledge and prudential habits, brought about by nothing else but the bitter experience of past misfortunes. The very most that the Government can fairly claim to do is to assist creditors of all sorts in obtaining from their debtors compensation for definite breaches of contract. If a banking company find themselves unable to perform their contract to liquidate on demand their own notes in specie, so long as Government interferes in the matter of contracts at all (which no doubt it must do for a long time to come), it is at liberty to punish the members of such a company on any ascertained principle it chooses. The banking company is in exactly the same position as are all other persons who have made a contract and broken it. It is their own business to keep enough bullion in store from which to liquidate their own notes on their being presented, and not to issue more notes than they will be able to liquidate. By the Act of 1844, however, the English Government has declared that the Bank of England is incompetent to take care of itself, and the customers of the Bank of England to take care of themselves. A fixed limit is assigned to the quantity of notes that may be issued, on the principle that a constant relation ought invariably to be maintained between the amount of paper circulation and the quantity of bullion kept in store for the purpose of liquidating the notes as they are presented. Then, however great may be the accidental demand for fresh notes, due to sudden payments to be made, bad harvests, war, or a sudden opening for profitable investments in this or other countries, the amount of possible accommodation, under any possible circumstances, is to be determined by nothing else than the accidental supply of bullion in the bank. Thus no panic due to exceptional causes can be relieved, even on the greatest emergency, without such a special relaxation of the law as has over and over again been

impetuously demanded, and always attended with the most beneficial effects. The fact is that this excess of notes is generally only required for the purpose of extending credit for a longer time than usual, and tiding over a temporary deficiency of funds. Thus it would be infinitely wiser to leave to the bankers themselves, who should be the mainly interested parties, the discretion of multiplying to any possible amount their promises to pay, subject only to their own permanent responsibility to maintain the immediate convertibility of their securities. Some eminent political economists, indeed, are of opinion that the Act may operate beneficially by way of delaying the advent of a panic at the first, and through being suspended for a time, afterwards relieving it. We are of opinion, however, that it is the kind of legislation in question which makes a panic possible at all. It destroys or confuses the true moral and economical relation between the customer and the banker, between the creditor and the debtor; it leads to a rapid over-issue of notes in the first instance, far exceeding the actual demand, and then to a sudden and spasmodic contraction. As the convertibility of the note is assured by mechanical safeguards superintended by law and by the lavish process of withdrawing an enormous mass of bullion from circulation, the banker has little interest in regulating the rate of discount in strict accordance with the wants of the day and regard for his own solvency. In the meantime, the customer foresees closely at hand a time when at no rate of discount whatever will further accommodation be obtainable, and panic immediately sets in. It is the old story told over again. To encourage true integrity, intelligence, and sobriety among the whole population, the value of these qualities must be left to discover themselves in the course of progressive experience. Every catastrophe that may happen under a system purely voluntary will render more and more improbable the recurrence of like catastrophes in the future, while Government palliatives only operate as temporary opiates, perplexing inquiry into the true seat of the disorder, and making the people look to every quarter for a cause of their misfortunes except to themselves.\*

Another province which has been occupied by the English Government with the general assent of all men and yet, as we believe, to the detriment of all, has been that of professional education. This has become so familiar an idea to every Englishman that he can scarcely picture a different state of things without conceiving a reign of dunces, quacks, and hypocrites: We feel that we are here treading on somewhat delicate ground,

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\* For a full discussion of this topic, together with a succinct history of monetary legislation in England, the reader is referred to an article in this Review which appeared in January, 1868, entitled "*State tampering with Money and Banks.*"

because in the æsthetic theory of government to which we have before alluded, no feature is more prominent than the necessity of instituting all kinds of "Academies" for educational purposes under the direct superintendence of the "State," which here seems to mean the sovereign political authority. The popular argument of course is that not only is an education which is the joint product of the whole national experience necessarily superior to every other form of training for the young, but in the case of a citizen's needing the professional services of a skilled doctor, lawyer, or divine, it is a great convenience to him to find the best representatives of each profession distinguished from their brethren by some unmistakable token, such as a degree. It is then implied that the government of the country is the proper authority to determine what bodies of men shall confer such degrees, and that for this purpose it is necessary to establish by law certain permanent monopolies with the view of encouraging and enriching a corresponding number of incorporated educational societies which shall confer such degrees. To these societies is properly entrusted the task of ascertaining by examination or otherwise who shall offer his professional services to the private-citizen and who shall not.

Now, apart from what is notorious to all conversant with the particular history and existing condition of all such favoured institutions, it is evident that the creation of such monopolies of wisdom, or examining force, or educating efficiency is a death-blow to that spirit of unlimited competition which is the very life of national enterprise in all regions whatever. If certain attainments are essential to the proper fitting out of the surgeon, the physician, the lawyer, the divine, it is only a direct premium on indolence and on an overmastering love of fees to give any extrinsic advantage to one educational institution over another. Such a system of arbitrary patronage takes the heart out of independent experiments of all sorts, while it props up and perpetuates whatever is mouldy and effete in antiquated institutions. It blights the energies of the private student and the unrecognised lecturer, while it relieves the fortunate inmates of the State academies, both students and teachers, from all special obligations to diligence, from all wholesome and animating dread of rivals from without. At the same time the protection afforded, or supposed to be afforded, to the private citizen in need of professional aid is demoralizing and degrading rather than otherwise. He more and more divests himself of all sense of responsibility in making his selection, and becomes unused to the arts of patient discrimination which alone give dignity to the human character. He is provided with human machinery bearing indeed the imposing trade-mark of the State, but carrying with it no real guarantee of excellence, and too generally, even if not made up at the first of a specially poor and wretched material, debased by the cramping

influences under which it has been fitted or unfitted for its use.

No better examples could be presented of the pernicious effect of all State institutions for professional purposes than the medical societies of this country. They have the advantage of being able to illustrate both principles, the governmental and the voluntary principles of association. Of the former the Royal College of Physicians is an excellent specimen. This college was undoubtedly founded at the first from the most public spirited motives, with a view of associating together the best doctors practicing in London, and thereby assisting private citizens in discovering at a glance who might be the most eminent physicians of the day. A private association, having no countenance or support from Government, could only have maintained its existence and character by rigorously complying with these conditions. If the leading physicians of the day were all fellows of the college, or all the fellows of the college were leading physicians of the day, in either case, admission to fellowship being determined by considerations of recognised eminence and nothing else whatever, the association would have maintained the noblest position among scientific and philanthropic institutions, and rendered an indisputable service to the private citizen in search of the best medical skill. If on the other hand, under a like voluntary system, through indolence, neglect, or fraud, a fellowship of the college and great professional eminence ever ceased to go hand in hand, the college would reap its appropriate punishment in the contempt and obscurity which would inexorably ensue. Thus the greatest possible stimulus would have been provided for making professional eminence and nothing else a condition of fellowship. Quite other than this has been the story of the State monopoly of the Royal College of Physicians. The appointment to fellowships has been capriciously limited in every direction ; first, by a resolution that only graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were eligible for admission, which, as such graduates were professed members of the Church of England, involved the exclusion of all who might happen to be members of other denominations, or not to be attached to any religious creed whatever. Secondly, by the creation of a separate body of *Permissi*, or *Licentiates*, who were declared incapable of becoming fellows of the college, an artificial distinction was created between one section of the members and another, not founded on any considerations whatever of professional eminence. There have been instances of the most distinguished physicians in their day, or in any day, who have offered to undergo a searching examination, or to submit to any test of professional competency, however severe, and have been rejected. They were *licentiates* and they could not become fellows. *Dr. Wells, Sims*

The case of Dr. Wells of itself is sufficient to pronounce the sentence of condemnation on all professional tests regulated by Government patronage. Dr. Wells was indisputably among the foremost of the philosophical inquirers, writers, and physiological discoverers of his day. Dr. Elliotson, who has read his works more than once, says of him, "As to a full knowledge of his profession, I am satisfied that no one in modern times has been superior to him." The Royal Society enrolled him among its fellows, with whose president he was on terms of the closest intimacy. But Dr. Wells in vain sought admission as a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. Dr. Locock and Dr. William Hunter were judged ineligible on the ground of their being accoucheurs, though Dr. Locock has since been admitted in consequence of the report on the College by the Parliamentary Committee of 1834. Dr. Copland was also long excluded, though he has since been righted in the same way. We only note these instances to prove, what might have been anticipated in default of all proof, that wherever an artificial position is given by the State to an incorporated body, all stimulus is immediately withdrawn to recognising as a condition for promotion to dignified places in that body merit and merit alone.\*

We might extend this reasoning drawn from the medical institutions of this country much further by noting the success that has attended, and the prestige that has attached to, the purely voluntary societies that have risen up within the medical body, side by side with the ancient ones recognised by the State. The Society of Associated Surgeons, the National Institute of Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery, and the British Medical Association, have all shown by their corporate authority, numerical extent, and self-organizing skill, what may be looked for when no other stimulus whatever is applied to professional zeal than such as may be due to individual energy or voluntary co-operation. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Inns of Court, the old public schools endowed by charitable founders, all tell the same tale. If it be a wished-for product to have a nation composed of stupid, indolent, heartless bigots, in that case, institutions cherished by State favouritism are the right machinery to employ. If, on the other hand, it be rather desirable to have the utmost amount of intellectual and moral freedom, the keenest competition tempered by the most delicate sympathies, then the sole organs of national life must be as little dwarfed by external pressure as are to be the products which are sought for. It must ever be the case that, be the

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\* A complete and detailed account of the progress of the chief medical corporations of this country, as well as a precise inquiry based upon it, with the subjects of Medical Reform and Medical Education, will be found in two articles of this Review for April, 1866, and July, 1858.



State institution incorporated for purposes of medical, legal, or classical education, in the eyes of the existing members of that institution, who dispose of its preferments, numberless requisites, social, artistic, and others far less worthy will always appear to be of infinitely larger moment than simple ability. To the citizen outside it is ability alone for which he seeks a convenient and publicly recognised mark. There is no conceivable mode of making the adequate reward of such ability the very condition for the existence of an educational institution other than an absolute exclusion of State patronage and the largest possible deference to the claims of unlimited competition.

We have adverted to the influence of State activity upon mercantile operations and professional education, because it has become so familiar a habit of thought to look upon these concerns as natural objects of governmental interest that it is only on making a very close inspection that the full falsity or even absurdity of all such views becomes conspicuous. We would have banking and commercial institutions of all sorts perfectly unfettered in all their operations, and we would have just as much, and just as little, favour and patronage shown by the State to the newest medical, legal, or academical association as to the oldest and proudest. We believe that the change in one case would be ultimately as favourable to the purses as in the other to the health and intelligence of the community. If the nation could only summon up resolution to make an entire change in its policy, and, drawing consolation from the sure hope of a magnificent future, courageously encounter the inconveniences that of necessity result in the present from any change whatever, we are persuaded an era of no fictitious splendour would commence for England, and, by reflexion from her, for nations still less favourably situated than she.

The instance that probably would be quoted with most plausibility, as illustrating the successful employment of Government machinery, is the conduct of the Post Office. Even here, however, it is unfair to reason from the moderate success of Government to the impossibility of an equal, or even for a greater, amount of success being attained were the largest possible competition invited on the part of private individuals or associated bodies. It is notorious that all the great improvements by which the Post Office has reached the measure of success now so lauded, have been due to private persons, either not in the employ of Government, or in the very teeth of protracted Government opposition. It was William Dockwray who, in Charles II.'s reign, anticipated, by nearly 200 years, the establishment of the penny post, by carrying letters and parcels for a penny, six or eight times a day near the Exchange, and four times a day in the suburbs, till he was obliged to desist,

owing to a legal decision to the effect that he was infringing the Duke of York's monopoly. It was John Palmer, a theatrical manager at Bath, who, in 1784, suggested the use of mail-coaches, accompanied with an armed guard, from which followed the unprecedented result that for twenty-five years the mails were carried over seventy millions of miles without a single robbery. The money order department was at first the private speculation of three Post Office clerks, trading under the title of "Stowe and Co.," and though commenced in 1792, was not recognised and absorbed by Government till 1837. The story of Sir Rowland Hill's difficulties in establishing the penny post is too well known to need being repeated. The disadvantages of the present system are wholly overlooked in the indolent acceptance of the moderate benefits actually enjoyed. The power to open letters, which has given rise to the most scandalous abuses, the absence of all compensation for neglect or fraud, the circuitous route through London, entailed by the necessities of a system so highly centralized, and the excessive charges due to an irrational and tyrannical notion of paying the general expenses of government by an arbitrary tax levied on letter-writers, are all incidents which would instantaneously be got rid of if the business of transmitting letters and parcels were once laid open to general and unrestricted competition.\*

Thus, in whatever direction we look, we see that the advantages of Government interference are all on the surface, and therefore captivating enough to those who dislike to think and are unable to observe. The disadvantages or rather pernicious mischiefs of this system, on the other hand, lie deep down, and not only consist in operations of all sorts being carried on without economy, discretion, or efficiency, but also go far to numb the spirit of the nation, and to stand in the way of all ulterior attainments of the most elevated kind in the sphere of morals and intelligence.

Were this theory of the narrow limits to which Government ought more and more to confine its agency once established, it is interesting to think how many political problems of the gravest importance would be immediately solved. If once it were generally recognised that legislators must learn to control their prurient restlessness by doing nothing more than maintaining the liberties of the people in thought, word, and action, and only so far co-operating with moral mechanism as to help in warding off the assaults of the Bedouin ruffians who for a time may continue to impede the self-developing efforts of the population among whom they are suffered to exist, the chief dangers to be apprehended from approaching democratic rule would be at an end.

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\* The History of the English Post-Office is told with great particularity in an article of this Review, entitled *The Post-Office Monopoly*, for July, 1866.

The House of Commons would be no more an organizing institution for asserting the tyrannical authority of the stronger, but would be at the most a select debating assembly for the genial intercommunication of ideas and sentiments. The free expression of contrary views would not then be likely to lead to anarchy or tyranny, but only to increased diversity of culture and mutual comprehension on the part of opposite parties throughout the whole community. So too in the question which is daily becoming more and more prominent as to the true political and social relations to each other of man and woman. The more stringently Government is confined in its activity, the more do all such inquiries sink into insignificance. Women would be left to rival men with the same absolute freedom with which men rival each other in all possible fields, and the appropriate functions of each would be progressively mapped out, not by a superstitious adhesion to lines accidentally described in the past, or to novel scientific theories originated in the present, but by the precise and unailing compasses of real adaptability.

Among the many pressing questions, such as the Church, Education, Pauperism, and the like, which equally combine to throw fresh luminous rays on the unapproachable value of the theory of government now contended for, we shall only select for special consideration one, that is, the current relations of England and Ireland. There is no topic at this day demanding more urgent attention at the hands of statesmen and political thinkers. There is none on which opinion seems more hopelessly divided, or on which more passionate invectives and bitter recriminations have been called forth on every side. There are those who, by shutting their eyes to the more impressive aspect of the problem, and appealing to the undoubted amelioration in the material condition of Ireland, satisfy themselves and think to satisfy others by calling only for a modest increase in remedial legislation as the sole requisite sedative of the spasms in Irish national life. There are others who, keeping their eyes steadfastly fixed on one particular grievance or another, and looking away from all besides, fondle the belief that if this or that institution is removed out of the way and a certain number of new laws are made different from the old ones, all would yet be well. There is again a third party, who call for what they name "a revolutionary policy," who look for some other causes for a chronic state of national disaffection than particular laws or single institutions, and believe that the spirit or temperament of a people is of far more concern to those who would govern them than any possible degree of material welfare, or even the most unimpeachable habits of quiet and orderly subordination. In the opinion of these last it is to the elaboration of a high, self-regulated character among the governed that all

other aims must be made to converge. If any other aims have been traditionally cherished which conflict with or fail to conduce to this education of the national spirit, they must one and all be abandoned without any thought being taken of the sacrifice incurred.

We believe that no writer has so adequately expounded, in terms intelligible to the average English mind, the meaning of this last policy as Mr. Mill. His mode of approaching a large political problem containing so many elements has naturally excited the resentment of all those whose political conceptions are hemmed in by an orthodox belief in the value of certain Government therapeutics familiar to the age and country in which they live. His complaint, bitter as it is, of the stolidity of Englishmen on these complex matters, has been well justified by the intolerant outcry against his whole mode of reasoning which has issued from the daily and weekly press. Till Englishmen have acquired a profound distrust for the value of artificial political institutions of all kinds, such political considerations as those urged by Mr. Mill will be like music to the deaf or colours to the blind. The history of Ireland is the history of all the elements of bad government crowded into the experience of a single island. In some things the rulers of Ireland have governed too much, in others they have governed too little, in almost all they have up to this day governed selfishly, tyrannically, and foolishly. They have maintained an alien Church in the middle of a people susceptible to religious sores above all other people, and they have not maintained a sufficient police force for the suppression in the bud of turbulence and violence. They have by their laws given every aid to absentee landlords, while they have made no laws whatever in defence of the peculiar claims of impoverished tenants. It is by omissions and sins like these that the heart of a people is righteously alienated from its rulers. It is through a course of administration like this that the sceptre passes away from one ruler to another, who will interpret in a far different spirit what the meaning of government is.

We believe that what is wanted for dealing with Ireland is a far more comprehensive, unfettered, statesmanlike spirit than any remedial enactments or partial constitutional changes. These enactments and these changes will follow as a matter of course, so soon as the ruling authorities in England have learnt to tolerate the glaring light of comprehensive political principles. In announcing the existence of such principles, and in a bold sketch of a mode of embodying them in distinct legislation, we think the main charm and value of Mr. Mill's essay consist. The actual policy he advocates only exhibits a particular application of what we trust is becoming the accredited creed in intelligent quarters as to the proper destination of all ownership in land.

We have shown to the full the invariable effect of interference

### *The Irish Question.*

cognises in the story of the great epos—far more solid historical ground than the latter. Not only does he accept the tradition of the five Pândava brothers as being cotemporaries; but he also accepts as historical their polyandric marriage with Draupadi, who thus to him is a real personage. And the great war he takes, what it purports to be, for a contest between two rival families, ending in the destruction of the one and the victory of the other; not for a national war, embodying in its events different epochs of ancient India. Mr. Wheeler's process of separating fiction from truth is, therefore, wholly different from that of Professor Lassen. While the latter accepts the grand dimensions which the epos assigns to the events narrated in it, and adapts its principal personages to these dimensions, in raising men beyond what they would be as simple individuals, Mr. Wheeler, on the contrary, accepts the leading personages as real, and lessens the dimensions so as to fit the reality of these characters. Thus, while Professor Lassen lays stress on the names of the peoples which are recorded as having been arrayed against each other in the eighteen days' battle, and endeavours to show that the battlefield could not have been merely the limited plain of Kurukshetra, but must have extended over an area which had for its boundaries in the west the Indus, in the east the Ganges, in the north the Himâlaya, and in the south the sea—to Mr. Wheeler's mind all these innumerable armies are merely exaggerations, and all that is told of their deeds is past credibility. According to him, no such war in all probability took place.

The contest, he says (p. 292), "did not depend upon the engagements of armies, but upon the combats of individual warriors; and indeed, so much stress is laid upon these single combats, that the innumerable hosts, which are said to have been led upon the field, dwindle down into mere companies of friends and retainers. Again, it will be seen that whilst the Brahmanical compilers love to dwell upon combats with magical darts and arrows, which could only have been carried on when the enemy was at a certain distance; yet the decisive combats were those in which the rude warriors on either side came to close quarters. Then they fought each other with clubs, knives, and clenched fists; and cut, and flacked, and hewed, and wrestled, and kicked, until the conqueror threw down his adversary and severed his head from his body, and carried away the bleeding trophy in savage triumph."

From the same point of view, Mr. Wheeler disenchants us in regard to the extent of the royal power ascribed to the Kauravas and Pândavas. While their kingdoms are described as extending over a vast country, he reduces the Râj of Hâstinapur to a certain area of cultivated lands and pastures, which furnished subsistence for a band of Aryan settlers; and the Pândavas founding a glorious kingdom at Khândavaprastha and conquering the earth,

go so far as to grant them all they can desire, and assume that such a policy will reach the maximum of possible success. We will admit that by a proper use of an adequate police force, by a few trifling changes in the laws of landlord and tenant, by a discreet compromise with the claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, it is just conceivable that the Irish may in a few years cease to be disorderly, and finally become converted into poor insipid copies of model English agriculturists and tradesmen. Such a result will no doubt commend itself to some minds as eminently happy. Yet it is just against such an interpretation of the ends of government as this that it has been our main purpose resolutely to protest. If there is no other meaning in Fenianism and the restless disquiet of the whole lower classes in Ireland, there is at least manifested a terribly earnest appeal against the degradation of being condemned to mere material prosperity coupled with the paralysis of their true national life. It is degradation such as this that has been inflicted upon them, even by the most benevolent efforts of English rule; and amidst the continued reluctance of English rulers to learn the true significance of the rude and dissonant outcries uttered by Irish mobs and fanatics, no hope for the future would be visible but in a new and independent national existence.

Mr. Mill has been among the most eloquent to point out the probably fatal consequences of the separation of England and Ireland: but he is also among the most earnest of those champions of Ireland who would have England begin from this day to evince in a bold, novel, and comprehensive policy that she has at last learnt what the true functions and responsibilities of government are. We have above set forth our own view of these functions and responsibilities. It is the work of Government to do nothing more than provide for the freest possible development of all the individual life throughout the nation. For this purpose Government must help as little and restrict as little as is consistent with securing the due protection of person and property. Thus the question of the duties of Government is brought round to the other question, as to what forms of property shall be recognised and defended by Government. It is evident that those forms of property alone should be held worthy of Government interference for their protection which most favour the unlimited expansion of individual life throughout the whole community. Indefeasible property in the national soil confers privileges, partly valuable and partly sentimental, but none the less real, upon its owners which are opposed to the free play of industrial and commercial activity. Where the owners actually pass their lives on the soil, a certain compensation may be found in the support and nourishment they afford for a particular kind of traditional culture not likely to find any haven in the country elsewhere. But where such ownership repels from one generation to another

the intrusiveness of the large mass of the population, perpetuating privileges in a class capriciously selected, and where the owners have every social inducement to live in another country and not among their own tenants, the evils of such tenure appear in their most aggravated form. Such is the case of Irish landlords at this day. Whatever changes are called for in other respects, the whole reformation of land tenure in Ireland is among the most pressing. It is a noble opportunity to commence the advent of the final doctrine that Government should never interfere to support a privilege except for the truest welfare of the whole body of those who are excluded from it. And that consequently no single person or body of persons shall, except through the temporary forbearance of the State, from this time forth claim any indefeasible right in a portion of the national soil.

It may be said that this policy with respect to the soil of Ireland is opposed to the recognition of what seems to be at the bottom of all Irish discontent, the universal desire for absolute ownership of a portion of the national soil. It is said with truth that this ideal relationship to the actual territory upon which he lives is the profoundest sentiment in the breast of an Irishman, and that it is the contempt for this on the part of harsh landlords which has been the cancerous malady running through all recent Irish history. Mr. Mill, indeed, in the use of the word "copyholds" to express the kind of tenure he would introduce, confounding, as we think, the original and the modern meanings of that term, and struggling to retain the characteristic peculiarities of each, acquiesces in this view, and is prepared to legislate in accordance with it. But, unfortunately, the conditions are of too complex nature to render this possible. Even were it desirable (which our whole theory, as above enunciated, goes to dispute) to conjure up a population of peasant proprietors, the mere evidence of the greatest imaginable success attending this mode of tenure in other countries is very little evidence as to what might be the case in Ireland at this day. Mr. Mill rightly invites us to recal to mind our successful legislation in India, and traces points of resemblance between the Irish and the Hindoo character. We believe that the lessons to be learnt from any Indian legislation do not owe their value to the Irishman being like the Hindoo, any more than he is like the French or Swiss peasant or the English farm labourer, but to that legislation proving, first by its failure and then by its success, that it is possible to combine the soundest principles of general policy with the most sensitive recognition of the peculiar habits, tastes, and sentiments of the governed. Mr. Bird's policy in respect of land tenure in the North-West Provinces of India has been as conspicuous for its transcendent success as that of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal for its melancholy failure. Under both systems the State was recognised as the supreme

landlord, but under the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, the real character of Zemindars being entirely misapprehended and arbitrarily transmuted into that of English landlords, every kind of disaster, pecuniary and social, ensued. Under Mr. Bird's system, the real nature of village proprietorship being first thoroughly understood and the sentiments of the people with respect to it duly appreciated, the supreme ownership of the State was made consistent with a subordinate superintendence and joint responsibility for rent on the part of the villages. The people were consulted as to their existing grievances, and among other changes it was found expedient to make the rent to the State payable in four instalments, after the sale of the crops, instead of, as previously, in nine. The settlement began in 1833 and was completed in 1842. The whole expense of survey and other operations was 570,000*l.* The extent of country settled was 70,000 square miles. At first the assessment was made for thirty years, but has since been extended to sixty.\*

Now bearing in mind, on the one hand, what we hold to be the only form of ownership of land which we believe a Government acting on behalf of the whole people is justified in recognising, that is, a tenancy from itself, and also the undoubted proclivities of the lower classes, that is, the majority of Irishmen, the task is to find a way by which these two conflicting claims can be reconciled. We believe that the generous and not unreasoning nature of the best part of the population will render great help in solving this difficulty. When once the sincerity and self-abnegation of the English Government are, through unmistakable tokens, heartily acknowledged on all sides, more than half the obstacles will have disappeared. The sudden annihilation of all absolute proprietors, large as well as small, through some such comprehensive and compulsory sale to the State as is sketched out by Mr. Mill, would be the first pledge of a new era of true and enlightened government. So soon as the fact of absolute proprietorship had disappeared altogether from the land, all the vague fitting visions of independent ownership would soon vanish from the eyes of the population. All personal irritants being removed out of the way, time and education would do the rest. It is inequality and privilege that are oppressive to the spirit of men, rather than equable burdens that really weigh more heavily. In the meantime, by an abolition of all leases for less than a certain term of years, and of the barbarous custom of distress, new relations would spring up between the population, the capitalists, and the Government, which we believe would prove more and more favourable to all.

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\* See *The Land Tenures of British India*, Westminster Review for July, 1858; *The Government of India: its Liability and Resources*, do., July, 1859; *The Tenure of Land*, do., July, 1861.



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life, based on nothing else than self-sacrifice, generosity, and an unflinching resolution to perform well, at whatever cost, the part that may be assigned to her on the world's stage.

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ART. IV.—HINDU EPIC POETRY : THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

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3. *Original Sanskrit Texts : on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions.* By JOHN MUIR. Vols. I.—IV. London : 1858—1863 ; (Vol. I., 2nd edition, 1868.)
4. *Le Mahâbhârata. . . Traduit en Français.* Par HIPPOLYTE FAUCHE. Vols. I.—VII. Paris : 1863—1867.

WHEN the late Professor H. H. Wilson had completed the first volume of his—now celebrated—translation of the Rigveda he felt sure that his long and laborious work was about to satisfy an eager desire of every literary man, and relieve the anxiety which, he supposed, was generally evinced to get at the remotest source of the religious creeds of India. Proud, therefore, of the service he was about to render to the world at large, and to this country in particular, and free from all vanity or selfishness—as none ever entered the heart of this truly scientific and noble-minded man—he felt especially happy when at last he was able to offer his work for publication to one of the most renowned publishers of England. The offer was unconditional : the importance of the work beyond the possibility of a doubt, and the interest it would create, as he at least thought, so universal, that the greatest reward for the moment, as he pictured it to himself, was the delight with which the publisher of his choice would receive his proposal to open to the public the Hindu book of seven seals—the oldest Veda.

He had finished his little speech to the publisher, and the reply he received was not a refusal. It was only a question ; but a question compared to which a hundred refusals would have been nectar and ambrosia to the feelings of the venerable translator of the Veda : it was the question, “ What in the world, sir, *is* the Veda ? ”

Hindu mythology sometimes tells us of gods who have dropped from their heavens. This great event was then generally caused

by the severe austerities of some powerful saint, by his stern insensibility to worldly demands. Here it was insensibility too, though of another kind, that sent the enthusiastic professor down from his heaven to the realities of this world. He folded up his precious parcel, and to the question, "What, sir, is the Veda?" the Royal Asiatic Society was indebted for one of the most interesting lectures, which towards the close of his long and meritorious career he delivered within its walls, and in which he narrated the incident of which we are reminded in proposing to approach another chapter of the theme of so many mysteries still unsolved—ancient India.

The Veda, indeed—or, as we should say, the Vedas—have since been especially fortunate. For the last eighteen years and more they have almost exclusively engaged the attention and energy of the best Sanskrit scholars in India, Europe, and America, not to speak of the precursor of all modern Sanskrit scholarship, the great H. T. Colebrooke, whose essays on the Vedas, though written in the beginning of this century, still shine in their brightest lustre. Thanks to the efforts of such eminent men as H. H. Wilson, Max Müller, Benfey, Haug, John Muir, Cowell, Whitney, Rājendralāl Mitra, and others, no question will be further raised as to what are the Vedas. The contents, it is true, of these oldest records of Hindu civilization, and still more those of the vast literature connected with them, are as yet far from being fathomed to their full depth; but their surface, at least, has been extensively explored, and, though it cannot be said that every explorer has proved a reliable guide, the busy life which for many years has marked these Vedic expeditions bears witness to the interest with which they were followed by scientific research and amateur curiosity. Nor would it be just to regard even their aberrations as the result of mere conceit, and as altogether devoid of utility; for if by the side of such an understanding of the Vedas as is handed down to us by native scholarship and native tradition, and as is considered authoritative by the Hindus themselves, as well as by many scholars in Europe, we shall in some years hence, as we are given to hope, also possess an interpretation of these works such as was never heard of before in India or elsewhere, the opportunity of comparing the results attained by the more serious of these various explorations can only tend to further the ends of truth, just as the mere prospect of these adventurous enterprises has already called new forces into the field, roused new combatants to the fight, and even produced the hornblowers and the clown to afford recreation and amusement on a long and perhaps tedious march.

assigned to Mahābhārata studies as ventured upon by European scholars. The one is—in course of publication—the translation of the Mahābhārata in French, by M. Hippolyte Fauche; the other the first volume of “the History of India from the Earliest Ages,” by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, which, from its page 42 to 521, is exclusively devoted to the great poem.

A literal translation of the Mahābhārata in any of the generally known languages of Europe would be, of course, a first desideratum to any one who, though unacquainted with Sanskrit, yet would wish to form for himself an opinion of the nature and contents of the great work. He would certainly be well-informed enough not to expect that, however excellent such a translation might be, it could replace the worth of the original, or that from it he could collect the strain of ideas which only the words of the poet himself are able to rouse, or the thoughts which lie hidden in the very sounds in which they came first to light. Nevertheless, a good and literal translation of the Mahābhārata would be a great literary boon, and its importance may be well realized if one remembers the effects which, in Germany, for instance, the translation of Homer's poetry by Voss produced on the education of the people. The difficulties, however, which beset a good translation of the Mahābhārata in our days are not to be compared to those which Voss had to encounter when he increased German literature with another national work. We do not speak of difficulties essentially æsthetical, we merely refer to those purely philological; for, in spite of the excellent work done in the three editions of the Mahābhārata already mentioned, we venture to say that a comparison of the existing manuscripts of the epos—and we can here only speak of those to be found in Europe—would show that a good deal of additional critical labour must be performed before we can hope to possess a thoroughly genuine text of the poem. It does not seem that M. Fauche was troubled by any anxiety of this kind. To him the first and naturally least critical edition was the genuine text; but we fear that even to this he did not always conform, and that his imagination had too often a more powerful sway over him than a submissive adherence to grammar would allow. His translation is often neither literal nor correct, and when we add that it is in prose, without the pretension of affording an æsthetical equivalent for the poetry of the original, we must necessarily conclude that it does not yet reach the beau ideal of a version of the Mahābhārata. Still, though justice has to be severe it must also be equitable. Had M. Fauche laboured under the full weight of the difficulties to which we have already alluded, his present translation would probably not have come to the world so soon, if indeed it had ever come, and those whom Sanskrit philology does not count

amongst its working men, but wishes to enlist as its patrons and friends, would have lost the considerable advantages which, in spite of its imperfections, they may derive from his very laborious work ; for as it follows the original verse for verse, and as its failings do not affect the general tenor of the contents it renders, it is, for the present at least, the best guide we could recommend to those who, without the aid of the original, may wish to obtain an insight into this wonderful product of the Hindu mind. And the objections here raised, we will hope, may even be lessened the more M. Fauche's translation progresses on its road ; for though it has already reached its seventh volume, the ground passed over is not more than about a third of the entire journey to be accomplished ; and doubtless every succeeding step towards its goal will enable its meritorious author, whose enthusiasm and industry cannot be sufficiently praised, to travel with greater safety than before, and thus will still more ensure to him the gratitude of the literary world.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler's investigation of the Mahābhārata is, in one sense, perhaps the most curious that as yet has seen the light of publicity. For, when we say that Mr. Wheeler is no Sanskritist, and that he has not availed himself either of Lassen's researches, or M. Fauche's translation—even so far as it goes—it might well be wondered out of what materials he built his comprehensive sketch of the leading story of the Mahābhārata and the inferences he drew from it. And the wonder might seem the greater when we add that with some restrictions his sketch is the best we know of in print, and his reasoning very often to the point. The mystery is lessened, however, by the account which he himself gives of the foundation on which his structure was raised. In the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there was lodged, he relates, "many years ago, a manuscript translation of the more important portions of the Mahābhārata, which there is reason to believe was drawn up by the late Professor H. H. Wilson. The manuscript was very illegibly written upon paper much embrowned by age, and seems to have been at least fifty years in existence. The whole has now been copied and indexed, and forms nine volumes folio. The original was by some mistake put away in the Calcutta library under the head of Bhagavadgītā, and was not discovered by Mr. Wheeler until four years ago, when he accidentally sent for the Bhagavadgītā, and to his surprise and gratification found that the manuscript contained the bulk of the Mahābhārata." Unless we are much mistaken, some additional information might be added to that given us by Mr. Wheeler regarding his lucky discovery. When living in India, the late Professor H. H. Wilson had under his superintendence translations prepared—and some of them he probably himself made—of nearly all the chief contents of the

happily only to be found among the heavenly bards, the manes of the deceased ancestors, and the gods, and as the passage, moreover, containing this tradition is not even contained in all the MSS. of the poem, there is no occasion to mourn the loss of a poem of still more Himalayan dimensions than the actual Mahābhārata; though, as will presently be seen, there is no reason why on the plan on which the latter, the Mahābhārata intended for the human race, grew into its present size, it might not have assumed even the bulk which courtesy would consider only fitted for the use of the gods.

This plan may be easily understood. The groundwork of the poem, as mentioned before, is the great war between two rival families of the same kin; it occupies the contents of about 24,000 verses. This, however, was overlaid with episodical matter of the most heterogeneous kind; and the latter became so exuberant that it ultimately exceeded in extent three times over the edifice to which it was attached. Nor was this merely matter of accident in the sense in which such a term might vaguely be used. A record of the greatest martial event of ancient India would have emphatically been claimed as the property of the second or military caste, the Kshatriyas. It was recited, as tradition tells us, by men of a special caste, the *Sūtas*, or bards, at great public festivals instituted by powerful kings. The heroism of ancient warriors, who were the ancestors of these kings, their wonderful deeds, their royal virtues, their connexion with the gods—all these and kindred themes would naturally tend, in the people's mind, to strengthen their power, and increase the lustre of their dignity. But such an exaltation of the kingly splendour and of the importance of the military caste, would as naturally threaten to depress that of the first or Brahmanical caste. Brahmins, therefore, would endeavour to become the arrangers of the national epos; and as the keepers of the ancestral lore, as the spiritual teachers and guides, as priestly diplomatists, too, they would easily succeed in subjecting it to their censorship. The personage to which this task is by tradition assigned is called *Vyāsa*, a word which literally means "distributor, arranger," and is kindred to the Greek word *Homeros*, which, from *ἄμ* and *ἄρ*, conveys a similar sense, that of "joining together." But Hindu tradition also takes care to say that *Vyāsa* belonged to the Brahmanical caste. It became thus the aim of the Brāhmanas to transform the original legend of the great war into a testimony to the superiority of their caste over that of the Kshatriyas. And this aim was effected not only by the manner in which the chief story was told, but also by adding to the narrative all such matter as would show that the position and might of a Kshatriya depends on the divine nature and the favour of the Brāhmanas.

caste. Legends relating to the actions of gods and men, to the origin, development, and destruction of the worlds, exposition of matters concerning the moral and religious duties of men, especially the duties of kings, political discourses, essays on philosophy and theosophy, even fables—every subject in fact that could serve this end, was worked into the leading story by priestly skill. Here and there an old legend or myth might be found in the epos, apparently not betraying such a set purpose. Whether it found its way into it at the time when its general object was already fulfilled, or whether it was a stroke of policy on the part of the oldest compilers, to veil their intentions by also incorporating into their work matters of, politically speaking, an indifferent nature, is of course difficult, if at all possible, now to decide. That their object, however, was to make the Mahābhārata a *Brahmanical* encyclopædia for the military caste, and a powerful means in the hands of the Brahmans of swaying the Kshatriya mind, is unquestionable. One of several passages taken from the first book of the great poem may afford an insight into the importance which they themselves attached to their work. It runs as follows :—

“ This hundred thousand of Slokas, relating holy acts, told in this world by Vyāsa of unbounded splendour—whoever the wise man be who recites it, or whoever those men be who hear it, they will reach the abode of Brahman and obtain the rank of a deity. For this poem is equal to the Vedas ; it is pure and excellent, it is the best of all things to be heard, it is the Purāna praised by the saints. In it whatever is conducive to worldly interest and pleasure is fully taught, and the mind that reposes on this holy epos fits itself for final liberation. The wise man who recites this Veda of Krishna to others, provided they are liberal, truthful, not low and not unbelievers, obtains the accomplishment of his worldly interests ; and even a wicked man when hearing this epos would get rid of his sin, be it even incurred by the destruction of an unborn child. He becomes liberated from all sins, like as the moon is liberated from the (grasp of the) dragon. This poem is victory indeed, and should be heard by every one desirous of conquest. (By its aid) a king conquers the earth and vanquishes his enemies. . . . This poem related by Vyāsa of unbounded intellect, is a sacred code of religious and civil duties ; it is an eminent code of all that relates to worldly interest, and it is a sacred code of final liberation. Some recite it to-day and others will hear it ; sons who do so will become obedient (to their parents), and servants will please (their masters). Whosoever hears it, becomes at once free from all sin whether committed by his body, or his speech, or his mind. . . . He who reads the Bhārata, it must be known, understands fully the Vedas ; for there the gods and the kingly saints and the holy Brahmanical saints—all of them free from sin—are extolled, and there Krishna is extolled, and also the holy Śiva and his consort, and the birth of the war-god, effected by several mothers, and there is



praised the eminence of the Brahmans and the cows. It is a collection of all sacred traditions, and should be heard by those whose mind is given to the law. . . . Whatever there is stated in this Bhârata in regard to religious and civil duties, to worldly interests, to what is conducive to pleasure and leads to final liberation (the Commentary adds: or the reverse of these) that *is*; on the other hand, whatever there is not stated in this poem (in regard to these topics) that can be found nowhere."

The Mahâbhârata may thus be regarded under a threefold aspect: as a work relating events of an historical character; as a record of mythological and legendary lore; and as the source whence especially the military caste was to obtain its instruction in all matters concerning their welfare in this, and their bliss in a future life. Some such aim as the great epos has was also taken by a kindred and later class of works, the Purânas. They are in a great measure modelled on the Mahâbhârata, which is their prototype. But they have remained far inferior to it both as regards the quantity and the quality of their contents. They are moreover works of a sectarian stamp, each of them composed to establish the superiority of a particular god over the rest of the Pantheon; whereas such a purpose, though it may seem to loom in the distance, cannot yet be ascribed to the framers of the Mahâbhârata. In this poem there is certainly a special predilection for Krishna, whom the present Hindu canon looks upon as an incarnation of the god Vishnu; it is called, as we have seen before, 'the Veda of Krishna,' but in those portions of the great epos which in all probability are its oldest Krishna is only the hero who by his exploits engrossed the national mind; he is treated there as a personage above the ordinary mortal stamp, and as such we may say he is the chrysalis of the future god, but he is not yet there the real unquestionable god of the later period of Hindu worship. Again, though there are passages in the Mahâbhârata, probably of a later date than the former, where Krishna or Vishnu *is* spoken of as the most powerful and even supreme god, there are others too where the same honour is allotted to Siva and his consort, and others where Krishna pays adoration even to the Sun and Fire, or where Agni, the god of fire, is distinctly praised as the universal deity. It is clear therefore that the compilers of the Mahâbhârata were by no means the narrow-minded sectarians of later ages. Impressed, we should conclude, with the philosophical creed of the Vedas, they could, at the behests of policy, bestow their compliments on any god and any form of worship capable of receiving the Brahmanical stamp; but in the pursuit of their policy they must have been aided also, on the part of the people, by a spirit of toleration which could allow each worshipper to look upon his neighbour's

god as a god who, too, had its vested rights and some claims to a supremacy which he might not be able to gainsay with certainty. It must have been in their time as it was in the age of the Antonines, which Gibbon describes when saying, "The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true ; by the philosopher as equally false ; and by the magistrate as equally useful."

The Mahābhārata is therefore the source of all the Purānas, the Purāna emphatically so called, and as a document of antiquity unrivalled for religious statesmanship.

There, however, the momentous problem interposes : how far did this Brahmanical diplomacy affect its worth as an historical work, as a source of mythology, and a code of moral, religious, and political law ? It is the first of these questions which chiefly engaged the investigations of Professor Lassen and Mr. Wheeler ; and we will pause to see how they answered it.

But to appreciate their reasoning we must first take a passing glance at the leading story of the Mahābhārata.

Atri, a great saint of the Vedic period, who afterwards became one of the lords of creation, produced by a flash of light from his eye the moon, and the moon again (in Sanskrit, a male being) became the ancestor of a line of kings, who therefore are called the kings of the lunar dynasty. One of these was *Parūravas*, whose love for the heavenly nymph *Urvasī* has become familiar to us through one of the finest productions of the genius of Kālidāsa, his drama *Vikramorvaśī*. His descendants were in a direct line successively *Ayus*, *Nahusha*, and *Yayāti*, the latter becoming the father of *Puru* and *Yadu*. The line of *Yadu* acquired celebrity through *Vasudeva*, whose sister was *Kuntī* or *Prithā*, but especially through his sons *Krishna* and *Balarāma*, the reputed incarnations of the god *Vishnu*. *Puru*'s son was *Dushyanta*, the husband of *Sakuntalā*, and their son, *Bhārata*. From *Bharata* descended successively *Hastin*, *Kuru*, and *Sântanu*. The latter married *Satyavatī*, who, by a previous informal marriage with an impetuous saint, had already borne a son, the celebrated *Vyāsa*, whose specific name was *Krishna Dvaipāyana*. *Sântanu*'s sons by *Satyavatī* were *Chitrāngada* and *Vichitravīrya* ; and his son by another wife, the river *Ganges*, was *Bhishma*. He adopted moreover a son whose name was *Kripa*. The two former died childless ; but as according to Hindu law the eternal happiness of a man is jeopardized unless the funeral ceremonies are performed for his soul, and at that period children begot by a brother-in-law and the widow of a man who died childless became the lawful children of the deceased, and thus could perform those ceremonies, *Satyavatī* asked her son *Vyāsa* to provide a male progeny for the manes of *Vichitravīrya*. By one of his

offended him, since as the fee for his instruction he now claimed the kingdom of Pānchāla, which they would have first to wrest from king Drupada. The princes accordingly went to attack Drupada, but he defeated the Kauravas, and only yielded to the superior strength of the Pāndavas. The Brāhman Drona, having attained his object, then graciously made over half of the kingdom to Drupada, and merely kept the remaining half to himself. In consequence of these events, however, the renown of the Kaurava princes having become entirely eclipsed by that of the Pāndavas, and their father Dhritarāshtra even intending to install as heir-apparent to his kingdom Yudhishtira, his cousin Duryodhana planned another scheme to get rid of the obnoxious rivals. He prevailed upon his father to send the Pāndu princes, with their mother, on an excursion to a town, Vāranāvata, the ancient Allahabad, the pretext being a festival which was to be held there ; and before them he despatched a confidant with the instruction to have a house constructed for them out of highly inflammable materials, and when they were installed in it, to set it on fire, so that they might perish in the conflagration. But this scheme also failed. Having had an intimation of it, they contrived to lodge in the doomed house a woman of low caste, with her five sons, and while these were burned they succeeded in saving their lives through a subterranean passage which previously had been made for them.

Nevertheless, to be safe from further machinations they considered it prudent to conceal their escape, and it was given out that they had been destroyed in the flames. They now assumed the garb of mendicant Brāhmins, and went to the forests, where they performed a number of miraculous feats. Bhīma had there an encounter with a giant demon, Hidimba, killed him, but married his sister Hidimbā, by whom he had a son. They then went to a town, Ekachakrā, where Bhīma freed the country from a cannibal, Vaka, who was the terror of the pious anchorites. When staying there Vyāsa paid them a visit, and through him the princes were informed that Drupada would shortly institute a solemn festival, at which his daughter Draupadī from amongst the princes assembled would choose for her husband the prince who would perform the most wonderful feats. From the west and east, from the north and south, the royal suitors flocked in ; and, at the advice of Vyāsa, the Pāndavas also, in their guise as Brāhmins, joined the multitude. None of the kings, however, could perform the task that had been set them as a condition of the prize, the hand of Draupadī. Karna, too, wanted to try his fortune, but he was prevented from entering the lists on account of his being, or appearing to be, the son of a charioteer. To the astonishment of the assembly, then Arjuna came forward,

and by his deeds won Draupadī. An uproar ensued, since the royal suitors did not acknowledge the right of a Brāhman—as whom they took Arjuna—to compete with them, and in the fight which was the consequence Drupada would have lost his life had not Arjuna saved him, and Krishna, who had come from Dvārakā, and seen through the disguise of the Pāndavas, declared that Draupadī was his legitimate prize. Arjuna now repaired with his bride and his brothers to their mother; and the epos tells us that Draupadī was hereafter solemnly wedded first to the eldest, Yudhishtira, and, according to seniority, successively also to his other four brothers. She became, in short, at the same time the wife of all the five Pāndavas, who, in order to obviate domestic conflicts, laid down certain rules, stipulating that their violation should be visited on the offender by banishment into the forests for a period of twelve years.

The Pāndavas now dissembled no longer their existence and real character, and when it had become known at Hāstinapur that they were not only alive, but had for their ally the powerful Drupada, the Kauravas resolved to make peace with them. The terms agreed upon were, that the former should continue to reign at Hāstinapur, while the latter should have the sovereignty over Khāndavaprastha, the modern Delhi. At that period it so happened, unfortunately, that Arjuna entered the house of Yudhishtira when Draupadī was staying with him; and, as this was a breach of the compact they had concluded, he banished himself to the forest for twelve years, though Yudhishtira readily condoned the offence of his brother. During the period of his exile a great many events are recorded to glorify the power of this prince. The most important, however, seem to have been various love adventures, in the course of which he married Ulūpi, a serpent princess; Chitrāngadā, a daughter of the king of Manipur; and Subhadrā, Krishna's sister, whom he carried off forcibly against the will of Krishna's brother, Balarama, and by whom he afterwards had a son, Abhimanyu.

The reign of his brother Yudhishtira at Khāndavaprastha in the meantime prospered so wonderfully, and after the return of Arjuna from his exile became so much more strengthened by a series of successful conquests which he accomplished, that he resolved upon celebrating the great Rājastūya sacrifice, a ceremony which only a king could perform who had conquered all his enemies, and the attendance at which involved on the part of those who joined in it an acknowledgment of the sovereign power of the king who instituted this sacrifice. After the defeat of a last enemy, king Jarāsandha of Magadha, Yudhishtira had the satisfaction of gratifying his wish. The most powerful monarchs assembled from all parts of India to be witnesses of

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. D D

his greatness and splendour; and the festival would have come off without any jarring incident had not the *Argha*, or respectful offering; which had to be made to the worthiest of those present, provoked the jealousy of *Sisupala*, the king of Chedi; for when by common consent this offering was voted to Krishna, the king of Chedi disputed his claim to it, and by his unmeasured abuse of Krishna at last provoked the latter into a combat, in which he was slain. The very power and splendour, however, displayed on this occasion by king Yudhishtira soon became disastrous to him, for when Duryodhana, who, together with his brothers, was also among the invited guests, had become aware of the greatness which his rival had obtained, he could no longer suppress his envy, and the desire he felt to deprive him of his possessions and his wealth. As soon, therefore, as he had returned to Hâstinapur, he planned a new scheme for attaining this object. As he could not hope to be a match for the forces of the Pândavas in open warfare, and as they had already proved equal to him in cunning, he resolved to try what could be done by means of a game at hazard. Playing at dice was in the oldest time part of several sacrificial ceremonies; it had afterwards become a favourite sport of royal personages, and even special officers were attached to their courts for the arrangement and superintendence of such games. That Yudhishtira, though described as a pattern of piety and virtue, was especially fond of playing at dice was known to Duryodhana, and the latter conspired, therefore, with his uncle *Sakuni* to defeat him in such a game. The Pândavas and their wife Draupadî were accordingly invited by their relatives to be present at a banquet to be given by the old king at Hâstinapur, and when they had come a game was proposed by Sakuni to Yudhishtira. The greater skill of the former, and foul play besides, soon accomplished the evil purposes of Duryodhana. Yudhishtira lost everything he staked,—his wealth, his kingdom, at last Draupadî too. He had even to witness the indignity which was inflicted upon his wife when *Duhsâsana*, the brother of Duryodhana, seized her by her hair and dragged her as a slave into the presence of all the assembled guests. Ultimately, however, Duryodhana consented to liberate her, and even to restore to his cousins their territory, on the condition that they became exiles for thirteen years, and, during the thirteenth year, kept so strict an incognito that no one should be able to recognise them, or even ascertain the place of their retreat.

The Pândavas accepted these terms, and accordingly entered upon their exile, twelve years of which they spent in the forests of India. The events which happened during this long period are full of stirring incidents, and form the subject of many

episodes. It must here suffice to advert only to one of them. When one day they were out hunting, and their wife was left at home alone with their domestic priest, a king of Sindhu, *Jayadratha*, passed through the forest with a large retinue on his way to the south, whither he went to obtain in marriage a princess of Chedi. But seeing *Draupadī*, he was so much struck with her beauty that he at once entertained the desire of possessing her. He sent, in consequence, a messenger to her hermitage to ascertain her name and lineage, and to get himself introduced to her as a guest. *Draupadī*, unaware of the danger which threatened her, received him hospitably according to the laws of her religion, and the more so as she recognised in him a distant kinsman. *Jayadratha*, however, soon disclosed his disloyal intentions, and when *Draupadī* indignantly repelled them, he carried her off forcibly. Soon afterwards the *Pāndu* princes returned home from their hunting excursion, and learned the outrage that had been committed on them. Off they started in pursuit of *Jayadratha*. He was soon overtaken and his army routed. *Draupadī* was released, and, after an unsuccessful flight, *Jayadratha* himself made a prisoner. In the end, however, *Draupadī*, out of regard for their relationship, interposed in his favour with her husbands, and he was allowed to depart to his own country.

The thirteenth year had now come, during which the *Pāndavas* were pledged to assume an incognito beyond discovery. To carry out this last part of their agreement, they resolved to assume different disguises, and to enter the service of a king *Virāta* of *Matsya*. When they came near his city they went accordingly to a burial-ground, concealed there their weapons and garments, and took garbs suitable to the characters in which they meant to offer their services to the king. This being done, they presented themselves, together with *Draupadī*, at the court of *Virāta*, under fictitious names, and giving out that they were a party of travellers who had met with great vicissitudes in life, and now were anxious to get a livelihood in various menial capacities. *Yudhishtira* said he was a Brahman, and especially versed in the art of playing at dice; his word was taken, and he was engaged as teacher and superintendent of the game. *Bhīma* was dressed like a cook, and held a wooden ladle and a long knife in his hands. He professed to be versed in all culinary arts, and was made the head of the royal kitchen. *Arjuna* appeared in the garb of a eunuch, with earrings, bracelets, and the other attire of a person of that kind, and stated that he could give instruction in singing, playing, and dancing; he was, consequently, appointed companion and teacher of the royal ladies. Again, on the faith of their professions, *Nakula* was made master of the horse, and *Sahadeva* superintendent of the cattle.

Lastly, Draupadî, who, from her beauty and gait, could least dissemble her real nature, but also gave a plausible account of her assumed character, was engaged as servant to the queen of king Virâta. The five brothers soon became the favourites of the royal household, for they excelled in their respective occupations. The giant Bhîma especially, who, in his power of eating and fighting, was not surpassed by any one, had an opportunity of showing himself off in a wrestling match, in which he conquered a powerful wrestler of the day who had put every one else to shame. Draupadî's beauty, however, was fated to be the cause of disturbing for a while their happiness. At the court of Virâta there lived a mighty warrior, *Kîchaka*, who was the brother of the queen, and the commander of the king's forces. His passions were roused towards Draupadî, and he resorted to various stratagems to become possessed of her. The virtuous Draupadî resisted, of course, his advances, and after an indignity she had suffered at his hands in open court, resolved to accomplish his destruction. She simulated, therefore, compliance with the wishes which *Kîchaka* soon again repeated to her, and made an appointment with him during the darkness of midnight in the dancing room. Her husbands were apprised of the scheme she had planned, and which consisted in Bhîma's putting on female attire, and while personating her, dealing with *Kîchaka* as he deserved. When the appointed hour had arrived *Kîchaka* came; but Bhîma meeting him, a fight between them ensued, in which Bhîma put his adversary to death. As in the morning his dead body was discovered, and in a fearful condition, too, every one thought that no human power could have effected the destruction of so powerful a man as *Kîchaka*, and it was generally assumed that some Gandharvas, under whose divine protection Draupadî professed to be, had avenged her on *Kîchaka* for his illicit desires. Nevertheless, the followers of *Kîchaka* made an attempt to burn Draupadî with his body, as if she had been his legitimate wife, and it required another effort on the part of Bhîma to avert this danger from the Pândavas. Virâta and his court now held Draupadî in especial awe; but the death of *Kîchaka* proved of consequence also in other respects. While he lived the renown of his prowess was so great that it held in check all the enemies of his brother-in-law, the king. As soon, therefore, as spies from the city of Virâta had spread the tidings of his death, their former designs and hopes revived. Among these enemies were especially *Susarman*; a king of Trigarta, and *Duryodhana*. As the former happened to be on a visit at the court of Hâstinapur when the news of *Kîchaka*'s death arrived, he at once planned with *Duryodhana* a campaign

against his old rival and foe. Accordingly Susarman broke into the territory of Virāta, and so successful was his inroad that he even made Virāta his prisoner. But when Yudhishtira and his brother learned the misfortune that had befallen their protector, he, together with Bhīma and the younger brothers, at once set out in pursuit of Susarman, who had gone to the north, and they not only liberated Virāta, but completely defeated his enemy. While these events, however, passed in the north of Matsya, Duryodhana invaded from the south the territory of Virāta. The forces of this king having gone out to meet Susarman, the country was deprived of all its defenders, Uttara alone, the son of Virāta, and Arjuna, the supposed eunuch, with some servants, being left to offer resistance to the hostile force. Uttara was merely a boy, and Arjuna therefore undertook the defence of the country, first in acting as charioteer to the young prince, and afterwards, when the latter despaired, as principal in a combat with Duryodhana. In spite of their greater numbers, the Kauravas were completely defeated, but allowed to depart to Hāstinapur.

At the time when these events occurred, the thirteenth year of the exile of the Pāndavas had expired. Soon after the return of Arjuna to the capital of Virāta they disclosed, therefore, as they were now free to do, their real character to the king, and made an alliance with him, which was still more strengthened by Virāta giving his daughter Uttarā in marriage to Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna by Subhadrā.

By virtue of their compact with the Kauravas, the Pāndavas had now regained their title to the kingdom, which they had been temporarily obliged to quit. But they well foresaw that their cousins would not of their own accord reinstate them into their territories. They convened therefore a council to deliberate on the steps they should take. It was attended by all the allies of the Pāndavas, especially by king Drupada, their father-in-law, king Virāta, and the two mighty brothers Krishna and Balarāma, who had come from Dvārakā; and there it was resolved that the Pāndavas and their allies should fully prepare themselves for battle, but, before declaring war, try the effect of peaceable negotiations first. For this purpose, then, the family priest of king Drupada was despatched to the Kauravas, but without result; and in return an embassy was sent by Dhritarāshtra to the Pāndavas. This also proved of no avail, for though the Pāndavas were willing to declare themselves satisfied even with the cession, on the part of the Kauravas, of five small towns, the latter remained obstinate in not yielding up any portion of the territory claimed by their cousins. A last attempt at reconcilia-



tion, made by Krishna himself at Hâstinapur, was also unsuccessful, and the great war between the two rival families became henceforth unavoidable.

The two parties, with their respective allies, now chose for the battle-field the large plain of Kurukshetra, which seems to have been situated to the north-west of the modern city of Delhi, and there entrenched their camps. The Kauravas then appointed for their commander-in-chief their uncle, the veteran *Bhîshma*. Challenges preceded the outbreak of the regular hostilities, and both the Kauravas and the Pândavas agreed on certain rules which they promised to keep, that on both sides the war should remain an honest war. Thus they stipulated to fight each other without treachery, not to slay any one who would run away or throw down his arms, not to take up arms against any one without giving him warning ; no third man should interfere when two combatants were engaged with each other, horsemen should only fight with horsemen, footmen with footmen, warriors in chariots with warriors in chariots, and riders on elephants with riders on elephants. By these and similar rules it was thus intended to conduct this war according to the notions which the military caste at that period entertained of military honour.

There now ensued a series of battles—chiefly consisting of single fights—which lasted for eighteen days. For the first ten days the command-in-chief belonged to the aged and wise *Bhîshma* ; yet however great his valour, he at last succumbed. Pierced by arrows he fell from his chariot upon the ground, and Arjuna and the other chiefs of the Pândavas comforted their dying relative. But *Bhîshma* did not yet give up the ghost ; he lingered on for fifty-eight days, when his soul went to heaven. The generalissimo of the Kaurava army who succeeded him was *Drona*. He fell five days after he had assumed the command ; and this interval was especially marked by the death of *Abhimanyu*, the son of Arjuna, who, contrary to the rules agreed upon, was attacked and slain by *Duhsâsana* and four other warriors, while the wicked *Jayadratha*, known already for his attempt at ravishing *Draupadî*, prevented the Pândavas from rescuing the luckless youth. *Duhsâsana* escaped this time the consequences of his ill deed, but *Jayadratha* was killed by Arjuna. *Drona* too, however, was the victim of a stratagem on the part of the Pândavas, who thus likewise violated the rules of the war. For when *Bhîma* fought without avail against the warrior *Brahman*, the Pândavas spread the rumour that *Asvatthâman* was dead ; and *Drona*, not knowing that the Pândavas had on purpose called an elephant *Asvatthâman* and allowed him to be slain, but believing that his own son bearing this name had

fallen in battle,—Drona, disheartened by this news, laid down his arms, and suffered his head to be cut off by *Dhrishtadyumna*, a brother of Draupadī. Drona's successor was *Karna*; but his command only lasted two days, for at the end of this short period he was slain by Arjuna. His successor was *Salya*, who commanded but one, the eighteenth day of these battles, which terminated in the complete defeat of the Kaurava forces. This last day, however, was marked by an act which again proved that the Pāndavas also could depart from the rules of honourable warfare. When Duryodhana had fled and hid himself in a safe retreat, he was discovered by the Pāndavas, and, after a time, prevailed upon to fight again. His condition, however, was that he should be allowed to fight with his mace, and according to the received rules of such a duel. The challenge was accepted by Bhīma, who was a great adept in the use of the mace; but when he found that even his great skill failed against the superiority of Duryodhana, he struck the latter such a violent blow on his right thigh, that it smashed the bone and felled him to the ground. Yet in fighting with the mace it was contrary to all rule to strike below the waist, and the victory of Bhīma over Duryodhana was thus merely due to foul play. Bhīma was called, therefore, the "foul-fighter," while Duryodhana on that occasion earned the epithet of the "fair-fighter."

The Kaurava army was now completely destroyed, and only three warriors of it survived, *Asvatthāman*, the son of Drona, *Kripa*, the adopted son of Sântanu, and *Kritavarman*. When they found Duryodhana on the point of death, and heard of the treachery of Bhīma, they vowed to take their revenge on the Pāndavas. These had meanwhile, after the defeat of the hostile forces, taken possession of the Kaurava camp, and installed themselves there, while Draupadī and her sons, together with the remnant of their army, had been ordered to occupy their own camp. Now, when the night had come, and all were sleeping in apparently the most perfect security, the three surviving warriors of the Kauravas entered the camp of the Pāndavas, and there murdered the five sons of the Pāndavas, the whole family of Drupada, and every male belonging to the army of the Pāndavas. After this they hurried off to Duryodhana, who was still alive, to bring him the news of the manner in which they had fulfilled their horrible vow, and then fled for their lives to their respective countries. Duryodhana now died, and the Pāndu princes, after the fate that had befallen them, wished to effect a reconciliation with Dhritarāshtra and his wife Gāndhārī, to whom they were now left as the nearest relatives. The old blind king came to the battle field, and apparently forgave them; but he could not forget the foul play of Bhīma towards his son

Duryodhana, and by a ruse would have killed him had not the foresight of Krishna saved Bhîma's life.

The next care of Yudhishtira and his brothers was the performance of the funeral ceremonies in honour of the fallen dead, and when this duty on their part was fulfilled he entered the city of Hâstinapur, where, under the nominal sovereignty of Dhritarâshtra, he was installed junior king. His heart remained, nevertheless, filled with sorrow, and he felt a strong wish to pay a parting visit to his uncle Bhîshma, who lay still alive on his bed of arrows, as he hoped to obtain from him consolation in his grief. He repaired to him, and Bhîshma, agreeably to his wishes, instructed him in all his duties. This was the last, and by no means least wonderful performance of Bhîshma's ; for the instruction in all matters relating to this and the future world which he conveyed to Yudhishtira, while transfixed with arrows, and his head resting on a pillow of arrows, does not occupy less than above 20,000 verses in the Mahâbhârata.

The reign of Yudhishtira now having been securely established, his next desire was to obtain its acknowledgment by the other kings of India, and to effect this he performed the great sacrificial ceremony known as the Asvamedha, or horse sacrifice. Hitherto that portion of the family which had survived the great war lived together, and in apparent happiness. Dhritarâshtra alone could never forget the treacherous conduct of Bhîma in his club fight with Duryodhana, and Bhîma, too, lost no opportunity of slighting the old king. The latter, therefore, resolved upon renouncing the throne and retiring to the forest, where he intended to pass the remainder of his life as an anchorite. He therefore left Hâstinapur, together with his wife Gândhârî, with Prithâ, the mother of the Pândavas, and their uncle Vidura, and proceeded to the woods. There first Vidura died, and later the rest of the royal exiles perished in a forest conflagration. When the news of their death reached the Pândavas they were deeply afflicted by it ; but when some time later they also received the tidings of Krishna's death, and the destruction of his town, Dvârakâ, their heart was so much overcome with grief that they, too, became determined upon renouncing their royal position and the world. Accordingly they set out on a long journey towards mount Meru, where they hoped to obtain admission into Indra's heaven. Through many countries they wandered, Yudhishtira walking on foot, followed by Bhîma ; then came Arjuna ; then, in order, the twins Nakula and Sahadeva, and last of all came Draupadî. Behind them walked a faithful dog. By degrees they reached the shore of the sea, and here Arjuna cast into the waves his bow and quivers. Gradually, however, the strength of the royal pilgrims failed. Draupadî sank first, and the others

successively, until Yudhishtira alone and the faithful dog remained. At last Yudhishtira reached the heaven of Indra, but the dog was refused admittance to it by the god. The king insisted, nevertheless, on remaining with his faithful companion, and it then turned out that Indra, by his resistance, had merely tried Yudhishtira's constancy, since the dog was no other than the god of justice himself, and the real father of king Yudhishtira. To his surprise, however, Yudhishtira found in Indra's heaven Duryodhana and his other cousins, but not his own brothers or Draupadi. And when he was told that these were confined in one of the hells to expiate their sins, Yudhishtira resolved to share in their fate, instead of remaining alone in heaven. He proceeded, therefore, to the fearful hell where they were, and was about to undergo the miseries to which his brothers were doomed, when it became manifest that all had been an illusion, and this his last trial. For Indra, to test his attachment for his relatives, had created a vision, which now vanished away, and after Yudhishtira had bathed in the heavenly Ganges he found himself re-united with his whole family in the heaven of Indra. And thus ends the story of the great war and the reign of the most virtuous of the Pāndavas.

In giving this bare outline of what may be called the historical portion of the Mahābhārata, we have had to be ruled by considerations of space, and an estimate of what we thought might be the amount of forbearance possibly granted by an indulgent reader who, in a weak moment, professing an interest in Hindu epic poetry, had suddenly found himself taken at his word. We therefore at once confess some remorse at the havoc which such a rapid sketch has had to make of the contents of the great poem. But lest, by dint of condensing and curtailing, it might even cause a doubt as to how such a simple narrative could have been worked into a bulk of verses like that described, and into one though of unequal yet great poetical worth, we must come to the aid of the reader's imagination with at least a few additional remarks.

We need not dwell on the chance which was given to the poet when he had to describe the battles of eighteen days, each of which was a series of single combats, nor on the eloquence he could display when giving a picture of the great councils held both at the court of Dhritarāshtra and that of Virāta previously to the first battle, or of the messages exchanged between the Pāndavas and Kauravas. We need likewise not point to the wide scope for poetical embellishment where the amours of Arjuna during his exile, or kindred subjects, are told, or where the scene is described when the mothers and wives of the fallen

warriors visit the battle-field, and give themselves up to the expression of their grief. Themes like these will always be a fertile source for the poet's muse, whether he be Vyâsa or Homer, Valmîki or the author of the *Nibelungenlied*. But another field, and a large one too, in which the Hindu poet could travel at his ease, might not so readily appear from the meagre narrative just offered. The personages that have been named in it, their pedigrees and their lives, have been represented there as if we were writing history. But in the *Mahâbhârata* all the leading characters are raised beyond the sphere of ordinary human life. Their birth is miraculous, and their acts defy the standard of human acts. They constantly associate with gods: their palaces are of divine grandeur; their armies count by millions; their wealth is inexhaustible; time and distance vanish before their deeds. In epic poetry there must always be fictions of a kindred character, or else it would no longer be epic poetry. But in Homer, for instance, such fictions are rather hinted at than dwelt upon at length; as a rule, where dealing with mortal heroes he allows us to feel at home in the sphere of human possibilities. In Hindu epic poetry, on the contrary, the supernatural halo which surrounds every personage of consequence becomes a heavy reality, which forcibly, and often for a considerable time, arrests our attention, and withdraws it from the main story, which it originally was intended merely to brighten up. Thus the miraculous births of Vyâsa, Pându, Drona, of Prithâ, and Draupadî, not to speak of Krishna, and of many more leading characters, become centres of interest for themselves, though this interest is foreign to the main story of the great war. All, in short, that lies on its by-roads assumes an importance of its own, and these by-roads themselves multiply the farther we advance. Nor by adverting to this difference which distinguishes the character of the epic poetry of the *Mahâbhârata* from that of ancient Greece do we as yet allude to what is purely episodic in the Hindu epos. By the latter we here understand all that could be easily cut out from the main story without in the least affecting its mechanism or even its poetical worth—all, in short, that, at first sight as it were, proves to be an extraneous addition, whatever the motive be for which it was made. Thus, when the divine sage Nârada pays a visit to the Pându princes after their marriage with Draupadî, and in order to warn them against the conflicts that might arise from their polyandric arrangement, relates to them a story of two giant brothers, who from love to a beautiful woman became deadly enemies, and ultimately perished by their own hands—the whole incident, visit, and story, merely intrude into the midst of the main narrative, and may readily be eliminated from it. Or when the same sage pays another visit to Yudhishtira before

he performed the Rājasthya sacrifice, and gives him an account of the divine palaces of the different gods, which in his roamings through the heavens he had seen, the account itself is interesting, and even poetical, but to the main story entirely superfluous. In a similar manner, after Yudhishtira had lost everything in the game at dice, and when he was living in his forest exile, his grief is soothed by a Saint Vrihadasva, who arrives *à propos*, and tells him the story of Nala and Damayantî, which in several respects was similar to his own. Again, another great saint, who likewise turns up as a *deus ex machina*, when Jayadratha had been frustrated in his attempt at ravishing Draupadî, consoles Yudhishtira by reminding him that in times of yore another hero, Râma, had met with a similar fate to his ; and as the king becomes curious, he gratifies him with the whole story of the Rāmâyana in the condensed shape of about 750 verses. Or to give an instance or two of episodes of another character, which are readily recognised as such. When Arjuna went into exile, and lived the life of a penitent addicted to meditation and practising severe austerities, his brothers became saddened by the loss of his company, and Yudhishtira especially felt deeply aggrieved by it. Happily for them, Nārada arrived again, and delivered to them a long discourse on the results of piety, and the boons that accrue to a man who visits holy places of pilgrimage. The description of these, together with numerous legends connected with them, occupies about 7400 verses. On the first day of the great war, when both armies were drawn up and ready for battle, Arjuna felt troubled in his mind at the prospect of causing the destruction of so many human lives, and communicated his scruples to Krishna, who promised to act for him as charioteer. Krishna at once allayed his conscience with the celebrated discourse on the Yoga philosophy, the Bhagavad-gîtâ, in about 1000 verses ; and, as allusion has already been made to the more than 20,000 verses in which Bhîshma, wounded to death, conveyed consolation and instruction to Yudhishtira when he paid him a parting visit, they, too, may be recalled as a last instance of that episodical matter which, as already mentioned, fills about three-fourths of the Mahābhārata, and may readily be separated from the leading story, that of the great war.

The task, however, of separating the main story from all that matter, which though now closely interwoven with it, may not originally have belonged to it, is one beset with far greater difficulty than that of distinguishing between the story itself and its episodical exuberance. Whether every personage whose name is recorded in the eighteen days' war performed the acts with which he is credited : whether the speeches were delivered as they are reported : whether the women were as beautiful as they are de-

scribed, and the kings as wealthy and powerful as they are represented to be—all these and similar subjects might seem of comparative indifference, if poetical and antiquarian interests are set aside, for which even such material has a significance. But by disallowing the historical reliability of such material, the question is not yet settled whether it may not have belonged to the oldest account of the great war, and whether, therefore, it may not represent the oldest portions of the *Mahâbhârata*. Again, supposing this question had been satisfactorily solved, there remains the further problem of determining what portion of the story may lay a claim to historical authenticity, for in the shape in which it is handed down to us no portion of it is without its mythical and legendary alloy.

The position taken by Professor Lassen in dealing with the latter of these problems is that of considering the leading characters of the story, not as persons, but symbolical representations of conditions and events. Names and facts thus assume to his mind a different value to what they would seem to have. *Pându*, for instance, the father of the *Pândavas*, he interprets as the first appearance in history of the *Pândavas*, and *Dhritarâshtra*—"by whom the kingdom is upheld"—as he survived the great war, is to him the continuance of the power of the *Kauravas* till the return of the *Pândavas*. *Arjuna*, again, a word which literally means "light," and *Krishna* "the black," as well as *Draupadî*, who is also surnamed *Krishnâ*, "the black," would, according to him, designate the second and third periods of the history of the *Pândavas*. Their marrying *Draupadî*, the daughter of *Drupada*, would be a symbolical indication of their political alliance with this king of *Panchâla*, when their "unnatural" relation to *Draupadî* would lose its offensiveness. And that there were five *Pându* princes would follow from there also being five tribes of the people of *Panchâla*. Moreover, their connexion with *Krishna*—originally a hero of the *Yadu* race, and identified by Professor Lassen with the *Herakles* of *Megasthenes*, who gives him a daughter, *Pandaia*,—would symbolically indicate the extension of the dominion of the *Pândavas* to the south; and this view he finds also confirmed in a tradition which connects *Arjuna* by marriage with *Subhadrà*, the sister of *Krishna*,—*Subhadrà* meaning "the woman who brings much prosperity." *Bhîma*, who in the epos is the brother of *Arjuna*, and is represented as the special enemy of *Duryodhara*, Professor Lassen looks upon as a successor of *Yudhishthira*, and as having been made, at a later period, a contemporary of *Arjuna*; and as for the twins, *Nakula* and *Sahadeva*, the sons of *Mâdrî*, he assigns to them a still more remote period in the history of this family, in considering them as the founders of an empire in the Eastern Punjab.

The Pāṇḍavas would thus, according to Professor Lassen, be properly speaking a symbolical personification of the Aryan conquests, pushing on from the northwest to the east, and gradually extending all over India, and the individuals bearing this name would therefore symbolically represent the various periods which might be assigned to these conquests. The final battles, too, would then likewise not be so much the combats between two rival families, as the end of a great national struggle, in which the fate of the principal peoples of India was concerned.

We cannot, of course, here follow in detail the results of this most ingenious method by which Professor Lassen endeavours to reconcile discrepancies in the narrative of the great epos, and to transform the improbable stories recorded in it into plausible and real events. It may be inferred, however, even from this meagre statement, that there are very few facts indeed which, as related by the epos, he would accept as real. For, according to his reasoning, the legendary element would have so strongly and so constantly vitiated the historical basis of the story, that without a special process of interpretation this basis could never be reached.

Mr. Wheeler is also inclined to view the history of the Pāṇḍavas as embodying events belonging to different epochs of the ancient history of India.

"If the Pāṇḍavas," he says (p. 104) "may be accepted as the representatives of the Aryan race, it would appear from the story that they had advanced far away to the eastward of the Aryan outpost at Hāstinapur, and had almost reached the centre of the land of the aborigines. This direction was undoubtedly the very one which was eventually taken by the Aryan invaders; that is, they pushed their way from the Punjab towards the south-east, along the fertile valleys of the Ganges and Jumná, until they arrived at the junction of the two rivers at Allahabad. Probably, as already indicated, this migration occupied a vast period of unrecorded time, and the Aryans may not have reached Allahabad until ages after the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas had fought their famous battle for the little Rāj at Hāstinapur. But when the story of the war of the Mahābhārata had been converted into a national tradition, it seems not unlikely that the legends of the later wars waged by the Aryans against the aborigines, during their progress towards the south-east, would be tacked on to the original narrative. This process appears to have been carried out by the compilers of the Mahābhārata, and although . . . the adventures of the Pāṇḍavas in the jungle, and their encounters with Asuras and Rākshasas are all palpable fictions, still they are valuable as traces which have been left in the minds of the people of the primitive wars of the Aryans against the aborigines."

In spite, however, of the coincidence of these general views of Mr. Wheeler with those of Professor Lassen, the former re-



cognises in the story of the great epos—far more solid historical ground than the latter. Not only does he accept the tradition of the five Pândava brothers as being cotemporaries; but he also accepts as historical their polyandric marriage with Draupadi, who thus to him is a real personage. And the great war he takes, what it purports to be, for a contest between two rival families, ending in the destruction of the one and the victory of the other; not for a national war, embodying in its events different epochs of ancient India. Mr. Wheeler's process of separating fiction from truth is, therefore, wholly different from that of Professor Lassen. While the latter accepts the grand dimensions which the epos assigns to the events narrated in it, and adapts its principal personages to these dimensions, in raising men beyond what they would be as simple individuals, Mr. Wheeler, on the contrary, accepts the leading personages as real, and lessens the dimensions so as to fit the reality of these characters. Thus, while Professor Lassen lays stress on the names of the peoples which are recorded as having been arrayed against each other in the eighteen days' battle, and endeavours to show that the battle-field could not have been merely the limited plain of Kurukshetra, but must have extended over an area which had for its boundaries in the west the Indus, in the east the Ganges, in the north the Himâlaya, and in the south the sea—to Mr. Wheeler's mind all these innumerable armies are merely exaggerations, and all that is told of their deeds is past credibility. According to him, no such war in all probability took place.

The contest, he says (p. 292), "did not depend upon the engagements of armies, but upon the combats of individual warriors; and indeed, so much stress is laid upon these single combats, that the innumerable hosts, which are said to have been led upon the field, dwindle down into mere companies of friends and retainers. Again, it will be seen that whilst the Brahmanical compilers love to dwell upon combats with magical darts and arrows, which could only have been carried on when the enemy was at a certain distance; yet the decisive combats were those in which the rude warriors on either side came to close quarters. Then they fought each other with clubs, knives, and clenched fists; and cut, and flacked, and hewed, and wrestled, and kicked, until the conqueror threw down his adversary and severed his head from his body, and carried away the bleeding trophy in savage triumph."

From the same point of view, Mr. Wheeler disenchant us in regard to the extent of the royal power ascribed to the Kauravas and Pândavas. While their kingdoms are described as extending over a vast country, he reduces the Râj of Hâstinapur to a certain area of cultivated lands and pastures, which furnished subsistence for a band of Aryan settlers; and the Pândavas founding a glorious kingdom at Khândavaprastha and conquering the earth,

would mean, according to him, their proceeding from the banks of the Ganges to those of the Jumná; thus clearing the jungle, founding a new Raj, and establishing a supremacy over every bordering enemy. In perfect consistency with his line of argumentation, Mr. Wheeler therefore also discards as historical those traditional connexions between the Pândava family and other princes which would seem to be opposed by geographical difficulties; or he assigns to those princes localities different from those which the epos would allow them to occupy. He disbelieves, for instance, the tradition which marries king Vichitravīrya, the son of Sântanu, to two daughters of the king of Kâsi or Benares; for this tradition allows Bhīshma to drive to Benares in his chariot and back again with these young damsels; but as Benares, he says, is five hundred miles from Hâstinapur, as the crow flies, the whole story is improbable and the result of a later manipulation. Or since Panchâla, if identified with Kanouj, as it generally is, would be at least two hundred miles from Hâstinapur, Mr. Wheeler concludes that the country of that name governed by Drupada—against whom Drona and the Pândavas waged war,—cannot have been Kanouj, but probably was “a little territory in the more immediate neighbourhood of Hâstinapur” (p. 97). Again, the frequent and easy intercourse between Krishna and the Pândavas, as described in the Mahābhārata, becomes, for a similar reason, also a matter of doubt.

“At the time,” Mr. Wheeler argues (p. 459), “when Krishna is said to have first come into contact with the Pândavas, he and his tribe had already migrated to Dvārakâ, on the western coast of the peninsula of Guzerat, which is at least seven hundred miles from Hâstinapur, as the crow flies. Accordingly, it seems impossible that such relations as those said to have subsisted between Krishna and the Pândavas could really have existed; and this suspicion is confirmed by the mythical character of every event which apparently connects the Yādava chieftains of Dvārakâ with the royal house of Hâstinapur.”

It is with regret that we must here arrest our desire to afford more illustrations of the critical method which Mr. Wheeler pursues in scanning the leading story of the Mahābhārata; for the more consistently he applies it to every event of special consequence as narrated in the epos, and the more attractive the manner in which he puts forward his arguments, the less are we able, within these limits, to do justice to his criticisms; but, however valuable they are, and however much we agree with many conclusions at which he has arrived, we nevertheless believe that the time is as yet distant when a final verdict can be pronounced on what is really historical in the great epos, or when it will even be safe to decide on the critical method by which such a verdict is to be obtained.

We would, for instance, be as little inclined to submit the events of the great war to Mr. Wheeler's geographical test, as to look with Professor Lassen upon Draupadī as a mere allegorical expression of the link which connected the Pāndavas with king Draupada. It is quite true that, considering the political and social condition of ancient India, visits at a distance could not be paid, nor armies transferred, or expeditions made, without much loss of time. When in the epos, therefore, the most distant places are reached as it were instantaneously, such occurrences might be declared impossible. But that which is really impossible in the account of them is merely the disregard of time, not the fact itself. Time, however, as will be conceded by every one familiar with Sanskrit literature, is a category apparently foreign to the ancient Hindu mind. In Sanskrit poetry, therefore, a test of time ceases to be a test. Hindu epic poetry is for this very reason not amenable to the Aristotelian canon of epic poetry, because the Hindu mind, unlike the European, did not obey the laws of time. An episode of twenty thousand verses, as that of Bhīṣma's instructing Yudishthira when lying on his bed of arrows, would in European literature be an impossibility, not on æsthetical grounds alone, but because no European mind could realize the possibility of a narrative being stayed for such an amount of time as the delivery of so many incidental verses would occupy. In Hindu epic poetry, however, such an interruption is regarded as none; it is received as the legitimate fate of a narrative, and no Hindu critic ever objected to it as antagonistic to probabilities based on considerations of time. So little, indeed, has any native critic ever objected to the massing up of all the other episodic matter of the great epos, though it entirely destroys that unity which we would require in it, and a demand for which is based on a due conformance to the law of time. Such, however, being the characteristic feature of the Hindu mind, as shown by its national poetry, it would follow that no credence whatever can attach to any statement in regard to time recorded in it, unless supported by interior or collateral evidence. We should on this ground, therefore, see no objection to the theory of Professor Lassen, which assumes that various periods of ancient Hindu life are in the history of the Pāndavas blended into one, did not the tradition of their polyandric marriage with Draupadī, as we hold, throw a considerable doubt on it; for this marriage, which implies the coevalness of the Pāndavas, we believe to be a historical reality, and one which might also become a guide in the search for a critical standard to test other facts related in the Mahābhārata; but as such a standard may afford some light,

however dim, in the dark chronology of the ancient epos, we will briefly explain what we understand by it.

We take it for granted that the Mahābhārata is a traditional record of an early period of Hindu history, compiled, however, by eminent men of the Brahmanical caste, and modelled by them to suit a special purpose of their own, that of imposing their own law on the Kshattriya, or military caste. The fabric of the great epos was not built up at once. Different times supplied different materials for it, and with the importance of the object the greatness of the task increased. These materials, as Professor Lassen himself has in several instances shown, sometimes underwent the treatment of various editors; but the chief object of all these editors, arrangers, and modellers, always remained the same,—to demonstrate the necessity and the sanctity of the Brahmanical law. In dealing then with the traditional lore of the military caste, the Brāhmanas would have to meet three categories of facts. One category would comprise those facts which were more or less in accordance with the religious and political system to be established or consolidated by them; another would comprise facts, if not in harmony with, yet not antagonistic to it; a third category, however, would be absolutely opposed to it, since not all the ancestors of the Kshattriyas, who had to be represented as belonging to the common stock, were of Aryan origin, or professed the orthodox faith. The most, of course, would be made by the Brahmanical compilers of the first of these categories of facts; it would naturally become the basis on which they would proceed. The second category might appear inconvenient, but it could be tolerated by them; or since, in the work of different ages and different minds, even inattention is not impossible, we could imagine that it might escape a close scrutiny. But the third category could admit of no compromise: it had to be suppressed or to be explained away. And we should conclude that if parts of this last category *were* explained away, this was merely done because they could not be suppressed, as being too deeply rooted in tradition, and consequently, as having the strongest presumption in favour of their authenticity. Now, of all traditions related in the Mahābhārata, there is, on the face of them, none more opposed to the spirit of the Brahmanical religion than this “five-maled” marriage of Draupadī. Polyandry, it is unnecessary to say, never found any place in the Brahmanical code, or in the habits of the Hindus, as we know them from their literature; and if, in spite of its thorough offensiveness, it nevertheless was imputed to the very heroes of the ancient epos, there seems to have been no alternative but to admit it as a real piece of history. Professor Lassen, [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—New Series, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. E.E.

as we have seen, assumes that this tradition involves an allegory. But either polyandry existed as an institution when this allegory was made—in that case there is no ground for considering a polyandric marriage as an improbable event in the history of the Pāndavas themselves—or it as little existed in their time as in the later history of India. In that case, however, it would have offended the national sentiment, and no allegory of this kind could have entered a poet's mind, or obtained currency. The Brahmanical compilers not being able to suppress this fact endeavoured therefore to explain it away; but the very manner in which they strove to make it acceptable, shows the difficulty they experienced, and the stubbornness of the fact. When Drupada is apprised by Yudhishtira that he and his four brothers have resolved to make his daughter their common wife, he is represented by the Brahmanical compiler as shocked at the idea of such a proposal, and says to him, "It is lawful for one man to take unto him many wives, but it is unheard of that many men should become the husbands of one wife. You who know the law, and are pure, must not commit an unlawful act, which is contrary to usage and the Vedas. How can you conceive such a thought?" When Yudhishtira replies, "The law, O king, is subtle; we do not know its way. *We follow the path which has been trodden by our ancestors in succession.*" But the king, not yet being satisfied with this answer, Yudhishtira pleads precedents:—"In an old tradition it is recorded that Jatilā, of the family of Gotama, that most excellent of moral women, dwelt with seven saints; and that Vārksṁī, the daughter of a Muni, cohabited with ten brothers, all of them called Prachetas, whose souls had been purified by penance." Then Vyāsa interferes; and in order to explain to the king the lawfulness of polyandry, relates a legend, which consists of two parts. From its first part, however, we merely learn that the gods, at a sacrifice celebrated by them, expressed to Brahmā their fear at seeing mankind multiplying excessively, and not dying; when Brahmā assures them that Death, being much engaged just now, would soon resume his office, and put an end to men. In the second portion of this legend, Vyāsa shows that the five Pāndavas are incarnations of Indra, that Draupadī is an incarnation of Vishnu's consort, Lakshmi, and consequently, that though apparently married to five men, she would in reality become the wife of one husband only.

The last of these explanations is a Brahmanical one; that which one would expect to receive from a Hindu priest. The third may be thought suggestive, but the first two are full of significance. The story of the god of death being busy sacrificing, and therefore neglectful of his duties, and of Brahmā's consol-

ing the other gods in their perplexity, is so loosely tacked on to the legend of the incarnation of Indra and Lakshmi, that as a justification of polyandry it would seem meaningless. But the fear of an excessive increase of mankind, as expressed by the gods, is suggestive, perhaps, of the real cause of polyandry. The two arguments, however, brought forward by Yudhishtira, can leave no doubt that polyandry was an institution in India, though in pre-Brahmanical times, and that instances of it were still in the memory of men.

But if this marriage of Draupadi is a real event, it throws at once the life of the Pāndavas into such a remote period of Hindu antiquity as to leave behind not only Manu, the oldest representative of Hindu law, but even those Vedic writings of Asvalāyana and others, on which the ancient law of India is based.

It remains to be seen, however, whether there are not other facts recorded in the history of the war which likewise are at variance with this law, but were not, or could not, be suppressed by the compilers of the Mahābhārata. For if there are, they would still more strongly corroborate the conclusion we have drawn, and indicate a standard by which to test the age and the historical reliability of the record itself.

We will point to a few such facts which would seem to belong to this category.

The institution of caste, as Mr. Muir, in his excellent work, has proved, did not exist at the earliest Vedic period. It was fully established, however, and circumscribed with stringent rules at the time when the code of Manu was composed. At the Vedic period a warrior, like Visvāmitra, for instance, could aspire to the occupation of a Brāhmana, and a Brāhmana, like Vasishtha, or the son of Jamadagni, could be engaged in military pursuits. At the time of Manu such a confusion of occupations, as an orthodox Hindu would say, was no longer allowed; it recurs only at the latest period of Hinduism. Yet in the history of the great war we find the Brāhmana Drona not only as the military instructor of the Kauravas and Pāndavas, but actively engaged in a war against Drupada; we find him, too, as king over half the kingdom of Pāñchāla, and finally, as one of the commanders-in-chief of the Kauravas. Nor do the compilers of the Mahābhārata even try to explain this anomaly; for when in the third book of the epos it is said that Drona and some others joined Duryodhana "because their mind was possessed by the demons," such a remark might seem to imply that Drona, having become impious, would also be capable of violating the rules of his caste; but even if it did, it could, at the utmost, only refer to the part he took in the

hostilities of the Kauravas against the Pândavas ; it would not palliate the facts of his previous history, as told in the first book of the Mahâbhârata, where he is described as a pious Brâhmana. The case of his son, Asvatthâman, is even worse : he is not only an active combatant in the great war, but it is he who conceives and carries out the terrible revenge which ends in the treacherous slaughter at midnight of the Pândava forces. In the tenth book, which describes the wicked proceedings of this Brâhmana, he is made to descant on the duties of the castes, which he then describes in perfect conformity with the law of Manu, and to express a regret that his "ill-luck" caused him to follow the pursuits of a Kshattriya. But the only attempt at an excuse for his conduct which the compilers put into his mouth, is contained in the words, "As I have now at will taken upon myself the duties of a soldier, I shall enter upon the path of a king, and that of my high-minded father."

Another fact which, after the establishment of caste, must have been highly objectionable, but could not be eliminated from the epos, is the disguise of the Pândavas. "False boasting of a higher caste" is an offence which Manu considers so grave that he ranks it together with the killing of a Brâhmana ; and there could certainly be no greater danger to the preservation of caste than the possible success of false pretenders. We have seen, however, that the chief personages of the great epos, the Pândavas, though Kshattriyas, assume the character of Brâhmanas, and even retain it at the tournament of Drupada ; that Yudhishthira, too, resorts to the same "false boasting of a higher caste" a second time when he offers his services to king Virâta. Had it been possible to suppress such a dangerous precedent, there is little doubt that the Brahmanical arrangers of the national tradition would not have held up their military heroes as successful violators of the law which they were bent on inculcating to the Kshattriyas.

We will allude to another *class* of passages in the Mahâbhârata, which, perhaps, still more forcibly prove that the events to which they relate must have been historical, and anterior to the classical state of Hindu society. We mean those events which bear on the law of marriage and inheritance. There are portions of the great epos where the statements made in regard to these important laws are in perfect harmony with the ruling of Manu or later lawgivers ; but there are other passages, too, where the discrepancy between their contents and the law books is palpable. Nor is it possible to assume that the occurrences mentioned in those passages are innovations on Manu and the lawgivers : the contrary is the case. It is Manu who criticises them, and rejects their authoritativeness. A few instances will indicate the direc-

tion in which the reader of the epos might trace the facts of, which we speak.

In the brief outline given above of the contents of the epos, mention has been already made of the circumstance, that king Vichitravīrya died childless, and to provide for the salvation of his soul his half-brother, Vyāsa, begot for him two sons by his two widows, and at the time, believed that he was begetting for him even a third son when he approached the slave girl, who personated Ambikā. Now, in regard to this practice to raise children for a deceased relative who died childless, Manu expresses himself in these terms:

“On failure of issue by the husband the desired offspring may be procreated either by his brother or some other near relative, called Sapinda, on the wife who had been duly authorized. Anointed with clarified butter, silent, in the night, let the (kinsman thus) authorized beget one son on the widow, but a second by no means. Some who understand this (law), and hold that the object of their authorization might remain unaccomplished, are of opinion that it might be lawful to beget a second offspring on women. . . . By twice born men (*i. e.*, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas) no widow must be authorized (to conceive) by any other (than her own lord); for they who authorize her (to conceive) by any other violate the primeval law. (Such) an authority (given to her) is nowhere mentioned in the nuptial hymns of the Veda, nor is the remarriage of a widow named in the laws concerning marriage. This practice, fit only for cattle, is reprehended by the learned twice-born men. Amongst men it is mentioned while Vena had sovereign power; (but this king) of yore possessing the whole earth, and therefore (not on account of his piety) called the best of royal saints, gave rise to a confusion of castes, his intellect having been impaired through lust.”

Thus Manu admits that the practice in question existed; he condemns it, however, as strongly as possible, in the case of the first three castes, allowing, though not recommending it, as might be inferred from his words—and has been inferred by the commentators—in the case of the fourth or servile caste. But even in regard to this caste he lays down the law that the authorized kinsmen should by no means procreate more than one son, though he states that lawgivers anterior to him thought the procreation of a second son was lawful. Both these stipulations must have been unknown to Vyāsa in the narrative to which we referred; for Vichitravīrya was a Kshatriya, and Vyāsa—himself a Brāhmana, though of a doubtful origin—procreated not only more than one child for the benefit of his relative, but, so far as his own belief went, three. And Pāndu, too, when lamenting his childlessness, says to Prithā: “In distress men desire a son from their



oldest brother-in-law." It is certainly curious that Manu, in illustrating the historical occurrence of this practice, should allude to a lustful King Vena, and pass over in silence the example of Vyâsa. But whilst on the one hand it is intelligible that Manu could not associate the name of the holy compiler of the Vedas with a practice "fit only for cattle," it would seem incredible that Vyâsa could have been guilty of it had there existed in his time a code of law invested, like that of Manu, with undisputed authority, and strongly condemning it.

A comparison between the marriage law as mentioned by Manu, and that alluded to in *some* passages of the Mahâbhârata, leads to an analogous inference. Regarding the manner in which a husband is chosen Manu says :—

"To an excellent and handsome suitor of the same class let every man give his daughter in marriage according to law. . . . Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable, but after that term let her choose for herself a husband of equal rank. If not being given in marriage she obtain a husband, neither she nor the husband whom she obtains commits any offence."

Hence Manu limits the right of a girl to choose herself a husband to the condition that her father did not give her away in marriage at the proper time. In those portions of the Mahâbhârata, however, to which we allude, a girl often chooses her husband before her father gives her away, and while she thus has a perfect freedom of choice, the right of the father is merely that of assent. This mode of a girl's choosing her husband was called the *Svayamvara*, or "self-choice." We see it observed in the marriage of Pându with Prithâ, of Yudhishtira with Devikâ, of Sahadeva with Vijayâ, of Sini with Devakî, Nala with Damayantî, &c.; and we have a full description of it when Draupadî chose Arjuna. This greater freedom of women is consonant with the position which, to judge from some Vedic hymns, they must have held in society during the Vedic time, but it is foreign to the period of Manu. In the narrative of Draupadî's "self-choice" we are even distinctly told that this mode of electing a husband was a peculiar privilege of the Kshatriya caste, to which a Brâhmana had no claim. But no such privilege is mentioned in the code of Manu, who in regard to the subject of marriage gives the following rules :—

"Now learn compendiously the eight modes of marriage (for the acquisition) of wives by the four castes (some of which modes are productive of) good and some of evil in this world and the next. They are the modes called *Brâhma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha*, *Prâjâpatya*, *Asura*, *Gândharva*, *Râkshasa*, and the eighth and worst, the *Paisâcha*. . . . Let mankind know that the six first in direct order are valid in the case

of a Brāhmana; the four last in that of a warrior; and the same (four) except the Rākshasa mode in the cases of a man of the third and fourth castes. The wise consider the four first forms as most approved in the case of a Brāhmana, and only the Rākshasa mode in that of a Kshatriya, and the Asura in that of a man of the third and fourth castes. But among these, three of the five last, viz., the Prājāpatya, Gāndharva, and Rākshasa, are held legal, and two illegal; the Paisācha and Asura marriages must never be contracted by any caste. Whether separate or mixed, the before-mentioned Gāndharva and Rākshasa modes are declared legal for a man of the military caste. The mode of marriage is called *Brāhma* (1) when, having voluntarily invited a man versed in the Vedas, and of good character, a daughter is given away to him, after clothing both of them, and honouring them with ornaments, &c. The mode called *Daiva* (2) is the giving away of a daughter, after having decked her with ornaments, to the priest officiating at a properly conducted sacrifice. When, after receiving from the bridegroom one pair of kine (a bull and a cow), or two pairs, for religious purposes, a daughter is given away in due form, that mode of marriage is called *Arsha* (3). It is called *Prājāpatya* (4) when a daughter is given away with due honour after having uttered this injunction: 'May both of you perform your duty.' When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the damsel and her kinsmen, takes her according to his own pleasure, that mode is called *Asura* (5). The reciprocal connexion of a damsel and her lover, from mutual desire, is called the *Gāndharva* mode (6); it proceeds from sensual desire, and is intended for amorous embraces. The seizure of a maiden by force from her home, after slaying or wounding her kinsmen, and breaking into their houses, while she weeps and calls for assistance, is the mode called *Rākshasa* (7). When the lover secretly embraces the damsel while she sleeps, or is intoxicated, or disordered in her mind, such a mode—the eighth—is called *Paisācha* (8); it is the most wicked and the basest."

No "self-choice" mode, as we see, occurs in this detailed description by Manu of the eight marriage modes, six of which he declares legal. But Svayamvara is not only mentioned in the description of Draupadi's marriage, as a privilege of the Kshatriyas, it is asserted also by the patriarch Bhīshma to be the best of all modes of marriage for a man of his caste, besides a still better one, that of forcibly carrying off a bride. The occasion on which Bhīshma makes mention of the marriage notions of his time is that of his choosing, in the last-named fashion, as intended wives for his brother Vichitravīrya, the beautiful daughters of a king of Benares; and since his words are remarkable, inasmuch as they afford the means of comparing these notions with those expressed in the code of Manu, we will quote the passage in which they occur: It runs as follows:—

"When Bhīshma, the best of combatants, had put the damsels on his chariot, he said, with a voice like thunder, to the assembled kings:

(1) Giving away a damsel to men of distinguished qualities, after having invited them, and after having decked her with ornaments, and given her as much property as possible, is one mode of marriage mentioned by the wise. (2) Some give a damsel away for a pair of kine. (3) Others again acquire her for a named amount of wealth; (4) some by force, and (5) others having made her consent; (6) some again approach a damsel when she is disordered in her mind; (7) others marry her of their own accord; (8) and some marry wives in doing honour to the Arsha mode. This you should know is the eighth mode chosen by the wise. But men of the military caste exalt and practice the 'self-choice' mode, and those who declare the law call the choicest of all wives the wife who has been carried off by force."

It may be conceded—as Nīlakantha, the only commentator who appends any remarks to these words, suggests—that Bhīshma's mode is Manu's Brāhma mode, his second that which Manu first calls Arsha, his third Manu's Asura mode, his fourth that which in Manu is the Rākshasa, his fifth the Gāndharva, and his sixth the Paisācha mode. But when the same commentator identifies Bhīshma's seventh mode with Manu's Prājāpatya, and says that his eighth is Manu's Drava mode, his interpretation is plainly arbitrary, as there is nothing in Manu's explanation of these two modes to warrant an inference of this kind. We must, on the contrary, conclude that Bhīshma alludes to two other modes unknown to Manu, just as he extols two special Kshatriya kinds of nuptials, one of which is not mentioned by Manu at all—the Svayamvara—whereas the other is merely declared by him to be a legal mode, but nothing else. It is interesting, moreover, to notice that in the long instruction which Bhīshma imparts to Yudhishtira when on his deathbed of arrows—in the thirteenth book of the Mahābhārata—he gives another account of the marriage law. There he does not enumerate *all* the modes of marriage; but so far as it goes his account is in perfect harmony with the statement of the old lawgiver, and to a certain extent delivered in the very words of Manu himself. But the thirteenth book, there is sufficient evidence to prove, does not belong to the oldest portions of the great epos; it is a later addition to it, and was modelled on the received and standard law. A discrepancy of a similar character is that between the law of inheritance as stated in some portion of the great epos and the code of Manu, and later codes of law. In speaking of the twelve descriptions of sons which a man may have, Manu says:—

"Of the twelve sons of men whom Manu the son of Brahmā has named six are kinsmen and heirs, six *not heirs, but kinsmen*. The son begotten by a man (in lawful wedlock), the son of his wife (by a kinsman authorised to procreate a son for her husband), one given to him (by his parents), one adopted, one of concealed birth, one aban-

doned (by his natural parents), are the six kinsmen and heirs. The son of a damsel (who is unmarried), the son of a pregnant bride, a son bought, a son by a twice-married woman (or by a woman betrothed to one man and given in marriage to another), one who offers himself up as a son, and a son by a woman of the servile caste—are the six *kinsmen, but not heirs.*”

Pāndu, however, gives to his wife Prithā the following account of these different kinds of sons :—

“ In the code of law six sons are mentioned who are kinsmen and heirs, and (after these) six sons who are *neither kinsmen, nor heirs*—the son begotten by a man himself, the son of his wife (by a kinsman authorized to procreate a child for her husband), the son bought (according to one version ; according to another, the son begotten for money), the son by a twice-married woman (or by a woman betrothed to one and given in marriage to another), the son of a damsel (who is unmarried), and the son of an adulterous woman, the son given (by his parents), the son bartered away, the son adopted, one who offers himself up as a son, the son of a pregnant bride, the son of a relative, and the son by a woman of the servile caste.”

Enough has been adduced to indicate that there are portions in the Mahābhārata—and we may add that they occupy a considerable part of it—in which a state of Hindu society is pictured that is anterior to the code of Manu ; and an investigation of those portions would show that this society differs from the society mirrored by this ancient code not only in regard to positive laws, but also in customs and morality. Whether the account of that state of society, too, as we possess it in the actual Mahābhārata, is anterior to Manu is another problem, and one perhaps more difficult to solve. Yet, after the observations made before, we would venture to say that such a solution is not impossible. Where the Brahmanical arrangers of the great epos endeavour to palliate or to explain away obnoxious facts or doctrines which they could not suppress, it is probable that their account of these facts or doctrines belongs to a later of the several recensions, which, as Professor Lassen has proved, the epos had to undergo. But where such facts are related, without any attempt at harmonizing them with the object the compilers had in view, there is a strong presumption that they have been preserved in the oldest recension of the epos, and that this recension was likewise anterior to the standard codes of law. Later recensions may, and in some cases unquestionably have, obscured the antiquity of this oldest recension by mixing up with it legends and other matter foreign to it,—such legends, for instance, as relate to Siva, whom, like the *god*, not the hero, Krishna, we consider as an intruder into the oldest portions of the Mahābhārata. But in many cases it is easy even now to distinguish these interpolations from the

original story into which they were forced. We cannot agree, therefore, with Mr. Wheeler when he is inclined to assign, even to those oldest portions of the *Mahâbhârata*, a period at which Buddhism had already made its appearance in India ; we on the contrary fully concur with Professor Lassen, who considers Buddhism posterior to them. That there are portions of the epos which are post-Buddhistic cannot be matter of doubt, but even these we see no reason to ascribe to a date subsequent to the rise of Christianity. Some years ago an opinion of this kind was volunteered on the ground that there was a similarity between some legends relating to Krishna, and some connected with the life of Christ. But apart from the circumstance that it would be begging the question to consider those Hindu legends as borrowed from the legends of the Bible ; coincidences of this nature are so frequent in history that an attempt at basing on them inferences of a chronological bearing seems almost ludicrous. It is probably a similarity between certain scenes described in the poems of Homer and the *Mahâbhârata* which gave rise to the rumour, told by Dio Chrysostomus, that the Hindus had translated and sang the poetry of Homer ; but it would be just as critical to base chronological conclusions on this rumour and on that similarity, as it would be to base them on the faint resemblance which the mythological history of Krishna bears to some Christian legends.

Before, however, Sanskrit philology has established with as much probability as its critical means will permit at least the relative chronological position of the immense material which constitutes the actual *Mahâbhârata*, it must remain hazardous to decide which portion of it has preserved intact the historical lore of Hindu antiquity, and which has not ; but legends and myths, customs and laws, religious doctrines and philosophical speculations—in short the vast episodical vegetation which has overgrown the stem of the great epos—they likewise, and as much as the main story of the epos itself, are concerned in this critical labour ; for they have, too, their problems and their history. We therefore sincerely wish that the learned works which called forth these cursory remarks may speed on this labour, and lead it to a satisfactory result.



hostilities of the Kauravas against the Pândavas; it would not palliate the facts of his previous history, as told in the first book of the Mahâbhârata, where he is described as a pious Brâhmana. The case of his son, Asvatthâman, is even worse: he is not only an active combatant in the great war, but it is he who conceives and carries out the terrible revenge which ends in the treacherous slaughter at midnight of the Pândava forces. In the tenth book, which describes the wicked proceedings of this Brâhmana, he is made to descant on the duties of the castes, which he then describes in perfect conformity with the law of Manu, and to express a regret that his "ill-luck" caused him to follow the pursuits of a Kshatriya. But the only attempt at an excuse for his conduct which the compilers put into his mouth, is contained in the words, "As I have now at will taken upon myself the duties of a soldier, I shall enter upon the path of a king, and that of my high-minded father."

Another fact which, after the establishment of caste, must have been highly objectionable, but could not be eliminated from the epos, is the disguise of the Pândavas. "False boasting of a higher caste" is an offence which Manu considers so grave that he ranks it together with the killing of a Brâhmana; and there could certainly be no greater danger to the preservation of caste than the possible success of false pretenders. We have seen, however, that the chief personages of the great epos, the Pândavas, though Kshatriyas, assume the character of Brâhmanas, and even retain it at the tournament of Drupada; that Yudhishtira, too, resorts to the same "false boasting of a higher caste" a second time when he offers his services to king Virâta. Had it been possible to suppress such a dangerous precedent, there is little doubt that the Brahmanical arrangers of the national tradition would not have held up their military heroes as successful violators of the law which they were bent on inculcating to the Kshatriyas.

We will allude to another *class* of passages in the Mahâbhârata, which, perhaps, still more forcibly prove that the events to which they relate must have been historical, and anterior to the classical state of Hindu society. We mean those events which bear on the law of marriage and inheritance. There are portions of the great epos where the statements made in regard to these important laws are in perfect harmony with the ruling of Manu or later lawgivers; but there are other passages, too, where the discrepancy between their contents and the law books is palpable. Nor is it possible to assume that the occurrences mentioned in those passages are innovations on Manu and the lawgivers: the contrary is the case. It is Manu who criticises them, and rejects their authoritativeness. A few instances will indicate the direc-

religion which involved personal obligations from individual man towards the Creator, the necessity for general education was slowly evolved, and the task which had hitherto been entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and which had been exercised mainly in the interests of the Church, began to be assumed by governments; while enlightened and philanthropic men left property in trust, from time to time, for the education of lay pupils in common with those who were specially intended for holy orders.

In 1696 the Government of Scotland ordained that there should be a school as well as a church in every parish, and secured the permanence of these schools by a tax upon the land, and placed the management of the schools in the hands of the tax-payers together with the minister in each parish. The work thus assumed by the Government in Scotland was in England left to voluntary beneficence, and from time to time this source supplied what are now known as Free Grammar and Endowed Schools. So long as the population, being engaged mainly in agricultural pursuits, was scattered pretty equally over the country, the parish schools of Scotland provided elementary instruction for a considerable section of the people, and doubtless some portion of the superiority of character enjoyed by the poorer classes of Scotland as compared with their southern neighbours is owing to the influence of these schools upon successive generations. In England, not only were the schools too few to produce any general effect, even if they had been well conducted and available as teaching something of the general business of life; but owing to the superstitious views which have always obtained in this country as to the sacredness of old foundations, most of the Free Grammar Schools, fortified by a decision of the law courts that a grammar school means a classical school; have confined their teaching almost entirely to the dead languages and mathematics, and have consequently been used by the middle and upper classes only, while those who could not provide light for themselves have been left to grope in darkness.

Until Robert Raikes tried, towards the close of the last century, to collect the youths of both sexes into Sunday schools, no combined or continuous effort was made in this country to give even the most elementary instruction to the children of the working classes; and this effort by Raikes no sooner promised to become general, than religious professors stepped in and declared that not reading and writing but distinct doctrinal teaching was necessary to salvation; and with few exceptions writing and arithmetic were soon banished from the Sunday schools. If some of the over-zealous people who call conferences to discuss how it is that Sunday schools are not filled, and why the elder

pupils who do attend the schools do not to any great extent join the Churches, would only try Sunday schools of the old type, with writing, arithmetic, and other acquirements, they would soon find their schools full to overflowing, as is the case in the Stockport and Macclesfield Sunday Schools, and in such of the schools of the Unitarians where the same course is followed. And if the clergymen who call meetings of working men to ask why they do not attend churches and chapels would only ask a successful shopkeeper to what he attributes his success, they would speedily learn that it is by supplying the articles which the customers want, and by supplying them at proper prices. Now, working men want instruction which will bear upon and help them in the various avocations of their daily life; they want it in an interesting form, and they want to be made to feel that they are welcome visitors, and not to be fenced off from the rich and well-to-do as if they were an inferior race; and until they are put upon a footing of perfect equality and supplied with a semi-secular pulpit, they will not be found in any great numbers at church or chapel.

It is doubtful whether Joseph Lancaster or Dr. Andrew Bell set up the first day school upon the monitorial system for the working classes, but the Lancasterian system was the first to spread in this country; and from 1803, when the first Lancasterian school was established, thousands of children learned to trace the letters of the alphabet in beds of sand, with which the lower desks were supplied to save the cost of slates and pencils; and hundreds of the elder or cleverer pupils were employed in teaching as well as in learning. So popular did the Lancasterian schools become that, being mainly in the hands of Dissenters, the Church took alarm, and the National Society was founded as a counterpoise. The very title of the society tells the views of its founders: education was the province of the Church, and no person outside the pale ought to interfere; the Church was national, and therefore the society was not the Church School Society, but the National Society.

The usual charge at the Lancasterian school was a penny per week, and a lower fee could hardly be charged; but the Church, where necessary for competitive purposes, made it known that the penny per week fee charged in the national schools would be returned once per annum with fifty per cent. added, and so secured their pupils. That the object was not education in any proper sense of the word, need not be told: one-half the school time was devoted to learning the catechism, and the remainder to reading, writing, and arithmetic, and attendance at church on Sundays and saints' days was compulsory. The object was to support the institutions of the country in Church and State, and to effect this it was



necessary to keep the education of the young out of the hands of the Dissenters.

The few working men who, by their own inherent energies and the little instruction achieved at these schools, rose above the mere rudiments of knowledge longed for more education; and adopting instinctively Mr. J. S. Mill's doctrine that we owe much to posterity, raised a cry for national and unsectarian education. Aided by such men as Lord Brougham and the late Dr. Birkbeck, they also set up in many towns "Mechanics' Institutions, to teach to working men the principles of the arts they practise." In the third decade of the present century these institutions spread rapidly through the country, and every man who had a smattering of scientific knowledge was pressed into the service either as a lecturer or to assist at a discussion class; while professors of science travelled from town to town with expensive apparatus to illustrate the principles of mechanics, chemistry, electricity, heat, optics, &c. &c. Of course, whilst only a small proportion of working men had even passed through the elementary schools, these institutions were much more useful to the middle than to the working classes, but they were sufficient to make working men feel their own deficiencies; and the cheap literature of Charles Knight, and of William and Robert Chambers, together with the political publications of Messrs. Cleave and Hetherington, and the lectures on education of the late James Simpson of Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Thomas Wyse, formerly M.P. for Waterford, and the late John Smith, of Liverpool, all helped the growing demand for national unsectarian education.

At the meetings held by Mr. Wyse petitions to Parliament in favour of national unsectarian education were generally adopted, and these meetings were supported by the Dissenting bodies very generally, for they had not yet adopted the faith that voluntary effort would accomplish more than national effort; and if they at that time contemplated religious education it must have been by means of what they have since denounced as wretched shreds of Scripture, or else they could not have arrived at the philosophical nicety which proclaims it to be a violation of the religious conscience to appropriate taxes for the support of various forms of religion. But churchmen were quite consistent. They held counter meetings and adopted counter petitions, asking that any system of education patronized by the Government should be connected with and administered by the Church. Doubtless the prevalent opinion was that if children were taught the catechism and creeds, and taken regularly to church, their adhesion to the Establishment would be secured. Well, the Church has done more than three-fourths of the teaching and received more than three-fourths of the grants in connexion

with the Committee of Council up to the present time ; but he would be a bold man who would venture to assert that the members of the Church of England now form a larger proportion of the population than before the establishment of the Committee of Council. The plan has been fairly and persistently tried, and the result is proof positive that the inculcation of theological dogmas upon children is in the main useless, even for sectarian purposes. A logical mind might have predicted this result ; for how is it possible for a child to like to learn by rote what it cannot understand ? and how is a child whose days are passed in the repetition of incomprehensible dogmas, likely in the liberty of manhood willingly to adopt as sacred what in youth was made repugnant to him ? It is utterly impossible for children of from five to twelve years of age to understand the doctrines of original sin and the atonement, the Unity or Trinity of the Godhead, the value of infant or adult baptism, or any other of the matters which divide men into a hundred sects all claiming to be Christians. It is equally impossible that primary school teachers can be sufficiently qualified to undertake such instruction ; for if they be so qualified, the conclusion is inevitable, that the very elaborate preparation which is held to be necessary for the occupant of a pulpit is completely thrown away.

It would be difficult to affirm whether the tendency of Government to favour the pretensions of the Church on the subject of education, or abstract considerations as to the proper limits of the power of the Government itself, produced the change in the views of Dissenters and philosophical politicians ; but when, in 1844, the Factory Education Act requiring the half-time compulsory education of children who were at work, the impetus which carried the measure came from the Conservative side of the House, supported by the working classes, against the active opposition of many leading Liberal politicians and Dissenters.

That there were strong reasons for the new position, was very ably shown in many publications, and notably by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and by an article in the *Westminster* for October, 1854, where the proper functions of Government were defined to be to provide for "the security of what we have and rightfully have, and for nothing else."

The arguments were that the King is not a proprietor, with the upper classes for instruments, and the people as material to trade upon ; but that Government exists only for the welfare of the people ; that happiness consists not in possession, but in action ; that the results of the emancipation of labour, and the removal of the restrictions on commerce, had promoted a larger sphere of activity, and increased the public welfare. Reasoning

on these results, the inclination of traders, of educationists, and of philanthropists was to say to the Government, "Let us alone; remove all restrictions upon our proper actions, see that we are not robbed at home or abroad, but leave us free to work out our own ends in our own way."

The rule even of a majority, if that majority be wrong, can only be justified as preventing a greater evil, for no one will be content with injustice because it comes from the majority; and every restriction on freedom tends to dwarf the individual man. Authoritative direction suppresses the delightful action of the faculties which are necessary to mental growth; suppression of spontaneous action is followed by a decline of energy, whilst reliance on the State is substituted for the vigour of personal interest. Government can only contemplate external issues, whilst the true life of man is concerned only with spirit and manner; Government can only order in relation to truth already known, but true development discloses new truths, to discipline and exalt the manhood out of which they have sprung. State interference with industry prevents action, which is necessary to happiness; and there is evil in all Government arrangements for doing what could be done by spontaneous national action and association. Where Government goes beyond protection, as in France, obstacles beset every path of private action; and if force be employed against the will of men, its necessity increases with its use. Such is a very imperfect summary of the arguments for narrowing the range of Government interference, and the conclusion is, that the power delegated to Government ought to be confined to the purposes upon which all the constituents can agree; and that such agreement would not in any case go beyond provision for the security of life and property; and that Government ought not even to seek these objects circuitously, as by means of religion or education, for that its province is simply the use of force. Leaving these arguments for the present, we may remark that men who cared more for the interests of the present generation than for future perfection, and who saw the direct connexion between gross ignorance and pauperism and crime, did not cease from agitation on account of the new doctrine; but, whilst they sought earnestly to stimulate mental activity through literary institutions, and to abolish the stamp on newspapers and the excise on the manufacture of paper, so that these institutions might live and become more useful, they still demanded provision for primary instruction, so that the students in the classes of mechanics' and other literary institutions might come ready supplied with the tools for learning. The Government was very slow to move. The grants from the Treasury to the National Society and the British and Foreign School

Society (in which latter most of the Lancasterian schools had merged) from 1832 to 1839, provided simply for the extension of education by giving aid towards the building of schools. They did not in any way interfere with the character or quality of the instruction given. Lord Russell's letter to Lord Lansdowne, in 1839, proposed to set up a model school, and to provide for inspection; and various ineffective efforts in this direction were made up to 1846, but the total grants for seven years had then been only 305,000*l.*, including building grants, and the cost of inspection. Successive Governments expressed their willingness to do more; but their attempts to found a normal college for the training of teachers and to enforce the teaching of factory children were defeated, partly by adherents of the Church, because they could not have complete control; but more by the growing power of the adherents to the theory of voluntary effort, who, taking their cue from the Free Trade party, declared that the high road to civilization was by minimizing the power of the Executive; that the Government were no more fit to control education than trade, and that education and trade alike needed only the utmost freedom under the natural law of supply and demand.

The Government, thus subjected to the opposing influences of the national education party, now composed chiefly of philanthropists, backed up by the working classes, the claims of the Church, and the objections of the voluntaries, tried to do a little for all by the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council in 1846. The intention of these Minutes, as stated by Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth (the first Secretary of the Committee) was to stimulate the growth and improvement of the system founded by the religious communities. They directly encouraged the introduction of a larger staff of skilful teachers, by means of the pupil teacher system, which apprenticed youths for five years; they also encouraged the religious communities in founding training colleges, in which each pupil teacher should spend two years at the end of his apprenticeship. The pupil teachers were taken mostly from the manual labour class, and the prospect of becoming schoolmasters stimulated thousands of youths to study, and the probability seemed to be that the extension of education would proceed *pari passu* with its improvement. The consequence of this movement was that the Parliamentary grants for education which for six years past had averaged only about 51,000*l.*, rose in the sixteen years ending with 1862 to 6,405,862*l.*, or an average of more than 400,000*l.* per annum. These grants were equal to about one-third of the local outlay in building and supporting schools. The sum of the grants from 1839 to 1866 for building, enlarging, and furnishing schools, was 1,608,100*l.*, and by these means 6801 schools, with accommoda-

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. F F

tion for 915,516 scholars had been built. The grants for maintenance during the same period were 5,297,210*l.*, of which 3,714,899*l.* had been directly applied to keeping up an efficient staff of teachers. The total outlay for primary education during this period must therefore have exceeded twenty millions sterling. The grants towards the support of training colleges during the same period were 1,046,443*l.*, being about two-thirds of the annual outlay, and the costs of administration, chiefly for inspection and examination, were 912,647*l.*

The Congregational Dissenters, full of their new enthusiasm for complete liberty, refused to avail themselves of these grants; and to show that their interest in the cause of primary instruction had not decreased, taxed themselves heavily for schools and training colleges, resolving to fight the battle of voluntary effort against the Government. The consequences might easily have been foreseen. The Established Church has had considerably more than three-fourths of all the grants; that is to say, they have received out of the general taxes a premium of nearly five millions sterling with which to stem the progress of Dissent.

The grants of the Committee of Council bore a certain proportion to the local subscriptions in any locality, so that rich communities, where voluntary effort might have been sufficient without Government aid, were freely assisted, whilst localities which were poor in means, and careless on the subject of education, were left without help. This great defect, and the manifest unfairness of appropriating the national taxes to sectarian teaching, led to the formation, in 1848-9, of the Lancashire Public School Association, afterwards called the National Public School Association, which proposed to make education a civil right, and to levy local taxes for the support of free schools, in which only secular instruction should be paid for; whilst certain hours should be set apart during which the clergy should either collect the children of their own communions in their own places, or, by arrangement with the public school committee, have the use of rooms in the public schools for religious lessons. The scheme proposed to absorb such of the existing schools as chose to accept the conditions of union, and to come under the management of the public school committee. Meetings in favour of this scheme were held throughout the country up to 1852, when a Bill was introduced by the Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, as the representative of the Association, and a rival Bill, providing for a rate in aid for denominational schools, with a "conscience clause" for the protection of Dissenters, was brought in by the late Mr. Brotherton. These two Bills were sent to the same Select Committee, and voluminous evidence was taken during the Sessions 1852-3, after which Mr. Brotherton's Bill was rejected and

Mr. Gibson's withdrawn. The evidence taken in Committee was a good specimen of a triangular duel, in which the advocates of secular instruction were opposed to the Church and the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and to the voluntaries on the other. The advocates of secular instruction affirmed, in common with the Church and the Roman Catholics, that where parents neglected the duty of educating their children, the Government ought to enforce, and, if needful, to provide for it. The secularists were themselves divided into two classes, one of which contended that if good secular and moral instruction were provided the State would be safe, whilst the people would themselves do what was necessary in religion; and the other, that although education was not complete without religion, religion was a matter entirely between each man and his Maker, and that the State ought not to interfere in the matter; and both agreed that if rates were levied for various kinds of religious teaching, the battle of Church rates would be intensified an hundredfold.

In this latter position they were joined by the voluntaries, who nevertheless declared that education could not be and ought not to be separated from religion, and that therefore education itself ought not to be interfered with by the Government. Mr. E. Baines, M.P., when pressed to say which of the rival systems he would take if forced to take one of them, declared for the denominational; he would rather submit to be taxed for the support of religious error than have education without religion. In his late manifesto, delivered in the Cavendish Chapel Schoolroom, Manchester, Mr. Baines seems to think that if the Committee of Council will admit secular schools to participation in the Parliamentary grants, the Congregational Dissenters may then accept aid as for the secular instruction only, and may add the religious teaching by voluntary effort.

The Church and the Roman Catholics alike demanded with the voluntaries that education should be religious, and that it should also be denominational, and they of course saw no reason against acceptance of the Government money for this purpose. One of the advocates of the secular system (Dr. Watts, of Manchester), when under examination by the present Duke of Marlborough as to the duty of Government in education, said that, in his opinion, Government ought to see that every child should get so much instruction as to enable him to carry on his own education; that in regard to religious teaching Government ought to do no more than all sects are agreed about; for that the object of Government ought to be limited to the production of good members of society, and seeing that all sects alike effected this object, the peculiar tenets of any one of them could not be needful for the purpose.

Although neither of these rival plans succeeded in gaining the approbation of Parliament, the discussions thereon brought out the defects of the Committee of Council plan in a strong light, and in 1859 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine and report upon the whole scheme. Dissenters had shut out themselves from Government aid ; and the requirements of the Committee of Council in regard to the position and construction of schoolhouses, the amount of area and of cubical space per scholar, the ventilation and the furniture, together with the qualifications of the teachers, operated so injuriously and to such an extent in the country districts, that when the grants had in 1861 reached 813,441*l.*, there were still nearly eleven hundred parishes totally without Government aid. There were also many schools in connexion with the National Society in which the trust deeds required that every scholar should learn the catechism and creeds of the Church of England, so that where these schools received aid the grants were used not only for the support of sects, but also for the purposes of proselytism.

The Royal Commission reported in 1861, and thus expressed their own objects (pp. 327-8) :—“ We shall propose means by which, *in the first place*, the present system may be made applicable to the poorer no less than the richer districts throughout the whole country ; *secondly*, by which the present expenditure may be controlled and regulated ; *thirdly*, by which the complication of business in the office may be checked ; *fourthly*, by which greater local activity and interest in education may be encouraged ; *fifthly*, by which the general attainment of a greater degree of elementary knowledge may be secured than is acquired at present.”

And accordingly a conscience clause was proposed in order to secure the civil rights of minorities ; a County Board was suggested, to have charge of a capitation grant to be obtained from the county rates ; and the distribution of this grant was to depend on the results of an examination of the scholars in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and these grants were also to provide for the extension of the system into the poorest and most apathetic districts. The central inspection was to be continued in connexion with two classes of grants, one depending on the average attendance of the scholars, the other on the employment of one pupil teacher for every 30 scholars, or one assistant for every 60 scholars. The central and county grants together, were not to exceed the amount of school fees and subscriptions, nor were they to exceed 15*s.* per child per annum in average attendance.

The revised code, which sprung out of these recommendations, has not fulfilled the hopes awakened by the Royal Commission. The grants given to maintain the number and efficiency of the teachers was withdrawn. The conditions of the capitation grant

have resulted in making it about 8s. 6d. instead of 15s. per head per scholar. The conditions as to the employment and training of pupil teachers were relaxed, and the efficiency of the teaching by these means reduced. The examination grant was so applied as to render it impossible to teach more than reading, writing, and arithmetic with advantage, so that these three elements became the great objects of instruction; and as soon as a child had passed the various standards, the teacher would be glad for him to leave the school. During the last year the defects of this scheme have been to some extent remedied by a distinct allowance for such scholars as pass examination in higher branches; but local or county boards have not been established, nor the county rates drawn upon for the schools. There needs only the evidence of observation by those who remember our primary schools before the commencement of the Government grants, to show that we have made great advances in the qualifications of our teachers, and in the construction and furnishing of our schoolhouses; and the immense consumption of cheap literature, and the business-like conduct of working men, alike show that the expenditure has not been thrown away. That the best trades' societies are very defective, is no doubt true; and that the semi-education of working men has produced vices of its own may be admitted, without detracting at all from the very great advantages of the last 30 years. Measured by the United States of America, by Prussia, by Saxony, by the Swiss cantons de Vaud and Zurich, we have not much more than one-half of our proper number of children at school, and it is not likely that anything like the whole of those who do attend will derive all the advantages which they ought to do. In fact one needs only to open at random the Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors to show that even in the inspected schools we are far from being in a satisfactory position. For instance, the Rev. Mr. Bellairs, Church School Inspector for Oxon and Berks, says:—"My own conviction is that until some means are devised to secure regular attendance for the children of the poor from four to eleven years of age, a very large amount of exertion and money will be wasted, and our jails, penitentiaries, and reformatories will show our shortcomings by the presence of a mass of inmates untrained and untaught." The Rev. J. Byrne, for Gloucestershire, says:—"The early age at which children leave school remains now as ever an insuperable obstacle to any progress in national education which shall neither disappoint our expectation nor be to a certain extent illusory. Except in legislative interference I see no remedy for so deplorable a state of things." Rev. George French, Inspector for North-East Yorkshire, says:—"Loud and continual are the complaints of managers and teachers of their



almost entire inability to give anything like instruction which will be of permanent good to children who attend so irregularly." Rev. W. W. Howard, Inspector for Devon and Dorset, after repeating the same tale, says:—"Where lace-making and gloving are rife, many girls never go to school at all, and live their lives and pass away to a hereafter in a state of ignorance which is a disgrace to humanity. I have no hope for much improvement in this state of things until we have legislative measures which will make education compulsory."

If such be the reports with regard to inspected schools, where the parents are required to furnish only about one-third of the cost of education, what must be the condition of uninspected schools, which depend for the most part on the school fees, and what the condition of the factory schools which the inspectors have no power over? Rev. Mr. Gream, Inspector for Essex and Suffolk, says:—"It has been pressed on me that many of the children of the agricultural labourers are kept from school, and consequently brought up almost destitute of education, by the inability of their fathers to resist the solicitations and threats of employers, who, regardless of the education of such children, urge their fathers to send them into the field instead of to school." Professor Jack, of Owen's College, and formerly School Inspector in Scotland, told the Manchester Conference of a case where, under pressure from the employer, certificates were furnished without any attendance at school, and where the reading and writing certificates were the hollowest possible sham.

The education agitation in Manchester ceased with the rejection and withdrawal of the Bills in 1853, until a series of letters with the signature E. B. appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1863-4, describing visits made by the writer in some of the poorest districts of the city. The pictures of social wretchedness and educational destitution drawn by the author of these letters originated the "Education Aid Society," which sought, by supplying a portion of the school fees, and by the help of personal visitation, to excite interest in the minds of parents, and to get the children to school. The choice of school was left entirely to the parents in every instance, and the Society did not interfere in any way with the management of the schools; and only sought admission therein to see that they were not schools in name alone, and to inspect the registers as a check upon the accounts sent in for payment by the Society at the end of each quarter. When the Social Science Congress met in Manchester in 1866, the statistics presented by the Education Aid Society showed that not much more than one-half of the children between 3 and 12, or 5 and 14, were even on the school books, whilst the average attendance was not more than two-fifths of the children of school

age. These statements were freely criticised, and their truthfulness was denied, but although the facts were only casually collected by the Society's visitor in the midst of other occupation, no person connected with the Education Aid Society had any doubt of their general trustworthiness. Before the Manchester Conference a complete examination was made from house to house of a block of Manchester containing 92,517 inhabitants. In this district there are 7855 children from three to six years of age, of whom 51 per cent. have not yet been to school. There are 8733 from six to ten years of age, and 12 per cent. of these have not yet been to school. There are 8051 from 10 to 14 years of age, and 8·3 per cent. of these have not been to school, so that a very small proportion of children entirely escape the schoolmaster; but if we look a little more closely at this return we shall see that the instruction gained by most of these children is of very little value. The number of children between three and fourteen years of age is 24,638, of whom 76·6 per cent. have at some time been to school, and 42·7 per cent. are still at school. Of those who are now or who have been at school 27·27 per cent. are in their first year, 23·28 per cent. in their second year, and 18·9 per cent. are in their third year, whilst the remaining 15 per cent. have ranged from four to upwards of ten years at school. Looking to the proportion who are in their first and second years it would appear as if a term of four years would renew the schools, and that an average of four years' instruction would be obtained. But we have to recollect that one third of these children are not now at school, that is to say, are not on the school books, and that, although a few of them may yet go back to school, they will not add to the total number of scholars, ~~but~~ simply change places with others who are now at school. The general result of this Manchester enquiry may be stated thus: from 8 to 10 per cent. of the children of the poor never see the inside of a day school; 15 per cent. of the scholars have an average of 5·80 years of instruction, whilst the remainder do not average much more than two years. When we consider that this two years includes attendance at infant schools, and includes also a range of eleven years of life, we are not surprised to learn that one-half of the scholars are no more fitted for the actual duties of life than if they had never heard of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress.

On the contrary, taking these returns in connexion with the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, we are quite prepared for the otherwise startling announcement that, so far as this district of Manchester is concerned, "all our educational efforts, Sunday schools, night schools, and literary institutes included, still leave 24·8 per cent. of our youths unable to read, and 58·4 unable to

write." And, since similar announcements have been made with respect to Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow, there is every reason to fear that the description applies to the large towns generally. Nor can we hope that, so far as England is concerned, the inhabitants of the agricultural districts fare much better. In Scotland the parish schools provide for the country districts to a considerable extent; but when parishes become densely populated, as in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, the provisions for a rural district are wholly inapplicable. So it happens that in the large cities of Scotland the demand for national education is as general as in England. Now, contending as we do that Government is at best a necessary evil, and that the happiness of the individual man is in the vigorous activity which is only consistent with freedom, and that it is desirable to confine the work of the Executive, and especially of the central Executive, within the narrowest range which is consistent with safety, we have yet to define clearly what is that limit. We are living now in circumstances which, in order to secure our progress in comparison with our Continental neighbours, require our people to be educated, require them to work not as mere machines, but as intelligent beings, understanding and controlling the operations of the steam and iron by which they are assisted; we require them to feel an interest beyond wages and beyond the present hour in the quantity and quality of their workmanship; we want them to feel pride in the establishments to which they belong, to strive continually after excellence, and not to forget economy; to feel that they are partners, in however small a degree, with the capitalists who employ them; and that their work is not only to supply food and clothes for themselves, but is for the credit of the firm and for the good of the country. Can we expect this, or anything like this state of feeling, from the sons and daughters of ignorant men and women, whose only chance of intellectual development has been in two years' attendance, scattered over from seven to eleven years of life, at an elementary school? Can we expect it from men and women whose scholastic acquirements do not enable them to scrawl the letters of their own names, and whose means of knowledge are simply the use of their own eyes and the conversation of companions who are ignorant as themselves? What can such people understand of the claims of capital and the troubles of capitalists? What can they know of the influences of good and bad home and foreign harvests upon trade? They see that an employer of a thousand pairs of hands grows rich, but they fail to see that as his accumulated riches become invested, and require more work, giving wages to their children as well as to themselves, they are really

partners in his wealth : they look upon such accumulations as simple abstractions from wages, and easily become the tools of semi-educated leaders to strikes or to riots. Workmen are now groping their way to light and power through the co-operative movement ; but very few of them yet grasp the fact that they can by this system, without any sacrifice or effort, become their own shopkeepers, and that the simple profit upon their own wages thus secured would in a single generation furnish capital enough to make them independent of all employers.

An educated man will doubtless always feel it of the last importance to provide good instruction for his children ; but an ignorant, low-waged man will naturally feel more interest in his own increase of wages from his children's work than in their future welfare ; and any attempt to correct his views in this respect will be very much like preaching to him of the enjoyments and terrors of a future world. The judgment will be too far off, and its influence too feeble to produce any lasting effect at present.

Government has always had for its prominent object the security of life and property, and has only interfered at all in primary education for thirty-five years, and very ineffectively for the first seven of these, and its whole object has been to stimulate and assist voluntary effort. The theory of voluntary effort is perfect, and is suited for a perfect world. If we had now a well-educated generation, the education of the future might safely be left in their hands ; but with half our population totally uninstructed, how must we bring up the fearful arrear of work ? It is entirely beside the mark to say that Government meddling has hindered progress, and that if the Executive had minded its proper business the work would have been done. Strong opinions have been expressed on both sides of this question, but if it could now be positively decided it would not affect the present position. More might have been said in favour of voluntary efforts, if the 1100 parishes which have had no Government assistance had proved our best instead of our worst educated districts. Perhaps the United States of America, perhaps Saxony, perhaps the Swiss cantons de Vaud and Zurich, might now afford to dispense with their systems of education, and leave it in the hands of educated parents to provide for their own offspring ; but from all we can learn they are not likely to try the experiment. We in this country set up mechanics' institutions to instruct men in science without first making certain that they had acquired the power to read, and then learned that our teaching was over the heads of our pupils. So also in leaving primary instruction to voluntary effort, it is to be feared

that we have depended on an institution fitted for a state of society which we have not yet reached. The freest people in the world have tax-paid, and in some cases compulsory education, and do not find their freedom lessened.

The Education Aid Society of Manchester, which gives a portion of the school fee in cases where the family income is under three shillings per week per head, exclusive of rent, had on its books at the end of 1865 current grants (school orders which were still available) 13,180, but they had only 7200 children attending school; at the end of 1866 they had current grants 20,915; but the children attending school were only 9490. Inquiry into the cases of absentees continually shows a large proportion who cannot pay any portion of the school fees, and who are therefore rejected by the schoolmasters; some are dead, many have removed to other districts, and in a considerable proportion of the cases the parents are so apathetic as to take no care whatever whether their children go to school or not. The society had after three years' work got 10,000 children at school, and then fell short of funds, so that instead of progressing until they could say we have got the 40,000 neglected Manchester children to school, and have practically settled the education question for this district, they have fallen back to 7000, with a probability of a further fall to 5000 children. Where is the voluntary association which is to replace it, and to keep up this work, in good times and in bad times, for the space of a generation? And even if this could be done in Manchester, is it at all probable that it could be done throughout the country; and if not, where is the remedy except through the Legislature? \* Necessity, the necessity of the age, is the one overwhelming argument for legislative interference in this question. We are, as Mr. Lowe said in bitter irony, giving power to the people, and it is needful "to teach our future masters their letters;" but it is even more necessary that the inhabitants of an island which has to import a large proportion of its food should not be shut out of the world's market for the sale of its own produce. Beaten as we are by France and Switzerland in silk goods and in watches, beaten by Belgium in locomotives, and by Prussia in cheap woollens, it is absolutely necessary to develop so far as possible the intellects of our people in order to maintain our commercial position, and prevent an exodus of the young and strong in search of bread.

As for the system upon which we are to educate, that seems to us to be of secondary importance so long as we can secure

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\* The possibility of a much larger school attendance is proved by the fact that at Dowlais in Wales, where it is a condition of employment that the children of the workmen shall be sent to school, there are one in seven of the population in attendance.

good secular instruction. The fairest plan for a tax-supported scheme would be to give secular instruction only, leaving the clergy of all denominations to supplement it with religion, for religion may very safely be left to voluntary effort. But we must not forget that the agitation for a secular scheme failed fifteen years ago, on the ground that education, so far as it had gone, was in the main denominational, and that it would be grossly unfair to take it out of the hands which had nursed and fed it so long. Primary education is still denominational, and the same argument will apply with equal force; and the question is still, denominational education or no education? During the last fifteen years many of the supporters of the secular scheme have looked on with bitter regret to see another generation rise into manhood without their educational birthright; and have said to themselves as they have seen children running about the back streets of our cities, shoeless and lost in dirt, but swearing as glibly as they could talk, "Better to give instruction, coupled with any Christian creed, than rest satisfied with such a preparation as this for life." It is to be feared that a renewal of the agitation for secular schools would simply put off any settlement for another ten or fifteen years; for although it is quite easy to show by reasoning the unfairness of the sectarian position, yet there is very little use in doing so, because the religious sects are amenable to reason in a very small degree; to struggle with them is like fighting with a ghost; you hit what in case of a corporeal being would be a knock-down blow, but the ghost is still there, and unconscious that it has even been struck. The Manchester Conference, which represented the Church, the Dissenters, and the secularists, unanimously adopted the Bill introduced last session by Messrs. Bruce, Forster, and Egerton, subject to any modifications which might be thought desirable, and declared almost unanimously in favour of powers to compel attendance at school. The Bill as modified proposes to levy local taxes, to be administered by local committees, without interfering with the Committee of Council grants. It proposes to adopt existing schools, either as free or aided schools, according to the wishes of the managers and the necessity of the case, but without interfering with the internal management, except to provide a conscience clause. It proposes only to set up new schools where existing organizations fail after notice to supply the want, and to leave the complexion of such new schools when provided out of the public purse to the discretion of the Public Schools Committee. It proposes that the parents shall in all cases have the choice of schools, and the power to exempt children from any portion of instruction to which they may object on religious grounds. It proposes three modes of getting into operation:—1st, adoption by the majority of a public meeting in a muni-

cipal borough or town under local government ; 2nd, by memorial of one-tenth of the inhabitants to the Committee of Council to make inquiry ; when the Committee may, if they think fit, require the Act to be adopted ; and 3rd, the Committee of Council may, at its own option send out special commissioners to report, and may, as the result of such report, require the Act to be adopted, after having laid their report on the table of the House of Commons. Thus the Bill requires respect to the rights of conscience in all schools, but does not further offend the susceptibilities of the sects. It says in effect, " We will fill your schools, if you will give up the power to proselytize ;" and for the districts which need and would not be likely to adopt the Act a power is reserved to the Committee of Council which might be invoked by the few philanthropists in each place, so as to enforce its adoption. In committee (if the Bill should reach that stage) it is understood that Mr. Bazley will move clauses to make non-attendance at school by the children after notice, a misdemeanour on the part of the parents. Such, in a few words, is the scheme now proposed by the late Vice-President of the Committee of Council, the late Under Secretary for the Colonies, and one of the supporters of the present ministry. It was also unanimously agreed by the Manchester Conference that it would be advisable to alter the Minutes of Council so as to admit secular schools to inspection and to aid. If this resolution be carried out it will have most important results, and since it is now asked for by Archdeacon Denison, W. E. Gladstone, and Edward Baines, on various grounds, it is difficult to see how it can be refused. The concession ought to satisfy the advocates of secular schools ; for if they retain any vitality they may make very good use of it. Literally it remits the character of the nation's future schools to the people, and leaves each district, and indeed the managers of each school, to decide for themselves the character of the instruction to be given, subject, of course, to their own trust-deeds and constitutions. But if the advocates of secular instruction in any district are in earnest they will only have to set up a school, and to provide superior instruction, and they will soon be provided with pupils ; for it is not the parents of scholars who require religious instruction to be given in schools. The admission of secular schools to aid under the Minutes of Council would therefore be of essential use in improving the quality of instruction, whilst by satisfying the consciences of the Congregational Dissenters, and allowing them to participate in the grants, it would bring into use many of their vacant schoolrooms, and excite their energies to increase the number of pupils.

The question which we have to consider is not whether the Government ought to or shall interfere in education, but how, under our complicated circumstances, it can best interfere for the

good of the nation ; and it will be useful in concluding this article to direct attention to the various enactments bearing upon education other than the "Minutes of Council." By 20 and 21 Vic., c. 55, Justices in Quarter Sessions may aid reformatory schools to any extent agreed upon between them and the managers of such schools. To these schools juvenile offenders may be committed for any term not exceeding five years at the cost of the Treasury or of the parent. The justices have no power to build schools, and if voluntary effort does not provide them, the Act is inoperative. Industrial schools are also left to be provided by voluntary effort, and when so provided and certified by the Secretary of State as fit for the purpose, such schools may receive vagrant, destitute, and disorderly children for industrial training, and for this purpose they may be lodged, fed, clothed, and taught. The magistrates have power to send children to these schools either at the expense of the Treasury or of the parent ; the detention, however, is in no case to continue beyond sixteen years of age. Under what is commonly called "Denison's Act," Poor Law Guardians have power to send the children of persons receiving out-door relief to school, and to pay for the teaching as part of the relief. This Act does not work, because if the guardians do not remove the children from school as soon as the parents go off the relief list, they are liable to be surcharged by the auditor for the cost of the schooling which is afterwards incurred. Guardians are also bound to provide instruction for all juveniles in workhouses. In addition to the above-cited Acts which apply to the degraded and dependent classes, we have a variety of Acts which attempt to enforce education in connexion with various trades and handicrafts.\*

\* 7 Vic., c. 15 (cited as "The Factory Act, 1844,") applies the *half time* system of compulsory school attendance to children (under 13 years of age), in *Mills and Factories*.

8 and 9 Vic., c. 29, requires children in *Print Works* to attend school 30 days in every half-year.

23 and 24 Vic., c. 78, applies "The Factory Act of 1844" to children in *Bleaching and Dyeing Works*.

23 and 24 Vic., c. 151, enacts certain Compulsory Regulations for the education of children in *Mines and Collieries*.

24 and 25 Vic., c. 117, applies "The Factory Act" to children in *Lace Factories*.

27 and 28 Vic., c. 48, extends the application of "The Factory Act" to *Manufactories* of Earthenware, Lucifer Matches, Percussion Caps, and Cartridges ; and also to *Employment* in Paper Staining and Fustian Cutting.

30 and 31 Vic., c. 113, extends the same Act to *numerous occupations* in the Manufacture of Iron, Brass, Copper, Tin, Paper, Glass, Tobacco, &c. ; in Letterpress Printing and Bookbinding, and in short to every *Manufacturing process*, wherein 50 or more persons are employed in any premises, "constituting one Trade establishment."

And 30 and 31 Vic., c. 146 ("The Workshop Regulation Act, 1867,")



Access to various trades is by these means rendered impossible without some pretence of instruction; but until there is some means of securing instruction in reality, as well as in name, these various Acts will be of very little use. Besides, it is not work which seriously hinders education. Out of the 24,639 children between three and fourteen years of age in the district of Manchester, already mentioned, only 3739 were at work, and 732 of these were half-time workers, whilst 10,390 were neither at school nor at work. So that all these enactments provide for a very small proportion of our children, and do not secure for them anything more than the name of instruction. But the amount of legislation that has taken place upon the subject may be taken as proof that Government interference will go on until the object is accomplished.

This article is already too long to allow us to discuss the character and quality of instruction which is advisable for the working classes, nor is it likely that much attention will be paid to quality until arrangements are complete for including the whole of our juvenile population in day schools. We may, however, in conclusion, just intimate the measures which might be adopted without doing violence to existing institutions, and which would, in our opinion, bring about the desired result.

If we are to achieve the position which is already reached by America, by Prussia, by Saxony, by Switzerland, we shall need in addition to good primary schools,

1st. High schools to receive such of the primary school pupils as, having passed through the classes, should wish to continue their education in preference to going immediately to work. The existing endowed grammar schools, with the additional teaching of modern languages and science, would answer this purpose admirably. The science classes in such schools might be brought under the Committee of Privy Council, and be subject to the annual examinations of that department. These schools might receive also pupils from the middle classes on payments, according to the circumstances or condition of each school.

2nd. A series of advanced science or trade schools, to receive such pupils from the high schools and the science classes as chose to devote themselves to the promotion of industrial progress. In these schools employers might also enter such workmen from their establishments as were peculiarly fitted for this high class in-

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requires in respect to every child employed in a *Workshop* or any kind of *Handicraft* (sec. 16), that he "shall attend school for at least 10 hours during every week during the whole time of which he is so employed;" and directs that no attendance shall be counted "in excess of three hours at any one time, or in excess of five hours in any one day," or at any time before 8 o'clock in the morning or after 6 o'clock in the evening.

struction. These schools might also advantageously receive the best pupils from the science classes which are in connexion with the department at South Kensington, and which are connected with the various Literary Institutions throughout the country. After the published reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Paris Exhibition, Parliament is not likely to stand idly by and see this country distanced in its own special pursuits; and it is only a question, therefore, as to how the want can best be met and provided for. It is not likely to be efficiently met without the help of Parliament; and, as local movements are on foot, it is probable that the schools may derive a joint support from the Government and from the localities. Such schools might be established at eight centres, so as to serve the whole country; say at London, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Norwich, Glasgow, and Dublin.

The establishment in London could either be worked at South Kensington or Jermyn-street; or it could be attached to the University of London. In Manchester, a school of engineering is already in progress of formation at Owen's College, and the general science school might very well be attached to it. In Glasgow and Dublin the schools might also be very well made appendices to the universities. This would leave four separate establishments to be provided, and doubtless Leeds, Birmingham, Bristol, and Norwich would readily make efforts to meet those of the Government, since their own localities and their own industries would be the first beneficiaries from the movement. It is too early to discuss either the exact constitution of such schools, the mode of admission, or the means of support for the pupils; but the science classes, the high schools, together with the nominations of employers, ought to give us the choice intellects of the country; and whilst, in order to secure the largest amount of usefulness, a rigorous test of capacity ought to be imposed, yet whoever passes that test ought to find no more difficulties, since whatever be the fortunes realized by individuals, the country is always the greater gainer by every step of progress.

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ART. VI.—THE CHURCH SYSTEM OF IRELAND AND  
CANADA.

*The Times*, March 11th, 13th, 14th, and 17th, 1868: *Debate on the Condition of Ireland.*

SO paramount is the importance of the Irish question, that no apology is needed for keeping it constantly before the public mind; rather is it a positive duty to do so until a satisfactory solution has been obtained; for the welfare alike of Ireland and of England is involved in the issue. The question itself embraces two subjects closely connected with each other—the Land and the Church. It is the latter which will be specially dealt with in this paper.

When the justice and expediency of maintaining intact the Protestant State Church in Ireland are called in question, its supporters are fond of reminding their opponents that the great majority of Irish landlords are members of the Established Church. This fact at once provokes the question: How is it that while the great mass of Ireland's people are Roman Catholic, the great majority of her landed proprietors are Protestant? In no other country is to be seen a like strange phenomenon. Presbyterian Scotland, Roman Catholic France, Lutheran Prussia, Protestant England, present no such abnormal condition of things. Whence, then, does it spring in Ireland? One word, pregnant with innumerable ills, goes far to solve the problem—Confiscation. Lord Clare, the Irish Lord Chancellor at the time of the Union in 1801, said, "So the whole island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII., but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice or perhaps thrice in the course of a century." So again, a very different authority, Mr. J. S. Mill, writes:—"According to a well-known computation, the whole land of the island had been confiscated three times over. Part had been taken to enrich Englishmen and their Irish adherents; part to form the endowment of a hostile hierarchy; the rest had been given away to English and Scotch colonists, who held, and were intended to hold it, as a garrison against Ireland." This evil work was further aided by that Penal Code which oppressed Irish Roman Catholics up to nearly the close of

the 18th century. It enacted, amongst other things, that no member of the Church of Rome could take or transfer lands by devise, descent, or purchase; that he could not dispose of his estate by will, or lend money on the security of land. A child, conforming to the established religion, might force his parent to surrender his estate, under a fair allowance. A younger brother might deprive the elder brother of the legal rights conferred by primogeniture.

With such causes to account for the fact (without parallel in Europe), that while the great majority of landed proprietors in Ireland are of one faith, the great majority of her people are of another, common prudence (if no higher principle) would have suggested the wisdom of not adducing that anomalous condition, in order to justify the maintenance of the Church of the small minority, as the state establishment of the whole country. One would have thought that the defenders of the Anglican hierarchy in the sister island would have avoided using an argument which, when examined, is proved to rest upon a fact originating in the cruel wrongs of past times—wrong which now meet with universal condemnation. To right them completely and fully to-day is unhappily impossible; but assuredly that is no reason for bringing them forward in order to prop up an unequal system which it lies within our power to abolish. The merest expediency and the highest principle alike forbid the folly which vainly seeks to justify the crying anomalies of the present by appealing to the yet more crying wrongs of the past.

But without dwelling further upon this aspect of the subject, let the Irish State Church as it actually exists be now briefly yet carefully examined. Since the Commutation Act was passed (1832), the taking a tenth of the cultivator's produce, the seizing for payment his only cow or pig, by way of collecting tithe dues, has been done away. The ills produced by such a mode of proceeding became too aggravated to allow of its continuance. The tithes are now only recoverable from the head landlord. He pays them out of the rent he receives from his land, upon which they are a first charge. Inasmuch, however, as the rent is derived from the labour of the occupier who cultivates the soil, that labour evidently contributes largely and directly to the payment of the tithes. This mode of collecting them, under the Commutation Act, is certainly better than the old system of levying them by the seizure of the cultivator's produce or stock: but, however ameliorated the form, the cultivator of the soil still bears his full share of the payment. Nothing can alter the fact that all charges upon land press upon both tenant and landlord. Now in Ireland the great majority of actual cultivators or tenants are Roman Catholics, who are thus obliged to contribute directly to

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—New Series, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. G G

the support of the Protestant establishment ; so that the injustice remains of obliging by law the members of the Roman Communion to pay for the Anglican Church. Again, it is urged that as both he who owns the land and he who cultivates it, knew of this tithecharge when they became owners or cultivators, neither of them have a right to complain. Such an assertion is a very exaggerated statement of the case. What may fairly be said is, that being aware of the existence of such a charge on land, they have no right to refuse its payment as long as the law demands it of them ; but they have a perfect right, if they think such an arrangement tainted with injustice, to use every constitutional means for obtaining a change of the law. That persons buy or lease under such conditions does not by any means necessarily prove that they think such conditions exactly what they ought to be ; it only proves that such persons are so desirous of becoming owners and cultivators, that even those amongst them who contend that the obligation to pay tithes is unjust, prefer doing so rather than cut themselves off from the land. But such compliance with the existing law by no means invalidates their right to get rid, by constitutional means, of the obligation which they deem unjust. This becomes clearer still if a similar case, though under different circumstances, be imagined. Suppose the Legislature, having imposed a five per cent. income tax on its subjects, further enacted that all persons with blue eyes should pay an additional one per cent., thus making the tax in their case six per cent. Doubtless every blue-eyed person who, after the enactment, continued to reside in the country and derive his income from it, would be legally and morally bound to pay the extra one per cent. ; but that would by no means deprive him of his right of using all legitimate means for the repeal of the enactment in question. A blue-eyed person would not, by continuing to reside in the country, prove that he thought the extra tax reasonable ; the fact of continued residence would only prove that he thought such extra tax a less evil than that of leaving the country, with all his possessions ; nor would he by thus continuing to live in his native land weaken in any degree his right to agitate for the repeal of the tax. Such a foolish and oppressive measure would offend against justice, not against religious convictions. But inasmuch as these latter feelings are very generally as deep rooted in the human breast as the sense of justice, such an enactment as the one supposed would not be more oppressive than that which says to a whole people, None amongst you shall possess, nor even cultivate, any portion of the soil of your own country, except upon the condition of paying tithe in support of a religion which the great majority of your people deem wrong and schismatical. Yet such has been the treatment inflicted for

300 years by England upon Ireland. In the 16th century England became Protestant, Ireland remained Roman Catholic. Upon which England, being the stronger, compelled all Irish proprietors and occupiers of land to support, from that time forward, a Protestant State Church in Ireland.

There are some who fancy that they successfully apologize for this by asserting that the whole change (the cruel penal code of the last century included) was effected by the Irish Parliament. Irish indeed; for although three-fourths of the Irish were Roman Catholics, no Roman Catholic was allowed to have a seat in Ireland's legislature, nor even to possess the suffrage. Have those who make use of this argument about the Irish Parliament ever asked themselves what they would think of an English Parliament in which no Protestant could sit, and in the election of whose members no Protestant could vote? Thus is it that men wedded by habit to a long-standing wrong, blindly endeavour to prop it up by means of another and yet greater wrong. Those who thus argue are about as wise as persons who should seek to extinguish a conflagration by turning upon it an abundant supply of oil. Such arguments (and there are many of a similar character brought to bear) really tempt one, despite one's English birth and Protestant faith, to wish that by some miracle Ireland would suddenly become far stronger than England, and then treat her for a year or two to a Roman Church establishment on *this* side of St. George's Channel. It would then be seen how Englishmen would deal with arguments in favour of a church establishment of the small Roman Catholic minority forced upon the unwilling majority of Protestant England. Eighteen months of such a régime would clear away many a sophism by which Anglican churchmen seek now to justify such a system when applied to Ireland. It would be edifying to see the new light which would break upon their minds. Our public halls would ring with many an eloquent speech proclaiming the freedom of private judgment and defending the rights of conscience. The occasion would, no doubt, be further improved by reminding Roman Catholics that as professed Christians they were bound to do unto others as they would be done by. Many and powerful discourses would be preached setting forth the apostolic maxim that the weapons of the Christian warfare are not carnal. Others would dwell with great force of argument upon the truth that the Christian kingdom is not one of temporal but of spiritual rule, even as Christ himself declared when he said, "My kingdom is not of this world." In vain would our Irish fellow countrymen seek to improve their position by passing an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill forbidding our Protestant bishops to assume, for the future, territorial designations. Nor would con-

tent be increased by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, although it might well be that such suspension was necessary to the peace of the country, thanks to the ecclesiastical régime thus imposed upon Protestant England by Roman Catholic Ireland. Indeed it would not be surprising if the head of the police had to call in the authorities of the Horse Guards, to enable him to protect Archbishop Manning (by law transformed into His Grace Henry Edward, Lord Archbishop of Westminster, Primate of all England and Metropolitan), as he went to take his seat in England's House of Peers.

Under such circumstances, even those amongst us English who are loudest in proclaiming that changes in our government are to be effected only by constitutional means, might be sorely tempted to fall away from that orthodox faith. Some might perchance give ear to evil-disposed persons who should whisper that our forefathers resisted oppression by other than merely moral force and constitutional opposition. Very fervid Protestants, perhaps even Church dignitaries, roused by what seemed to them a grievous wrong, and hopeless of any other remedy, might cry in their despair, "Repeal the Union." One thing, at least, is certain; that no amount of oratory, no abundance of leading articles, would ever convince Englishmen that a Papal Church established by law in Protestant England was after all "only a sentimental grievance." Now let it further be supposed that such a Roman establishment were accompanied by a widespread system of confiscation, which handed over three-fourths of England's soil to Irish Roman Catholics and their dependents. What should we English say if such a change, brought about by such means, were adduced as an argument to prove that a Roman State Church was no real hardship to England? Should we not condemn the whole proceeding as a monstrous iniquity, and denounce the argument as one which only added insult to injury? Such assuredly would be our sentence in our own case, and such, if justice or manly honesty have any influence over us, must be the sentence we pronounce in the case of our neighbour. To judge otherwise is to run the risk of no slight peril; if, indeed, we believe those words, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Many defenders of the present Irish Church Establishment affirm that it is the real representative of the early Irish Church as it existed previous to the conquest of Ireland by Henry II. (1156-1171). They say it was that Sovereign who first brought the Church of the sister island to acknowledge the papal supremacy. Elaborate arguments are adduced to prove, and not less elaborate ones to disprove, the alleged fact. The discipline,

dogmas, rites, succession, condition, &c. of the early Irish Church are gone into with more or less of success, or want of success. An intricate mass of conflicting evidence is produced, revealing a most confused state of things, inextricably interwoven with ecclesiastical difficulties and theological subtleties, the general result resembling anything rather than the simplicity of truth. Let ordinary readers at least beware how they venture upon the bewildering entanglement of that theological maze.

“Ahi quanto, a dir qual era, é cosa dura,  
Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte,  
Che nel pensier rinnova la paura!”—DANTE.

“Alas! it is in sooth a hard matter to describe it,  
That forest drear, rugged, and toilsome,  
The very thought of which rekindles terror!”

The writer, at any rate, prefers at once admitting that the existing State Church is the true successor of the early Irish Church, despite the earnest protest of Roman Catholic divines. Protestant Churchmen must, however, be reminded that tithes were unknown to the early Irish Church. They were first introduced by Henry II. for the benefit of that Roman Catholic Church and Roman Catholic priesthood whom, it is affirmed, the monarch in question established for the first time in the sister island. The matter is thus stated by the present Lord Primate of Ireland, in a charge delivered to his clergy in 1864:—

“To the clergy of the early Irish church tithes were not paid, though it appears by some ancient canons attempts were made to establish them. In the year 1172 St. Bernard complains of the Irish, ‘They pay no tithes,’ and in the year 1172 Pope Alexander III., in a letter dated the 20th September, states, among other abuses of the Irish Church, ‘The people in general pay no tithes.’ English influence, however, in that year sufficed to introduce them at the council of Cashel. They formed part of the splendid bribes which Henry II. gave to the Irish clergy to induce them to conform to the usages of the English Church and acknowledge the Papal supremacy.’

Let then the present Irish State Church, whose members so loudly proclaim that they only are the true successors of the early Irish Church, return to its primitive practice, and no longer claim tithes by right of law under State guarantee. Is it not manifest that they are but a popish invention, nay (according to my Lord Primate) a popish bribe, employed by a popish king for the benefit of papal supremacy? Why will the true heirs of Ireland’s pure primitive Church defile themselves by touching this unclean thing? But in this matter of tithes a singular change comes over the members of the Irish State Church, for



they utterly discard the pure example of the primitive Christian ministers of Ireland, and cling pertinaciously instead to the precedent established by Popery. Their conduct recalls to mind the story of an old woman, who was arguing vehemently in favour of a favourite theological tenet. She quoted, to her own satisfaction\* at least, Gospel and Epistle in its support; but her opponent, skilled also in the use of such weapons, met her with a text so clearly opposed to her views that to gainsay its force was impossible. The worthy dame, however, was not to be silenced. Carried away by the heat of argument, she exclaimed, with more warmth than reverence, "Ah! that's where Paul and I differ!" So those who maintain that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland is the rightful heir of that Church which existed previous to the conquest of Henry II. in 1156, when brought face to face with the fact that that primitive Church exacted no tithes, are forced to exclaim, if not in words, assuredly by deeds, "That's where the early Irish Church and we differ." In vain do those search who seek for precepts in Apostolic writings which tell the ministers of Christ to call in the arm of the temporal power in order to force by legal enactment the payment of ecclesiastical dues. Such proceedings came into fashion under very different auspices, when the Church had changed its condition of persecuted into that of persecutor. From the fatal hour of her union to the temporal power, and to the use she made of it, dates that violence and persecution, those penal enactments and civil disabilities, which through long centuries oppressed mankind. Only too constantly have the professed ministers of Christ been foremost in this ruthless and anti-Christian work. So has it come to pass that every outward Church which has obtained temporal power, ~~has~~ been one of the chief causes of that hatred and ill-will, that war and bloodshed, which have set Christian so bitterly against Christian, that the infidel and the heathen, who read that dire eclipse of Christianity, have but too much reason to exclaim, "See how these Christians *hate* one another."

Such have been the consequences of the union of the temporal and spiritual; of forsaking the example of the primitive church; of not acting in accordance with the apostolic precept, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God;" of paying no heed to the Master's words, "*My* kingdom is not of this world; *if* my kingdom were of this world, *then* would my servants fight." Those who really love the name of Jesus should aid in abolishing every form of compulsion which forces their brother men to support any creed to which their consciences object. For all such compulsion does but dishonour the Christian Church, and sets at naught that golden precept of her Lord,

"All things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." As to those who say that State aid is necessary to their Church, or to the maintenance of its tenets or system, they do but proclaim how wide is the difference between it and the Church of old. Such persons, instead of trusting to the arm of flesh, will do better to rest in faith upon the promise, "Lo! I am with you alway;" they should bear in mind those who, eighteen centuries ago, went forth, not with State aid, but in opposition to all the State power of imperial Rome, went forth and conquered. Or if they need less exalted examples, let them look at those unaided members of Christ's Church, called Nonconformists, who, though paying tithe and rate to the State Church, yet flourish vigorously. But they, it is true, are free, having neither State aid nor State fetters. It is to be hoped that Christian ears may be henceforth spared the degrading complaint uttered by others, who cry that their Church can no longer exist unless the legislature dole out to it so many thousands a year. Not such was the language of the mighty Apostle, whose wealth consisted in no like beggarly elements, but who was rich with all the "unsearchable riches of Christ." Not by penal laws nor civil disabilities, not by compelling support from those who were not of it, nor yet by any other wrong to the consciences of men, did Christianity win over to itself a hostile world. By the simplicity of its faith, by the purity of its holiness, by the divineness of its love, was the victory won. Nor is it by any other means that the Christian Church can retain its conquest, renew its strength, or bestow upon mankind that "liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

It is ever a difficult matter to remedy an injustice of long standing. Not on that account, however, must the duty of so doing be abandoned. Now, in dealing with the present ecclesiastical system of Ireland, it will be wise to look round and see if any similar question has presented itself in recent times, and been successfully solved. Such a case does exist, the examination of which will well repay those who really desire to bring about a just and permanent settlement of the religious or ecclesiastical part of what has been well termed the Irish difficulty. The case referred to is that of Canada, where, as in Ireland, a variety of races and creeds are mingled together. Its inhabitants have long been partly Protestants of English blood, and partly Roman Catholics of French blood. As the colony developed, the elements which composed it became more numerous and varied. Not only English Churchmen, but Scotch Presbyterians, and English Dissenters, multiplied. To the French element was added continually increasing numbers of Irish Roman Catholics.

Now, in the year 1791, an Act of the English Parliament had

directed that in respect of all grants made by the Crown, a quantity equal to one-seventh of the land so granted should be reserved to the clergy. Here then was established the principle, if not of a State Church such as existed in the mother country, at any rate of an endowed and privileged clergy. This was avowedly done for the benefit of the Protestant Church; whether of the Scotch as well as of the English, became a matter of dispute. Nor did disputes upon this subject by any means end here. These Clergy Reserves, as they were named, set at variance Churchmen and Dissenters, Protestants and Roman Catholics; stirring up at the same time (as was natural) no little ill-will between the various races—English, French, Scotch, and Irish, who inhabited Canada. Thus were created and kept alive bitter differences, not only amongst the colonists, but also between the mother country and the colonies; until at length there was brought about as apparently hopeless a state of discord and ill-will as ever irritated any people or perplexed any Government. Other difficulties there were besides this ecclesiastical one, which, however, as usual in such cases, played a prominent part in the general discontent and perplexity. The rulers of Canada in past days (or many of them, at any rate), by way of showing, as they thought, their skill in statecraft, hit upon the notable device of backing up the English Protestant element as against the French Roman Catholic. The former was dubbed the loyal element, the mainstay of the connexion with England. The latter was treated sometimes, with injustice, and almost always with coldness and suspicion; the natural result being that the French portion of the colonists became more and more irritated and difficult to manage. So matters went on from bad to worse, until discontent grew into turbulence, and turbulence into rebellion. Such were the fruits of this good old policy of the good old days.

Now, it is most instructive to remark how the disturbing element of the Clergy Reserves was dealt with; how it passed through two distinct phases, and was finally disposed of. First came the Act of the English Parliament, passed in 1840, which put an end to any further reservation of land for the benefit of the Church, and then proceeded to divide the funds arising from the existing reserves amongst the different religious denominations. The Churches of England and Scotland got the lion's share; the remainder was divided between Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Something like an approach to religious equality was thus gained. In consequence, a far better state of feeling pervaded the colonies, but as usual, these half measures proved insufficient. The great mass of the colonists craved after perfect religious liberty and equality; they wanted to abolish the

connexion between the Government and the Churches, so that both might be free. Then it was that in 1853 the English Government, that of the late Lord Aberdeen, introduced and carried through the Imperial Parliament a Bill handing over the Clergy Reserves and all questions connected with them to the Canadian Legislature, to be settled by it in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian people. It is not a little interesting to refer back to the debates which then took place. The late Duke of Newcastle, at that time Colonial Secretary, in introducing the bill into the House of Lords, said: "In different shapes and ways this subject has been in agitation for the last thirty years. . . . As long as we leave this religious question to excite the people of Canada, we are in danger of disturbing and disorganizing the whole foundations of government in one of the tenderest points on which it can be affected." The arguments of the opponents of the bill were such as might be expected. They opposed it in the name of Church and State, Church rights, Church property; if passed, the differences between the various denominations would become more marked and bitter, the sentiment of loyalty be undermined, the connexion with England weakened, and the funds arising from the Reserves be secularized. In a word, it was a dreadful bill, and would produce dreadful consequences. The bill, however, became law.

In the following year (1854) the Canadian Legislature passed "an Act to make better provision for the appropriation of moneys arising from the lands heretofore known as the Clergy Reserves, by rendering them available for municipal purposes." The principle upon which this measure was based appears clearly from the words occurring in the 3rd section of the Act, "Whereas it is desirable to remove all semblance of connexion between Church and State," &c. Existing life interests only were cared for, and the funds handed over to the municipalities, to be disposed of as they thought fit. It appears that they applied the funds thus obtained chiefly to educational purposes. Every vestige of a privileged Church was swept away. The endowment by the State of all Churches was got rid of, as well as the endowment of one privileged Church. The axe was laid to the root of the tree. All "semblance" even of connexion between Church and State was blotted out. Thus the true Christian principle of perfect religious liberty and equality now reigns unquestioned throughout our North American colonies. The Churches are free Churches, in a free State.

And now comes the crucial question, What has been the result of this new order of things? Simply this, that while ill-will and discontent culminating in rebellion existed under the old system, there is now to be seen, under the new, contentment,

peace, and loyalty. The voices of angry sects are hushed, for there is now no dominant Church creating jealousy and heart-burnings. In Canada has been restored the practice of primitive times, when Christians gave freely to the faith they loved, and when Christian ministers had no secular arm to aid them in the unchristian work of wringing support from those who were not of them. Thus have freedom and order, peace and loyalty, taken the place of strife, discontent, and rebellion. Nor is there to be found any exception to this happy change among those of any race or any creed. Nowhere throughout England's empire is to be seen greater attachment to the mother country, or more contentment with her easy yoke, than in that Canadian Dominion peopled by English Churchmen and Dissenters, by Presbyterians of the Scotch Church and of the Free Kirk, mingled with a large population of French Roman Catholics, whose congregations are constantly increased by numerous arrivals of their co-religionists from Ireland.

Such, then, is the actual condition of our North American colonies, under a system of absolute religious freedom and equality. How widely different from that of the sister island, where (alone throughout England's empire) is to be seen the dominant Church of the small minority lording it over all Churches. There it still stands, a monument of past conquest and present injustice, which naturally creates discontent; yet when that discontent shows itself, the members of the Irish State Church say with unblushing effrontery, See! we alone are loyal subjects, we alone are true to England!

There has lately been furnished a remarkable test of Canadian loyalty to England which must not be passed over. The Fenians in the United States have endeavoured in vain to draw away the Canadians of any race or creed from their allegiance to the mother country. Thus foiled, these lawless marauders actually attacked Canada by armed violence, thus wickedly exposing to the dangers of war a people who have done them no wrong, who suffer under no grievance, and who ask only to be left in peace to manage their own affairs and prepare their own future as seems good to them. This Fenian wickedness against Canada happily brings its own punishment with it, for it but makes Fenianism hateful to the Canadians, while drawing more closely the ties which unite them to England. It has but brought out in stronger relief than ever the loyalty and contentment of all the various peoples and creeds of the Canadian Dominion, and of none more than of her Roman Catholic population, whether French or Irish.

This matter of Fenianism brings to mind the assertion that that brotherhood of ill does not object to the Church establish-

ment in Ireland, nor wish it done away. It would probably be more correct to say that the Fenians desire its continuance. The reason is obvious enough. They know well that the establishment creates discontent among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Now, the more discontent there is, the more suitable is the state of the country for Fenian plottings. To keep the Irish State Church in existence is really a help to Fenianism. Among its best allies, therefore, are those who would maintain intact the present ecclesiastical condition of Ireland. If they can succeed in upholding the dominant Church, so much the better for Fenianism, and so much the worse for England. A like system of Church supremacy was tried for years in Canada, with what result we English know to our cost. At length it has been changed for one of absolute religious freedom and equality. The benefits which have sprung from that change have surpassed the most sanguine expectations. Is not the lesson one which he who runs may read? With such results before their eyes, how much longer are English legislators going to stand face to face with the Irish Church difficulty, asking hopelessly what is to be done, or pitifully wrangling about the manner of procedure? Is England become so dull that she cannot even learn by experience? Or is it deemed wise to wait until an indignant people, newly enfranchised, sweep away at a single blow the crying wrong, levelling all injustices, not with over-careful hand, but rather in the fierceness of their wrath? Or will the retrograde party resist all innovation until the storm of popular opinion grow loud and menacing; then hustle through a sweeping change (which in their hearts they hate but dare not refuse), leaving some one of their number, faithful among the faithless, to write the story of another "Conservative surrender?"

Be all that as it may, true Liberals, at any rate, must pledge themselves to the principle of absolute religious liberty and equality, at least in Ireland. What ministry shall carry out that programme is a secondary consideration. The vital point is to do it thoroughly, and to do it quickly. Which is the best plan to adopt; that of endowing all denominations in proportion to their number, or that of endowing none? With all deference to more than one high authority the writer unhesitatingly advocates the latter principle, that of no longer endowing any Church; due regard being had to existing life interests. The example of Canada is strongly in favour of such a course. There the system of paying all was tried, and found to be but a half measure that did not satisfy. Whereas that of paying none, leaving each Church to be supported by its own members, while handing over the old ecclesiastical funds for educational and other purposes, has completely settled the vexed question, and ended in creat-

ing general contentment. Nor must it be forgotten that the Roman Catholics of Ireland demand the application of this very principle; they ask for "the disendowment of the Established Church," for the "placing all religious denominations on a footing of perfect equality, and leaving each Church to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of its members." Such is the language of the Irish National Association, of which most of the Roman Catholic prelates are members. It would be heartily endorsed by the whole body of English Nonconformists. It enunciates a principle which the Scotch, and probably the Evangelical party in the Church of England, would much prefer to that of endowing all denominations according to their numbers. While those who have freed themselves more or less from ecclesiastical fetters, and from the special dogmas of particular churches, would give a far more ready assent to a measure that endowed none than to a measure that endowed all. Complete disunion of the spiritual from the temporal power can alone bestow the boon of freedom alike upon the Churches and upon the State. Let it, then, be applied, and applied at once, to Ireland, just as has been done in Canada. There the angry strife of religious denominations no longer troubles the State, because there the State secures full religious freedom and equality to its subjects of every race and of every creed.

Moreover, this principle of disconnecting all churches from the civil power is in harmony with the highest and truest views of Christian liberty. By it the temporal ruler treats religion as alone it should be treated, as a matter of conscience, not as an affair of State. He thereby declares himself unwilling and unable to legislate about those matters of religious faith for which a man is accountable, not to his fellow-man, but to his conscience and his God. Such sacred subjects must be dealt with by the convictions of the heart. Upon that foundation alone can man build his spiritual life. This is no question for a party debate, nor can it be decided by a majority of votes, nor be regulated by a State legislature. Far other is the tribunal which alone of right gives sentence in this deepest of man's concerns, in which the human and the divine are inseparably blended—even the tribunal where in secret the soul of man communes and pleads with the God and Father of mankind.

Those who say that their creed will not endure under a system thus bereft of all State aid, can have but little real belief in its divine origin or life. Those who on the contrary have no like fears, who believe that divine truth possesses divine power, will welcome such perfect freedom for the truth's own sake, as well as for themselves and for their brother men. For they at least believe that never is truth more secure, never is its purity more

unalloyed, than when itself is true to the cause of freedom and is faithful to the rights of conscience.

But one word more. Touching what has been justly termed the Irish difficulty, we English must remember that to inquire what suits England in this matter, what is in consonance with *her* feelings and ideas, is emphatically *not* the question. That difficulty can only be satisfactorily settled by the imperial legislature of the United Kingdom, when it has determined to consider above all what is good for Ireland, what is in accordance with *her* needs, what suits the character, the habits, and the genius of *her* people. The great object to be aimed at, as necessary to the welfare both of Great Britain and Ireland, is not uniformity of system as regards either land or church, but an equal, just, and cordial union. England and Scotland have attained that result to their great and common advantage. But they have attained it by sacrificing the letter of outward uniformity to the spirit of living unity. In their Church systems and in their legal proceedings and customs there are marked differences, in accordance with the different characters and wishes of their respective people. So must it be with Ireland, if she is to become a contented and prosperous member of our body politic. Let then the argument that such a course is not followed in England, and does not agree with *her* precedents, be heard no more. All such prejudices must be cast off for ever. The one paramount question is, what is good for Ireland, what is suited to *her* condition and needs? To these alone must England lend a willing ear, and give a helping hand. For thus only can efficacious remedies be applied to our sister's ills; thus only can be fully satisfied the righteous cry of "Justice for Ireland."



## ART. VII.—SPIRITUAL WIVES.

*Spiritual Wives.* By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. Third Edition. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1868.

MR. H. DIXON has in these volumes supplemented his work of last year with a variety of details concerning both the causes that led to the foundation of some of the more prominent communities, the full operation of which he there described, and also concerning the private history of several of their originators or leaders; and in order to illustrate the history of the movement in America, he has added a full account of certain kindred sects which have appeared in Germany and in England.

We have in our notice\* of "New America," spoken fully and favourably of the adventurous industry, the artistic skill, and the philosophic tolerance with which Mr. Dixon explored and described the curious and interesting world of which, for English readers at least, he may be considered at once the discoverer and the historian. In his present work all these qualities are equally conspicuous, and in his graphic descriptions of the various communities, he has not forgotten to practise the lesson, he so admirably illustrated on the former occasion, that advocacy and denunciation are alike beside the province of the historian. So little is the spirit of true toleration yet known in England, and so prone are people to require a sermon on every text, a moral with every fable, that this very absence of comment on the facts which he has brought to light has been made use of to charge him with being, in heart at least, an advocate of the sects whose peculiarities he describes. Even if no advantage were to be gained from the study of phenomena occurring in remote regions—even if the results of our government, our customs, or our morality were such as to render any amendment impossible in our estimation, it would still be necessary from time to time to compare notes with our neighbours, periodically to take stock, as it were, of the possessions that constitute our prosperity and our happiness, in order to prevent our being passed in the race of civilization unawares. And for the purpose of making such comparisons fairly and beneficially, it is most necessary that the collectors and collators of the facts upon which they are

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\* *Westminster Review*, April, 1867.

founded, should perform their part of the task without prejudice and without bias. It is because we recognise the importance of the subjects treated by Mr. Dixon that we accord our warm approbation to the impartial tone he has adopted, and are disposed to pass lightly over any want of judgment which we consider him to have shown in dealing popularly and artistically with subjects that should be approached only on their physiological, their moral, or their psychological side. While we would have all subjects discussed and studied, we would not have all subjects dressed up for drawing-room entertainment; and that of the relation of the sexes is the last to be treated otherwise than in a severely scientific manner. Mr. Dixon's account of the social experiments associated with the various forms of religious aberration occurring in America, ought to be regarded not merely with leniency, but with eager interest by the notoriously large and increasing number of those who recognise and lament the unsatisfactory state of our law in respect to the status of women and the relation of the sexes. We regret, however, that our author has diminished the value of his work by encumbering it with much that can be regarded only as the ravings of insane women and the devices of licentious men. The history of the Chapmans, and of the Rev. Abram C. Smith and his companions, which occupies a large portion of the second volume, and the scenes described in vol. ii., ch. 5, are but repetitions of facts common in the experience of medical practitioners, and would, we feel confident, have been omitted as at least superfluous had the author been a member of that profession. So long as the education and condition of young women are what they are with us—so long as it requires all the efforts of parents, pastors, and masters to restrain their thoughts and feelings within the limited and trite routine of life consistent with existing notions of female propriety; and so long as almost the sole recognised vocation of women is restricted to the domestic sphere and the fulfilment of their duties as wives and mothers, the unreserved circulation of books dealing freely with the relations of the sexes is liable to produce great mischief. It may be well that all books should be written, and that all books should be read; but it is desirable that parents should be made aware of the nature of the books which are accessible to all; and it is for parents, being warned, to exercise a discretion as to those which they suffer to reach the hands of their children. Whatever changes are effected in our social institutions, must be the result of the maturest deliberation and conviction on the part of our thinkers and legislators, and must by no means be precipitated or anticipated by the sensuous enthusiasm of women or the reckless passions of men. It is not in this way that beneficial reforms can be initiated. If

ever woman is to obtain at the hands of man a release from her state of social or legal subserviency, the boon must be won by man from man, through man's conquest over himself.

The first volume of "Spiritual Wives" commences by transporting us to the "Amber City," as the unpicturesque Königsberg is called, which, situated in the far north-east of Prussia, five hundred miles beyond Berlin, half on land and half on water, with its year half arctic, half tropical, the home of Immanuel Kant and "pure reason" as well as of "Muckerism" and impure mysticism,—claimed to be the second city of the kingdom, until the events of 1866 provided it with a rival and supplanter by the absorption of Frankfort. Here we are introduced to a scene that, occurring so late as November last, seems to have rivalled the excesses of the middle ages in its grotesque wildness and revelry. In a picture upon which Mr. Dixon has bestowed his highest art, and which he has succeeded in making fully equal in power to the famous opening of Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame," we see the mingled crowd of scoffers and devotees listening to the excited utterances of the "Angel of Light;" the strong men sobbing, and weak women swooning at the cry of "Christus kommt;" without, in the streets, we hear the tumult of the students, with their clamorous demands for "Seraphim kisses" from the watchers for the Advent of an unearthly Lord, the shrieks of the assailed women, the tramp of armed men, and, lastly, the hush over all of calm restored.

This latest instance of a "Christian revival" was the final result of a movement which had some years before excited the intensest interest throughout Germany. Under the fervid preaching of Archdeacon Ebel and Pastor Diestel, there arose some forty years ago a strange prodigy in those northern regions, being nothing less than the formation of a "female church," in which the most beautiful and most fascinating of either sex were the chief ministers. Contrary to the usual experience of such phenomena, the movement commenced in a class which is ordinarily too much under the influence of conventional restraint to allow itself to be betrayed into any exhibition of spiritual emotion. But the rare beauty and pure eloquence of Archdeacon Ebel won over several ladies of noble birth to recognise him as a new St. John, the disciple especially beloved, and the favoured abode of the Spirit without measure. It is not to be wondered at that beauty, rank, and fashion, aided by eloquence and enthusiasm, should soon form the nucleus of a considerable sect, whose influence extended through the court even to the precincts of the throne. Of the rise and fall of Ebelianism, the scandals to which the spiritual intimacies of its votaries gave rise, the treason of one of its leading apostles, and the appearance of the

whole question in the courts of law, Mr. Dixon gives a full and minute account; and shows how that, either sprung directly out of this sect, or at least immediately following it, the doctrine of spiritual polygamy came to exhibit itself in the United States of America.

Among the most curious generalizations which the study of "spiritual" phenomena has suggested is one which our author gleaned from "Father Noyes," the leader of the "Free Love Perfectionists of America." He expressed it as follows:—"Revivals lead to religious love; religious love excites the passions: the converts, finding themselves in theocratic liberty, begin to look about for their mates and their paradise. Here begins divergence. If women have the lead, the feminine idea that ordinary wedded love is carnal and unholy, rises and becomes a ruling principle. Mating on the spiritual plan, with all the heights and depths of sentimental love, becomes the order of the day. Then, if a prudent Mother Ann is at the head of affairs, the sexes are fenced off from each other, and carry on their Platonic intercourse through the grating. But if a wild Mary Lincoln or Lucina Umphreville is in the ascendant, the presumptuous experiment of bundling is tried, and the end is ruin. On the other hand, if the leaders are men, the theocratic impulse takes the opposite direction, and polygamy in some form is the result. Thus Mormonism is the masculine form, as Shakerism is the feminine form, of the more morbid products of revivals."

The whole of Mr. Dixon's work is an illustration of the truth of this theory. In one direction are women striving under the morbid influence of the revival spirit to escape the natural obligations of their sex. On the other hand are men availing themselves of the freedom of women from the ordinary restraints of society, to form communities on principles favourable to unlimited indulgence. A remarkable tribute to the purity of the motives that animate the women is found in the fact that it is only through their higher nature that the men are able to obtain access to them, and convert them to their own purposes. Whether it be with Ebel in Prussia, with Noyes in America, or with Prince in England, it is impossible to "deny that the advocates of spiritual wifehood are, and have been, for the most part ministers of the Gospel;" and that it is by virtue of their skill in appealing to woman's faith in the doctrines which she has been taught to regard as divine, that their influence has been mainly obtained. Novelty of interpretation is little bar to success when the words themselves, deemed divinely inspired, are accurately quoted. Otherwise such a declaration as the following could have no other effect than to create the most unmitigated disgust in the minds of women.

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. H H

"In a holy community," wrote Father Noyes, "there is no more reason why sexual intercourse should be restrained by law, than why eating and drinking should be; and there is as little occasion for shame in the one case as in the other. The guests of the marriage supper may each have his favourite dish, each a dish of his own procuring, and that without the jealousy of exclusiveness. I call a certain woman my wife: she is yours: she is Christ's; and in Him she is the bride of all saints."

In the thirty years that have elapsed since the notorious "Battle-axe letter" was written from which the above extract is taken, communities have risen and thriven upon the principles thus enunciated. With the Book of Revelations in one hand, and their industrial implements in the other, a number of different sects have practised these precepts and have won their way to success in the world; that is, in the New World. In the Old World, with its multitudes of celibate women, and its stores of wealth accumulated for generations, things are done in a different way. A regenerated state of society is not for the hard hand of honest labour. Mr. Dixon concludes his first volume by telling us how, amid the green lanes of Somersetshire, the Agapemone of Brother Prince flourishes without toil and without fatigue. Like the Temple reared of old by one who could boast more wives than the high priest of Mormondom himself, "there is neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house;" but living there in luxurious idleness upon the property of their female victims, a knot of clergymen affect to be enabled to enjoy, in virtue of a spiritual gift, the freest intercourse with their female associates, and adduce in proof of their assertion the absence of the usual consequences—except in one instance, when, as if in rebuke of the presumptuousness of the claim, a little girl was born of the union of Brother Prince with his mystic bride. For once the experiment, which had been brazenly exhibited for imitation, failed. In the wretched jargon of the sect, "this unhappy child was the devil's parting gift." Henceforth "the evil one was expelled from the redeemed and sanctified earth;" and nature so far asserted her sway that at the time of our narrator's visit the most contented face to be seen in the establishment was that of "Sister Zoe, the mystic bride of the Holy Ghost incarnate," and happy, though accidental, mother of "the devil's parting gift."

A curious change from the views of the seventeenth century, when, says Michelet,\*

"On disait du Sabbat: 'Jamais femme n'en revint enceinte.'

On reprochait au diable, à la sorcière, d'être l'ennemi de la génération, de détester la vie, d'aimer la mort et le néant."

The second volume opens with a graphic account of the "great revival of religion" which took place in the States of New York and Massachusetts in the year 1832. In his most animated strain Mr. Dixon recounts how, under the influence of the spiritual epidemic, "men pale and crouch with fear as if smitten by some unseen arm. A cry goes up from some village church, from some unknown lip, which sets a whole city, a whole province, rocking and reeling to the dust. Two large tracts of country are to this day mapped out each as the original 'burnt district'; the province over which the fiery tempest broke and swept, like a prairie fire ignited from the clouds."

"Afterwards, as the fury spread abroad, they were seen in a hundred towns, in a thousand hamlets of the United States. By a sudden prompting from within, so far as men could see, a number of orderly and reputable persons began to ask each other, in eager words and with pallid lips, how it stood with them in the great account? Were they ranked among the chosen? were they ready for the Lord's coming? Did they feel in their souls that the Lamb had died for them, and that all their sins had been purged away? Some could not answer. Some dared not face these questions. Who could tell that he was saved? Many of those who were in doubt began to seek. Men who had never been at church before, became constant hearers of the word. At first the old and steady preachers welcomed this change of mind; their pews being now let, their sermons heeded, and their benches filled. But soon the frenzy of desire to know the best and worst rose high around them and above them, passing beyond their desire and control. A service once a week was but a drop of water on the lips of men and women panting for a living brook. The churches had to be thrown open. At first an evening meeting was called for prayer; then a morning meeting; afterwards an hour was snatched from busy noon; until at length some ministers took the course of keeping what was called an open house of God, from early dawn until long past-midnight every day. By day and night the chapels were crowded with sinners, imploring the Lord to have mercy on them. Heaven was assailed by multitudes of souls, conscious of sin and peril, and seeking to take the judgment-seat by storm; the church brimmed over into the street. Rooms were hired, school-rooms, dancing-halls, even theatres, every place that would hold a congregation, became a church. In the country district camps were formed for prayer; a cart became a pulpit, a tent a chancel, a stump of a tree an altar; while hundreds of wandering and unauthorised preachers, male and female, took the field against Satan and the flesh. In

the agony which grew upon men's souls, the regular clergy came to be esteemed as dumb and faithless witnesses for the truth. Farmers and tinkers, loud of voice and fierce of aspect, ran about the country calling on sinners to repent, and flee from the wrath to come. All ranks and orders were confounded in a common sense of danger, and the ignorant flocks who had gathered around these prophets of doom were easily persuaded that the calm and conservative churches of the world, which looked on all these doings sad and silent, were dead and damned."

The following chapters are devoted to the history of the principal personages who emerged into prominence as the turbulence of the great revival subsided. With the vast majority of those who had been affected, the effect was but temporary and soon wore off. But with some it remained to influence and change the whole course of their lives. Conscious of being saved from sin, these called themselves saints. They announced their separation from the world, and they set themselves vigorously to organise "the new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." "The enjoyment of perfect love" was the first desideratum. "When a man becomes conscious that his soul is saved, the first thing he sets about is to find his Paradise and his Eve." "It is a very sad fact," observes our author with quiet sarcasm, "which shows in what darkness men may grope and pine in this wicked world, that when these Perfect Saints were able to look about them in the new freedom of Gospel light, hardly one of the leading men among them could find an Eden at home, an Eve in his lawful wife."

At first the women, with their impressionable natures and ardent sympathies, took the lead in organising the new conditions of life. To those who are accustomed to note the intimate dependence of the mind upon the body, and the extent to which the operations of the one reflect the sensations of the other, it is not difficult to understand that after the intense excitement of the fever kindled in the process of revivalism, when the whole system has collapsed into a state akin to that of death,—the gradual return to consciousness and strength should be regarded as a rising from the dead, that the day of the Lord should be deemed to have come and gone, that henceforth they are living in the resurrection, and that all they do is only in the spirit. Even under ordinary conditions "love," says Noyes, "has two stages; the courting stage, and the wedded stage. Women are fond of the first stage, men are fond of the second. Women like to talk about love; but men want the love itself."

The sensitively organized American girls of the Northern States, having an intellectual education, habits of idleness, and constitutions in a state of extreme tension under the

influence of a peculiar climate, and dwelling among books, and music, and flowers, and all delicate appliances, —already recoiled from the coarseness of men habitually engaged in practical pursuits, and indulging in rough phrases and reprehensible practices. Thus predisposed towards a very different life from that which now is, and longing for a sympathy in accordance with their own, they, as we find, first claimed exemption from all human ties, and then yielded themselves to the first delicate, artful, or fascinating man who appeared from among the herd of common-places; in him they saw the realisation of their ideal, pinned their faith upon him, and chose him for their "spiritual mate." The vision related by the revival preacher Stone only expressed that which had been their waking dream :

"A mighty host of men and women filled the sky ; a sudden spirit seemed to quicken them ; they began to move, to cross each other, and to fly hither and thither. A great pain, an eager want, were written on their faces. Each man appeared to be yearning for some woman ; each woman appeared to be moaning for some man." And so the old fancy of Plato reappears beyond the Atlantic in a world of which he never dreamed. Men and women find that they are nearly always wrongly paired in marriage, and the risen dead look eagerly round, each yearning to find its natural mate.

Father Noyes himself professes to have been at first somewhat alarmed at the result of the movement he had aided and encouraged. He found that "among this group of beautiful women," (curiously enough, there is no mention of an ugly, or even of a plain, woman to be found in the entire annals of spiritual wifedom), "not a few of the more passionate creatures were falling into a state of frenzy, over which he feared that he could exercise no control. What course was he to take? The habits of the place were pleasant. A bevy of lovely girls hung on his words, spoke to him in tones of affection, looked to him for that peace which is more precious to the soul than love. Some of them called him brother, some again ventured to call him John. The leading spirits were bolder still. On the lips of Maria Brown he was either John or beloved John ; on those of Mary Lincoln he was my brother, my beloved, my dearly beloved." Something more than "Gospel freedom" soon showed itself in the camp. "Friendship in the Lord appeared to have its own set of looks and tones. Much whispering in corners, lonely walks at sundown, and silent recognitions were in vogue. The brethren used a peculiar idiom, borrowed from the Song of Songs. A tender glance of the eye, a silent pressure of the hand, were evidently two among the signs of this freemasonry of souls. When the tie between a preacher and his



convert had become spiritually close, the word brother passed into Simon, the word sister into Mary. Here and there a more advanced disciple would offer and accept a holy kiss. Under such circumstances what more could these young ladies do to defy the world and kill the sense of shame? Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown put their young heads together and hit upon their plan. They had often told each other they must do something great, something that would strike the world, something that would bring upon them its wrath and scorn."

Accordingly they found their way into the Rev. Simon Lovett's room, awoke him from sleep, and suffered themselves to be taken in the act. They meant no harm, nevertheless they naturally obtained their heart's desire of public abuse. Mary said it was her cross; and upon her father remonstrating with her for bringing dishonour upon his house, she told him he was possessed with a devil, and smote him on the face. She then took to flight, laying all her clothes aside, and after wandering for hours in a tempestuous night, was recovered by her friends in a state of raving madness.

The truth gradually dawned upon Noyes. In his letter, written from Oneida Creek in March, 1867, he admits that "Religious love is very near to sexual love, and they always get mixed in the intimacies and social excitements of revivals." Even Brother Prince allows the morbid effects of a certain kind of religious teaching when he says that "a profound conviction of the second coming of our Lord lies at the root of all these social and religious creeds." In the mystic verbiage in which the leaders delight to veil the principles of their association, the Song of Solomon and the Book of Revelations play a conspicuous part. The warm sentiments and tender utterances of the former, the wild imagery and glowing anticipations of the latter, are found to be powerful means of working upon the excitable imaginations of women; and so long as their education is such as to foster what Sir James Stephen has happily called "the hieropathic affections" of the female heart, we must expect to see their native purity and trustfulness taken advantage of and betrayed by men who impose upon them with the pretence of a divine sanction.

Instead of carrying farther for the present our abstract of Mr. Dixon's book, which our readers doubtless have read or will read for themselves, we propose briefly to compare the phenomena he records with those of numerous other outbreaks of modern times, and to trace the gradual evolution of the idea which has led to such practical results in the United States. The literature of revivals was already an extensive one, but it needed Mr. Dixon's researches to bring it to a distinct

issue. Glancing back to the middle ages, we find Europe repeatedly afflicted with epidemical diseases of the nervous system. The wild fanaticism that had its outcome in the Crusades, and the terrible black death that long desolated Europe until its abatement in the fourteenth century, are notable examples. Not less notable was the widespread dancing mania, which, after afflicting Europe for three hundred years, assumed a form closely akin to our modern religious revivals. Consulting Hecker,\* we find that these attacks of epidemical insanity were once attributed partly to the blending of the simple doctrines of Christianity with the mystic rites of Catholicism, and partly to the gloomy and unsociable life led by women; but when we remember that similar accessions of delirium were frequent under the widely different influence exerted by the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield, and that both in Scotland in the middle of the last century, and in Wales, in Cornwall, and in the United States in the beginning of the present century, the jerks and convulsions which formed part of the symptoms of the dancing mania were of frequent occurrence, we are constrained to recognise the fact that all violent excitements, and especially those of a religious character, after being once yielded to, are apt to pass into a total loss of power over the will, and at length into actual disease. It has frequently happened in the case of immured nuns that enforced idleness or religious excitement has produced a morbid condition in which ecstatic dreaming or idiotic antics have manifested themselves, and that these have sometimes taken the form of gross indecency.† Sensual ebullitions have ever been the result of an overstrained bigotry. For sixty years of the last century the foul orgies of the Convulsionnaires, carried on amid their devotional exercises, scandalised Europe in spite of legal prohibition, until the sect was merged in the French Revolution.

So well ascertained is the tendency in question, and so clearly proved is the theory of reaction, that it is scarcely necessary to ascribe the excesses of modern revivalists to conscious imitation. Founded in the necessities of human nature, they cannot but manifest themselves under conditions varying but slightly according to the circumstances of individual cases. Sometimes, indeed, the resemblance is so strong under circumstances widely differing, that it is difficult to suppose it to be altogether accidental. Thus it would be interesting to know how far the originator of the Agapemone,—“the Holy Ghost made flesh” and “taking flesh” in the form of a young virgin in the presence of his “redeemed and sanctified followers,”—evolved his system

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\* “Epidemica of the Middle Ages.” † Zimmerman on Solitude.

out of his own fancy, and how far he derived it from the Hindoo sect of Mahárájas, which has for several hundred years been trading on the weakness and the piety of their countrywomen. The whole theory and practice of Brother Prince and his followers are so nearly identical with those of this sect, that the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnold—delivered in the Supreme Court of Bombay in 1862, after a trial which extended over forty days, the object of which was to determine whether the sect of the Mahárájas had been libelled or not,—might be taken as spoken of the inmates of our English Agapemone.

“If these things are sanctioned by the authoritative works of the religious sect; if reunion with God is figured under the emblem of sexual intercourse; if love for God is illustrated by the lustful longing of an adulteress for her paramour; if paradise is spoken of as a garden of amorous dalliance; finally, if the hereditary high priests of the sect are directed to be worshipped as gods and revered as the incarnations of God, it is not a matter of surprise that the ordinary devotees should make little practical distinction between Krishna and the Maháráj—that they should worship the Maháráj with blind devotion, and that their wives and daughters should freely give themselves up to his embraces, in the belief that they are thereby commingling with a god.”\*

Adding the facts which we have thus briefly summarised to those which Mr. Dixon has detailed for us, it seems that, though while under the pressure of social ordinations, the vast majority of persons acquiesce in the existing state of things, no sooner do those who acquire the consciousness that they are “born in sin and shapen in iniquity,” undergo the mental change consequent on “spiritual regeneration,” than they claim exemption from the obligation of human laws in respect to their sexual relations, and interpret the Book, which they still hold to be a divine guide of life, in whatever way best accords with their own intuitions. That their condition of mind is a morbid one, and that the conclusions at which they have arrived are irreconcilable with a sound morality, prove only the depth of their discontent, and the insufficiency of the guide they have accepted as divine; for the main stimulus to the religious fervour which has led to the rejection of all human regulations has been derived from the very teaching which they have come to renounce.

Returning to our author, we find that the moral influences of revivalism have at length extended to many whose logical faculties have escaped the epidemic of fanaticism, and that under the teaching of Dale Owen the Bible is either altogether renounced

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\* “History of the Sect of the Mahárájas.”

as an authority, or else is excluded from the domain of morals and restricted to that of faith. If, say the votaries of "free love," it is right for a man to follow the leadings of the Spirit, it must be right for a woman to do the same. Thus, "when one of these emancipated females departs from what the world would call the straight line of her duty, she claims to be following 'the higher law.' A lady who prefers to live in temporary rather than in permanent marriage with the man she loves, does not quietly submit in America to a complete exclusion from society. She asserts a right to think for herself, in the matter of wedlock as in everything else. Free love, she thinks, is a necessary sequence of free faith. Why, then, in acting on her right, should she suffer a social stigma?"

In a country where no church is recognised as infallible, and where therefore no code of morality can claim to be of divine authority, such a question seems capable of but one answer. And the result is that so large a number of persons have reduced the theory to practice, as to compel its recognition in the law courts and the churches. A case that was brought up for adjudication while Mr. Dixon was in Ohio affords an illustration of this statement. A man and a woman had lived together in Cincinnati, made money reared a family, and died. "They had not been married as the law directs, they had simply gone to their circle, taken each other's word, and then begun to keep house. No form had been used that could be called a contract, no entry of their pledges had been made. It was simply said on behalf of these children, that the parents had undertaken, in the presence of some other liberal spirits, to live together as long as they liked. On these grounds the children claimed the property left by their parents; and the court of law, after much consideration of the facts, allowed their claim." In this case there was not even the marriage after the birth of the children that the humane Scotch law converts into an instrument of legitimatization. There are symptoms that even in England equity is beginning to supersede the harshness of the existing law. The late pugilist, T. Sayers, left a family of children by the same mother, of whom some were born prior to the marriage of the parents. The question whether they shall all succeed equally to a share in his property is now *sub judice*, instead of the harsher measure being applied as a matter of course.

Thus it has come to pass that certain ardent social reformers think they see in the already initiated revolt against marriage the first anticipations of a new Declaration of Independence which bids fair to lead to results infinitely more momentous to the human race than that which emancipated a continent from the sway of the mother country. Incoherent, lawless, and even

morbid, as this movement is, its cause and significance are becoming understood, and it is beginning to reveal itself in the direction of a new law of human association, that bids fair to extend very far beyond its present habitat. The question for us in England is, not whether this movement is new and contrary to received principles and habits, but whether it contains any element of right, whether it is based on any principle of justice and humanity, whether it indicates any wrong to be remedied, and whether it suggests any practical remedy for such a wrong.

"Evidently," says Professor Newman,\* "it is on American soil that the battle of old and new morality will most actively be fought; but in the time of transition the most sacred virtues are not safe here, unless the whole question is opened to discussion, and everything overstrained or unjust in existing institutions be removed. For undoubtedly, nothing so insures a violent and pernicious overthrow, as the pertinacious maintenance of error, and the consecration of injustice."

A comparison between the social condition of women in England and in America reveals the curious fact that it is not so much the numerical inequality of the sexes that has led to whatever exists of discontent with the present state of things, as the growth of a new view of the place in society which woman is entitled to claim. While in our own country the women greatly outnumber the men, and the unwillingness to marry lies all on the side of the latter, owing, it is said, to the costliness of living and of rearing a family, and to the uncertainty of the result in the attainment of domestic happiness; in the United States it is the women who, being largely in a minority, and therefore at a high premium, refuse to enter into an engagement which deprives them of legal rights and destroys their identity, and delivers them to the custody of an absolute proprietor.

The abolitionists of New England little thought, when organizing and urging on their crusade against negro slavery, that they were loosing the marriage bonds of their own wives and daughters; or that these, again, would be headed in the race for liberty by the poor negroes whom they were liberating. But, as stated by Professor Newman, the fact is that "during slavery their marriages were not legal. The masters did not choose to debar themselves from the right of separating couples at pleasure, nor, with their theory that slaves were 'chattels' on a par with 'asses or nutmegs,' was it possible for them to endure the idea that a male slave had any *rights* in a woman slave, or either parent in the children. But since freedom has been proclaimed, the school teachers from the North have taken pains to induce the

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\* *Fraser's Magazine*, August, 1867.

freed men and women to consecrate their unions by a legal marriage. No resistance was made at first; perhaps they were proud of the ceremony as a new distinction. But now that the women have learned what rights are hereby given to the men, they are increasingly unwilling to marry; and (what takes Englishmen aback) it is the men who are eager to make their unions legal. Both sexes urge the same fact, but with opposite purpose. The man says: 'Do make Chloe marry me; because she wont obey me else.' The woman pleads: 'I wont marry Sambo, for he will then be able to take my wages from me and bid me make him my massa; and if he beats me, I shall not be able to go away from him; and he will be able to keep my children from me; and if he becomes a drunkard, like Joe, I shall not be able to get rid of him. I don't want a massa at all; I only want a husband.' . . . At a public meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society last year, several well known philanthropic ladies distinctly took the side of the negro women, declaring that the marriage law must be altered, that the husband must be equalized with the wife, or the submission of the woman to legal marriage could not be expected. In fact, this topic has an importance far beyond what at first appears; for it is at the bottom of the formidable movement towards 'free love' which (if we may believe report) gains strength in the United States with educated females, far beyond the limits of the few sects which openly profess it. In England we have no superfluity of rich and lovely land, no facility of physical independence, no aptitude for religious fanaticism (at least in the classes likely to defy public opinion): hence no one is likely to found on this soil religious communities, with marriage-customs scandalous to their neighbours. But if amongst English Americans who live in faithful union it should become a reputable practice, *on the ground of rightful and necessary freedom*, to disuse every ceremony which can legalize marriage, that is a principle which is sure to be contagious in England with those classes which most sympathize with freedom and young America: and if once the mass of our artisans, who have already broken with Christianity, break with the principle of legal marriage, State and Church will labour in vain to recover them. A theory will become fact, which obliterates the visible lines of right and wrong, and so confounds the pure and enthusiastic with the selfish sensualist or mercenary jilt, as to threaten very grave results."

Few phenomena in the history of the world are more remarkable than the persistency with which men cling to the idea that they possess somewhere an unfailing criterion of truth. Man, it has been said, will have infallibility somewhere, either in an oracle, a church, a man, or a book. And so strong are the ties

of affection that bind him to the habits of thought in which he has been reared, and make him insensible to their defects, that the suggestion of the possibility of error, either on their part or in his own interpretation of their significance and value, is apt to shock and bewilder him, as one suddenly left crippled and helpless on a dark and dangerous road. Thus, habituated from earliest infancy to a teaching that ignores all experience the suggestions of which do not coincide with a certain foregone theory of morals, he has come to believe in a right that is wholly independent of observed facts, and to acquiesce in a result that involves the misery of a vast portion of the human race. To such an extent has this tendency prevailed, that turn to what age, to what country we may, we everywhere behold at least one-half of the population enduring the yoke of a system that, while it enforces their degradation, points to some law claiming to be divine for its origin and justification. Everywhere have subtle priesthoods been found at whose bidding men have enforced upon the sex that claims their protection the varied miseries of an utter subserviency. And woman, whom earliest fables picture as endowed with an experimental courage to which man was a stranger—and still is, for how many men would marry if they had to bear children?—woman herself has for the most part acquiesced in her conqueror's decision: has accepted his will as the law of her being, and has learnt even to surpass him in the measure of scorn and contempt which she can bestow upon those of her own sex who transgress the limits that man has assigned her. It is a fact beyond cavil that it is the sentence of their own sex against them that degrades women: they voluntarily interpret and apply the laws that men have laid down for their behaviour with a remorseless rigour reprobated even by the law-givers themselves. Degradation may surely be deemed complete when slaves themselves not only acquiesce in, but aggravate and intensify their own bondage.

However varied may have been the details of the rules which man has provided for the conduct of woman, as we may see in the annals of every age, country, nation, and religion subjected in turn to examination, there is one principle to be plainly recognised as pervading and governing them all,—the principle that woman's lot is no concern of hers; that her duty is simply to submit to whatever it may please man to dictate. Pagan, Jew, and Christian have been of one mind in this respect. All have asserted their possession of the divine sanction, the better to enforce their authority. And it deserves to be noted that wherever the régime has been theocratic, there woman has fared the worst; and wherever a strong though rough moral sense of indominant right has been dominant, her position has been the most favourable. Her degraded condition under the Jewish and

Papal theocracies may be adduced in support of the former position ; while her status in Greece, and more especially in pagan Rome, illustrate the latter. The advance from Greece to pagan Rome was as remarkable as the retrogression from pagan to Christian Rome was lamentable. Seclusion, instead of being unknown, became prevalent. Her person and her property were no longer respected or secured. No amount of ill-usage could procure her a divorce. And so, as the Latin Church gained ascendancy, woman, theologically promoted to be Queen of Heaven and Mother of God, legally and practically sank into bondage as the chattel of her husband ; and, ecclesiastically, came to be regarded as a mistake of nature, a thing to be snubbed and repressed, and condemned to perpetual virginity : as if in intentional reversion of the sweetest and most philosophical of Latin poets, who commenced his versified treatise, " *De rerum Naturâ,*" by invoking " *Alma Venus*" to his aid, and then proceeded to deny all interference of the gods in human affairs.

Few contrasts presented by history are more striking than the theories of woman's place in the world respectively held under the Jewish and the Christian economies. Whatever legal provisions for insuring rights to women were imposed by the Mosaic law (which, however, like that of Mahomet, allowed polygamy and exacted the smallest portion of justice for them), they seem by all accounts to have been gradually relaxed as being inconvenient or impracticable, until we find one prevailing idea pervading all Jewish society ; the idea that it was better for a woman to be a transferable concubine than to die an old maid. Virginity and childlessness were the only lots bewailed by women under the Old Testament régime. The reasons for regarding these as the sole reproach to which women were liable, are sufficiently attributable to national, social, or physiological considerations, to render purely chimerical the signification read back into them by theologians,—the hope of producing the Messiah. Not otherwise should we have found the husband of Hannah exclaiming to his pining wife, " *Am I not better to thee than ten sons ?*" It is difficult to suppose that aught but the deep sympathy of the most versatile painter the world has seen, with the ancient Jewish feeling on this subject, led him to select the sad story of Jephthah's daughter to complete the wonderful trio of Infernos that London is now flocking to behold :—Dante's Ice hell, the hell of the gamesters, and the hell of an enforced celibacy.

It is not a little remarkable that the Bible should for so many ages be regarded as a complete rule of faith and morals when its treatment of a subject incomparably the most important to mankind indicates a sort of tentative progression which, in all its stages, proves on examination to be most unsatisfactory.



From the beginning the holiest men of old freely exercised the right of doing as they pleased with their women. In proof whereof, it is sufficient to mention the shameful story, twice repeated, of Abraham letting Pharaoh have Sara; of Judah condemning his daughter-in-law to be burnt; of God himself giving or threatening to give David's wives in a batch to his neighbour, or even to his son;\* the transference of Michal by Saul from David, with whom he had quarrelled, to Phalti; and the habitual succession of kings to the wives of their predecessors.

The gospel injunction, "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," still leaves the question open as to who have really been joined by God. A church that claims divine authority, and "sits in His temple, making itself God," may have no difficulty in deciding the question in favour of its own decrees. But that the injunction seems to point rather to the inherent nature and especial relations of individuals, than to any external rule of uniformity, seems clear from the uncertainty shown by the Apostles when writing on the subject of marriage. In their varying admonitions the Church finds little justification for its own unbending course. Interpreting the obscure passage in 1 Cor., ix. 5, by the gradual settlement of St. Paul's opinion, as evidenced in the difference between his vacillating utterances in ch. vii. and the later admonitions to Timothy, we do not see how to avoid the conclusion that, between the period when he regarded the time as so short that it was not worth while to make any permanent matrimonial arrangements, and the instruction to Timothy "that the younger women should marry, bear children, and guide the house," he had himself taken a Christian sister to wife, and that experience had considerably modified his opinions on the subject. With such diversity of feeling on the part of the Apostle of the Gentiles, who claimed a distinct and independent revelation to himself, it can hardly be a matter of surprise that the injunction to a bishop to have one wife should be interpreted by the Church of England as meaning one wife at a time, by the Greek church as meaning only one, by the church of the Latter-Day Saints as meaning at least one, and over-ruled by the Church of Rome into allowing no wife at all. Altogether a resumé of the status of woman among the Jews and the first Christians would make a startling *Hagada* on the Bible. Certainly, if the relations of the sexes are ever to be based upon infallible knowledge, what it is the fashion now-a-days to call "progressive revelation" must take a long step forwards before it can be available for the progressive requirements of human society.

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\* Comp. 2 Sam. c. 12 v. 11, with c. 16, v. 21, 22.

For what is the condition in which we find ourselves landed? On all sides a wilderness of difficulties; in every direction problems to be solved; and the condition of every class in turn or at once loudly demanding attention with a view to its relief. In public life and in private we are beset with evils that it would be almost a cruelty to dilate upon were a remedy not discernible, or, being discernible, not practicable. The first object of legislation throughout Europe has been to build up a certain form of family life, apart from which nothing is to be recognised as worthy to be called morality. We venture to assert that the more the Governments have striven to maintain this morality, the more they have done towards destroying it. In the Catholic countries of the Continent, where divorce is impossible, the sanctity of wedlock is a laughing-stock, and marriage is a mere matter of convenience. In Protestant countries the possibility of divorce in cases of extreme misconduct has operated beneficially, as every measure of freedom accorded to intelligent beings usually does operate, and has conduced to a purity in wedded life that has long been the admiration of the world. We are indeed far from being perfect in this respect, in so far as those who are married are concerned; but the chief misfortune of our system lies in the increasingly small proportion of our population in the middle and upper classes who either can or dare to enter into wedlock. Men are, to an extent probably unprecedented except in the period that marked the commencement of Rome's decadence, declining association with women of their own class, and are contracting temporary unions, terminable at will, with those of a class below them, who from the very nature of their agreement are to them at first objects, and then creatures, of prey, and in no way helpmates. The primary cause of this state of things is not far to seek. As women have no generally recognised purpose but that of being wives and mothers, parents are compelled to seek for their daughters such wealthy marriages as will maintain them in luxurious idleness either as wives or as widows. As the chief vocation of girls of the middle and upper classes consists in the far from ennobling one of attracting rich husbands—a pursuit that is apt to corrupt their morals, even while it spares their virtue—their education is too generally restricted to a variety of expensive and often useless accomplishments; they are denied all cultivation of individual genius, all development of individual character; and, compelled to look to the exercise of their domestic affections as the chief duty of woman, they naturally experience the debilitating effect of a restrictive policy, which is nowhere more apparent than in its action on human character.

The too prevalent mode of compensation which men have

adopted for themselves, is ruinous to morality. Lacking courage openly to avow either their disapproval or their independence of the law, they have recourse to secrecy and deceit; and in order to render these possible, they are compelled to betake themselves far from their own families and their own class, and to scatter demoralization among those who are less wealthy and less educated. Very different should be our verdict upon those who in America have set the example of openly asserting their right to arrange for themselves their terms of union without the intervention of the law. True though it may be that after the first flood of high feeling shall have subsided all restraint may occasionally be cast off, yet the fact of their acting honestly and in the face of the world must prove a powerful corrective; and so long as persons of worth and purity do faithfully show that they have a law in themselves, the world will class them in a very different category from that to which it assigns the multitude of our English libertines. Especially will this be the case when the publicly avowed unions in question are shown to result from a conscientious belief that it is only by such a change from the old system of legal compulsion, that a check can be given to prevailing unchastity.

Why and how it has come about that women are brought up to seek their destiny almost exclusively in marriage, is by no means evident upon any ground of inherent disqualification for other callings. But whatever the justificatory theory may be, in practice the end is defeating itself; and in aiming at producing a certain ideal of social life, not only are men degenerating in their habits through the difficulty of attaining it, but women themselves are made to suffer through lack of opportunity to fulfil the one vocation for which they have been trained. Men are becoming increasingly fearful of risking their life-happiness on the issue of a doubtful experiment, and one that cannot be undone—so great do they deem the drawbacks in the shape of certain expense and possible unhappiness.

Thus, by what was originally the fault of the stronger sex, women in the ranks above that of the labouring classes are excluded from nearly all the practical occupations and engrossments of life, and are in danger of becoming victims to a morbid development of the sentimental and emotional parts of their nature. Thus we see around us families of girls listlessly lounging through life, passing from childhood to womanhood, and so on to old maidenhood, with no worthy aim or occupation to stimulate their intellects or exercise their affections. For such a life as this it is little that priest or parson can do by supplying a routine of trivial pieties or even of active charities, to fill the

aching sense of existence wasted or misapplied. In the meantime health often fails, and sickness born of disappointment, of idleness, or of the failure to fulfil their nature, comes to sour the temper and augment the bitterness of life.

It is ever the business of the statesman and the philosopher to watch the times and seasons with a view to anticipating revolution by timely reforms. Now, if ever, it seems to us that the time is ripe for change in the laws that influence our social condition. The materials are so prepared, that a spark once kindled, will soon be beyond control. The epidemic of independence has not now for the first time to cross the Atlantic. Unless legal and social enactments are relaxed to meet the exigency of the case, there is ample room for fear lest the people be found relaxing them for themselves. An example soon spreads when a desired good seems attainable by following it, and when the retributive evil is remote or unseen. Reprobating the interference of Government with the internal arrangements of the social edifice, women in America are demanding perfectly equal laws for either sex, are declining to vow obedience to a husband, are demanding a more practical education, a wider sphere of action, and liberty to judge for themselves the meaning they shall assign to the dogmas of their religious teachers. The emancipation of the negroes has excited in the American woman a resolve to obtain recognition of her own claim to equality of legal rights in place of subserviency in the partnership of marriage. She is therefore found saying to her suitors, "If you love me you cannot wish to make me your inferior, or to exact a promise of obedience, or to get exclusive rights over children; much less to take my property as yours, except in the same sense in which I take yours as mine; or to make me essentially dependent, and unable to protect myself."

It is thus clear that no treatment that is based upon the principle of social or legal inequality, can remedy existing wrongs, or redress existing grievances, to the satisfaction of all parties in America. The question to be most seriously and earnestly considered by us is whether it can or ought to do so here. The circumstances that have combined to bring this question before us at this moment are in some sense opposed, yet they suggest the same solution. In America it is the women who are declining marriage; in England the reluctance is on the part of the men. The exigencies of the case seem to demand a twofold remedy. On the one side women must be so provided with other careers as to be no longer dependent upon marriage. On the other side marriage must be so regulated as no longer to deter men from it by its costliness and irrevocableness. Girls should be no more brought up to win husbands than boys are to gain wives. The

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. I I

question as to what profession or occupation they shall be trained must be as much a matter of course in the consideration of parents for their daughters as for their sons. This is the social part of the remedy. The legal part will consist in securing the equal rights of married women, and in making divorce a release for the unhappy who have discovered their mistake, instead of what it virtually is now,—a privilege for the vicious.

As Professor Newman justly observes :—“ On first consideration it may seem that when neither party can be deeply stigmatised, divorce ought to be impossible ; yet the reasons against such severity are very powerful, and seem to be unanswerable. First, in Protestants, who insist that a nun’s vows ought not to be binding when she repents of them and sees them to have been unwise, it is monstrous to press the mere fact of the ‘ marriage vow ’ as an insuperable difficulty : more especially when it has been taken under parental pressure, and at a minor age. Indeed, while marriages of minors (especially of women in minority) are not forbidden, the mere fact of having been a minor is almost enough to give a woman a right to cancel the vow. The difference of a woman’s knowledge and prudence at 18 and at 21 is generally very great. Next, when a married couple are decidedly unhappy, separation (so far as the law is concerned) is always possible for them ; but separation is not only a poor consolation and insufficient substitute for divorce, but even peculiarly lays them open to dangerous sympathy. And if the law prescribe that while innocent they may not be divorced, but when guilty they may, it gives a frightful premium on guilt ; a guilt to which the conscience may reconcile itself by the plea that the law will have it so. This argument urgently demands a reply. Thirdly, although there is danger in allowing such divorces, it is not a danger which admits of no precaution. Hungary, though a Catholic country, yet being peculiarly free from bigotry, has here innovated boldly, and perhaps very sagaciously. If a young couple are unhappy, and desire to be divorced, they address a joint petition to the court ; or one alone, perhaps, can thus petition. The court appoints two or more mediators, generally from the kinsfolk, to hear the complaints, to give advice, and try to reconcile them. Reconciliation is often thus effected. But if failure be reported, the court replies, that they must repeat the application for divorce after three years, and then it shall be granted. If the quarrel is very severe, they probably separate, and obtain the divorce at the expiration of the period. The delay infallibly prevents any from seeking divorce in order to take a more acceptable partner ; for no one can hope that another will wait three years for such a reversion. [!] It may even seem that two years would suffice. When the aversion is so decided on both sides, that no one expects reconciliation, we suppose that no social impropriety

is felt in beginning a new courtship before the three years is spent. But Hungarians say that in the great majority of cases the young people are reconciled by their friends long before the time is complete, and do not come to the court again. Of course when there are children, the evil of divorce is far greater; but so also is the chance of reconciliation greater. If instead of stagnating obstinately in a 'non possumus' policy, our legislators would grapple with the difficulty as frankly as the Catholic Hungarians, good sense would discover reasonable solutions."

Even while we write, word comes that bigoted conservative Austria, the stronghold of Papal Concordats and most faithful son of the Church, has, amid the tumultuous joy of Vienna, snatched the bonds of marriage from the power of the priests, and entrusted them to the humaner control of the civil courts. Such happy first-fruits of the new union between Austria and Hungary augur well for the future of the "Holy Roman Empire."

It is sufficient at present to indicate the broad outlines of the policy of a future when an enlightened experience shall be allowed to supersede mere tradition as the basis of society. These suggestions are not new and should not be startling. They point only to the form society would assume if left free by legislation to its own spontaneous development. So long ago as 1791, the illustrious Wilhelm von Humboldt went deeply into the whole question of the "Sphere of Government" and its function in respect to partnerships generally, and the relation of the sexes in particular. In direct opposition to all the laws and customs then prevailing in Europe, he wrote :

"Even in the case of valid contracts the State must facilitate a release even against the will of one party. In cases where the discharge of the duties arising from the relation is closely interwoven with the inner sensations, it must always grant the power of unconditional release."

And again :

"With contracts which render personal performance a duty, or still more with those which produce peculiar personal relations, coercion operates hurtfully on man's noblest powers. When, therefore, such a personal relation arises from the contract as not only to require certain single actions, but, in the strictest sense, to affect the person and influence the whole manner of his existence; where that which is done or left undone is in the closest dependence on internal sensations; the option of separation should always remain open, and the step itself should not require any extenuating reasons. Thus it is with matrimony."\*

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\* "Sphere and Duties of Government." Ps. 145, 135. London: Chapman. 1854.

Thus writes one of the clearest and most sagacious of practical philosophers in a treatise which he composed for the purpose of limiting the functions of Government to the securing of life, liberty, and property. It is in these relations that consists its right to enforce the penalties due to the breach of voluntary contracts. Beyond those limits, he holds, Government has no right to interfere with the form assumed by society. Under the advancing influence of this philosophy, the law is ceasing to prescribe for us what our religious opinions are to be under penalty of political or pecuniary deprivation; and it is not difficult to imagine the time when it will be felt intolerable that it should dictate to us the nature of our social habits.

Is the idea of such a revolution too great and too startling to be entertained at present? Already are we in the disturbed waters of rapids that indicate a plunge to be taken. In the world of politics, of religion, of science, of society, no rest is ever possible. Stagnation would be death. But at the present time all things are being stirred with eager anxiety. The cry everywhere is, "Who will show us any good?" Never, therefore, was there a time so fitting for the exposure of our social imperfections, because never was there a time so ready to consider and adopt the most thorough remedies. So accustomed may people become to the miseries that surround them as to be unconscious of any evil save that of change. Prophets of woe, they may stand and shriek on the brink of the cataract, seeing nothing before them but the agony of the plunge. Yet the rushing, seething, and broken particles that in their combination formed the once abounding and exultant river, shall assuredly re-unite *below the falls*, and together glide on in a smooth channel,

"A fair and affluent river evermore,  
Enriching all the land through which it flows."

A prospect of a gradual withdrawal from the sphere of legislation of all interference with the interior organization of society ought to be especially welcomed by those who distrust the recent enlargement of the bases of representation. In this view the accession to the franchise of the labouring classes,—when, in no spirit of boasting self-sufficiency, but chastened and taught by recent exposure of their shortcomings, they bring to the exercise of their new office a healthy instinct of right to combine with the higher education of those who have hitherto monopolized the control of public affairs,—will be an unmixed blessing if it lead to a general disposition to narrow the sphere and simplify the duties of Government, to permit it no longer to interfere with the form or development of society, but to restrict it closely to its prime function of guarding the equal rights of all its citizens.

The ancient military organization of society has for the most part given way to the principles of equality and co-operation in respect of men themselves, and there is little room for doubt that the advance of the sentiments that have superseded the government of force will not stop until it has disposed of man's claims to legal superiority over woman. But it is not woman who can achieve this victory for herself. The growing sense of right in man's heart and brain, enforced upon his attention by the urgent necessities of the case, will be the real conqueror of man's might, and compel him to pursue the course that is no less one of justice than of mercy. And in this victory of his better nature over his world-old, world-wide selfishness, he will find himself twice blessed in the added wealth of woman's happiness to his own.

In this crisis of her fate it may be instructive to note how the infallible authority of Christendom prescribes for the evils we would remedy. In his recent brief to the Bishop of Orleans, the Pope compliments him on his hostility to all projects for improving the intellectual education of girls. He denounces the innovators as "corrupting education," "exciting wicked passions," and with a "cynical daring, exhibiting all the manœuvres of a shameless impiety." Thus ignorance, so long esteemed the mother of devotion, reciprocates the good office, and henceforth devotion constitutes itself the parent of ignorance. When the fountains of the great deep of traditional society are being fast broken up, it is clearly not in the ark of ecclesiasticism that safety is to be found. The few who can be content with such gloomy isolation as is there afforded are welcome to its refuge. The mass of mankind must seek elsewhere. The sole tower by which they can climb and escape out of the calamity that is overtaking them must be built on the rock of equal justice to all, and equal room for the development of all. Over-legislation must cease to be the bane of human society. No more must it be determined by statute what men and women are to believe, or what they are to practise, how they are to dwell together, and on what terms, if any, they are to separate. No more must society be founded on the practical atheism that denies the possibility of God's creation coming to good by being left free to follow its natural course; but, in its place, the faith that would

"Heap up the fire,  
And leave the generous flames to shape themselves."



## ART. VIII.—DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN VICTORIA.

1. *The Argus*. Melbourne: 1855-67.
2. *The Spectator*. Melbourne: 1865-66.
3. *Essays on Reform*. Article: "The Working of Australian Institutions." By C. W. PEARSON, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.

THE experiment of what is commonly called democratic government in some of our Australian colonies has not attracted so much of the attention of statesmen and political philosophers in England as we believe that it deserves. Political writers and speakers have, indeed, made use of the Australian illustration to point some favourite theory or to justify some conclusion already determined; but hitherto there has been no deliberate attempt to inquire into what the Australian example really teaches, in any other than a party spirit. Even the common facts about the working of Australian institutions have been absurdly distorted and misrepresented to suit the passing occasion. During the late debates on the English Reform Bill we heard widely different political opinions enforced and illustrated by reference to some Australian experience or precedent. While Mr. Bright and those who think with him were quoting the successful working of Universal Suffrage and the Ballot in Victoria, in rebuke of the Conservative objections, Mr. Lowe and the Conservatives were equally prompt to refer to the history of those same institutions, as containing ample evidence on their side of the case. The British public, bewildered by these contrary teachings, might well be puzzled to know what it is that the Australian experiment really does prove. Are the so-called democratic institutions actually a success in those English communities? And if so, is that success of any value in strengthening the argument of those who contend for the adoption of the like institutions at home?

Before proceeding to the inquiry of what democracy has done for Australia, it may be necessary to premise that the word is only used by us in this place in its common and unscientific signification. Democracy, properly such, does not of course exist in any Australian colony. In none of the Australian schemes of government do we recognise even an attempt to realize the true democratic theory, as stated in the terms of its chief apostle, of "the government of the whole people by the whole people." All the Australian systems of government are as yet crude and form-

less—the result, not of natural growth but of arbitrary manufacture. The national existences, such as they are, have not been produced by any process of natural selection. The types of character are embryonic, rudimentary, and transitional. What of national life there is, is yet, in Burke's phrase, "in the gristlo." None of the Australian colonies are old enough to have developed any form of government that can be said to be "Australian." They are all essentially English, and they retain the generic English institutions, types of thought, and social conditions. They cling to the idea of the English connexion with a passion and fervour which are scarcely realized in all their significance in England. Even of the Australian Democrats, there are few who do not resent the designation as slanderous and insulting. They are very sensitive to the reproach of having departed from the English models; and to charge them with desiring to "Americanize" their institutions is still the most telling of the sarcasms used against them. In these circumstances it becomes, in strictness, a misnomer to speak of democracy in Australia. As communities still subject to the British crown, and cheerfully acknowledging that subjection, they are far from being democratic in any pure sense. The lessons their experiments teach, and the arguments derived from them, must therefore be taken with this reservation. But the inferences from these experiments may be none the less legitimate and valuable as aids to the political student and the statesman; and therefore we think it expedient to lay before our readers the following historical sketch of political life in Australia. It will serve to strengthen an argument recently brought forward in this Review, by showing what abuses may spring out of the practice of a system not suited to the people by whom it has been hastily and arbitrarily adopted. Moreover, it will, we hope, convey a salutary lesson to those who believe that democratic government is expedient under all circumstances, and conducive to the welfare of every community, whatever may be its character or stage of growth.

Before inquiring into the value of the Australian illustration, it is necessary to consider what are the conditions and laws under which the democratic system is in operation at the Antipodes. In many respects, the Australian communities are very favourably circumstanced for the experiment of self-government. The people had the advantage of commencing their career under a climate which, so far as any physical conditions can do, predisposes them to happiness and content. They began political life unfettered by old-world conventionalities and without the thralldom of musty traditions and "vested interests." They were free, in a great measure, to make their life what they would. They have no artificial restraints or petty social tyrannies, or if they have, it is

by their own choice. Of inherited abuses they have few or none, unless we reckon in this category the convict taint in the older settlements, which is, however, rather a social than a political drawback. They are not encumbered by established churches, nor is freedom of opinion in all matters under any kind of foreign restraint. They suffer nothing from the necessity of keeping up large armaments, and they have no foreign policy to distract them from attending to their domestic affairs. The mass of the people themselves are certainly more intelligent, more ardent, better educated, and more independent than the parallel classes of any European population. Whatever advantage it is to them to be free from the dominion of the squire and the parson, that advantage they enjoy to the fullest extent. The very fact of a large portion of them having voluntarily migrated from the old country and accepted all the hazards of a new career in an unknown land, argues in them a certain moral and intellectual superiority. Even a Melbourne mob is vastly superior to any mob which can be seen in Europe, and nothing strikes a newcomer in one of the larger colonial cities more strongly than the well-fed, well-dressed, and decent aspect of the people in the streets. So far as all these things can conduce to help a community in solving for itself the problem of government, the Australian colonies possess them in a singular degree.

On the other hand, we must observe that there are certain impediments to political success arising out of the very circumstances of the general ease and material prosperity. The first and most important of these is in the absence of any definite sentiment of country. The Australian populations are yet too new and too unfixd to have attached themselves to the soil in the manner in which an Englishman is attached to England and a Frenchman to France. Except in New South Wales, where there has been a third generation of the native-born, and where a partial feeling of the kind is beginning to spring up, there is no force like that of patriotism to impel men either to the duty or to the desire of good government. Whatever loyalty an Australian has is generally reserved for England, which is still the "home" of his cherished fancies—the centre of his hopes and longings. The ordinary conditions of Australian life, especially in the gold-digging colonies, which are the foremost in wealth and in intelligence, are fatal to the growth of a true home sentiment. Of the adult male population of Victoria, fully two-thirds may be reckoned to be diggers *in esse*, *in posse*, and *in futuro*. The pursuit of gold-digging tends inevitably to make nomads of those who follow it, and they in their turn infect and influence the whole current of the thoughts and the ambitions of the great mass of the people. The gold-digger is essentially an adventurer

and a wayfarer, with incurable vagabond tendencies and loose habits. He is in no right sense a citizen, and though the chief factor in the colonial prosperity, he cannot be made to take any other than a purely selfish interest in the cause of government. The colony is no country to him who is ready to be off at the first rumour of a new "rush" to Port Curtis, to Otago, to British Columbia. And when we remember that the digger is the successor of the squatter, as the squatter was of the convict, we can hardly be surprised at the existence of certain social conditions in the Australian colonies unfavourable to the development of a right political spirit. To counterbalance these there are, as we have said, some circumstances which should have been peculiarly advantageous to the experiment of free self-government in Australia; but, whatever may be the advantages which the colonists as individuals may have enjoyed, it is abundantly evident that they have derived no instruction from the political history of the mother country: her knowledge of the inexorable laws of commerce—slowly acquired by costly experience—they persist in making a sealed book to themselves; they ignore the teachings of political economy, and would invent a new law of wealth to serve their selfish interests; while their statesmen are conspicuously destitute of any just conceptions of the sphere within which governmental action ought to be confined, and therefore of the true nature of the only reliable safeguards against the dangers of democracy. Our own views of government have been so often put forward in this Review, and are so fully expounded in another article in the present number, that we have no need to advert to them here except to point out in passing that had they been appreciated and practised in Victoria the gross abuses we are about to describe would have been impossible; popular government would not then have been discredited by that colony, which, surrounded by all the material conditions conducive to strong national growth, is crippling itself by 'protective' fetters, and throwing away its freedom while engaged in the baneful strife for equality—that political will-o'-the-wisp which invariably lures its followers from liberty to tyranny.

The founder of what is called responsible government in Australia was Mr. William Charles Wentworth, a native of the soil, a man of true genius and rare eloquence, and in many respects, by intellectual gifts and by public services, worthy of the name of *Pater Patriæ*. For more than twenty years prior to 1853, Mr. Wentworth had taken the lead in the Liberal Opposition which fought against the military bureaucracy of the early governors. In that year, the Imperial Government having conceded to the colony the long-sought boon of the right of dispensing and controlling the

revenue arising from the sale and lease of crown lands, was inaugurated under Mr. Wentworth's auspices, the first constitution of New South Wales. During the ten years previously the colony had possessed a half-nominee and half-elective Legislature, consisting of a single Chamber, of which Mr. Wentworth and Mr. Robert Lowe (the present member for Calne), were the two most distinguished members. The new constitution was formed on the principle, which has since been adopted by all the Australian colonies, of two Houses of Parliament representing, with the governor, three estates analogous to those of the mother country. The Upper House in this scheme was composed of nominees of the Crown. The Assembly was elective, under a restricted franchise and a property qualification. The crown of Mr. Wentworth's patriotic labours was the seal of his popularity. The democracy of New South Wales had expected a more liberal constitution, and they wreaked their disappointment on him who had been their idol of old years. As Mr. Wentworth was the first who gave a constitution to an Australian colony, so he was the earliest victim of the constitutional principle, and the first among those Australian politicians who have lived to distrust and denounce their own work. Since 1853, the New South Wales Constitution has been twice reformed in a liberal direction, although it is still a little less democratic than the constitutions of some of the younger colonies.

Victoria (formerly the Port Philip district), which was separated from New South Wales in 1851, commenced its independent existence with a single House of Legislature upon the old Sydney model, part nominee and part elective. In 1855, this Legislature drew up the scheme of a more liberal constitution, in imitation of that which had been adopted in New South Wales; and this, having been sanctioned by the Home government and embodied in the form of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, became the first system of responsible government in Victoria. In this constitution, which came into working on the 21st of November, 1856, the two Houses were made elective—the Upper House being chosen by electors possessed of a freehold qualification worth 1000*l.*, or of the annual value of 100*l.* Retired officers of the two services, barristers, solicitors, clergymen, and leaseholders to the amount of 100*l.* annually, were also endowed with votes for the Upper House, or Legislative Council. The members, consisting of thirty, were required to possess a freehold qualification of 5000*l.*, or of the annual value of 500*l.* They were elected for ten years, five by each of the six provinces into which the colony was divided for this purpose—one member in each province retiring at the end of every second year. The Legislative Assembly or Lower House was composed, in the first

Victorian Constitution, of sixty members, elected by thirty-seven districts. The qualification of electors was a freehold worth 50*l.*, or of the annual value of 5*l.*; or a leasehold of 10*l.*; or a salary of 100*l.* annually; or the possession of a licence to occupy crown lands for the space of twelve months. The duration of the Assembly was fixed at five years, and the rules of prorogation and dissolution were made similar to those of the English House of Commons. The colonies of South Australia and Australia followed, in 1856, the example of New South Wales and Victoria, and were endowed with constitutions similar in form and substance, but varying in some lesser details. Both adopted the principle of an elective Upper House; but in South Australia the franchise for the Lower House was at once fixed at manhood suffrage, whereas Tasmania preferred a property qualification higher than any which had been adopted by her sister colonies. The youngest of the family, Queensland, came into being fully provided with a constitution resembling in its general features that which was then in force in New South Wales, with a nominee Upper House and a small property qualification for electors of the Assembly.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow the turbid and troublous history of each of the Australian colonies in its practice of the new art of self-government. It may be sufficient to say of them generally that in each there is exhibited a growing tendency to a more democratic tone in the exercise of its political privileges. Although, as we have seen, it is barely fifteen years since the first of the Australian colonies assumed the port and garb of an independent self-governing community, there have been in each of them several changes of system, with a periodical reversion of "crises," "dead locks," and petty revolutions. In all these political changes the colonies have been left to shape their course pretty much as they pleased, the influence exercised by the Crown—even that just and legitimate influence which we should look for and recognise at home—being almost *nil*. There is nothing indeed wanting to any of these colonies which an independent State should have, except the name of independence. And they are favoured to this extent above all other independent States, that they are protected against external dangers, and are ensured against final loss, or total breakdown, by a power which, while it charges itself with the full moral responsibility of failure, has deliberately freed itself from any right of control. It is right to note here a fact which has been very much misrepresented and is very little understood in England. The absolute freedom from the Imperial authority which has come about in the colonies has been less by their will than by our carelessness or indifference. It is not they who have rejected the

Imperial authority, or who have pretended to claim an absolute immunity from interference. It is the Imperial Government which has taken the colonies too literally at their word, and in giving them constitutions, has surrendered even more than was asked from it. Even as the case stands, no colonist imagines, because he has a Constitution, that he is beyond Imperial influence altogether. He is not in the least disposed to release the mother country from the maternal obligation. He recognises an ultimate power in the Queen and in the Imperial Parliament to step in and save the law and the constitution; nor does he refuse to abide by the Imperial appeal because he objects to a regular system of interference in matters of local legislation. In each of the antipodean constitutions the sovereign's authority is distinctly recognised, and certain rights of *veto* are expressly reserved to the Crown. But practically these have been for some time a dead letter, and in the very few instances where the *veto* has been exercised, it has been upon questions of minor importance, involving conflicts of law or usage between Great Britain and her dependency as to the general rights of British subjects. In effect, it may be said that the colonies are left to rule themselves without any interference—the governor, who is supposed to be the queen's agent, having subsided into the anomalous character of *alter rex*, or First Estate in the local realm.

As it is impossible to follow the history of each of the Australian constitutions in its progress to democracy, we shall best fulfil the object and purpose of this article by selecting one of them as an example of what has resulted from what many have thought to be the over-prodigality and the undue haste with which the boon of self-government was conceded to these embryonic communities. The colony of Victoria offers the best and the fairest illustration of the working of what is called constitutional government in Australia. The smallest in point of geographical extent, it is the most compact and homogeneous of all the colonies. It has by far the largest population, and is the richest in all natural resources. It started in life with every possible advantage, untainted with the felon stain, unspoilt by old colonial habits and weaknesses, peopled almost at one draft by the English immigration; a country of gold, wool, corn, and wine; blest with a climate which is in itself an incentive to healthy work and a high spirit, and a land which gives to labour its richest reward. Here is the garden of the Australian continent, where, if anywhere, democracy should flower. Here government indeed, which is but "a fabric built on the ruins of Paradise," should be least wanted; and the "common sense of most" be sufficient for a polity. Nature has done so much and has left the rest so easy

to do in this beautiful land, that we might almost expect constitutions to be superfluous. The necessity for any politics in such an atmosphere can only be regarded in the same light as the need of garments to the South Sea Islanders; and government becomes as much a badge of lost innocence as a petticoat on a girl of Tahiti. The people of Victoria, in all worldly circumstances, are perhaps the most favoured of any community upon earth. Judged by every test, they are richer than any other known population or State of the same extent. Although numbering barely 700,000 souls, they have a revenue of 3,300,000*l.* a year. Their exports and imports represent together an annual sum of about 28,000,000*l.* Although but a State of yesterday, they rank as producers above the population of Great Britain in the ratio of nearly two to one; that is to say, that whereas the produce of the labour of Victoria is equal to 20*l.* a head of every man, woman, and child in the colony, the produce of the labour of Great Britain and Ireland is only worth 10*l.* a head. As customers of the British people, the Victorians stand, or did stand until lately, sixth on the list—the port of Melbourne alone (the site of which was a sheep-walk in the time of men scarcely past their prime), ranking in the value of its commerce the fourth among the seaports of the empire. The condition of the working-classes is certainly higher, positively and relatively, than that of any parallel class in any other country, not excepting the United States. The roughest manual labourer can obtain his fifty shillings a week. A shepherd in the bush, for the easiest labour in the world, is paid from 30*l.* to 40*l.* a year, with lodging and rations. The wages of skilled labour are in an equal proportion. Failing all other trades and employments, there is always in Victoria for the labourer the perpetual and ever-present resource of the gold-fields. The cost of living is now reduced to considerably below the English rates. The average price of beef in the Melbourne market on the 24th of December last was quoted at threepence, and of mutton twopence, a pound. Bread, at the same date, was eightpence the 4*lb.* loaf. Vegetables were considerably cheaper than in Covent-garden. Butter and cheese scarcely, if at all, dearer. Flour was from 16*l.* to 18*l.* a ton. Lodging is still somewhat dearer in Melbourne than in London; but on the other hand it is cleaner and healthier. Clothing is very little more expensive, and would be scarcely at all so were it not for the Protectionist tariff. Upon the whole the working-man in the colony, while he gets more than double the wages of the working-man at home, is not required to spend more on his wants. Moreover, he has opportunities of improving his position such as no other field of labour in the world affords. Labour is in that blissful attitude to capital in Victoria which is expressed



by there being two masters to one workman. It is labour indeed which is master, and capital the bond-servant. The proletarian is ruler in this industrial Eden. The great House of Want, for the first time, is able to hold its own with the great House of Have. The term lower classes is hardly applicable in such a condition, and in fact the public use of it would be resented by the sovereign labourer in Victoria.

Such advantage as a prosperous and well-fed *plebs* could bring to a State, the colony of Victoria has had from the beginning. Nor has there been any power in the country strong enough to come between the working-class and their will. There is no local aristocracy other than a purely social one, half ashamed of its existence, and which was terribly cut up and disordered by the great gold revolution. What was wanting to establish a perfect equality was contributed by the sudden discovery, in 1851, of the fact that the soil of Victoria abounded in that which by pure good luck alone might turn the most squalid ruffian into a capitalist. The poor pioneers of the soil—the original settlers who had delved and struggled through all the hard early days to make a home in the new land—who had dreamt of being the founders of a new England on the southern continent, found themselves suddenly displaced in favour of a plutocracy in red shirts and wide-awakes. In the rush of gold-seekers from all parts of the world during the four years immediately succeeding the gold-discovery, whatever germs of a self-sown or indigenous community there might have been, were recklessly trampled out; and the political life of Victoria commenced anew from the inauguration of the new constitution in 1856.

This original scheme of government, as we have shown, did not comprehend anything more liberal than a close copy of the British Legislature. There was an Upper House, with a high property qualification, made to resemble a House of Lords as much as possible, and there was a popular Assembly with a restricted franchise. By the Constitution Act (the 18 and 19 Vict. chap. 55), the Queen abandoned for ever her rights and royalties in respect to the crown lands of Victoria—a foolish and quite needless piece of liberality, which has been the source of infinite mischief to the people of Victoria, and has caused, as will be discovered by-and-by, serious loss to the people of Great Britain. The Crown gave up, in fact, by this act the stewardship of that vast and valuable property represented by the Victorian waste lands in favour of those who, at the best, were only co-heirs with the English people. The half a million of Victorians were endowed with the full and absolute possession of the fifty millions of Victorian acres, which were certainly no more theirs than it was ours, with liberty to make any use they pleased of

the property. We shall see presently what use they have made of it, to the detriment of the real owners. The consideration which the Crown obtained for the rights which it surrendered to the people of Victoria was but a shabby one. It secured a Permanent Civil List from the annual revenues, out of which it was stipulated that the governor, the judges, and certain other public servants and officers should be paid,—a very one-sided bargain, seeing that in any case the colony would have been bound to make this provision, and that at the best the transaction was resolved to this, that fifty million acres were bestowed away from the people of Great Britain in return for a few thousands a year secured to the Queen's representatives. In other respects the Act 18 and 19 Vict. chap. 55, was most crude and imperfect. In some things it gave away what those who sanctioned it had no power to give, such as the indefinite privilege of Parliament. As a legislative system, it was full of anomalies and contradictions. It made the Legislative Council into a kind of House of Peers, yet provided no way by which it might maintain its independence without a dead-lock, or by which the dead-lock when it came might be solved. Theoretically the two Houses were made equal in all things; but to the Assembly was given the exclusive power of *originating* money bills, which the Council might reject but could not amend, a source of infinite trouble and confusion, as the sequel has shown. To sum up the demerits of the original constitution which the Imperial Parliament permitted the colony of Victoria to take to itself, it was made loose and elastic where it should have been clear and precise, and it was exact only where there was no room or motive for undue licence.

It was not long before the people of Victoria came to the knowledge of their newly-acquired power. Scarcely had the constitution been fairly inaugurated before an agitation commenced for its reform in a more liberal direction. Curiously enough, it was upon the question of the ballot that the first stir was made,—not that there was any need in Victoria to disguise any man's act in voting, or that there had been any experience of evil in the open system, but because the ballot was believed to be some kind of mystic liberal charm and necessary democratic ingredient. As constituted in 1856, the people of Victoria were about the last in the world who required that the act of choosing their representatives should be done in the dark. There were none, unless it were the people themselves, who desired to interfere with any man's freedom of voting. There were no landlords greedy of political influence—no local tyrants able, even if they were willing, to turn any elector from the cause which he might please to adopt. The belief in the ballot, however, had been imported with their other political effects by the Radical immi-

grants; and it was decided that the people of Victoria should voluntarily put on the badge of the old world servitude.

Manhood suffrage was the next and a more legitimate subject for agitation. The franchise, as originally devised in the Constitution Act, necessarily excluded the whole body of the miners from the electoral system; and it was not to be expected that, as the most important producing class in the country, they would tamely submit to the exclusion. The competition between two rival ministers for popularity, Mr. O'Shannassy and Mr. Haines, each of whom lived bitterly to repent his share in the act, precipitated the colony into manhood suffrage in the second year of the constitution. Such a result would perhaps in any case have been inevitable; but it cannot be regarded, even by the most liberal politicians, otherwise than as a misfortune that a people like that of Victoria, still unformed and unorganized and wanting in the first elements of a *populus*, should have acquired all the privileges of democracy without that wholesome struggle for democratic principles which is needed to make any popular government sound or secure. To have arrived at manhood suffrage without having achieved it was but a bad introduction to the practical art of self-ruling. The democratic form of government came in fact to Victoria less by choice than by accident. It was not the outcome and the expression of the popular will; for at that time it was absurd to speak of the fleeting humours of the sordid mass of gold-seekers as in any true sense the will of the people. The colony itself was less a country than a huge caravanserai. As a State, it had been in being scarcely five years before it was endowed with the privilege of self-rule. It did not possess the primary conditions antecedent to responsible government, for there was nothing in the colony itself to which the government could be responsible. That which we call public opinion in England was yet in process of making. Another radical defect was in the want of a consistent and healthy opposition. The strides to absolute power on the part of the democracy were not made under the direction and restraint of a natural antagonism. There was but one party in the State powerful enough to have any will at all, and to the exercise of that will there was no check or impediment. The class which in other countries helps by its resistance to steady the march of democracy was altogether wanting in Victoria when the elements of government were permanently fixed. Strange as it may appear, there was no such thing as a landed interest in the colony. The squatters, who made some faint pretence to represent that interest, were only tenants-at-will of the Crown—that is, when the rights of the Crown were transferred to the colony—of the local government. They had become odious to the people by the position into which they were

forced through the conflict between their equitable rights of possession and the necessities for land, suddenly created by the large influx of population caused by the gold discovery. The land of Victoria was, strictly speaking, under lawful licensed occupation by the pastoral tenants of the Crown at the time of the discovery; and in resisting, as they naturally did, the encroachments of the new-comers upon what they deemed to be their rights, the squatters became involved in a class struggle which absorbed all their political influence. They were too much occupied, each in fighting for his own "run," to be able to pay any attention to the extraordinary strides made by the democratic principle. Abandoned by the Crown, in a manner not very just or magnanimous, to the local government, the pastoral tenants were driven to maintain themselves against the encroachments of the popular Legislature by means which were necessarily destructive to their influence as a political order, and whose evil effects have been inherited by every subsequent Victorian Opposition, long after the squatters have ceased to exist as a separate interest. The mercantile class, which has lately been driven into the political struggle in Victoria, was in 1857 too busy with its own affairs to pay any attention to politics.

There being no restraint or check upon their inclination, the mass of the Victorian population, assisted by the politicians who were then blindly struggling for place, were not long in altering the Constitution Act of 1855 into their own shape. An Electoral Bill was passed in 1857, making most important changes in the constitution as originally drawn up by the colonists and approved by the Imperial Government. All property qualifications for either members or electors of the Assembly were abolished. Manhood suffrage, with state registration and the ballot, was introduced. The electoral districts were revised, and the members distributed as much as possible according to the principle of population. The number of members was increased from sixty to seventy-eight; and the term of the duration of Parliament shortened from five to three years. While these great changes were made, however, in the constitution of the Assembly, the Legislative Council was left untouched: thus one of the principal defects in the original scheme, the absence of any provision for securing the harmonious working of the two Houses, was heightened and made more palpable. While the two Chambers were made more widely separate, and the causes of difference multiplied, the authority of the Lower Chamber was increased, being made indeed co-extensive with the popular will.

The radical faults of such a constitution for a colony like Victoria are self-evident. It has the singular demerit of combining two opposite defects. It was not a form of government which had [Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. K K

grown up naturally out of the character of the people ; nor was it a form of government based upon any scientific theory. It was neither created, nor proceeding ; but a jumble of old English ideas clumsily put together with what were supposed to be democratic principles. The garment with which the colony was indued was neither symmetrical in itself nor fitted to the shape of the wearer. There need not be much wonder, therefore, that it has become already much battered and frayed by use—that having been tight where it should have been loose, and loose where it ought to have been tight, it has gone in the seams, burst at the sides, and is in danger of being thrown off altogether. It is our present purpose, however, not to dwell upon the failure of constitution making in Victoria so much as to point out the peculiar dangers which this failure has proved to attend any attempts by an unformed and unsympathetic people to adopt the principles of democracy. It is our business at present to narrate the working and to enumerate the principal results of the liberal constitution which, by the process we have shown, has come to the colony of Victoria. And that which is proved of Victoria, the richest and most favoured of the Australian colonies, is *à fortiori* true of all the rest, in proportion as they have adopted the same governing principles.

The first result of the ten years' experiment of democratic institutions in Victoria which requires our attention is the effect upon the governing spirit of the colony which has made the trial. It is true that the constitution of Victoria is but little more than ten years old ; but ten years in the quick Australian life are as fertile and as eventful as thrice ten in England. In these ten years quite enough growth has been made to enable us to perceive that the sapling cut from the parent tree has assumed a novel and distinct character. Considering, first, the influences and the tendencies of this new democracy before we proceed to judge of its fruits, let us see how the political life of Victoria has been developed under the local institutions. A constitution which has grown out of the life of a people bears the impress and the form of the national genius, and is the result rather than the cause of its political character. But a constitution artificially devised and violently imposed may and does, as we know, mould to a considerable extent the bent of the popular mind. To rest the whole fabric of government upon manhood suffrage, before the quality of manhood, in the civic sense, had time to develop, could not be otherwise than a hazardous experiment in any community. The wonder is perhaps that its effects have not been more deleterious upon the British settlements in Australia. A British community, however, is not easily misgoverned. The errors, follies, and excesses which in a colony of any other race

would have ended long before this in bloodshed and anarchy, have in Victoria only led to general corruption of the organs of political life. By rapid steps the whole sovereign power has passed, as it was bound to do, into the hands of the numerical majority—in Australia a perpetually shifting quantity. The checks and balances imported from the English constitution have been found to be practically useless in the absence of any true public opinion, and of what Mr. Bagehot calls the “deferential elements” in the Australian political temper. For Mr. Mill’s formula, “the government of the whole people by the whole people,” the democracy in Victoria has substituted the more simple one, “the government by the people for the people”—the people, in this connection, meaning the majority composed of the gentlemen-adventurers from all parts of the world, the gold diggers, and the artisans of the larger towns. The manhood which enjoys the suffrage and which makes the government is manhood in the primitive and physical sense. In just and stable government it has less interest than any manhood of which we have knowledge, either in Europe or in America. The practice and use of political power have not tended to make this manhood purer, more capable, or more unselfish. The truth is that government in Victoria has been steadily deteriorating in proportion as the manhood has awakened to the knowledge of its influence. The forms of the constitution itself are a mere empty figment, the very appearance of which gets every year more and more intolerable as it is found to interfere with the popular humour. The “responsible ministers” exist only to obey the will of their creators, the majority. The Assembly is but the slave of the Ministry of the day, and a partner in the spoils. Each successive government is worse than its predecessor, and the servility, the dishonesty, and the feebleness grow at every change more palpable. The spirit of the people is debauched and loosened by the political action; and the political action, in its turn, becomes affected by the decay of the public spirit.

The evidences of what may appear to the uninformed in Australian politics a sweeping charge may be found in every batch of colonial newspapers that comes home by the mail. It is impossible within our allotted space to give any more than a very general idea of the tendencies of the government in Victoria, and of their effects upon political morality; but the best proofs of what we have to assert will be found in the practical fruits of the system which we shall presently adduce. In regard to the governing forces within the colony, there has been a steady process of deterioration since the introduction of the new constitution. If we may judge of the working of manhood suffrage in such a community by the governing instruments deliberately chosen under that principle

to manage the affairs of a rich and prosperous country, we cannot hesitate in pronouncing the experiment to be an utter and deplorable failure. Having no restriction in its choice—being free to vote for whomsoever it pleases, and with all the protection and aid that the ballot can give it in the exercise of that right, we might have expected that the manhood of Victoria would give us assurance of a true representative system, and justify the principle of democracy. It has not been so, however. In the first place, the people, having to govern themselves under a scheme of their own manufacture, have failed in securing even a decently honest and fair representation. One of the first results of manhood suffrage in Victoria was to divide the population into two hostile camps, corresponding, not to two political parties, but to two social classes. To use a well-worn metaphor, the cleavage in Victorian politics is not vertical, as in constitutional England, but horizontal. The distinction between the majority and the minority is not a difference in opinion so much as in interest, in wealth, and in intelligence. The contest of parties in all the Australian colonies means a conflict between the successful and the unsuccessful—between the fortunate and the unfortunate—between the workers who are at the end of their career and the workers who are at the beginning. In other words, the struggle for political power is reduced to a scramble for the spoils of government. Such a contest of course could only end in the “survival of the fittest”—the fittest being taken to mean the most needy, the most daring, and the most unscrupulous. Of the 110,000 adult males possessed of the franchise, it is easy to understand how, in a short time, the majority have come to be a compact and permanent body, with very decided views as to what is the object of government and the value of political power. Being a class rather than a party, this majority in Victoria are in fact one large Trade Union. The Legislative Assembly in the course of ten years has arrived at being a representation of this class majority rather than of the people. Through the system of election by district constituencies, the majority have been enabled to secure a much larger proportion of representation than they were numerically entitled to; for whereas during the last Victorian crisis the comparative numbers of electors on the two sides were as five to three, their comparative strength in the House was as three to one. Under such a system the government of Victoria has more than justified the anticipations of the enemies of democracy.

The influence of the principle of manhood suffrage upon the character of government may be detected clearly, both in the means and in the results of the process. As to the means, the members

of the House of Assembly, so far as they represent what is termed "the Liberal party," are conspicuous for their freedom from all the conventional restraints which in England are imposed by public opinion upon the representatives of the people. They are not even a reflection of the average honesty and intelligence of the mass of electors. As a rule they are selected purely for their negative qualities. They need not be honest so long as they are obedient, and they need not be intelligent so long as they are docile. The principle of delegation is carried out in Victoria in a manner thorough enough to satisfy even Mr. Hepworth Dixon. The Liberal member of a Victorian constituency regards himself and is regarded by his supporters as simply the parliamentary agent of the majority in his district. He is sent into the Assembly not to give his own opinions upon public affairs, but to convey those of his constituents. He is simply a vessel of communication between the independent electors and the House. As a vessel, it is clear that he is required not to be full but empty when he comes to the constituency for his instructions. The man with principles ready-made and opinions which he has given himself is not the man for a popular constituency in Victoria. His candidature would be considered an impertinence by the Liberal party. What the constituency wants is a plausible, active, flexible, and discreet member, who will make the best bargain with the Ministry of the day for the sale of his vote, and get the utmost possible in the shape of government monies for the district. In return the district provides its member with a living, and engages to take care of his character. Usually the member is directly in the pay of his constituents (the patriotic efforts of the Liberal members to get payment from the public treasury not having yet succeeded),\* but very often the member remunerates himself in a less ostentatious manner, by levying a percentage upon all monies which he obtains for his constituents. He is in fact a kind of broker of claims, indemnities, and grievances; who expects and receives his commission, without any idea on the part of himself or of his constituency that he is acting in any manner against true liberal principles and democratic consistency. With the Ministry the transactions of the member are of the same business-like character. In return for his support he obtains benefits and favours for his district and for his constituents, general and particular. Does a municipal council want an in-

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\* Two bills for the payment of members have been passed by the Assembly and thrown out by the Upper House—the second one just prior to the late constitutional crisis. This fact may go a great way towards explaining the pertinacity with which the Assembly has clung to its assumed privilege of being the absolute authority in money bills.



creased grant, it is the member of the district who negotiates the concession. Does a prominent supporter covet a piece of land possessed by a neighbouring squatter, it is to the member he applies to get the boon from the Land Minister. Is there a discoverer of a gold-field, with claims unrecognised, it is the member who is ready to remind the state of its ingratitude. If the member contrives to intercept some portion of the favours which pass through his hands, it is not the recipients of the bounty who grudge him that consideration. It is a hard life, after all, that of a popular member under manhood suffrage, and it is but fair that his labours should have their due recognition from those whom he serves.

The system is not perhaps consistent with our old-world notions of pure representation, but in Victoria it seems to be a necessary outcome of manhood suffrage. One result of it is to exclude any man of inconveniently refined temperament, of a too fastidious intellect, and an oppressively severe independence of opinion, from any part in the representation of the colony. At the present time, it may be said without any exaggeration, that no such man has the smallest chance of being elected, however liberal may be his opinions, and though he may be a staunch democrat, as democracy is understood in Europe, by any of the larger constituencies in Victoria, outside of the metropolis itself. The candidate who is preferred is the man who has nothing—who is not independent, who is not fastidious, who is not in any way particular, or remarkable. Upon such a blank the democracy is able to impress its will most fully. It is not that under such a system the chosen representatives are all rogues or fools. Usually they comply with the famous rule of Lord Verulam, and in their ambition are “a little of the fool and not too much of the honest.” It is true that within the last eight years there might have been seen sitting side by side in the Victorian Assembly a forger and a murderer, and that there are in the present House some among the elect of the nation who would be considered real curiosities in any collection of representatives; but for the most part the legislators are simple mediocrities, vacuous, empty, and null. They are active chiefly in corruption, in the practice of which they have acquired much skill and dexterity. During the session of 1867 scarcely a week passed without some charge of bribery or of illegitimate use of his office being made against a member. The stories to the personal discredit of the House are among the commonest subjects of gossip in the streets of Melbourne. Some of them may be false and some exaggerated, but the significant feature in the case is, that all such scandals find a ready belief among the public. Even the constituents of the members, with a cynical

impartiality, are usually the first to admit and to laugh at that which would be a slander elsewhere. The universality of the offence tends to a general tolerance. Three years ago, the member for a large and populous district called Maldon was publicly accused of having made a bargain to procure for a private individual some favour from the Land Office, for a consideration which took the concrete form of a 5*l.* note. The member's reply was, not to deny the charge, but to aver that the man from whom he took the money was "not a constituent." This was held to be a triumphant acquittal by the constituency, who probably felt it rather a relief than otherwise that any one beyond their boundaries should help in sustaining the private fortunes of their representative. At a general election shortly after, this same member was re-elected by a large majority over the head of one of the most honourable and distinguished statesmen in Victoria.

Innumerable facts of the same kind might be quoted, to the prejudice, of course, rather of the electors than the elected. As a rule, the favourites of the people are those who are not remarkable for any personal or social qualifications. The town of Ballarat, for instance—a flourishing and prosperous city of 50,000 inhabitants, the cream of the digging population of Victoria—had recently for two of its representatives an insolvent tailor in a small way, and a newsman, who only a few years ago was a hawker of his wares in the street: the latter of these has since risen to be a minister of the Crown. Another important constituency selected for its representative man a gentleman whose employment at the time of his candidature was the very unambitious one of a sweeper of privies on a Victorian railway,—a true son of the "soil," as his opponents admitted him to be. An advertising quack doctor and a retired brothel-keeper have been among those longest associated with the political life in Victoria. Another member of the latter profession, not retired, but in the full flush and exercise of his trade, was only a few months ago elected for a large agricultural district, being introduced to the House as a Liberal member between the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General. It may be said that these instances prove nothing but a healthy freedom from social prejudices on the part of the Victorian democracy—that the men might have been good representatives although of obscure birth and humble origin. But in none of the cases here cited was the member even moderately reputable in character, or of average ability or intelligence. They were not chosen for any other qualification than that of being supple and obedient in respect to political principle. They were not either intrinsically eligible, nor the

best that were offered for selection. In no country perhaps has poverty or a mean or ignoble station less excuse than in Victoria, seeing that in no country is it easier for an honest and sober man, without any social advantages, to rise to a respectable position in life. There is no reason why the Victorians should not be as well served by able and well-educated men as any other community; and the fact that it is not so served must be attributed solely to the deliberate choice of the people. Mr. Pearson, who has written an essay to prove the good working of the Australian institutions, declares, indeed, that his experience is that "in all the colonies the leading barristers and merchants are usually in one of the Houses, or only out of it through special circumstances or by their own fault." But Mr. Pearson, though a tolerably candid and intelligent observer, betrays by many signs that his experience is but small and his opportunities limited. The fact is, in Victoria at least, that when a barrister or a merchant, or any gentleman of character and education, is elected to the Assembly, he is either sent in by one of the few constituencies which are still open to independent and respectable candidates, or he is a *mère* nominee of the Ministry, and has engaged to do all that his constituents desire of inferior men. As a rule, when two men are opposed to each other at an election, in three out of four of the Victorian constituencies, the worse man, the more ignorant, the less honest, and the more reckless is chosen. In the Assembly which has lately been dissolved there was not a single barrister on the popular side, except two who were members of the Ministry; nor a single merchant on the same side but who was directly interested in the partial commercial legislation of the government.

In addition to the recognised system of buying and selling members, the practices known in America as "lobbying" and "log-rolling," are perfectly familiar to the Victorian Assembly. Upon the occasion of the consideration of the Estimates in the House, there takes place annually a scene of scramble and pillage such as it is hard to convey in terms to the English reader. Each member tries to get as large a share as possible of the public money for his district; and amidst the obscene clamour and the hideous struggle, it is the loudest-tongued, the most brazen, and the most reckless, who do their business best. The Ministry of the day is, of course, powerless to resist or to cure such a system. The Ministry itself lives by the breath of the majority of members, just as the members live by the majority of the people. It is chosen to obey their will and to do their work. There is a reciprocal servility and a double corruption. Politics are reduced to a trade, or rather, lower still, to a species of gambling. Gentlemen adventurers, who are too

idle to work, even in a country where work so easily reaches its reward, devote themselves to the profession of politician. They are ready to back any opinion, and to uphold any principle.

As to the ballot, which Mr. Pearson fondly believes to be an engine of purity, it is sufficient to say that it is powerless in any degree to check or to influence the evils which we have been describing.\* "There is no bribery at elections," says Mr. Pearson, "and no treating or intimidation"—a piece of information which will be diverting to the Victorian colonist. Of course there is no bribery—of the kind with which we are familiar at home. There is no treating, and there is no intimidation—that is allowed. But the ballot has as little to do with this state of things as the hot winds or the Southern Cross. There is no bribery at elections in Victoria, because there is no one to bribe in the way in which people are usually bribed. The Victorian candidate would take it as an exquisite piece of humour were he complimented upon his not bribing nor intimidating his electors. The truth is that the corruption is all the other way. It is not the candidate who bribes the constituents, but the constituents who bribe the candidate, in Victoria. The candidate is impecunious, the constituency is rich. The candidate is the mendicant, the constituency the relieving-officer. This is a condition which, if we regard it seriously, is a worse and more hopeless form of political malady than the other and the more common one. In England, if there is bribery among the electors, there is purity among the members. But in Victoria, where it is the member who is the paid agent and the servant, the corruption has mounted higher, and is infinitely more dangerous. In England the legislators at least are not bribed to do their work. The member who gains his seat by corruption is more disposed, on that very account, to be independent towards the Ministry. But a member who is himself the subject of corruption, what useful or honest work is to be expected from him?

He would be a blind or a superficial observer, however, who upon a survey of the political condition of Victoria, should declare that there is no bribery, even of the constituencies. There is bribery to a wide extent, and of a very pernicious sort, though not bribery through the medium of coin—an article with which the Victorian candidate is but poorly supplied. The

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\* As a proof of how badly Mr. Pearson has used his opportunities, we may quote his statement that "voting-papers" are used in Victorian elections. This is not true in the sense which we give to "voting-papers" in England. The only "voting-papers" known in Victoria are the ballot-tickets, which have to be deposited in person by the voters at the time of election.

electors are bribed by promises of direct advantage either to themselves or their district. De Tocqueville's remark that "the corruption of men who have casually risen to power has a coarse and vulgar infection in it, which renders it contagious to the multitude," is very forcibly illustrated in the Victorian example. The constituents catch the vice from the very creatures they have corrupted. The spectacle of their member, raised by themselves to power and comparative ease, is to the electors a provocation to profligacy. In return for the favours he receives, the member is made to pledge himself to satisfy the demands of his supporters. The process at the hustings or the public meeting is something like this. The popular candidate, having completed what is pleasantly termed a declaration of principles, is then called upon to say what he will do for his constituents. First, he is required to promise that he will procure a certain amount of "public works"—in other words, public money, for the district. Muddy Creek cannot do without a stone bridge: Murderer's Flat must have a macadanized road. The Town Council of Jonesville, through its favourite contractor, insists upon a grant to the local 'institute. Then all these, the more legitimate claims, having been settled, up rises a prominent supporter who inquires, What will the candidate do for boots? The candidate vows that there is nothing like native leather, and that a tax of at least 30 per cent. should be put upon the odious foreign article. Then Liberal cabinet-maker asks, How about American window-sashes? The candidate is deeply impressed with the necessity of keeping out cheap window-sashes. Then leading local lollipop-maker demands, Are we to be swamped by the miserable foreigner in sweetmeats, and see our native industry in sugar annihilated? The gold-digger wants the gold-export duty abolished. The brewer is for an additional penny on foreign ales. The agriculturist inveighs against the iniquity of Chilian flour. To all these the candidate promises that they shall have protection. In other words, he pledges himself that each trade and industry shall be subsidized out of the Treasury. What is this but bribery in the worst form? How much purer is the constituency under manhood suffrage than the electoral body, say of Totnes, of whom each man took out his right in the good-old English form of pounds sterling? To declare that there is no corruption at a Victorian election is to blink an open and notorious truth. The circle of corruption, under the prevailing system, is whole and perfect. The electors bribe the member, and the member bribes the electors. The member debauches the minister, and the minister the member. Thus, at every link of the chain there are the corrupter and the corrupted. Once more we repeat that the ballot is worthless as a safeguard or a

remedy. At the best but a piece of machinery, it is in Victoria neither beneficial nor harmful, but useless, superfluous, void. It is like a gag on a dead lion or a padlock on an open door. In a few instances indeed it has proved of advantage, as affording a temporary protection to the person of the unpopular voter in a time of excitement. But it never can be relied upon even to do this effectually. Indeed, those who quote the working of the ballot in Australia as a proof of the success of the democratic principle, are guilty of a piece of unconscious irony at the expense of democracy more injurious than any intended slander.

The government which has resulted in Victoria from the working of manhood suffrage and the ballot, is a full and perfect expression of all that is dangerous in those principles when wrongly and recklessly applied. It exists but to carry out the will of its makers—that is, of the numerical majority of the people. Although the two elective Houses of Parliament were made equal and co-ordinate by the Constitution Act, the Legislative Assembly has gradually usurped all the powers and duties of government, and now aspires to the absolute control of the destinies of the country. It makes and unmakes ministries at its pleasure—sometimes after a very strange fashion, as when, in 1861, Mr. Heales and his colleagues were chosen by a kind of ballot from among the members of the majority, by the pricking of pins on a list of names. Those who obtained the largest number of marks were made ministers, without reference to their political affinities. This idea of what is pleasantly termed “constitutional government” has since been improved upon by the latest popular ministry insisting that they are bound to remain in office so long as they execute the will of the people. Thus, it is no longer held to be necessary that a minister should have any ready-made principles. His *raison d'être* is that he knows every session what the people want him to do. Their desire is for him the sole law and the only rule of conduct. If he is a Free-Trader and the people demand Protection, he conceives that his duty is to administer to the demand. If he has hitherto interpreted the constitution in one view, and the people desire to interpret it in another, he has no scruple in giving up his own opinion and in obeying that which the majority decree to be constitutional. Thus it will be seen that the crown of the electoral system, by manhood suffrage, is reached. As the constituents require a member who shall be blank in respect to opinions, so the members create a ministry who shall be void in regard to principles. The government becomes the concentrated reflex of its first constituents. And the effect of this double election is to make the result exhibit, in even a more intense form, the

vices of the composing elements. The government is worse than the people out of which it has been created. The qualities of which the germs only existed in the electors bear flower and fruit in the ministry, which is produced out of the members who were begotten by manhood suffrage. The government of Victoria since it has arrived, during the last two years, at its full development, has shown itself to be greatly more unscrupulous, more selfish, more corrupt, and more tyrannical, than are the constituencies from which it derives its support. These constituencies themselves are more reckless, more corrupt, more ignorant, and more intolerant than is the normal character of the individual Victorian elector.

Having considered the influence of the so-called democratic principles upon the spirit of government, we may proceed to describe the reflex action of those principles—that is, the influence of the government upon the people in Victoria. It is admitted that government and people act and react upon each other—that even a government which is made by the people, and is more or less the impress of the popular character, is able to affect that popular character in its turn, and to develop certain tendencies, either non-existing or which had not been detected in the original people. The chief dangers to which democracies have in all times been subject are those which arise from the suppression of individualism. In the vain pursuit of an impossible equality, even liberty comes to be a thing of small value. The liberty is what all enjoy, and being a common and every-day possession is not much regarded. But liberty without equality appears to the pseudo-democrat to be the shell without the kernel. He is impatient of even the laws of nature which permit one man to rise higher than another. He does not willingly bear the spectacle of such an elevation, even although it is by pure force and virtue of character, and although the path of ambition is one which is free equally to himself and to others to travel. He hates and distrusts genius, and is suspicious even of goodness. “A democracy,” says De Tocqueville, “will endure any form of despotism so long as it has equality.” It does not believe that the work of government is accomplished so long as there remain any great differences in the lot of the subjects of government. This passion for equality has tinged the whole course of government in Victoria. And the action of government under its influence has tended to make the people itself restless, unstable, intolerant, greedy of novelties, and impatient and suspicious of its own laws and ordinances. Self-government, which we might have expected would produce self-reliance, has only wrought to self-indulgence. In the enjoyment of a privilege obtained without labour, and of a

victory acquired without striving, the people of Victoria have even begun to lose those instincts of obedience to law and of respect for order which they had inherited from their English forefathers. Nothing strikes an intelligent observer, fresh from the old country, more than the altered tone in which the political contest is urged in this democracy of yesterday. The most palpable sign of the change is exhibited in the disposition, growing rapidly stronger every year, to lean upon the government for help in every affair of life. The government in Victoria is charged with duties which even a paternal despotism in the old countries would avoid. It is invoked as a kind of particular Providence, to regulate not only the political but the social and moral business of the citizens. Over and above the ordinary functions of government, the state in Victoria is expected to make roads and bridges, to find out new gold-fields, to build mechanics' institutes, to subsidize friendly societies, to lay out botanic gardens. Latterly it has undertaken to repress unpopular industries, and to develop popular ones; to control the price of labour, to regulate the profits of capital, to make a provision for youth, to fix the hours of work. At the instance of the local democracy, it is engaged in curing the evils of fortune, in redressing the laws of nature, and in taking to pieces the whole framework of society. The leader of the present ministry, the Attorney-General of Victoria, has publicly declared that the mission of his government is to institute a new scheme of political economy—to check “the baneful operation of that law of society” which makes some men poor and others rich—in plain words, to put down poverty on the one hand and to extinguish wealth on the other. The ideal of government proposed to himself by this remarkable democrat, who for the last two years has been virtual dictator of Victoria, is precisely that symmetry of condition which has been somewhere roughly likened to “the uniform condition of frogs under a flag-stone.” Principles of legislation have been seriously adopted of late by what is called the “popular party” in Victoria, compared to which the wildest dreams of M. Cabet or M. Proudhon are dull and sober commonplaces. Mr. John Stuart Mill is openly denounced as a reactionist and a tool of aristocracy; and the mention of his name at any great public meeting of “the people” in Melbourne is the sure signal for a chorus of jeers and groans.

Under this remarkable phase of democracy the new-comer is inclined to feel not a little bewildered as to which is the party of progress and which of obstruction. All the battle-cries and the political signs seem to partake of the Antipodean law of contrariety. The Conservatives are the Free-



Traders, the Radicals are the Protectionists. The latter are of course in possession of the Assembly and the government; and the destinies of the colony are being moulded according to their will. "What do we want with political economy?" is a favourite democratic cry. "Let us make our own science of wealth, our own theory of progress. The musty rules of Free Trade may be all very well for an effete old country like England, but for Australia is needed a separate law of being. That which is true of the northern hemisphere must not be accepted without question in the southern. We are in the possession of the government, and it shall be our business to try and discover a political economy better fitted for the working-man than the system which is in use among the English aristocrats."

Such language is held nearly every day by that portion of the Victorian press and the Victorian parliament which professes to represent what is called the "Liberal" principle. In the endeavour to give effect to this principle, the majority are steadily engaged in concentrating all power in the hands of the Assembly, which is their creature and slave. Although by the Constitution Act equal legislative power is given to both Houses, the Assembly has contrived, in the ten years' struggle, to acquire nearly a monopoly of the government in Victoria. Encouraged by the applause of the majority, under manhood suffrage, and fortified by the assurance of their support, the Lower House has claimed to exercise nearly all the functions, not only of the Legislature, but of the Executive, and even of the Judicature. It has succeeded in making almost null the prerogative of the Crown. It has encroached, and is still encroaching, upon the privilege of the Upper House, which, deserted as it has been by the Crown for the last two or three years, has become almost isolated in the system of government. Not content with these triumphs, the Assembly has taken the first step towards realizing another, and one of the worst, of the dangers of democracy. In its course towards an absolute despotism it has necessarily come into conflict with the judges; and the ominous cry has already been heard among the Victorian democrats, "Why should the judges be allowed to interfere with the will of the people?" The present Attorney-General, the first law officer of the Crown himself, has incited the popular Assembly to rebel against the judicature. He has taken every opportunity of insulting and thwarting the authority of the Supreme Court. In a public despatch he has spoken of the judges as "officers in the Attorney-General's department." He has arrogantly set aside, by his own decree, the judgments of the Supreme Court, and has denied to the subjects of the Queen the justice which had been awarded to them in the courts of law. He has

impugned the actions and even the motives of the judges in the performance of their duty, and has openly declared his intention to bring the judicature, as well as every other branch of the State, "under the heel of authority"—*i.e.*, under the power of himself or any other representative of the popular will as conveyed through manhood suffrage to the Legislative Assembly.

The action of this notable officer of the Crown has been influenced, of course, by the spirit of the democracy of which he is the present chosen instrument and director. Every new assault upon law or the ordered course of justice is declared to be a fresh triumph for the democratic principle. The revolt, we must remember, is not against any foreign power, but against institutions devised by the Victorian people themselves in a more sober moment. This tendency to break away from self-imposed restraints—to violate rules of their own framing—to make a law for every special occasion and to suit every passing humour—is one of the most formidable and best attested of all the dangers to which democracies are liable. All exercise of power inclines to tyranny; but in the case of a single despot, or of an oligarchy disposed to run riot, there is always the check of the people. But when it is the majority of the people itself which sanctions the violence to liberty or to law, what remains of the guarantees of order and good government? *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* This danger had not escaped the keen observation of De Tocqueville, a man by no means inclined to exaggerate the faults of democracy. After a careful view of the American system, he pronounces the main evil of democratic institutions to arise not from their weakness but from their overpowering strength. "When an individual or a party is wronged in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? If to public opinion, public opinion constitutes the majority; if to the Legislature, it represents the majority, and implicitly obeys its injunctions; if to the Executive power, it is appointed by the majority and remains a passive tool in its hands; the public troops consist of the majority under arms; the jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and in certain States even the judges are elected by the majority." In Victoria they have not yet come to the last point, but who will undertake to say how long even the judges, unsupported by the Crown, and liable to be made out of the law officers of a Victorian Ministry—of such men, indeed, as Mr. Higinbotham himself, the present Attorney-General—will be able to afford any protection to the individual subject who claims redress against the tyrant majority? Already, as we shall be able to show, there have been cases where the sentence of redress has been pronounced from the Bench and yet has been denied by the Executive, in defiance of justice and law. It is no wonder

that the minority—that is, the whole of the upper section of colonial society—the men of property, education, and culture—all those, in any class, of independent opinion—are in a perpetual antagonism to the Victorian government. They find themselves excluded, through the operation of manhood suffrage, from any part or voice in that government. They see their destinies hopelessly committed into the hands of the lowest class in the State—the least intelligent, the least honest, the least reputable. They look on with a mingled apathy and disgust at the freaks of the men in power; and in them that which in old Rome was reckoned the greatest vice in a citizen—despair of the commonwealth—becomes hardened into a chronic malady, for which it is impossible to perceive any hope of cure, arising out of the natural course of development of the Victorian democracy.

The marvellously quick growth and great material prosperity of the colony of Victoria are often cited, as in the case of some older democracies, as though they were some kind of evidence of the success of democratic institutions. If we extend our inquiries a little below the surface, however, we shall perceive with what little justice the local government can claim any share in the material progress and wealth of Victoria. If we were to say that the colony has progressed *in spite* of its government we should be much nearer the truth. Considering the extraordinary advantages under which Victoria was started into life, the wonderful extent and variety of her natural resources, the singular accident which helped her suddenly out of the trials of infancy; there is nothing remarkable in her present condition, unless it is that a country so favoured by nature and abounding in all the chief elements of national wealth—a country of gold, of wool, of corn, and of wine, each the best and the most easily produced article of its sort—should, after seventeen years of independence and eleven of self-government, possess a population barely exceeding that of the parishes of Marylebone and St. Pancras on a territory larger than the surface of England and Wales. If we steadily regard the facts of the case, we shall be convinced that not government but nature has done whatever is good or great in the colony of Victoria. We shall be able to prove by the clearest evidence that, so far from having advanced, the colony has retrograded in all the material elements of prosperity since the time when it first began to feel the influence of its sham democracy. Let us take, in the first place, the element of population, which no one will deny to be a primary test of the prosperity of a young country. In March, 1851, a few weeks before the discovery of gold at Mount Alexander, the population of the Port Philip District (since Victoria) amounted to 77,345. At the end of 1855, which marks the close of the first era

of the gold discovery, about a quarter of a million of people had been poured into the colony. In April, 1861, by which time the natural stream of immigration had been checked, the number of souls in the colony was reckoned at 540,382. In 1866, this number had risen, in a still less ratio of increase, to 626,639, and at the present time it may be estimated to be about 700,000. These figures will show that at a time coincident with the introduction of the new system of government in Victoria the immigration began suddenly to fall off; that it has decreased steadily ever since; and that in the last few years the increase of population in the colony has been scarcely greater than is the average increase by the excess of births over deaths in some of the older European countries.

Yet it cannot be said either that the colony is sufficiently peopled, or that its natural attractions have declined. The proportion of population to area is about nine to the square mile. That the land is able to sustain a population quite equal to that of most European countries, if not as large proportionately as Great Britain, few will deny who are acquainted with the resources of the Victorian territory. It is true that a large portion of the soil is at present useless for any other purpose than pasture, and that much of the land is desert, forest, and swamp; but the singular fineness of the climate more than counterbalances these disadvantages. A rocky desert, under the Australian sun, may be made fruitful, with little trouble, in wine, if not in corn. No country offers such a variety of resources as Victoria to the settler, and in none does his labour bear richer or surer fruit. The original attraction of the gold-fields still continues scarcely diminished. It is true that the annual yield from the Victorian gold mines shows a tendency slightly to decline; but this is not because of any failure of the gold deposits, but because of the smaller number of persons engaged in the pursuit. Gold-mining is no longer a mere lottery, but a regular business which men have to undertake with means and practise with knowledge. If pursued in the same spirit as any other industry, it has become, from being the most hazardous, to be the most certain and the most profitable of all industries. It cannot be, then, except through the fault of the local government, that the Victorian gold-fields have lost their attraction for the British immigrant. But we are able to prove, although it may seem almost incredible to our English readers, that it has been the direct and avowed policy of what is called the Liberal government in Victoria to check the stream of immigration. The rulers of Victoria will not have the colony filled too fast. The present Ministry have openly set their faces against immigration, on the express ground that it is an artificial interference with the rights and the interests of colonial labour.

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It has been formally announced as an axiom of the new democratic school of political economy that "prosperity should precede population." A government, the people of Victoria are taught, has no right to bring population to the colony until it can find employment for them. The only aspect in which the immigrant is regarded by the Victorian democracy is that of a possible competitor in the labour market; the apostles of the new economical faith being utterly unable to conceive that an immigrant not only supplies but demands labour—that he makes work for others in just the same proportion as he offers work in himself—that every new-comer into the colony has to be fed, lodged, and clothed out of the labour of the colony—that every fresh pair of arms is an addition to the wealth-making power of the State—that every immigrant helps to relieve every present citizen of a portion of his burden. These and other elementary truths belong, however, to a school of knowledge which is repudiated by the Victorian democrats as effete, reactionary, and savouring of oligarchy. They have set themselves steadily to dam the stream of life—to shut out the outside world—to build a wall between themselves and the outer humanity. At present, although a portion of the land revenue was expressly dedicated by a former Parliament to the purposes of immigration, and although the proceeds from the sale of crown lands are strictly speaking part of the immigration fund, belonging to the people of Great Britain as much as to the people of Victoria, there is scarcely any effort made to assist immigration to Victoria. In the year 1866, the total number of assisted immigrants to Victoria amounted only to 578, of which 376 were single females. And yet there are nearly 170,000 able-bodied paupers now maintained at a great cost by the people of England.

Indirectly, through the administration of the crown lands, as well as by other means, it has been the constant aim of the democratic government, ever since it was fairly installed in power in the persons of the present Ministry, to discourage the intrusion of people from outside, as well as their industries and the produce of their labour. They have come into a capital estate, in fact, and they see no reason why they should let in strangers to share it. It is difficult to imagine any other motive in the existing land system of Victoria—the fourth, and the worst, in the series of clumsy, foolish, and suicidal attempts to divert the course of national industry, to check enterprise, and to fetter capital. If there is one duty more important than another in the government of a young country, having a large domain in virgin soil, and requiring, as we might suppose, above all things a population, that duty is to provide a simple and equitable system of land settlement. Having to compete with the Ameri-

can colonies and the United States as a home for British settlers, to offer terms that would at least tend to neutralize the natural advantages which America enjoys in its comparative proximity to the mother country—to reduce, in fact, the voyage half round the world practically to the level of the voyage across the Atlantic—the first business of the Victorian government, having at its disposal the richest lands in Australia, we might expect ought to be to make the possession of land as cheap and easy, and the conditions of tenure as simple and definite as possible. Yet what is the fact? After some seventeen years of incessant agitation the land question is really no nearer a settlement now than it was at first. So far as the true interests of the colony are concerned, the system which is the last result of democratic wisdom is really much less liberal, not to say less equitable, than the system which was inherited as a part of the old Imperial policy. Upon this point we must protest strongly against Mr. Pearson's conclusion that "among the positive results which colonial legislation has attained, the possession of cheap land on a simple tenure must be reckoned." We do not know to what school of political economists Mr. Pearson belongs; whether he is an advocate of Mr. Mill's views respecting the absolute alienation of land from the State, or whether he holds to the American theory of a low fixed price and a perpetual freehold. But to neither of these democratic models does the Victorian land system conform. After four successive Land Acts, besides Ministerial ukases and arbitrary decrees innumerable, the present government of Victoria has arrived at a scheme which may fairly be said to be unlike anything which the wit of man has ever devised. By a singular infelicity, it contrives to unite all the contrary objections to the various land theories that have ever been started. Neither has the land been made cheap, nor is the tenure simple. As to the estate, it is difficult to say in whom it is vested at any given time—in the government or in the occupier. No one out of the colony of Victoria is able to say how land is to be got there; whether it is to be got at all; what is the price; what is the tenure; how much of it is available; how long it may be possessed; what are its burdens; when, or upon what terms, it becomes the settler's property.

Of one thing only the intending emigrant may be sure, that under the Land Act now in force no absolute property in agricultural land can be acquired from the State in Victoria. The Act recognises only a general scheme of leaseholders. The land is put up for what is called selection in large blocks, divided into allotments of 180 acres each. On appointed days a kind of wheel of fortune is set up, under the direction of the Minister of Lands. The drawer of a prize secures the privilege of selecting, according to

the number of his ticket, one lot in the area. This lot is to be held on lease under a most intricate and elaborate system of conditions and restraints, for a term of seven years, at a rate of 1s. 6d. an acre. At the end of five years, or, under certain circumstances, at the end of three, if he has complied with all the conditions—if he has not sub-let or mortgaged or done anything which the government, in its paternal regard for his interests, required him not to do—if he can satisfy the local land officer that he has made improvements of a certain specified kind to the value of not less than a pound an acre, the holder of the lease has the privilege of purchasing his allotment in fee simple at the price of a pound an acre—that is, if the Board of Land shall esteem him to be a person worthy of having a freehold. The law makes it optional with the Board (representing of course the ministry of the day), to refuse a crown grant to the settler, even although he has done all that was required of him. This is the land system which Mr. Pearson describes as offering cheap land at a simple tenure! It would be difficult to conceive a scheme more violent in respect to all laws of political economy, more outrageous as a system of settlement, more ingeniously devised to keep out the British immigrant, and to retain the soil of Victoria for ever in the hands of the existing democracy. In the insane attempt to shut out capital from employment in the land, the government has only succeeded in making all property in land unstable. As for the speculators and land-jobbers, so far from being excluded, their profession is made more active and lucrative than ever. Under the operation of the lottery system almost every second man, in fact, is turned into a land speculator. A universal spirit of gambling has seized the community. The day of the drawing of prizes is a kind of high festival to all the “loafers,” the blacklegs, the penniless, and the idle. All these attend of course to take their chance in the lottery; for seeing that the lands put up for selection are worth in the market considerably more than eighteenpence a year per acre, every man hopes to win an allotment which may fetch a good round sum in ready money. Of course the eagerness of the speculators at the government land lotteries does not indicate a corresponding “earth-hunger.” By far the larger majority enter into the game purely as a speculation, without any idea whatever of turning agriculturists. If the fortunate winner of a prize cannot use his allotment himself, he can always dispose of his rights clandestinely to the neighbouring squatter or other rich settler. The facilities offered by the government have resulted in the creation of a regular class of professional land selectors called “dummies,” who go about the country and offer their services to the capitalists and the large stockowners. In many

cases the squatter is literally compelled to keep a gang of dummies to save himself and his property from sudden and utter ruin. The real *bonâ fide* settler, as we can easily perceive, is placed under every kind of disadvantage under such a system. He has no better chance of obtaining an allotment at a land selection than any of the dummies or the speculators, and he may attend a dozen lotteries without being able to get a piece of land. Even then he has but a limited choice; he is bound to take what there is for him. He cannot buy it outright if he is disposed to do so; he cannot use it as his own or treat it as property. Who can wonder that under a system so monstrous the population remains stationary, and even agriculture, which is the object of the government attention, languishes? Out of six millions of acres of crown land which had been alienated up to the end of 1865, only one-twelfth, or 530,196 acres were in actual cultivation—the best proof that the land is being squandered uselessly, and that the alienation is far in advance of the legitimate demands of the people. These six million of acres of real estate of which the State has become dispossessed in Victoria, (exclusive of perhaps a million of acres more which have been alienated under the leasehold system, and which of course have parted from the State for ever,) comprise the cream of the available agricultural land in Victoria. The alienation is going on still at quite as rapid a rate, and in a few years more there will be no land in Victoria which can tempt the British immigrant to prefer that colony to the nearer home and the more liberal treatment which he may find in America. As the case is now, who will traverse fifteen thousand miles of sea for the chance of winning a leasehold in a Victorian lottery, when he can buy a freehold in America outright for a dollar and a quarter an acre?

If we examine into the Victorian system of dealing with revenue, with public works, with commerce, with industry, with gold-mining, we shall find that the practical results illustrate quite as strikingly as the laws relating to land and immigration the ignorance, the selfishness, the intolerance, the restlessness, and the general incapacity of the dominant ruling power in Victoria. As to revenue, no community on the face of the earth was ever so richly or so easily provided. The Victorian Chancellor of the Exchequer has had from the first almost a sinecure, if he would only be content to enjoy it. All the legitimate wants of the State were amply furnished out of the overflowing of the national wealth. Up to 1865 the tariff, which yielded steadily one-third of the public income, was a model among fiscal systems in its simplicity, the soundness of its principles, and its admirable fitness to the condition and the character of the people.



The taxes were only upon those articles of general consumption which all political economists have agreed to be the most properly taxable, such as spirits and wine, tobacco, sugar, and tea. There was an export duty on gold, originally of half-a-crown an ounce, which had been reduced to eighteenpence. This had been substituted ten years before in lieu of the licensing fee, with the approbation of the miners themselves, and in accordance with a bargain made between them and the Crown. It was a tax not upon labour but upon the profits of labour, and a fair and legitimate contribution to the burdens of the State from men who, without any other fee or rent, were permitted to dig for gold upon the public lands. Another principal item of revenue, scarcely so legitimate, was derived from the sale and lease of waste lands, amounting in late years to an annual sum, on the average, of 750,000*l.* This is not properly income, but a portion subtracted every year from the national capital, and ought to be devoted, not so much to the current expenditure of the State as to providing, as was originally intended, a fund for the purposes of immigration, and for the permanent improvement of the colony. Not content, however, with this income, but in pursuit of the popular fallacy that it is possible to turn taxation into a source of national wealth, or at least into a means of creating local manufactures, that is, of raising wages, the government of Victoria, representing the democratic majority, has during the last two years revolutionized its whole fiscal scheme in favour of a protective system—putting on new taxes not for revenue but for “protection to native industry,” and repealing others which were just in principle, light in incidence, and easy to bear. All this has been done solely and entirely with a selfish purpose—with a view on the part of the Ministry of acquiring popularity by making a pretence to shift, as they call it, the burdens of the State from the poor to the rich.

In the mode of expending its revenue we may detect even more palpably the same foolish, vicious, and short-sighted policy. The ordinary income, which before the recent increase of taxation amounted to about 3,000,000*l.* a year, was more than sufficient for all the reasonable wants of the country. It gave an expenditure per head of the population of no less than 4*l.* 15*s.*, which is *double* that of any other country in Europe or in America, not excepting the United States. The true difficulty should have been to spend this amount in any legitimate manner. The Ministry of the day, however, were not hampered with any scruples in this direction. They have systematically made use of a large portion of the revenue for the maintenance of an artificial wage-rate, with the view of gaining the favour of its supporters among the working class. Enormous sums

are lavished every year upon what are called "Public Works"—not that the works themselves are necessary, but that the expenditure is regarded as a kind of perquisite by the working-classes. Although one of the governments, a little more honest and greatly more able than the others, introduced an admirable scheme of local government, with the express view of relieving the general treasury of this annual burden of Public Works, no Ministry has since been found strong enough to carry out this principle in its integrity; and although the local governments levy their own rates for their immediate wants—the only wants that are really legitimate—about half-a-million a year is still scrambled away among the members of the House, to be devoted to roads, bridges, charitable institutions, lunatic asylums, and public gardens. The Public Works in Victoria, in fact, are not inaptly described as "a gigantic system of out-door relief." The money is spent in the most reckless and extravagant manner, and one-half of it never reaches the "work" to which it is dedicated. Besides this large annual sum for the ordinary public works, a debt of 9,000,000*l.* has been incurred for the construction of an elaborate system of national railways, which would be very successful if there were passengers to travel or goods to convey. There could be no more ludicrous illustration of "burning the candle at both ends," than is afforded by this contradictory policy, which makes expensive railways to provide employment for the labouring class, yet puts a stop to the immigration which might help to support them, and taxes the foreign goods which they are intended to carry.

Upon the heads of Commerce and Industry, what can we say more than that the democratic government of Victoria has deliberately adopted all the obsolete fallacies of Protection? Under the original colonial system, and under a Free Trade tariff, commerce and industry had flourished exceedingly. The enterprise of the colonists was almost daily directed to the discovery of new fields of labour. There were already nearly twice the number of people employed in manufactures that there were at the same time in the United States. In the Registrar-General's report for 1865, he returns upwards of 450 industries and manufactures of various kinds, which gave employment to the people of Victoria. The foreign trade was in a most healthy state, and Melbourne was fast becoming an *entrepôt* of the southern seas. There was no restriction to the free interchange of commodities, and Victorian gold got its highest price in English manufactures. But when wages began to fall in the colony, through the greater cheapness of living, added to the growing scarcity of highly-paid employment, mainly consequent on the government policy as to land, immigration, and public works,"

the democracy began to take up the cry of Protection to Native Industry: Not content with being subsidized directly through the government expenditure, the artisans in the larger towns began to clamour for indirect sustenance, or what they believed would be such, through taxes on foreign imports. Luckily for them, about this time there was a Ministry in power to whom it became necessary to invent a policy. The members of Mr. Macculloch's government had come into office in 1865 by no means on the pure democratic ticket, and those of them who had any opinions at all were pledged to Free Trade principles. But the habit of governing by means of a democratic majority is very damaging to political virtue. Some of the Ministers, more open to conviction than the rest, took to reading Mr. Mill's Political Economy. Unfortunately for the colony they alighted, in the second volume, upon the following paragraphs:—"The only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation), in hopes of naturalizing a foreign industry, in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. \* \* \* A protecting duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment." This was enough warrant for those who were, and who wanted to be, Protectionists in Victoria. It is true that, after the mischief was done, Mr. Mill, being applied to, explained that he meant nothing of the sort; but Mr. Mill's very explanation was unluckily so worded as to be quoted triumphantly by the Protectionists on their side of the case. The Macculloch Ministry, under the influence of the pressure which is upon all governments in a democratic country, determined to make a sacrifice of their individual consciences and intelligences. They decided that Protection should be their policy, since Protection was the cry of the people. They had no difficulty in assuming that theirs was precisely such a case as Mr. Mill had conceived, and in declaring that, inasmuch as the right of determining what was an industry "suitable to the circumstances of the country" was conferred by the great master of political economy upon any government which chose to adopt it, they were such a government. In vain did the Free Traders (who came to be called the Conservatives and Reactionists under this new division of names), plead that Mr. Mill did not mean anything of the kind—that his exceptional clause was contradicted by his whole argument—that any "suitable industry" was able to naturalize itself, without help from the Government—that to invest any government with the power of saying what was a fit subject for protection was to abandon the whole case in favour of Free Trade—that a government, to be

able to say what was a suitable industry to any country, especially to a rising country, must be all-wise, all-just, all-knowing, as well as all-powerful. In vain did they contend that to make boots and shoes, clothes and hats, chairs and window-sashes, carriages and grand pianos, was not suitable to a young country, whose special wealth was in its gold, its wool, its corn, and its wine, and that to divert the national industry forcibly into those channels was a violation of all the fundamental principles of sound trade. A democracy which has power to act rarely condescends to argue. At the general election of 1864, a majority was returned to the Assembly, pledged to the principle of Protection. The Ministry which up to then had professed Free Trade opinions became ardent Protectionists. To most of its members office was a livelihood and a necessity; and they avowed, with unblushing effrontery, that it was their business, above all things, to become a "permanent government." Then were brought out of their graves into a new life all the old defunct sophisms against Free Trade. The corpse of Protection suffered a resurrection. The slain bodies of a thousand ancient fallacies were set upon their legs. All the follies of the pre-Corn Law period were revived in the interest of the Victorian democracy, and then was seen how flimsy was the cloak of Liberal opinion which covered the Liberal party, how unreal was the advance supposed to have been made by "the people" in the wisdom of their teachers. Precisely the same condition of blind and selfish ignorance was revealed in the democracy of Victoria as had been charged against the aristocracy of England; with this difference, that the former had all the English experience to their hand, and had no excuse but a sordid one for their blindness. Protection was taken to mean increased employment and higher wages, and Protection thenceforth became, and still is, the cardinal article of the Australian Democratic creed. The arguments used by the Protectionist leaders were of the old staple kind. "Why should we let the foreigner swamp our markets? Why not let us become our own producers of all that we desire? Why should we send our gold away, instead of keeping it in the country? Why should we be dependent on the foreign manufacturer?" The excess of imports over exports was alleged to be the sum which the colony lost every year by Free Trade. The diggers, who had reasons of their own for supporting the Ministry of the day, were induced to join in the cry of Protection first raised by the artisans. The agriculturists were next assailed, and were only too ready to agree to protect every one else if they were protected.\* Within the colony itself

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\* A tax of 5s. a ton upon imported bread-stuffs has recently been imposed as a bribe to the farmers—the beginning of a *Cory Law* in Victoria.

there was no class to make head against the folly except that which had, on other accounts, become politically unpopular, and the merchants, who up to this time had taken no part in politics. The opposition of the former was denounced as arising from selfish motives in respect to the land question (although this had been settled before the cry of Protection had been adopted by the Ministry), and the merchants were declared to be a superfluous body in the state, not worthy of consideration—mere “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” in the words of the leader of the Ministry. Under the influence of these political exigencies, the Macculloch Ministry gave way to the popular will, and in the beginning of the year 1865 a tariff framed on Protectionist principles, intended and accepted as the first instalment of a greater measure to come by-and-by, was passed through the Legislative Assembly.

And now commences the latest and most exciting chapter in the history of the Victorian democracy. The Macculloch Ministry, distrustful of the temper of the Upper House or Legislative Council, in which there was a large majority opposed to protection, bethought them of a scheme to evade this strait in carrying their Tariff Bill. It may be necessary to repeat that the legislative functions of the two houses were by the Act of Constitution made equal and identical in all points except one. By the 56th section of the Act it was provided that all Bills for appropriating any part of the revenue and for imposing any tax or duty should *originate* in the Assembly, and might be *rejected*, but not *altered* by the Council. In so providing, the authors of the Act evidently had in their mind the analogous respective functions of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Of course, as all money bills must originate somewhere, it was reasonable to vest their initiation in that chamber which may be taken to represent more directly the popular will. But it is obvious that there are reasons for jealously confining the power of dealing with taxation and the appropriation of the public money in England to the House of Commons, which do not exist in Victoria in the case of the Legislative Assembly. The two Victorian Houses are not, and cannot be made to be, strictly analogous to the two Houses of the British Parliament. The Upper House in Victoria is not an estate or a separate privileged body, but an elected and representative assembly, different only in the kind of election from the other assembly. The privileges of the two houses, instead of being separate, are precisely the same. The Legislative Council corresponds rather to the second chambers in the American State constitutions than to the British House of Lords. Like those, it is expressly designed to provide a further and more solemn deliberation of

any matter decided upon by the more popular assembly. To fulfil this duty it is indispensable that the Upper House should be independent; and as in a new country it could not be independent by its own force, it became necessary to endow it with some distinct powers, and with a special character, defined by Act of Parliament. These powers are expressly provided in the Act 18 & 19 Victoria, chapter 55. The Legislative Council has in all matters of taxation and revenue equal rights with the Legislative Assembly, except that it may not originate, and that it may not amend a money bill. The analogy between the powers of the Victorian Council and the British House of Peers in respect to their relation to the Lower House only applies in points of practice on which the Constitution Act is silent. Indeed, in one section (34th) of the Act, it is expressly provided concerning the mode of procedure, and in respect to the passage of bills, &c., that until each house makes its own standing orders, and in default of any being made, the precedent of the British Parliament shall be followed.

This may be enough to explain to English readers the position of the two Houses at the commencement of the great struggle between the constitutional and the democratic principles of government in the colony of Victoria. That struggle, provoked on the question of Free Trade or Protection, has long passed the stage of a fiscal controversy, and now threatens the destruction of all the powers of law and order in the colony, if it does not involve still more serious consequences. Since the beginning of 1865 the policy of the Victorian Ministry, backed up by a majority of perhaps three-fifths of the manhood of Victoria, including the whole of the artisan class, the greater number of the gold-diggers, and all the smaller agriculturists, has been one continuous violation, not only of the written law of Victoria, but of all the forms and principles of what is called parliamentary government. The Tariff Bill, introduced and passed through the Assembly in January, 1865, was not sent up to the Legislative Council until six months after, that is, until the end of the session. In the meantime, the new taxes were levied at the Custom House, upon the strength of the resolutions of the Assembly. This was but a small breach of constitutional practice, however, compared to what followed. When finally it became necessary to send up the Tariff to the Council, it was tacked to the annual Appropriation Bill of the year, in violation of constitutional usage. The object of the tack was of course to tie the hands of the Council in dealing with the Tariff—to compel it, since it had not the power of *altering* but only of *rejecting* a Money Bill, if it threw out the Tariff, to throw out the Appropriation Bill also, and thus to involve the country in a financial collapse.

The Legislative Council, thus wantonly assailed in one of its most vital prerogatives, had the courage to accept the challenge. Had it consented to the "tack," it would have created a precedent by which the Assembly would have been enabled to carry any measure to which it was inclined, and thus virtually to abrogate the functions of the Upper House. Taking a preliminary technical objection to the tacking of a Bill of Supply to a Bill of Appropriation, the Council laid the joint measure aside as not coming before it in any legitimate way. It declined to discuss the principle of the Tariff Bill, but declared its readiness to pass the Appropriation Bill, if presented in the usual and lawful manner. The Assembly, on its side, supported the Ministry in their revolutionary course, and passed a series of passionate resolutions, claiming to have the sole and absolute *inherent* power of dealing with questions of taxation, denouncing the conduct of the Council, and declaring that the Tariff should never be sent up in any other way than tacked to the Appropriation Bill. For several months, while the quarrel raged, the colony remained without any lawful form of government. The duties continued to be levied at the Custom House, even after the rejection of the Tariff, by the sole authority of the resolutions of the Assembly. In fact, the Commissioner of Customs made and levied any taxes he pleased. The merchants who were taxed brought their actions against the Crown. The Supreme Court gave judgment in their favour, holding, as it was bound to do, that the resolutions of one House of Legislature had not the force of law. The Governor, a poor foolish gentleman, about as capable of administering constitutional government as of calculating eclipses, was entirely in the hands of his Ministers, and did everything he was bid, accepting the law to be as the Ministers interpreted it. By their advice he refused to sign the warrants in satisfaction of the Supreme Court judgments. The Attorney-General wrote to the merchants who claimed justice from the Crown which the judges had awarded them, threatening them with "punishment" for their resistance to his illegal authority. The most violent language was used in the Assembly by the Ministers against all who upheld the constitution and opposed their will. There having been no Appropriation Bill for 1865, the Treasury was closed, and the Queen formally declared to be a defaulter in the public *Gazette*, under the hand of her own Treasurer for Victoria.

In the meantime, the public servants and the creditors of the State were becoming clamorous. No money could be paid out of the public account without the authority of the Audit Commissioners, and they could give no authority without an Appropriation Act. The Victorian Audit Act (especially framed for the protection of the people by the people

themselves in a calmer and wiser moment), provides that no sum shall be paid out of the public account unless it shall have been first certified by the Commissioners of Audit to be "legally available according to the appropriation thereof." The piety of the founders of the Constitution, with a rare prescience of the character of the material out of which Ministries would come to be made, decreed the penalty for violating these provisions to be hard labour on the public roads. When the time came for testing this safeguard it was seen how utterly powerless were any such flimsy devices to confine the will of a popular Minister in Victoria. The ingenious little bits of machinery intended to check the too violent action of the democracy flew to pieces upon the first pressure. Demos made short work of the straps, cogs, wheels, stops, and balances by which he had suffered himself, in an indolent humour, to be bound and regulated. An unscrupulous Ministry, backed by the democratic majority, found no more difficulty in over-riding the Audit Act than in breaking any other part of the constitution. The mingled audacity and craft with which this was effected will remain a monument to the genius of the popular Attorney-General, Mr. Higinbotham, who has been throughout the animating spirit of the Victorian revolution. The Treasury being closed against any legal access, a felonious entry was made by the connivance of the Queen's Ministers. The public account of Victoria was lodged in six Melbourne banks. An attempt was made to tamper with the managers of these, so that they might be induced to assist the government with a loan. Five out of the six declined the transaction as illegal and dangerous. One bank, however, was found to be more easy or more enterprising than the others—the fact of Mr. McCulloch, the Chief Secretary, himself being its principal director, having probably something to do with its ready compliance with the will of the government. By the aid of a statute passed "for enforcing claims against the Crown," the First Law Officer of the State devised an ingenious scheme by which to evade the requirements of the Constitution and the Audit Acts. The friendly bank advanced money to the government in separate sums of 40,000*l.* each. For each sum so advanced the bank then enforced its claim against the Crown in the Supreme Court. The Attorney-General, on behalf of the Crown, "confessed judgment." The Governor, according to the provisions of the statute above-mentioned, then signed a warrant for payment out of the Treasury,—having previously declined to sign the warrants in satisfaction of the legitimate judgment obtained by the Melbourne merchants against the Crown. Thus whatever money was required by the Ministry for the purpose of carrying on their war against the constitution was provided, in defiance of all Parliamentary rules and legal re-



straints. Of course, if under any circumstances it was legal to do this, there was no need of any Appropriation Act, Audit Act, or Parliament whatever. For several months during the year 1865 there was an utter suspension of all constitutional rights in Victoria. The people were taxed, and the money obtained from this taxation was spent, not only without the sanction of law, but in defiance of all the provisions expressly made to guard against the possibility of such a danger. The only excuse which the Ministry condescended to offer was, the public necessity—that is to say, the Ministerial necessity—that necessity being, as we have shown, absolutely the deliberate creation of the Ministers themselves.

It would be tedious to recapitulate all the steps in the career of violence and lawlessness on which the Victorian Ministry embarked in pursuance of their determination to introduce a Protectionist Tariff—not only in spite of the Upper House, but without affording that House any opportunity of expressing an opinion on that policy. The Council, supported by the good opinion of all the educated and respectable classes in the colony, who on this occasion showed an unprecedented unanimity, maintained the struggle on behalf of the constitution. Protest after protest was made against the revolutionary proceedings of the government. The Governor, Sir Charles Darling, was a mere puppet in the hands of his Ministers. The Imperial Government was appealed to in strong terms by petitions from various public bodies—from the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, from a body of upwards of 20,000 Free Traders, and from various other associations. The most important and significant of these was one signed by twenty-two members of the Executive Council, comprehending the various gentlemen of all shades of political opinion who had ever held office under the Crown as Cabinet Ministers in Victoria, recounting in emphatic language the various acts of illegality committed by the government, and praying for the dismissal of the Governor. The Ministry in Melbourne continued in its revolutionary course through the whole of 1865. In December, Parliament was dissolved without any Appropriation Bill; and a new Assembly was elected in the beginning of the next year, in which the government had a still larger majority. As the Council could not be dissolved, and as the Assembly had ever been obedient, there was no reason for any new appeal to the country. The issue between the two Houses was purely upon the point of the interpretation of the constitution statute, and this issue of course could not be determined by any vote of the electors. The Legislative Council, which had never claimed the right of resisting the feeling of the country upon a point of policy, agreed to accept the Ministerial majority as an expression of opinion in favour of a Protective Tariff. They were willing to

allow the Tariff Bill to pass, provided it was sent up in a constitutional form, but they were not willing to surrender any portion of the rights conferred upon them by the Constitution Act. The Ministry by this time were beginning to be alarmed at the work of their own hands, and at the report of it which came back from England. Although they had vowed they would never recede an inch from the "tack," they began to see reasons for doing so. The Tariff Bill was sent up in the beginning of 1866 in a separate form; but inasmuch as its preamble and its substance included the old matters in dispute between the two Houses, and one of its clauses sought to justify the illegal exactions of the Ministry in the preceding session, it was again rejected. Ultimately the two Houses met in conference, and an agreement was effected—the Council agreeing to pass the bill upon the Assembly abandoning the obnoxious clauses. This pacific consummation, which was arrived at entirely in opposition to the principle of the policy maintained by the Ministry, was mainly influenced by the British opinion of the late unlawful proceedings, and by the decided though tardy action taken by the Imperial authorities in recalling their Governor.

For a brief period there was truce between the Ministry and their opponents. The signal of a renewal of hostilities was given when, in fulfilment of a bargain made between the Ministry and the late Governor, a grant of 20,000*l.* was voted by the Assembly to Sir Charles Darling (or rather to Lady Darling), as compensation for loss of office; and at the same time a resolution was adopted praying Her Majesty to consent to her late servant in Victoria being rewarded for his fidelity to the cause of the people. Those who had opposed Sir Charles Darling's illegal courses protested against his being endowed by his fellow-conspirators at the expense of the country, for breaking the laws which he had been sworn to uphold. They contended, as will appear to all impartial men most justly, that to permit a Colonial Ministry, with the connivance of one of the Houses of Legislature, to bribe the Governor for helping them to suppress the lawful rights of the other House and to violate the written constitution, was scarcely a precedent that should be allowed by the Queen, whose agent the Governor is, and by whom he is appointed to administer the laws of the colony. The Imperial authorities somewhat tardily came to this conclusion, and declined to permit Sir Charles Darling to accept the grant of 20,000*l.* Unfortunately, the next Colonial Minister reversed, or seemed to reverse, his predecessor's decision. Upon the ground that Sir Charles Darling had resigned the service of the Crown, his successor, Mr. Manners Sutton, was so instructed as to consent to the grant of 20,000*l.* to Lady Darling appearing on the estimates for 1867. A more mischievous piece of policy, considering all that had gone before, it is impossible to conceive.

By consenting to recommend the Darling grant, the new Governor was made to justify all that the Assembly and the Ministry had done in the year previous, and to reverse the verdict which had been passed upon their action by the Imperial authorities. The old strife was once more kindled between the Ministry, representing the democratic party, and the Legislative Council, representing the educated and respectable minority. Encouraged by the countenance which his policy seemed to receive from the new Governor, Mr. Higinbotham brought forward the grant of 20,000*l.* in the Assembly in a speech of extraordinary arrogance and violence. He declared that the government intended the vote as "a mark of censure" upon the Upper House—as a "punishment" upon their enemies—and as a distinct and final sentence of approval for all the measures which the Ministry had taken, in conjunction with the Crown, to bend the constitution to the will of the people. Sent up to the Upper House with this recommendation, of course the members of that body threw out the Darling grant, and with it necessarily the Appropriation Bill. They could not, without stultifying themselves, practically extinguishing their office, and resigning their rights for ever, agree to reward the very man whom they had charged with violating the laws and betraying the constitution. Then began the second act of the great Victorian crisis. The Ministry responded to this new repulse in their old arbitrary and insolent manner. Once more the process of government was maintained in defiance of the constitution. The old dodge of obtaining money without the sanction of Parliament was had recourse to, with a slight difference. On the present occasion the government have dispensed with the aid of their accommodating banker, and have made their assault upon the Treasury in a more direct form than in 1865. The public servants and the creditors of the State have been instructed, in a formal circular from the Attorney-General's office, how to obtain their dues, by bringing sham actions against the Crown, which the Attorney-General himself tells them he will allow to go by default. The same despotical spirit, the same blind rancour, the same utter obliviousness of the elementary principles of constitutional government, have been displayed on the present as on the former occasion by the democratic Ministry of Victoria. Their only idea is to maintain themselves, at any cost to the law and any sacrifice of principle. Their last resort is to summon a new Assembly, which is now (February, 1868,) about to meet; but as this new Assembly cannot be anything else than a revival of the old, there cannot be any hope from it of a peaceful and lawful solution of the difficulty, which is entirely and absolutely created by the Ministry. In the meantime the judges have once more come into conflict with the Executive, through a recent decision

of the Supreme Court declaring the Attorney-General's mode of obtaining money for the payment of the government officers by sham actions to be illegal and invalid. Once more foiled by the law, the democracy of Victoria has arrived at the climax of its long series of revolutionary crimes, the whole motive of which is the desire to introduce the principle of Protection into the colony.

The issue, if left to be determined by the colonists themselves, cannot be regarded without serious anxiety by the people of England. The Legislative Council, even though deserted by the Crown, is bound not to give way. The whole cause of constitutional and free parliamentary government is involved in its decision. If it concedes anything, it will concede the right to any future Ministry to bribe any future Governor who shall aid them in doing violence to the law—it will abandon for ever that function vested in it by the constitution, and which is the last safeguard which the colonists of Victoria possess against the absolute despotism of the majority—the function of arresting and checking the popular humour; not of thwarting the public will, but of giving it the opportunity of a second and calmer deliberation. The Assembly is bent not only upon having Protection, but upon having it in its own way, and upon being the sole and absolute executive as well as legislative power in Victoria. That it is the duty of the Imperial Government, so long as it aspires to that name and so long as Victoria continues to be a portion of the empire,—so long as the people of that colony are bound to pay a general deference to the spirit of free government as embodied in our English institutions—to interfere upon this occasion, no one can seriously dispute. Let the colony, if it chooses, separate from the empire altogether. But until it does so, it is our duty to insist that at least the constitution which it has made for itself shall be respected—that it shall rule itself according to the law which is its protection—that it shall not claim to have all the privileges of a separate State without incurring the obligations of independence. The colony should be free to make its own laws, but while it forms a part of the general constitutional system of the empire, it should be compelled to abide by the laws it has made. To require this is to require no more than that the British race in Australia shall not be suffered to descend into barbarism. It is a question not between democracy and any other form of government, but between civilization and savagedom. A people who make laws against the general good of the empire can scarcely be said to be in any sense a colony: a people who are unable to obey the laws of their own making are wanting in the first elements of a State.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.*

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE Dean of Westminster has prefixed a few graceful pages by way of preface to Miss Winkworth's translation of Baron Bunsen's celebrated work, "God in History."<sup>1</sup> "Bunsen's labours," says the Dean, "in the cause of truth, and freedom, and charity, whether we agree or not in his particular conclusions, bear an unfailling testimony to the value and the reality of that union of devout reverence with fearless inquiry which we so often hear decried as worthless or chimerical;" the keynote of the treatise is "the development of the revelation of God through all the various phases of human history." That Bunsen had a special reverence for the Bible was sufficiently evidenced by his untiring labours in its illustration; but he held throughout an unabated conviction that the course of Divine Providence and of the religious history of man was to be traced in other lines than those of the Jewish people. The vacillation of religious opinion in this country of late years has been remarkably exemplified in respect of Bunsen. "There was a time," says Dr. Stanley, "when this oracle of Christian learning, learned in all the wisdom of Germany, was heard, without offence, by prelates and by the religious world both at Lambeth and at Exeter Hall." Subsequently a clergyman was prosecuted for favourably reviewing his "Biblical Researches," and vindicating his reputation as a Christian though not a subscriber of the Thirty-nine Articles, was convicted by the Ecclesiastical Court, and only released by the superior judicial calmness of the Privy Council. No great impression, we apprehend, has been made since that time either upon High Church dignitaries or on the Evangelical *vulgus*; but the very publication of these volumes shows that there is among the general public a considerable number of persons sufficiently interested in the subjects discussed in them to be likely to read them. They will not, however, be found very smooth reading, although some of the more truly German portions have been pared down; yet they abound in matter interesting in its details even to persons who may doubt as to the truth of the author's theory, or may fail to grasp it, or may think that no consistent or adequate theory is here presented.

Among the causes which appear to us likely to detract from the reader's satisfaction in the perusal of a work so rich in learning and so

<sup>1</sup> "God in History, or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World." By C. O. J. Baron Bunsen, D.Ph., D.O.L., and D.D. Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth, author of "Niebuhr's Life," "Tauler's Life," &c. With a preface by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. In three volumes. Vols. I., II. London: Longmans. 1868.

abounding in comprehensive views, may be mentioned the following:—1. A confusion in the use or application of some terms of frequent recurrence, as “consciousness,” applied (i.) to consciousness of self; (ii.) to immediate perception (if it be immediate) of the external world or nature; (iii.) to conviction, which is matter of inference, of the divine authorship of the world; (iv.) to conviction, which is matter of inference still more remote, of a divine moral government of humanity; (v.) to a persuasion that the divine governor or author of the moral order is himself conscious; (vi.) and is in immediate relation to the individual human spirit. 2. The constant mingling of theory and semi-philosophical assumption with the facts which are alleged and professed to be the basis of an induction. 3. A confusion between progress of human conception of the Divine Being and progress of the development of the divine action in the universe. Hence retrogression is not acknowledged to be equally divine with progress. Now, the divine energy which gives form to all things, gives form also to human thought—human thought is, in fact, one of its manifestations; it is therefore equally the cause of retrogression as of progress in religious conceptions, of decline as of rise. 4. Doubt is thrown upon the historical facts which are alleged, at least in their relative or proportionate value, by the assumptions with which they are entangled concerning the special influence of chosen personalities, as Abraham, Moses, Elijah, and Jesus Christ; these, or some of them, are mythical, or semi-mythical personalities; or if they are not the creations of myth, legend more or less has gathered round the histories of all of them. 5. A misgiving as to the fair selection of the author’s facts arises from his omission to remark on the retrogression implied in the purely secular theism of the Hebrews, as compared with the faith in immortal life of the Egyptians; the omission of the red and black men from the world’s history; and the violence he is obliged to use in order not to exclude from it the three hundred and sixty millions of Chinese atheists. 6. Above all, there is an absence of all attempt to connect the movement of the religious conceptions which are traced with the progress in civilization of the human race.

It is very difficult for any one who is committed to an ecclesiastical and dogmatical system to enter impartially on a free inquiry, the result of which might possibly issue in conclusions inconsistent with it. Especially is this the case with Roman Catholic authors. The value of whatever they say is materially impaired by an inevitable suspicion that they may not be giving us the whole of their genuine thought; nor can a treatise be regarded as much more than a prize exercise, or as if it were really a contribution to the investigation of truth, when it is prefaced by such a declaration as is prefixed by Dr. Smith to his work on the Pentateuch:<sup>2</sup>—

“I have to state that I submit this work to the judgment of the Holy See. Knowing that to St. Peter and his successors Jesus Christ committed the feeding of his lambs and sheep, I look upon it as a happy privilege to be fed and taught by the Chief Shepherd of the one fold, and can never find the least

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<sup>2</sup> “The Book of Moses, or the Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization.” By the Rev. W. Smith, Ph.D. Vol. I. Longmans. 1868.

difficulty in retracting without reserve whatever the Holy See may pronounce deserving of censure."—p. xiii.

On the other hand, a person so writing in submission to the judgment of an assumed infallible authority may seriously damage the cause he undertakes to defend by the concessions which he may make in the course of his argument; they are safe to him because covered by the shield of his orthodox profession, while they may be logically fatal to his cause in the minds of those who will not balance or neutralize them in like manner. This is precisely what Dr. Smith appears to us to have accomplished. The preliminary basis of his argument is something like this—1. That the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is not provable from the Pentateuch itself, nor from the Old Testament, nor by means of an impartial critical inquiry; 2. That it can be established only on the authority of Christ's words, as recorded in the New Testament; 3. And in order to the sufficiency of this authority it must be assumed that he did speak the words attributed to him, and that what he said must be absolutely true, inasmuch as he was a Divine Person. Curiously enough, Dr. Smith acknowledges in his preface, "Were our argument in any one particular grounded on the assumed truth of scriptural revelation, or of actual prophecy, or of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the book might well have been spared both to author and reader. It would miss the real point of the controversy," p. vi. And he goes on in the next page to say that he alleges the authority of Christ and his Apostles, although in a somewhat different way from the authority of the Old Testament writers, still "more as a beacon-light for the Christian than as a demonstration for the sceptic." But he then most inconsistently places this very authority in the front of the "external evidence in favour of Mosaic authorship;" and meets Dr. Davidson's clear statement, that the proper and impartial method of conducting the inquiry "is to determine the authorship of the Old Testament books irrespectively of the New Testament in the first instance," with the following flimsy rhetoric; the italics are Dr. Smith's:—

"But it is surely highly uncritical to *determine the authorship irrespectively, and decide the question independently*, of that Book, which of all others, owing to the divine authority which there touches on the point, is the most entitled to be heard on the subject. True criticism never *determines and decides* till it has gone through a searching examination of everything that can throw light on the problem; least of all will it close its ears to the words of Him who admittedly is the most competent to pronounce a judgment. It has been reserved for 'the higher criticism' to shut out the sun in order that it may enjoy the luxury of groping and stumbling by the light of a hazy moon."—p. 26.

So, when he says "to repudiate the authority of Christ is bad criticism as well as rank blasphemy," he forgets that the office of criticism is to weigh evidence, not to accept authority; nor if it were conceded that Christ spoke the words relied on, and the import of the words were conceded, and the impossibility of his speaking in accommodation to popular views were conceded, could the critic regard it as more than evidence—not that Moses did write the Pentateuch, but that in the time of Christ the Jews generally thought so. To the critic it

cannot possibly belong to determine the value of Christ's authority—whether it were that of an ordinary or of an extraordinary man; nor, if he were superior to other men, in what his superiority consisted, or what were the limits of his intelligence; it is beyond the scope of Old Testament criticism to elect between various theories concerning the nature or natures of Jesus Christ; and upon the most orthodox hypothesis of the union of two whole and complete natures in his one person, the extent of his lack of knowledge in his "reasonable soul" has never yet been defined even by sufficient ecclesiastical authority.

Quitting, however, his fortress of New Testament authority, Dr. Smith commences the critical part of his inquiry properly so called with the generally acknowledged existence of the Book of Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah; and his course is to work backwards and show traces of its existence in previous periods up to the age of Joshua. He next argues that Deuteronomy implies the rest of the Pentateuch, and therefore that the whole Pentateuch is traced up to Moses. He then reverses the process, presupposing the Mosaic authorship, in order to show that it is consistent with the flow of the history. Afterwards he examines the internal or literary evidence, which leads him to the same conclusion as before, and he examines in detail the "negative evidence" on the other side, adduced by Dr. Davidson and others. The pivot of the whole of this discussion is the alleged finding of the Book of the Lord in the Temple by Hilkiah the priest, in the reign of Josiah, which book Dr. Smith fancies, without the least grounds, to have been the autograph of Moses himself. He does not of course allow this autograph to have consisted solely of our present Book of Deuteronomy; but it is necessary to his argument to point out that the particulars of the history (2 Kings xxii. xxiii.; 2 Chron. xxxiv.) imply especial reference to it. Only in two places in the Pentateuch is a list of such curses to be found as were read in the Book then said to have been discovered, namely, in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxvii. xxviii. "Leviticus it cannot be, for no mention is there made of the curses peculiarly affecting the king." We should suggest also that Lev. xxvi. is itself an evident interpolation, having no coherence with its context, and of the age of the Captivity, probably by Ezekiel. So that all considerations point to Deuteronomy, and that only, as the Book found in the House of the Lord. Some of the characteristics which distinguish Deuteronomy from the other books of the Pentateuch are fairly enough stated by Dr. Smith, such as the familiarity with Egypt and its customs shown by its author; its oratorical and hortatory style; with the different treatment which it bestows on the events in the Wilderness from that of the other books, sometimes more copious, sometimes more concise; but he sees in all this the proceeding of an "authorized commentator"—in fact, of the original legislator himself. On the other hand, there are contrasts between the provisions of Deuteronomy and the middle books of the Pentateuch which are passed over in silence, as of the eating of things sacrificed (comp. Num. xviii. 17-19; Deut. xv. 19, 20), and of the provision for the Levites (comp. Num. xxxv. 2-8; Deut. xii. 12, 18, 19; xiv. 27, 29). Nor among the discrepancies which have to be solved have we observed any attempt to reconcile the



difference between Exod. xx. 8-11, and Deut. v. 12-15, or reference to the words which follow in v. 22, "and he added no more." It is necessary, however, for Dr. Smith to show that there are traces of the existence both of Deuteronomy and of the rest of the Pentateuch in the ages previous to the reign of Josiah, which he undertakes to do by means of various loose references to "the Law," "the Commandments," "the Statutes," and which are in some instances connected with the name of Moses. But he has not supplied, as indeed he could not, any evidence that the passages from the Books of Kings and Chronicles on which he relies were, in their present shape, contemporary with the events and times to which they relate. For this purpose he quotes principally the Books of the Chronicles, a post-exilic compilation, while the Books of Kings themselves were not compiled till the very era of the Captivity, and have received various interpolations throughout. On the whole, this is a merely plausible and fairly written book, which does not go at all to the roots of the matter.

The "Tracts for the Day,"<sup>3</sup> collected into a volume, are intended as a supplement to the two series of "The Church and the World," tending to define more and more the position of the party which issues them. There are three general questions which arise on observation of the systematic movement of these high Anglicans. The first is, whether the doctrines and practices which they recommend are consistent with the laws of the Church to which they belong. This is in the first instance an essentially legal question, with which here we have nothing to do; only it may be observed that until the opinions of these persons have been proved to be inconsistent with the formularies by which they are bound, it is premature to charge them with *dishonesty*; while on the other hand, if the law of their particular Church should pronounce their opinions, or any of them, untenable within it, they could not escape the moral obligation of submitting to it by any appeal to some supposed higher, more catholic, or purely spiritual authority. The second general question arising upon the movements of this section in the Established Church is whether, supposing their doctrines to be tenable in the Established Church according to its written law, the people of England for the time being will be satisfied that such persons should be in the position of accredited and authorized teachers, and be endowed out of the national reserve. This is purely a question of public policy, with which likewise here we have nothing to do. The third general question is this—whether what these persons say is true, demonstrably or probably: and this question subdivides itself further according to the hypotheses, theological or philosophical, which may be assumed by particular critics. It is essential to keep these general questions clearly distinct, and not to mix up the personal question with the public policy question, or either of those with the purely controversial one. The controversial question, again, subdivides itself into two principal branches: first, into the argument with the Protestant or Evangelical party; and secondly, with Rationalism, or as the Anglo-Catholics term it, with Infidelity in its

<sup>3</sup> "Tracts for the Day: Essays on Theological Subjects." By various authors. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1868.

various shades. In the controversy with Protestantism these Anglo-Catholics certainly indulge themselves from time to time in unseemly expressions of contempt which can be of no real service to their own cause. At the same time, as unprejudiced judges, at least as to that part of the discussion, we cannot see that the Protestant—that is, the traditionary Protestant—has any ground of superiority over the Catholic. By traditionary Protestant we mean one who defines his Protestantism by certain doctrines which he has inherited from the days of the Reformation, not by the fundamental principle of the Reformation itself—to follow the light according as it is given us to see it. On the contrary, the Evangelical will find that his fancied ground of Scripture as the sole rule of faith cannot be established—it is neither proclaimed by the Scripture itself, nor demonstrable *ab extra* that the whole of the Divine Revelation must be consigned to a book. Moreover his appeal to his own limited rule of faith will betray him, for there are contained in Scripture the germs of many of the Catholic developments, and where it is silent it does not, necessarily disprove. The Evangelical cannot supplement his argument with the Catholic by appeal to Reason, for he has already agreed with his opponent that in matters of Revelation and Faith, Reason must be surrendered. Nor is it easy to see how with any degree of consistency one can appeal to Reason as negating, for instance, the possibility or conceivableness of transubstantiation, if he receives as facts the miracles of turning water into wine and of the multiplication of loaves and fishes. And what can either astound the imagination or perplex the reason of one who believes, as usual among Protestants, the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ? Ultimately, therefore, the Evangelical must, if not already conquered, be left behind while the decisive battle is fought out between the Catholic and the Rationalist. The turning-point of this contest lies in the question of the miraculous or supernatural. These terms are by no means of identical signification. For the Divine Cause or Source of all natural manifestations, however operating, may with perfect consistency be termed supernatural, although all those manifestations themselves be termed natural. Now, it is something gained for it to be understood by those who are capable at the present moment of taking some glance at the future, that here will be the tug of war; and if the Evangelicals could be awakened out of their intellectual lethargy, it would be well for them to understand how much more difficult and complicated their position is than that of the Catholic party *vis-à-vis* to modern science. For with the Catholic there is no *a priori* presumption against miracle—rather the contrary—nor any room for reason to question a particular miracle so long as it is vouched by sufficient authority—not evidence, but authority. But the Evangelical has to draw a line between miracle and miracle, which neither on grounds of Scripture, nor of antecedent reasoning, nor of evidence, is he capable of doing. The whole, however, of the discussion in the present “Essay on Miracles and Prayer,” supposed to be carried on not with the “Evangelical,” but with the “Rationalist,” is very confused. We have partial answers to particular difficulties, partial or possible

explanations of particular miracles, a mingling of some show of independent reasoning with Scriptural authority, and assumption of "Revelation"—a bringing in a little about Mr. Mozley and a little about Professor Tyndall; but nothing going straight to the point. For loose definitions or descriptions of miracle are like a Janus-head, *bifrons*, towards the naturalist and the supernaturalist: to the one miracles are only pleaded for as analogous to higher instances of processes which we all acknowledge to be continually taking place, though we cannot explain the manner of them; to the other the essence of a miracle is declared to be that it is a special intervention and outcome of Divine power then and there. Now, we apprehend the only way for all parties to this discussion either to come to mutual understanding, or to ascertain that such an understanding is impossible, is to cease precluding definitions of miracle in the abstract, but to set themselves to describe some particular crucial event, or set of events, the occurrence of which is questioned on the one side and maintained on the other, when the following cases or instances will be found to arise: 1. That the description given of the events is so vague that they are incapable of being brought to the test of examination. 2. That they may be classifiable under the head of wonderful or unusual phenomena, but not necessarily contradictory to the universal order or consistency. 3. That the description involves a contradiction of universal order or consistency. It is only under the third head that the Naturalists and Supernaturalists can join issue. Now if the event or events as described do not involve an inconsistency with the rest of the universe, or a contradiction of necessary axioms, then the Naturalist will have nothing to say against them, and need not trouble himself to argue against them, for they will be valueless to the believer; if, however, they involve such contradiction or inconsistency, whatever the believer may do with them they can be no evidence to the unbeliever.

The Dean of Canterbury professes in the "Meditations,"<sup>4</sup> which were originally preached as sermons in Canterbury Cathedral, to have aimed at presenting the "great familiar truths of our religious belief or life" in their reality, and stripped of "accidents and conventionalities." But we cannot say that he distinguishes at all clearly between the body of the truths which he would retain and the accident or conventionality which he would surrender. It requires a much firmer hand than Dr. Alford's to make a sharp cut between the religious truths which can be accepted by the educated modern and the traditional representations with which they are encumbered. For these traditional representations or conventionalities are so thoroughly and entirely Biblical, that it is very difficult for a person who, like Dr. Alford, maintains the inspiration and supernatural authority of the Bible, to shake himself free from them. He treats the Bible also as if it were homogeneous, and is incapable of distinguishing between the different stand-points of its various authors, or their different modes of thought and representation. He undertakes, for instance, to adjust

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<sup>4</sup> "Meditations on Advent, on Creation, and on Providence." By Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: Alexander Strahan. 1807.

the predictions in the New Testament of the visible coming of the Son of Man to Judgment at the last day with modern knowledge of the world where it is expected to be displayed. To the mind of the Palestinian Jew there would be nothing incongruous in the scene of the last day as depicted in Matth. xxiv., or in the Apocalypse: the Judge seated in the clouds might well be seen by all the quick and the dead, as Satan might well show the Christ from the summit of a mountain all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. The Dean, however, is amusingly puzzled how to deal with such descriptions:—

“As to the *place* where the Lord shall come, how difficult it is to form any idea in our minds which may at all accord with the facts and laws of nature to which we find ourselves subjected! He shall come and be seen by all—by all at the same moment; so that the very conditions of our senses will be changed, the very foundations of the earth be broken up, all present hindrances removed.”—p. 7.

That is to say, it is impossible the predicted event should take place as described. So as to the coming of the last day as a thief in the night, when men are “cating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,” &c., such cannot be a true description of the then occupations of all mankind over the whole globe. Thus he sometimes puts the most unnatural strain upon the Scriptural words, and sometimes evacuates them of all meaning. Another mode of escape from the necessity of abandoning, as a more candid expounder would have done, the Scripture declaration in the face of actual knowledge and experience, is to substitute a practical application in the place of an explanation or reconciliation. In numberless passages of the New Testament the second advent of Christ is spoken of as nigh at hand; the New Testament writers were mistaken in their expectation. Dr. Alford does not deny it, but he does not frankly admit it. “Yet a little while and he that shall come will come and will not tarry;” now the practical application with which Dr. Alford would turn aside inquiry into the real meaning of such a text is void of all Scriptural authority, for he is bound to acknowledge that exhortation to prepare for death, as moderns phrase it, is foreign to the authors of the New Testament. This first division of the “Meditations” exemplifies the feeblest and most partial exegesis; the second, on Creation, may be described as an essay on the best method to make atheists; it amounts to about this—no one who does not believe in a Creation *ex nihilo* can believe in a God. In like manner in the discussion upon Providence the Dean ties himself down to the narrowest theology while affecting to be independent of conventionalities. He proposes to lift up “the unbelieving or the doubting” “by seeming for a while to come down to their level and to speak as they do.” Whereupon he assumes as “pretty plain to all that our natural tendency, if left entirely to ourselves, is to evil” (p. 168), though he does not employ the current “Evangelical” expressions concerning “the Fall.” In like manner, though he does not call him the Devil, if we remember right we have mention of an Adversary, of “all creation inheriting man’s sin,” and “the ground being cursed for his sake,” and of the

restoration of material nature to perfect beauty, as well as the reconciliation of man being effected in the world to come by virtue of the "Great Sacrifice," and the "Death and Resurrection of the Lord." Indeed, whatever conventionalities of expression may have been avoided by Dr. Alford for the sake of throwing dust in the eyes of the "unbeliever," the old conventionalities of thought traditionally derived from Scriptural and Patristic sources have been retained and enforced. Further than this, he gratuitously closes questions which the Christian Church, as such, has hitherto left open—as of creation *ex nihilo*, and the creation of souls. Inadequate representation of the position of an adversary we expect—as when denial of miracle is confused with denial of the supernatural, and a denial of Dualism with Atheism; and Dr. Alford in this, as in his other works, talks a great deal about his subject, but seldom or never goes straight to the point of it.

However well intentioned Messrs. Blackley and Hawes may have been in undertaking to issue a "Critical English Testament,"<sup>5</sup> they have certainly accomplished only one portion of that which they professed to present to the public. They have given an adaptation of Bengel's "Gnomon," a sufficiently old-fashioned basis, but as to showing the precise results of modern criticism and exegesis we wonder how they can persuade themselves that they have even attempted it. Not that anything better could be expected from expositors who are still in the bondage of a prophetic interpretation of the Apocalypse, and who replace Bengel's interpretation of that book which they acknowledge to be exploded, with Mr. Elliott's, in which the French Revolution, the secularization of Church property, and the Pope form prominent traits. That they should have decided against those modern critics who see in the Apocalypse a figurative description of events passing before the eye of the writer, not improbably the Apostle John, coupled with anticipations of a kingdom of the saints then shortly to be brought in, wherein history has disappointed the expectations of the apostolic age—with this no one could have found fault, but to ignore even the existence of such an explanation of the Apocalypse is to lead simple readers blindfold: it may be a presentation of results according to Messrs. Blackley and Hawes, but gives no help to a critical knowledge of the New Testament.

As the fifth and sixth volumes of Messrs. Clark's issue of the "Ante-Nicene Fathers,"<sup>6</sup> we have the first volume of the writings of Irenæus and the first volume of the writings of Hippolytus. The publishers

<sup>5</sup> "The Critical English Testament; being an Adaptation of Bengel's Gnomon, with numerous Notes; showing the Precise Results of Modern Criticism and Exegesis." Edited by Rev. W. L. Blackley, M.A., and Rev. James Hawes, M.A. Vol. III. The Epistles (from Second Timothy) and the Apocalypse. London: Alexander Strahan & Co. 1867.

<sup>6</sup> "Ante-Nicene Christian Library." Edited by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. Vol. V. "The Writings of Irenæus." Translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and Rev. W. H. Rambaut, A.B., Vol. I. Vol. VI. "The Refutation of all Heresies." By Hippolytus. Translated by the Rev. J. H. McMahon, M.A. With Fragments from his Commentaries on various Books of Scripture. Translated by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1868.

express a regret at being obliged to present so many first volumes, but it would not be possible otherwise to distribute their issues equally over a moderate number of years. These particular volumes also contain several passages of peculiar interest, especially touching the Gospel question. The English reader will be able to judge for himself what material of any value is contributed in some celebrated passages to the settlement of it; he will undoubtedly perceive, on a perusal of Irenæus against Heresies, iii. 8, 9, how little weight belongs to the opinions of such a writer, irrespective of the reasons on which it is based; and when the Patristic writers are alleged, not for the sake of their authority, but for the evidence which they furnish, such evidence will have to be carefully analysed. Thus, on perusal of the whole of the passages containing an account of Basilides and Valentinus and their schools, both in Irenæus and Hippolytus it is evident there was no intention of citing words precisely from the works of individuals. "He" and "they," "Valentinus," "Basilides," "Isidorus," and "the heretics," are used interchangeably; and the inference is groundless which is sought to be drawn from the occurrence of a citation or two from the fourth Gospel, as by these "heretics," that it must have been extant in the time of Basilides himself (*circa* 125), or of Valentinus (*circa* 140).

We cannot too highly recommend the two works of Professor Scholten noted below,<sup>7</sup> now somewhat more accessible to our readers in the German translations than in the original Dutch. The former work on the fourth Gospel was published by the author in 1864. It consists of an elaborate examination of the claim to apostolicity and historical truth made for the fourth Gospel; it concludes against the Johannean authorship, and demonstrates the irreconcilableness of its narrative with those of the Synoptists, to which it gives the preference as to the history, while it assigns the superiority to the fourth Gospel as to the theological or speculative ideal presented of the person of Jesus Christ. In 1865 Tischendorf published his "Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst," which notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of its flimsiness, has been translated into English, and has enjoyed a certain reputation among "Evangelicals." The second work we have mentioned of Professor Scholten's, reviews in a complete manner the historical evidence which Tischendorf had only alleged in an incomplete and one-sided manner. It embraces, in less than 200 pages, all that the most recent investigations have brought to light on the subject.

The observations also are well worth reading concerning the authorship of the fourth Gospel to be met with in Dr. Keim's "Jesus of Nazareth," pp. 156—172.<sup>8</sup> He places the composition in the first

<sup>7</sup> "Das Evangelium nach Johannes: Kritisch-historische Untersuchung." Von J. H. Scholten. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von H. Lang, Pfarrer in Meilen. Berlin: 1867. Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. Historisch untersucht von J. H. Scholten, Hochlehrer zu Leyden. Mit Bewilligung des Verfassers aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Carl Manchot, Dr. Phil., Prediger zu Saint Remberti in Bremen. Bremen. 1867.

<sup>8</sup> "Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben

or second decade of the second century. While inclining, however, to a somewhat earlier date than other critics, he does not appear to attribute to it more than a historical form, with historical traces. The object of Dr. Keim's work is to present an historical person of Jesus, not fantastical like Renan's, not reduced to a mere skeleton like that of Strauss; and in order to render this possible to take a sober estimate of the material presented in the New Testament writings.

Mr. Cartwright's contribution to the history of "Papal Conclaves"<sup>9</sup> is very opportune at the present moment, when the case of Cardinal Andrea has drawn attention to the extent of the prerogative of the Pope, and of the privileges of the Cardinals. Andrea, it is true, has obeyed the Pope's citation to Rome, and made a submission. But the Brief of Suspension launched against him advanced a claim on the part of the Pope in case of disobedience to his summons, to deprive Andrea of his franchise in the Conclave.

"Every conceivable guarantee," says Mr. Cartwright, "against the arbitrary action of an authority which claims to be above limitation might well have seemed to surround this point of law,—that a Pope, though perfectly empowered to interdict, excommunicate, degrade, and even send to the scaffold a cardinal, was absolutely debarred from depriving him of his prerogative to vote at a Papal election."—p. 146.

The passages of history and documents to which the author refers in support of this assertion will be found exceedingly curious. Even more interesting in prospect of a vacancy of the Papal chair, which cannot be very distant, is the account he gives of the ceremonial which commences immediately on the demise of a Pope, and the method of electing his successor. It is provided that the Conclave shall not be held until nine days after the decease of the former Pope, and the election shall be decided not by a simple majority in the first instance, but only after a series of ballotings, which opens the door to all sorts of trickery and delay. It is a question indeed whether the nine days previous ceremonial might not be abolished, and the dilatory proceedings in Conclave reduced to a more summary form of election. It is indeed supposed in well informed circles that Pius IX. has prepared an instrument empowering the election of his successor immediately his own life shall be extinct. The importance of a speedy election was seen in the case of Pius IX. himself, although the nine days' ceremonial and other forms were duly observed. The Conclave, however, lasted an unusually short space of time, only fifty hours, and to that circumstance Mastai Ferretti owed his election. For the next day arrived from Vienna Cardinal Gaysruck with instructions to enter the veto of the Austrian Court against the election of Mastai; this privilege of veto against one name is admitted to belong to Austria, France, and Spain. The physical conditions under which the next Conclave will be held will be altogether different from those which ever before existed at such a juncture, and the

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seines Volkes frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt." Von Dr. Theodor Keim. In zwei Bänden. 1. Der Rüsttag. Zürich. 1867.  
<sup>9</sup> "On Papal Conclaves." By W. C. Cartwright. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

political and ecclesiastical complications will be as alarming as possible to the Papacy. Now there are not wanting either precedents or authority for the suspending the observance of the usual dilatory course in the election of the successor to the present Pope. On the 13th November, 1798, Pius VI. executed a Bull by virtue of which every previous Papal edict on the matter was derogated from, whether for the ensuing Conclave or any other which might occur under equally adverse circumstances, so as to ensure the quick and safe election of a successor. And although these dispensations were not acted upon by the Conclave which met after the death of Pius VI., "it has not been forgotten by the men who are charged with the custody of the machinery of the Papacy that there exists this authority for dispensing with old-established formalities for a Papal election when deemed inexpedient" (p. 101). And Mr. Cartwright advances, in conclusion of his extremely interesting sketch, a position which will startle many.

"The constitution of the Court of Rome is, therefore, so far from being what it is popularly supposed, a thing of strictly limited nature, overweighted with the encumbrance of absolute injunctions, that it will be found, when the heart of the system is reached, to be actually one of the most elastic in existence. There is, in fact, no limitation on the plenary power of the governing body, in spite of the stringent formalisms with which, at first sight, it seems to be tightly bound. If, then, it be the case that the circumstances now besetting the Papacy exact concessions from it for the removal of otherwise insuperable difficulties, it is certain that there is nothing in the nature of its tenure which must, on principle, put it out of the power of him who holds that dignity to make freely any such concession as may be demanded by reasons of sound policy."—p. 204.

Mr. Skeats's "History of the Free Churches of England" is temperately written from the Nonconformists' point of view.<sup>10</sup> The author appears to have adhered consistently to his maxim of not imputing to existing ecclesiastical parties either the opinions or the motives of those from whom they seem to be historically descended. It is generally supposed that Churchmen in the present day are not actuated by the spirit of a Laud, but it is much less commonly understood, that modern Dissenters are aiming at objects which their predecessors, such as Baxter and Calvin, not only did not foresee as attainable, but from which they would have revolted. This difference between the English Dissenters of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth centuries touches two principal points. With those the existence of an Established Church was not only not unlawful in itself, but, if sufficiently comprehensive, desirable, with these it is unscriptural and essentially un-Christian; with those, Protestantism was before all things, and no alliance could be made with Romanists, with these *delenda est Carthago*—namely, the Establishment—in conjunction with whatever allies. One of the most generally interesting parts of the book is to be found at pp. 140-150, where an account is given of the attempted "Comprehension" and "Revision of the Liturgy" in 1688, which failed of

<sup>10</sup> "A History of the Free Churches of England, from A.D. 1688 to A.D. 1851." By Herbert S. Skeats. London: Arthur Miall, Publisher. 1868.



being carried out by reason of the opposition of the Lower House of Convocation; the healing measures were safe in Parliament, were supported among the dignified clergy by Burnet, Tillotson, Tenison, Compton, and the Upper House of Convocation was well disposed to conciliation. But it was useless to lay the scheme of revision before the Lower House. "They spent their time in considering what books they should condemn, and in creating occasions of difference with the Upper House." It will be curious to compare the recommendations of the Ritual Commission, which is now sitting, with those of the Commission of 1688. It is true that the present Commission appears to be confined to dealing with the Rubric, or nearly so; and there is an important contrast between the circumstances out of which the two Commissions severally arose. For the Commission in 1688 was occasioned by a desire to conciliate the Nonconformists; that of 1867 originated in the demands made by certain High Churchmen; the former had for its object to satisfy anti-Romanists: the latter, if not to satisfy, at least not to offend, the anti-Reformation party in the Church of England. Yet on some points they will be found to go over the same ground; but unless this Commission should balance any concessions to the Ritualists by concessions to the Nonconformists and Liberals at least equal to those which Tillotson was prepared to grant, the effect will be, by strengthening the sacerdotal party in the Church of England, to precipitate its fall.

To return for a moment to Mr. Skeats. The following extract will show the narrowing effect of a sectarian position upon the mind of a person by no means ill-tempered or uncharitable:—

"The absorption into the National Church of two-thirds, and those the most learned and influential of the Dissenters of that period, would have been a public calamity. It is true that the Church to which they would have given their adhesion would have been a reformed Church. No suspicion of Romanism could henceforth have attached to it, and it would have afforded no foothold to men whose sympathies were with the doctrines of Rome, while their offices were with the Church of England. But the strength of English Protestant Dissent would have been broken, and its influence, both in its political and ecclesiastical relations, on the religion of the people and on the character of public legislation, have been fatally diminished in power."—p. 150.

It may well be doubted whether, although the strength of dissent would have been diminished, inasmuch as there would have been less to dissent from, the strength of Protestantism would not have been greatly increased. On the present relations, however, of Nonconformity to the Ritualistic party in the Church of England, and to the Romish Church itself, in prospect of coming controversy, there are some observations very well worth reading in a paper entitled "The Romish Tendencies of the Age," by the Rev. J. G. Rogers, in the "Congregational Year Book for 1868."<sup>11</sup> From the point of view of genuine Protestantism, it must be evident to some at least among the Nonconformists that they have been wasting their strength in purely

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<sup>11</sup> "The Congregational Year Book, 1868; containing the Proceedings of the Congregational Union for 1867." London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1868.

ecclesiastical squabbles, instead of fortifying themselves for a contest, theological and political, with the Roman Church, which their fathers deemed the great enemy of true religion and of civil liberty; and some misgiving of this kind appears to have crossed the mind of the Chairman of last year's "Union," if we may judge from parts of his address. Not that we apprehend controversialists bred in Congregationalist schools would be found at all able to compete with the representatives of that great historical Church. Moreover, the Congregationalists of this generation appear to have constituted themselves in a manner inconsistent with their fundamental principles by the very fact of their having formed themselves into a Union. In one point of view this is purely their own affair. Nevertheless they have so constituted themselves on a dogmatical—namely, a Calvinistic basis, which will hamper their controversialists seriously; for, inconsistently with their fundamental principle, which repudiates all subscription to creeds, they adopted in 1833 a "Declaration of Faith, Church Order, and Discipline," amounting, by whatever name it may be called, to an orthodox Calvinist creed. It embraces among the "Principles of Religion," "the divine inspiration of the Scriptures," "the revelation of God in the Scriptures as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," the "fall of the first man," the "birth of all mankind in sin," the promise of a Redeemer and the Incarnation of Christ, "both Son of God and Son of Man," that He "meritoriously obtained redemption for us," and by His suffering and death "vindicated the divine justice." The XIV. Article or "principle" runs thus:—

"They believe that all who will be saved, were the objects of God's eternal and everlasting love, and were given by an act of divine sovereignty to the Son of God; which in no way interferes with the system of means, nor with the grounds of human responsibility, being wholly unrevealed as to its objects, and not a rule of human duty."

The next article teaches the final perseverance of true believers, and subsequently we have the coming of Christ to "judge the whole human race" in the grossest form, the raising of "the bodies of the dead," the "receiving the righteous into life everlasting," and "sending away the wicked into everlasting punishment." Notwithstanding the toning down of some phrases, this declaration amounts simply to the narrowest Calvinism; it is consistent with that essentially exclusive creed that they who profess it can alone be right; but if to these Congregationalists we are to look as the champions of true religion, who are to purify the Established Church from without, or failing that to abolish it, and then settle the controversy with Rome itself, it is a miserable prospect for England; for Protestantism, for Christianity.

Dr. John Cunningham, of Crieff, the author of the only readable and fair Church history of Scotland that we know of, has given a very plain and pleasing account of the sect of the Quakers,<sup>12</sup> written more

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<sup>12</sup> "The Quakers, from their Origin till the present time; an International History." By John Cunningham, D.D., author of the "Church History of Scotland," &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1868.

for the outside world than for the Friends themselves, and in which he has endeavoured to do justice to their many good qualities, and to record the services they have rendered in the cause of liberty of conscience, in the abolition of the slave trade, and the procuring of prison reform. It has not been possible always, says Dr. Cunningham, to repress a smile at their oddities. "Not altogether orthodox when measured by creeds, they have yet exhibited Christianity in its finest aspect, as a religion of liberty, love, and good-will, and in regard to both faith and good works, can challenge comparison with any other Church in Christendom."—p. vii.

The Rev. J. P. Hopps's "Discourses on the Parables"<sup>13</sup> fulfil very well the practical object of furnishing material for religious reflections of a non-controversial kind, taken from the pages of the New Testament.

We are glad to see a new edition of "F. W. Robertson's Sermons."<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Charles Voysey's second series of "Healough Sermons"<sup>15</sup> are now collected in a volume, with a very temperate and well-written address prefixed.

Dr. Pirie's work on "Natural Theology"<sup>16</sup> was suggested by the conviction of the necessity of laying again the foundation of a demonstration of the being and attributes of God, who might be supposed to make a revelation to mankind. The sceptical or infidel objections to Christianity in the present age do not, it is true, says the author, assail the moral precepts of the Gospel or the moral character of its Founder, but are directed against the miraculous element in Christianity, or, as Dr. Pirie in common with so many others asserts, against the supernatural. He thus feels that however particular objections to the Gospel history may be convicted of insufficiency, a misgiving may be left behind that some other objections may prove more valid, so that it is necessary to find an adequate basis on which the fabric of Christianity may rest. In the proofs themselves of the existence and attributes of the Supreme Being, we do not notice any new arguments, but remark the very temperate manner in which Dr. Pirie has alleged them and the carefully weighed expressions in which he formulates his results. This observation is, however, more applicable to his conclusions respecting the arrangements in the universe being "the product of intelligence or of some equivalent attribute," than it is to his proof of what are called the moral attributes of the Divine Being. Further, Dr. Pirie considers man as

<sup>13</sup> "The Parables of Jesus; being Twenty Sunday Morning Meditations thereupon." By John Page Hopps. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1868.

<sup>14</sup> "Sermons preached at Brighton." By the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, the Incumbent of Trinity Chapel. First series. New edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1868.

<sup>15</sup> "The Sling and the Stone." By Charles Voysey, B.A., St. Edmond Hall, Oxford, Incumbent of Healough. Vol. II. Parts I. to XII. for the Year 1867. London: Trübner & Co. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "Natural Theology; an Inquiry into the Fundamental Principles of Religious, Moral, and Political Science." By the Rev. W. R. Pirie, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History in the University of Aberdeen, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology. London: William Blackwood. 1867.

placed here under a government and in a state of education and discipline, nor does he suppose any arbitrary penalties to be attached by the Supreme Being to the infringement of the moral laws, but that such infringement carries its own penalty with it. Moreover, although the view of this world as a condition of preparation and discipline for a world to come implies that men's condition there will be shaped by their attainments or neglects here, he leaves an opening for the supposition that arrangements may be made when the things of time have passed away for redressing evil and compensating irregularities.—p. 137. But this is a mere hint, and it is not obvious how far, supposing Revelation to be silent or obscure on the subject of moral recovery hereafter, Dr. Pirie would admit the propriety of inferences to that effect from considerations of Natural Religion: for admitting Revelation to be of higher authority where it speaks definitely, nevertheless it is connected with a particular dispensation and a narrower sphere than Natural Religion is.

Allowance being made for a few Swedenborgian peculiarities, and a prologue in indifferent verse, which the reader can easily omit, Mr. Field's little work entitled "Heroism,"<sup>17</sup> may be recommended as extremely well worth perusal. The difficulty concerning the reconciliation of human free-will with the Divine Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Omnipresence, he solves boldly by declaring free-will to be a seeming only. To this suggestion there arise two principal objections. One is, that if all is in fact of God, He is the author of the evil as well as of the good, a position which Mr. Field accordingly admits and defends, maintaining that there is no more difficulty in the creating evil men to fill their place in the universe, than there is in making savage beasts to prey upon others. And as the thought of the cat or the tiger when it watches and springs upon its prey, being treacherous and savage, is God's thought, so also are the thoughts and emotions of the evil man. The analogy or parallel here insisted on would be more forcible if the good and evil races co-existing under the forms of men were as distinct in their natures as the lion and the lamb, the pigeon and the hawk: for the evil beast is not evil to his own consciousness, and so neither is the devil or other evil creatures, supposing the existence of devils and devil-like natures. But Mr. Field has not sufficiently touched upon the commingling within us of the two seeds, as if, to use a figurative illustration, we had descended from a union of the "Sons of God" with the "daughters of men." Another objection to Mr. Field's hypothesis that the free-will in man is only in seeming, is that it would impute a deceit to the Creator. He meets this objection in such a way as the following:—"The clear, distinct, undeniable impression that we have free-will is no greater than our clear impression as to a thousand natural phenomena about which we are mistaken."—p. 82. This may serve as a *reductio ad silentium*, whatever the creed of those with whom he is arguing. Then on the hypothesis of *Panentheism*,

<sup>17</sup> "Heroism; or God our Father, Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent." By Horace Field, B.A., Lond. London: Longmans. 1867.

"Assume, then, that God does thus give us his nature—that he gives us our momentary thoughts, words, and deeds, making them feel in us as our own—and that he makes the world without assume the form which it must assume to be accordant with the inner state we thus receive through his utter abandonment of himself to us in love—is this deceit?"—p. 85.

"That the world is governed by physical laws,"<sup>18</sup> says Mr. Wyld, "no one can dispute," but whether it have a material nature, "whether there be such a thing as matter," is open for discussion. Idealism and materialism have each, according to the author, beaten the other, and left philosophers without a system, and the world without explanation. Can any account, then, be given of the phenomena which it presents which will satisfactorily embrace them? Mr. Wyld supposes atoms to be not "material," but centres of force, whence we necessarily derive our conviction of an external world, and infer, although erroneously, to a certain extent at least, the existence of matter, with its supposed attributes. And he thus states the advantages of his theory, which must be expressed in his own words:—

"Materialism starts on the assumption that there is matter, that it is self-dependent, and that it is endowed with certain inherent and inalienable powers; and that by virtue of these it evolves not only inorganic changes, but also vegetable and animal life and growth, and, as a consequence, sensation and thought. . . . Idealism recognises only mind or thought as existing. It deceives us, however, by denying the reality of our perceptions of the world, and thus it makes our belief of externality, and consequently, our whole life, a deception and a mockery. . . . A dynamical theory affords a stepping-stone from idealism back to realism; perhaps it may also help the Pantheist to a sounder faith, in so far as it affords a rational explanation of the connexion of the human mind with the external world, and represents the forces of Nature as formed for connecting sentient beings at once with externality and with Deity."—pp. 82, 83.

It might have been expected, says Mr. Wyld, that he should have availed himself, in support of his theory, of the new doctrine of force. He thinks, however, that the material as yet collected concerning the conservation and commutation of force is too little digested for him to avail himself of it directly. Nevertheless he adopts these two principal conclusions as derivable both from his own inquiries and those of the physicists; namely, that force or power is one, and its amount in the universe capable neither of increase nor of diminution; and, that its operations in physics must be according to physical law.

Among the four essays on physiological subjects<sup>19</sup> now published together by Dr. G. W. Child, there are two which we may here indicate as of very considerable interest; the one is entitled "Recent Researches on the Production of the Lowest Forms of Animal and Vegetable Life;" the other, "Experimental Researches on the Production of Organisms in Closed Vessels." Some of us may recollect the storm of denunciation which was showered many years ago upon the head of the amiable Mr. Crosse, for infringing, or claiming to infringe,

<sup>18</sup> "The World as Dynamical and Immaterial; and the Nature of Perception." By R. S. Wyld, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1868.

<sup>19</sup> "Essays on Physiological Subjects." By Gilbert W. Child, M.D., of Exeter College, Oxford, Member of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. Oxford. 1868.

as was said, upon the province of the Creator, by producing some species of *acarus*, as he believed, in hermetically-closed vessels. The subject, indeed, of what has been commonly called the spontaneous generation of living organisms has been one of the vexed questions of biological science from very early times, and it is not to be expected that scientific investigation would in these days feel itself debarred from that particular field by any fear of the thunders of orthodoxy, should its conclusions be at variance with any received dogmas. But we wish to point out—and this observation may be an excuse for noticing Dr. Child's essays in this place,—that any of the conclusions to which observation shall lead the physiological inquirer will be perfectly consistent with a theistic hypothesis or belief. We do not say that it will be consistent with the first chapter of Genesis literally taken, or with systems founded upon its letter; but however the origination of living organisms may be found to vary in some cases, if it should so turn out, from the rule of like from like, there would no question arise thereupon as to the prime cause of life itself, only as to its *modus operandi*. The experiments of which Dr. Child gives a detailed account are, he says, as yet unsatisfactory, although he inclines to think them favourable to heterogeny. Antecedently to sufficient verification analogy would have been supposed to forbid reproduction by any means but sexual union, as by fission or budding. And it may be that some organisms may be found to be produced out of inorganic substances. The extreme difficulty, however, of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion either way is well and fairly put by Dr. Child in his notes on Essays III. and IV. In conclusion he observes with great pertinence :—

“Our final belief or disbelief in spontaneous generation must no doubt depend, like other scientific questions, upon experimental evidence, and not upon theoretical considerations; yet it is remarkable that the present extreme unwillingness on the part of physiologists to admit its probability should coincide in point of time with the production of Mr. Darwin's views of the origin of species, and of Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy.”

For the sake of disarming some prejudice, it might be as well to drop the old phrase of “spontaneous generation,” which to the less instructed may imply that the living organisms so spoken of had no efficient cause; that they are phenomena disconnected from the chain of being, consequently without antecedents.

Mr. Mackay, by his translation of the *Sophistes*,<sup>20</sup> to which he has prefixed a severe but eloquent introduction, holds up a mirror in which are reflected the vices of our own age and nation in regard to education :—

“One especial characteristic,” he says, “of all honest and effectual teaching is, that knowledge should lead, and ignorance follow; whereas the dishonest

<sup>20</sup> “The *Sophistes* of Plato: a Dialogue on True and False Teaching.” Translated, with explanatory Notes, and an Introduction on Ancient and Modern Sophistry. By R. W. Mackay, M.A., author of “The Progress of the Intellect,” “The Tubingen School, and its Antecedents,” &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

teaching usually indicated by the term 'sophistry,' especially reveals itself in allowing ignorance to take the lead. The sophist achieves his end not by showing men how to become wiser or better, but by conforming to their opinions, ministering to their desires, and making them better satisfied with themselves, their deficiencies, and natural propensities, than they were before."—p. 42.

And he shows, in a trenchant manner, the defect of aim, and the utter failure in results, of those who ought now to be the leaders and educators of the people—statesmen, ministers of religion, teachers of all kinds of knowledge, arts, and professions. The period of the Sophists at Athens was a time of transition to something better, during which minds were disciplined, the ambiguities of language disentangled, thought cleared, and the moral perceptions educated; the present sophistical period among ourselves may be apprehended to be a preparation for something worse, when practical life will have degenerated into an unblushing self-seeking, and the inner soul-life be overgrown with mere superstition. This indignant protest of Mr. Mackay's well deserves to be read.

In the series of Plato's works commenced by Mr. Poste's edition of the *Philebus* in 1860, the *Apology*, *Crito*, *Phædo*, and *Symposium* had been undertaken by Mr. Riddell.<sup>21</sup> At the time of his death he had only completed the *Apology*, which has been seen through the press by Mr. Edwin Palmer, of Baliol College. There is added a copious Digest of Platonic Idioms and an Introduction.

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## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

**I**F the main distinction between a civilized and savage community be the greater power of intellectual forecast and corresponding willingness to sacrifice some of the immediate goods of the moment in the interest of a future advantage, we have no very overwhelming reason to be proud of our civilization in the matter of education. We are all more or less preparing ourselves to insist on some form of compulsion, when we discuss the difficulties which surround the question of education in its primary form. How ardently must the advocates of equally needed reforms in our secondary and academical systems long for a fulcrum as powerful as that found in the ignorance and fear of the middle and upper classes, by those who devote themselves exclusively to a consideration of the general question in its most elementary shape. Are we to accept our educational reforms as we do our political ones, from the pressure of those least qualified to express an opinion on the shape they ought ultimately to assume? *Abait*

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<sup>21</sup> "The *Apology* of Plato; with a Revised Text and English Notes, and a Digest of Platonic Idioms." By the Rev. James Riddell, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Baliol College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1867.

*omen*! for this would, indeed, be the judgment of God on a careless generation. It cannot be said that there is any want of interest in the subject among the best of those who are devoting themselves to the practical duty of tuition. On the contrary, whenever there is a lull in the noise of mere party conflict, the voice on public questions which then becomes most audible is that pleading for some kind or other of reform in our educational system.

The past recess has been singularly rich in efforts of the kind, and we find that books in some degree related to the subject far outnumber those on any other topic. Among these, the most important in its subject, and the most thoroughly enlightened in its treatment, is the "Suggestions on Academical Organization," by the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford<sup>1</sup>. It displays the singular and rare excellence of a perfect and intimate acquaintance with the existing system, together with the clearest ideas of that which should supersede it. Without heat, acrimony, or prejudice, all the imperfections and faults of the former are laid bare with a candour which derives its courage from the author's intimate conviction of the pressing nature of the reform he advocates. It is somewhat painful to observe in various places the sense of discouragement which he betrays when he reflects on the obstacles with which he has to contend. Substantially, the reform he advocates may be summarized in a very few words: Let us in future have a real university. Let that name be restored to its ancient signification of an organized representation of all human knowledge, and not usurped by a miscellaneous assemblage of upper schools. The first step in this direction must be an entirely new distribution of the endowment fund. The effect of the enormous expenditure on exhibitions is thus described:—

"The scholar's gown is too often to be found on youths who have no vocation for science or literature, and whom it was no kindness to have drawn away from their proper destination in active life. They have come here as a commercial speculation. High wages are given for learning Latin and Greek, and they are sent to enlist to earn the pay. In other words, we fear that scholarships have been multiplied beyond the limits within which they act as an incentive to industry, and that they are become a bounty upon a privileged species of education. Such bounties, like the old bounties on agricultural produce, have had the effect of bringing under tillage land of a quality so inferior that it could not in the natural market have competed with more genial soils. When we consider out of our 1700 students how many are here chiefly because they are paid to come here, the reflection will arise,—Can an education which requires so heavy a pecuniary premium to get itself accepted be really the excellent thing we profess it to be?"—p. 63.

Of the result of this system, carried out by the further inducements of examinations and prizes, he then speaks with the unquestionable authority of one who has lived his whole life in the scene of its operations:—

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<sup>1</sup> "Suggestions on Academical Organization, with Especial Reference to Oxford." By Mark Pattison, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.



"Out of the Barrack Grammar School are turned—in the proportion, it would seem, of 70 per cent. of the whole—youths who have neither acquired the languages they have spent six or eight years in learning, nor any other knowledge; but who *have* acquired the mental habits which render them for ever incapable of learning anything, their senses of observation dulled, their curiosity extinguished, and a secret antipathy generated for all mental exertion."

Colleges were once homes for the life study of the highest and most abstruse parts of knowledge. This is the effect of their having become boarding schools in which the elements of the learned languages are taught to youths. While he acknowledges a general failure of this description, it is somewhat surprising to find the author indulging in what is almost a covert sneer, expressed in the doubt whether, under a system by which university education would be merely rendered less costly, the middle classes would give three years of life and a sum of 200*l.* for the M.A. degree, when that degree is shorn of its present social distinction. The middle classes do not fear either the time or expense; what they fear is the negative intellectual result, and the positive evils of the social combinations alluded to in the following extract:—

"If what the public is calling for under the name of university extension means certain social advantages at the university and afterwards for their sons, let them understand that these advantages cannot be had cheap, and, if had, ought to be paid for by those who get them. Exhibitions are a means of extending to a small number—a favoured few—this privilege. But aristocratic society must always remain a privilege, and always be costly. Social combinations apart, the necessaries of life cost no more in Oxford than in other towns of the South of England."

That the M.A. degree should more certainly be a mark of social than of intellectual distinction lies at the root of that distrust of a university education with which the middle classes are reproached. But after all, it must be allowed that a college tutor, or even Head, has very poor means of knowing any but the restricted society which is brought under his notice. What the Rector of Lincoln does know, and knows well, are the proper means to a radical change in the administration and government of the university, which would make it as attractive to all classes of English society as its social peculiarities have rendered it alien to the thoughts and aspirations of the most vital and energetic of those classes. The principle involved in his proposed reforms is, that the claims of knowledge should take precedence of those of education.

"At the present time," he says, "preparatory or liberal studies occupy the whole period of the younger student's residence in the university, shortened, however, to three years; and the graduates in arts—*i. e.*, in the preparatory studies—are in possession of all but a fraction of the endowments. In the present scheme it has been proposed to deprive arts or liberal studies of a large part of these endowments, in order to provide for the protracted studies which are requisite for the sciences. The sciences, arranged into faculties—*theological, legal, medical, mathematical, and physical*—are to be incorporated into colleges, for the purpose of maintaining men into mature age to study, profess, and represent these sciences. When this provision has been made by the appropriation of the whole revenues of certain colleges, it remains that a

similar position<sup>1</sup> be created, and provision made for all those branches of knowledge recognised among us, and generally considered as belonging to the faculty of arts."

To the academical hierarchy, consisting of tutors, lecturers, professors, and senior fellows, or Heads, should be then left the full government of the university; while appointments to their own posts should be placed in the hands of a committee of curators, on the constitution of which Mr. Pattison bestows great pains and care.

"Not to enlarge the sciences or to heap up libraries is his object, but to maintain through generations an order of minds in each of the great departments of human inquiry cultivated to the utmost point which their powers admit of. Upon the prevalence and realization of this idea depends the life of a university."

It is impossible within the restricted space at our command to give any adequate idea of the value of this really remarkable volume. Its excellences are equally great, whether the object sought for be a full and accurate knowledge of the existing administration of the university, or a fair insight into those principles on which it can be most advantageously reformed.

A more popular, and what, to many people, will, we have no doubt, appear a more practical view of the reorganization of the University of Oxford, will be found in the short pamphlet on the subject by Mr. Goldwin Smith.<sup>2</sup> He starts from the assumption, which will, perhaps, be too readily granted him, that the direct function of the university at the present day is education. He greatly fears that a system such as that advocated by the Rector of Lincoln would soon become one of sinecures, and thinks that it is condemned by experience. Although Mr. "Pattison's purge" is not mentioned by him, it is frequently alluded to, and the special weakness of that and every other conceivable system strongly dwelt upon. It is very true that the mode of appointment of the representatives of learning and science is fundamental to the whole question. But, at any rate, he is as earnest as Mr. Pattison that academical appointments should be in the hands of academical persons. The recent experience of the election to the chair of political economy at Oxford leaves few to be converted to this opinion, unless it be the electors themselves. The subject-matter of liberal education has not been revised for three centuries, and Mr. Smith thinks that a complete solution of all its problems must be arrived at gradually by men guiding the councils of the university in a statesmanlike spirit, with full knowledge of the educational circumstances of the time, and an entire devotion to academical interests. On the ascendancy of such men for the next twenty years the fate of academical education will, in his opinion, depend. He thinks that the colleges cannot be absorbed in the university, and that the only rational aim is to extend them in number and accommodation. To propagate expectations of the revival of a university in which they shall again be mere private foundations, he apprehends to be futile.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Reorganization of the University of Oxford." By Goldwin Smith. Oxford and London: J. Parker and Co. 1868.

That fellowships which at present swallow up 90,000*l.* per annum, and are mere prizes of two or three hundred a year during life or celibacy for success in youthful competitions, are neither a provident nor justifiable use of public money, is his opinion as well as Mr. Pattison's; nay, more, he contends, with great justice, that they are positively hurtful; they not only over-stimulate youthful effort, but they secure to the studies to which they are attached a preponderance quite disproportioned to their intrinsic value. It may also be argued that they form the greatest of all obstacles to a rational reform of our secondary education, and it may be fairly questioned whether annuities of that magnitude be not rather clogs than wings to those they are supposed to assist in their professional career. At present there are no duties attached to the fellowships; the obvious course, in Mr. Smith's opinion, is to divide them into two classes—"Teacher fellowships and Prize fellowships; the former class with the present, or increased incomes, bound to strict residence, and to the performance of educational duties; the latter class with reduced incomes, but without any obligation to reside, or other compulsory duty." In another place he thinks that it would be sufficient if the second class of fellowships were held only for a limited period of seven years.

Though an equally ardent advocate for the extension of the professorial system, he is much less willing to re-establish the faculties which seem to us to be one of the best means of insuring competent professors. Their appointment he would willingly leave to the whole body of academical teachers, or to what is at present called Congregation, without its lay elements, with whom he is willing to associate the head masters of great schools whose special qualifications should entitle them to a vote on the administration of a special institution.

We are by no means sure that Mr. Pattison's proposal to devolve this delicate office upon a limited number of university officials, by insuring a greater sense of responsibility in the discharge of their duties, is not the preferable plan. The management of estates, discipline, studies, and the university press, it is proposed by Mr. Smith to entrust to delegacies appointed by the whole academical body. Special suggestions on all these points will be found in this practical essay, which is animated by the desire to suggest nothing which is not immediately attainable. We shall see, no doubt, many of these carried out before the nation makes up its mind to Mr. Pattison's heroic remedy; at any rate, they do not stand in the way of its ultimate adoption. After considering every method by which the advantages of university extension may be attained, he admits, somewhat unwillingly, that it would be desirable to extend the privileges of the university to lodger students unconnected with any college. On this point he speaks plainly on a subject which was amusingly tabooed at a public discussion in Oxford some time since on the ground of the presence of ladies, who, at any rate, showed by that very presence that they were not unwilling to listen. "Those," he says, "who dwell so much on these questions of academical morality are apt to confine their view to one particular vice; but selfish luxury, abject indolence, gambling, gluttony, and drunkenness, from which

dwellers in colleges enjoy no exemption, may surely defile the character as deeply as that to which, in the peculiar code of ecclesiastical ethics, the name of impurity is technically applied." With respect to the abolition of tests, he thinks that if the colleges were left at liberty to open themselves, the result would, in all probability, be that they would adapt themselves to the educational demands of the time, and that amongst them would be found accommodation for every shade of ecclesiastical sentiment. There is one point, however, in which Mr. Smith departs from his endeavour to be immediately practical. He would, in the interests of academical freedom, deprive the universities of their representatives in the House of Commons. The elections, he says, have drawn men devoted to education from their proper duties and the proper object of their ambition, to the occupation of electioneering and place hunting, and familiarized them with practices in which, once embarked, they sometimes leave ordinary electioneering agents behind. There can be no doubt that a standing party organization for political purposes is not only injurious, but degrading to any university. But however desirable any isolated reforms, "the true solution of the problem of university extension," to use Mr. Pattison's words, "is to be found at last, not in expedients for recruiting more students, but in raising the character and reputation of the body of teachers. Let Oxford become, as nothing but artificial legislation prevents it from becoming, the first school of science and learning in the world, and at the same time let it be accessible at the cost only of board and lodging, and it will attract pupils enough."

From the universities to the public schools we are naturally led by the "Essays on a Liberal Education," edited by the Rev. F. W. Farrar.<sup>3</sup> All the nine writers who have contributed to the production of this valuable collection are, with the exception of Lord Houghton, who appears among them like a fly in amber, more or less directly connected with the educational profession. Their remarks are full of practical suggestiveness. They however exemplify rather than define in what a liberal education consists. The old notion that it implied certain objects of study rather than the methods employed in the studies themselves, is one from which they implicitly dissent. Any subject may be liberally taught when it is imparted with a due respect to the place it occupies in the general cultivation of the mind. One of the clearest and most vigorous intellects of the time has given the following definition of what he considers to be a liberal education, but it is obvious that even here the old theory on the subject is only writ large:—

"That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam-engine, to be turned to any kind of work,

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<sup>3</sup> "Essays on a Liberal Education." Edited by Rev. F. W. Farrar, M.A., F.R.S., Assistant Master at Harrow, &c. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.

and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature, and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself. Such a one, and no other, I conceive has had a liberal education."

If this, and this only, be entitled to the praise of a liberal education, we are afraid that no one ever did or will possess one in the full sense of so wide a definition. This is rather an ideal than a definition, an ideal that all are the better for having placed before their eyes, without the attainment of which, however, an education may be truly liberal. There is, in our opinion, no department of knowledge that may not be taught in a liberal manner. All education is liberal that is founded in the general interests of mankind, and only ceases to be so when directed to some technical, or merely bread-winning proficiency, however scientific be the means employed for that sole aim and purpose. The gentlemen who have recorded the results of their experience in this volume are all more or less enemies of rotework and routine. To those inexperienced in tuition it seems that the close personal relations and intimate acquaintance with the powers and characters of their numerous pupils would be quite beyond the capacity of an ordinary teacher at a large public school, but we have met with instances which greatly shake our faith in the validity of this very natural assumption. There is no doubt that the work of education is much better done than in the schools of our youthful days, and this volume is one of the best signs of that improvement. We have not space even to indicate the various topics which are here handled, or to draw any comparison between their relative importance and successful treatment. All who wish to make themselves acquainted with what is moving in the mind of a profession daily gaining respect and esteem from a community largely dependent on them for inestimable advantages, should read and study the evidence it contains of a movement that can have none but the best results.

If the notion of the modern master is to be found in the writings we have just alluded to, the idea of the old-fashioned Dominie, but one of the very best sort, is to be found in the reflections and recollections of a member of the profession, published by W. P. Nimmo.<sup>4</sup> The author, though but little inclined to resign himself to the estimate in which his profession was once held, has by no means the victorious and confident feelings of those we have just left. His book, however, is very delightful, full of humour and tenderness. Thoroughly penetrated by the conviction that sympathy between master and scholar is the only road on which happiness and success can be found by either, his love for, and defence of boys, are as admirable as his hatred and contempt for "young gentlemen" is just and amusing. The book is charmingly written, full of quaint experiences and touching stories; there is hardly any page in which the reader will fail to find either good sense, good feeling, or genuine humour.

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<sup>4</sup> "A Book about Dominies." Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1867.

Mr. Thompson's "Essays on Education"<sup>5</sup> is a book somewhat similar to the last in general conception, but, in our opinion, very inferior in execution. There is a tone of laborious lightness, and a constant intellectual attitudinizing about it, which becomes wearisome after a while. It consists mainly of a series of reflections on the author's past life and experience, but we fail to sympathize with his evident notion that they are of an exceptional character. He gives some curious particulars of the Blue Coat School at Hertford and in Newgate Street, and is somewhat sentimental on the loneliness of a youth coming up to Cambridge from that school. He hovers between ridicule of the boyish superstitions of the first, and the old world distinctions of the second of these places, and yet constantly pays his tribute to the advantages he has derived from each. There is nothing peculiarly humorous in nicknaming the schools, college, and university in which he was brought up. Even in Thackeray's hands the names of Oxbridge and Camford were felt to be trifling, and certainly their representatives in Mr. Thompson's hands are mere annoyances.

But we will leave the literature of the subject, and finish our notice of educational books as we began, with one that is as earnest for a reform and extension of our primary, as the Rector of Lincoln is for that of our academical learning, Mr. W. Ellis, whose name is associated with the cause by long and indefatigable labours, has just added to his numerous and valuable essays on the subject a fresh one, with the pertinent title, "What Stops the Way?"<sup>6</sup> He finds the obstacles to be, first, as all find who have thought upon the subject, the routine style of instruction, the mere storing of the memory with words not duly understood, and secondly, what is called the religious difficulty. His remarks on both these points are full of justice and insight; on the second point a French saying on a different subject may be well applied to his arguments—*Il a mit la difficulté religieuse en equation et n'a trouvé que des racines imaginaires*. It is curious to find the same conclusion arrived at by persons who have approached the subject from such different points as Mr. Pattison and Mr. Ellis; yet the latter concludes with a reflection that embodies all the wishes of the former—"Let clearer views concerning education once be made to prevail, all fears for any want of its adequate extension may be dismissed." Few persons have contributed more than Mr. Ellis to bring about this result, and perhaps in none of his numerous publications has he shown with more convincing force the intimate connexion between the extension of education and the maintenance and progress of our national welfare.

A lecture delivered to the Young Men's Association of the Anderston Church, Glasgow, is very well worth reading. It takes up the moral aspects of trade,<sup>7</sup> and very fully compares the different estimate in

<sup>5</sup> "Wayside Thoughts." By D'Arcy W. Thompson. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1868.

<sup>6</sup> "What Stops the Way?" By W. Ellis. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "On certain Moral Aspects of Money Getting." By W. F. Gardner, M.D.

which it has been held in ancient and modern times. It is hardly so thorough as a similar essay by M. Rondelet, *La morale de la Richesse*, to which we some time since called our readers' attention. It enters too much into considerations based on profit alone, and thus leans too exclusively towards the duties of employers. In the French treatise the civilizing effects of industry as a whole are treated, and the direct connexion between wealth and moral well-being is more clearly shown.

Mr. Ward's "Workmen and Wages"<sup>8</sup> is a full, interesting, and valuable history of the conflicts between capital and labour which have now for so many years afflicted English and foreign production. The author belongs to the strict Economical School, and allows the conclusions of his science to be interfered with by no emotional considerations. He thinks that the competition between capitalists will always result in the adequate remuneration of labour, and there can be no question but that in the long run he is right. He devotes himself mainly to pointing out how arbitrary, and ultimately debasing to the class employing them, are those so-called protective regulations of the various unions which, as they must be acceptable to the majority of the members, are a virtual check and hindrance to the exertions of the most able and industrious individuals among them. He gives very full particulars of the state of the law in England which affects trades unions, and a detailed history of similar movements in the various industries of the States of the Continent. On the general question whether these combinations have really had the effect of raising the wages of the operatives as a class, he differs with many who have taken a more warm than enlightened interest in their affairs. There is a great deal to be taken into consideration on his side of the question, which he very ably lays before his readers. The summary conclusion to which most unprejudiced inquirers have long since come, is that it is mainly a question of education. When once the receivers of daily wages have been sufficiently instructed to realize the worth and matchless independence of their position, they will find and recognise the essential difference between a trade Parliament and a trade executive.

When we reviewed Mr. Patterson's "Economy of Capital" we bore a well deserved testimony to the clearness, force, and picturesqueness of his style, and to the completeness of his information on the subject he handles, but we not the less dissented from the general theory which underlies all his writings. He and Mr. McLeod are the most accomplished English representatives of that school which, by paying an exclusive attention to the phenomena of exchange, arrive at conclusions opposed to every law which regulates the much more important department of political economy usually treated of under the head of production. His new volume, "The Science of Finance,"<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "Workmen and Wages." By J. Ward, Author of the "World and its Workshops," &c. London: Longmans and Co. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "The Science of Finance." By R. H. Patterson, Author of "The Economy of Capital," &c. London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1868.

has all the merits and defects of his former one. His lively imagination and great copiousness of style are such attractive qualities that they soon either carry away or confuse his readers, if they once allow him the liberty he takes with the well-established definitions of his science. When once a writer is allowed to give new meanings to the words Currency and Capital, when every negotiable security is admitted to the former, and all wealth accepted as the latter, a free way is opened to the most Utopian projects, from which there is no return when once you have consented to enter on that road with him. In the chapter on the potency of capital, which should rather be entitled, "on the wonders of credit," he speaks of roads and money as the handmaids of production, and draws an ingenious parallel between roads become railways and capital developed by banking facilities. But the picture is entirely onesided; on his railways there are no collisions, and in his banking system there are no collapses. The perfection of arrangement is assumed in the one case, the most watchful supervision and unswerving honesty, guided by the highest intelligence in the other. Every invention by which human labour is economized or rendered more productive depends, not only on intellectual progress for its origin, but also quite as much on ethical advancement for its safe application. It must create and bring with it the habits of conduct which enable it to produce its full fruit, and is as much dependent on those habits as on its mechanical advantages. It is strange that no reflection of this kind gives us pause in the system of inflation which Mr. Patterson, with an absence of humour strange in so accomplished a writer, calls the science of finance. What is still more remarkable is the singular blindness he displays to the associations connected with the word, by which he describes the creation of financial securities as a kind of *cookery*. "Finance," he says, "acts as the *cook*, by which commodities are prepared or rendered suitable for the operations of banking, by which their negotiability or convertibility into general currency is perfected." How very indigestible have been some of the commodities to which this process has of late years been applied, the experience of 1866 still testifies with too loud a voice to be overwhelmed by eloquence, though it be as great as Mr. Patterson's. When the wonders of the banking system are to be exhibited, the sum of the daily settlements at the clearing houses is treated as so much capital; as well might a man add together both sides of his ledger to ascertain how much he was worth. On the other hand, when the Act of 1844 has to be attacked every convulsion of commerce is attributed to the seven millions of specie which support and guarantee the average issue of the Bank of England. The whole system of finance advocated in this otherwise able book, amounts in its result to the assumption that a thing can be in two places at one and the same time; that money or capital which you have lent is still in your power because you can dispose of the security you have received for it, or thus induce some one else to assume the quasi-partnership in its investment that no longer suits your own convenience. There is a wisdom of the nursery which is superior to this in the common warning to little boys, that they cannot eat their cake



and have it too. The same objections apply to the proposal to base a national note on Consols. This is an excellent device for raising a forced loan from any community, but is a poor relief from commercial complications which have been brought about by reckless speculation.

In 710 pages devoted to all the questions connected with Exchange, we look in vain for any consciousness of the possibility of overtrading. Trade with Mr. Patterson is always profitable. The comparison made long ago by the father of Political Economy between roads and money is a perfectly just one. In our opinion, an equally just one may be made between financial expedients and balloons. They are a very economical and expeditious means of transit, but hitherto have proved too unmanageable for prudent travellers.

A far less ambitious, but really more useful book, has, we are glad to see, early arrived at a second edition. A better proof of the justice of the favourable opinion we expressed at its first appearance could hardly be desired. Mr. John Laing's "Theory of Business"<sup>10</sup> has been subjected to a thorough revision, and now contains, among other improvements, full details of the operations of the clearing house, the Mint, the Bullion and Note Issue Offices of the Bank of England, which will be interesting to many of his readers. The battle of the standards receives due attention in his account of the efforts to introduce the metrical system into England. As these efforts seem about to be renewed, this chapter has been very opportunely enlarged. The railway dilemma is traced to its real causes, and a very simple expedient suggested for its solution. This consists in reducing the number of directors, and making their remuneration dependent upon a system of percentages on the net earnings of the companies. The prevailing system of a numerous and respectable directorate is one of the most rooted commercial superstitions of the day, and we are glad to see it attacked in any quarter. The popular panacea of closing the capital account is in many cases inapplicable, and in all delusive. It partakes too much of the unreasonable absoluteness of a temperance pledge. "It is not from a renunciation of powers that improvement should be looked for, but rather from their more honest and intelligent exercise. Fixed fees and salaries are the bane of all joint stock enterprises. Only by some such system as that advocated by Mr. Laing can the absent "master's eye" be replaced, and an active and intelligent interest take the place of a perfunctory discharge of routine duties.

One of the most complete and convincing refutations of the theories of Mr. Patterson is to be found in M. Clément Juglar's essay, "Du Change, et de la Liberté d'Emission."<sup>11</sup> We do not anywhere remember to have met with so clear an exposition of the nature of credit, of its power and limits, as that given by the author. It leaves nothing to be desired, either on the side of insight into the principles involved, or of practical knowledge of their actual application, while to these

<sup>10</sup> "The Theory of Business." By John Laing. London : Longmans & Co. 1868.

<sup>11</sup> "Du Change et de la Liberté d'Emission." Par Clément Juglar. Paris : Guillaumin et Cie. 1867.

unusual qualities he adds a singular wealth and felicity of illustration, which render his treatise one of the most valuable on the subject.

All men must have their recreations, and if they choose cards, whist is of all others the game worth studying. Whist at its best exercises some of the highest qualities of the mind. No man can be a good whist player who is not able to trace appearances to their true causes, who cannot bring to bear on the game calculation, observation, memory, inference, and judgment. The best player will be he whose game is dictated by such a general course of thought and action as is only open to those whose mental powers are well trained. These qualities are not to be arrived at without study, and those players who are neither of the best, nor good, can hardly do better than accept the aid offered them by Cavendish,<sup>12</sup> who gives in his manual the results of long combined experience and careful reasoning, and supplies all that can be done by any other method than that of constant practice.

Among several admirable books of reference we must give the first place to the new edition of that almost indispensable volume, the "Statesman's Year Book,"<sup>13</sup> by Mr. Martin, which has been corrected up to the present dates.

Another most useful volume, edited by Mr. Townsend, containing short biographies of eminent cotemporaries,<sup>14</sup> will be found a very convenient addition to most bookshelves. This book, and Vapercan's corresponding one, contain most of the facts and dates which are generally sought for. The fact of the present being the seventh edition is the fullest corroboration of this opinion.

"The Imperial Gazetteer"<sup>15</sup> keeps up the character for fulness and completeness which we have formerly acknowledged. It is now the fourth volume, brought down to "Mounton." The handsome maps and plans which are published with it are some of the best we have seen, and greatly contribute to make it the first work of its kind.

Two admirably clear and well-executed atlases have been published by Messrs. Philip and Sons—one of the British Empire<sup>16</sup> on a new plan, which will be found most convenient. Each of the Colonies is drawn on a separate sheet, that the utmost detail is rendered compatible with a manageable bulk. The other, in the same style, edited by Mr. W. Hughes, F.R.G.S., gives the nations of antiquity and the divisions of the world as known to the Romans.<sup>17</sup> In both these volumes the excellent plan (first, we believe, introduced in the charts to the voyage of the Novara) of colouring the sea a light blue is

<sup>12</sup> "Laws and Principles of Whist." By Cavendish. London: T. De La Rue & Co. 1868.

<sup>13</sup> "The Statesman's Year Book." By Frederick Martin. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

<sup>14</sup> "Men of the Time." Edited by G. H. Townsend. London: Routledge & Son. 1868.

<sup>15</sup> "The Imperial Gazetteer." By J. M. Wilson. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton & Co. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "Atlas of the British Empire." London: G. Philip & Son. 1868.

<sup>17</sup> "School Atlas of Classical Geography." London: G. Philip & Son. 1868.

adopted. This proceeding gives a surprising relief to the maps, and greatly contributes to their effect.

A cookery book, too, may, we suppose, be classed among books of reference. A very copious one, published by Messrs. Lockwood and Co.,<sup>18</sup> would, however, in our opinion, be greatly improved if it had been reduced from 800 pages to 300, by the omission of all the light, and would-be lively, expatiations with which they are crowded. Little scraps of dramatic conversation over a dresser, and such epithets as "entertaining" applied to a pudding, are rather encumbrances than ornaments to a collection of receipts.

It is difficult to say whether "*Max Havelaar*"<sup>19</sup> is more interesting as a novel or powerful as a political pamphlet. From either point of view it is of rare and first-rate excellence. In its life-like actuality it constantly recalls *Delfø*, while in its tender and original humour it suggests *Sterne* in his best moods. The subject revolves round the Dutch government of Java and its other insular possessions in the East. The peculiarities of Dutch administration have been not long since held up to England as an object of admiration, and as a model we should do well to study and imitate. In *Max Havelaar* they are made the object of the most burning invective, and yet even from its pages it is easy to perceive how they could still in Europe maintain the high character which has been given them. The Dutch hold their Indian empire by a complete and undisputed conquest, but administer it through the native chiefs, interfering as little as possible with the social system they found prevailing in the islands. They know perfectly well how tyrannous in many of its features that system is, and they appoint residents and sub-residents to advise and control their "younger brother," the native Regent. These European officials, however, are but poorly paid, while the native chiefs have often truly princely incomes, which are increased by a percentage on all the exportable articles which are grown in their districts. Whole regions of the country are often reduced to starvation by these chiefs, who insist upon their subjects cultivating coffee, indigo, and spices, to the neglect of the rice fields, which yield their main crop and chief sustenance. The quasi-feudal rights which these regents have always possessed of demanding personal service, and levying contributions on the property of their subjects, enable them to subdue, or drive out of their districts, all who affect any independence. It is very true that the resident is appointed to restrain these excesses within endurable limits, but he is practically helpless and powerless in the matter. The oppressed native, who has appealed to him under cover of the night, will contradict his own indictment when he is, in rare cases, brought face to face with his "father" before the higher European officials, and the sub-resident who has endeavoured to do him justice acquires himself the character of a false accuser and disturber of the tranquillity

<sup>18</sup> "*Wholesome Fare.*" By Edmund S. and Ellen J. Delamere. London: Lockwood & Co. 1868.

<sup>19</sup> "*Max Havelaar; or the Coffee Plantations of the Dutch Trading Company.*" By Multatuli. Translated from the original manuscript by Baron Alphonse Nahuys. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

of the colony. Private remonstrance is, indeed, deferentially listened to, but it is immediately disregarded by the regents. On the part of the higher officials, the settled principle is, that the exports to Europe must be kept up, and a fair face put upon matters to the home authorities. If a few natives, who have been driven by oppression to appeal to the nearest sub-resident, and in spite of the utmost precaution in approaching him for the purpose, have been discovered in doing so, are found the next morning to have been "drowned" on their return to their village; too much inquiry is thought by the colonial authorities to disturb the "tranquillity of the colony," to repeat a favourite phrase of theirs. The poor and speculative sub-residents are bribed by the chiefs, the weak are intimidated, and those who are neither dishonest nor timid run the greatest risk of finding something in some solemn feast to which they are invited that prevents their ever attending any other. And the superior officials will have it so. The evils are so great, and their cure so difficult, that each man puts off the day of reformation to the times of his successor. The Governor-General is usually a person who knows nothing of the colony before his arrival in it, and is immediately surrounded by men who have long since resolved to make the best of a bad matter. The most energetic soon succumb to the combined influences of the climate and such an entourage. To arouse the Dutch people to a full inquiry into the condition of their Indian empire is the object of the author. It is needless to compare this book in its aim and purpose with "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It is far more convincing in its singularly life-like scenes and characters than that celebrated novel. Indeed, it is perfectly wonderful what an intimate feeling of insight into the whole social system of an oriental people the author succeeds in communicating to his readers. As digressive as Uncle Toby, the tale, during its progress, seems constantly to halt or wander from the point, and it is not until we arrive at the last chapters that the consummate art reveals itself by which an unwilling public is led to listen to a tale so repugnant to its prepossessions. The genuine and original humour with which the coffee broker of Amsterdam is drawn will leave Batavus Drystubble an immortal memory in the minds of all who here make his acquaintance. Many have descanted on the close alliance between humour and pathos. In the author of Max Havelaar they will find a fresh instance in support of their theory. The poetry of his oriental scenes, the sympathy he feels for the unredressed wrongs of the native Javanese, are as touching as his portraiture of Dutch self-complacency and narrow respectability is ironical and scorching. He is as true as Jan Steen in his pictures of his fellow-countrymen, while his oriental scenes affect you like some of the most beautiful of Cuypp's atmospheres. We regret greatly that our limits preclude us from extracting either Drystubble's self-portraiture or the affecting Indian idyl of Saidjah and Adinda. The publication of this book aroused a perfect storm in the author's native country. His bold and outspoken challenge to the government to contradict any of his assertions has never been replied to; but rather an effort has been made to restrict its sale. The author finding that he had unwittingly parted with the

[Vol. LXXXIX. No. CLXXVI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XXXIII. No. II. OO

full copyright, no second edition has been allowed. He may well call himself "*Multatuli*." But his sub-residentship in Java has enabled him to add the name of Douwes Dekker to the very first rank of European novelists and philanthropists. The English translation has been made by Baron Nahuys with remarkable ability and command of a language foreign to him.

Mr. Sproat's account of the native inhabitants of the western coast of Vancouver's Island<sup>20</sup> is one of the most complete studies of a savage race that we have ever met with. His residence among them at Barclay's Sound for more than five years, gave him ample opportunities of making himself intimately acquainted with every particular of their way of life, and his position as chief and founder of the European settlement at Alberni, brought him into official as well as personal connexion with the whole community. With a strong interest in the Indians, and a personal character which evidently enabled him to penetrate beyond that distrustful timidity with which all savages meet the advances of the white man, he was enabled to gather full particulars of their superstitions and legends, as well as to correct the first impressions which are usually all that are met with in the books of ordinary travellers. His history of these tribes is consequently of more than ordinary interest, and affords an unusually sure basis for generalizations on their character and ultimate fate. On these points he gives his own reflections in the two concluding chapters, which are worthy of the utmost attention. He refuses to join in the commonly received notion that tribes in their position are exterminated by the European's diseases and vices, and calls attention to the much more destructive effect of that moral discouragement which falls upon them when they compare their old ways of life with the new ones which are springing up around them. The sense of hopeless inferiority disgusts them with their past life, they lose their savage accomplishments and are utterly unable to acquire the habits on which the European ones depend. These two chapters are most original and suggestive. But the author's best endeavours fail to inspire us with the hope that any remedy for such evils can be imagined which will promise even a temporary escape from them.

"*Rambles with a Philosopher; or Views at the Antipodes*,"<sup>21</sup> consists of a series of reflections on the power of contraries, of thesis and antithesis, of action and reaction, by which the author, through the mouth of one he calls his "companion," explains his theory of the universe. The setting in which these views are offered to the reader is the Journal of a trip through New Zealand in the early days of its settlement by Europeans. The most interesting parts of his book are its really life-like sketches of the nascent society of the colony. This will appear "flat treason" to the Otagonian, for he advises those who doubt the value and originality of his speculations to study them till

<sup>20</sup> "*Scenes and Studies of Savage Life.*" By G. M. Sproat. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1868.

<sup>21</sup> "*Rambles with a Philosopher; or, Views at the Antipodes.*" By an Otagonian. Dunedin: Miles, Dick, & Co. 1867.

they are better informed. We have, as in duty bound, read him, but do not by any means feel inclined to take part in the advice he offers to every one.

All who remember Mr. Howells' "Venetian Life," will be glad to wander again with him through the towns of modern Italy.<sup>22</sup> "That Purgatory of perished capitals," as he calls it. His playful fancy and light genial humour are more successful in bringing the scenes he wishes to describe before the imagination of his readers than the most elaborate and detailed descriptions. His slight allusional way of giving the chief features of the past history and present condition of the old Italian cities is most agreeable and effective; while his sympathy with the people, and keen good tempered appreciation of their peculiarities, make his book most pleasant reading. The solemn way in which he enters into the romantic tales of guidebooks and cicerones, and the affectedly sad afterthoughts by which he demolishes their fictions, remind one of his celebrated fellow countryman, Hawthorne. Perhaps this vein is somewhat too often opened, but such an objection would only strike those who read the book through at a sitting, and thus do it some injustice. Rightly to enjoy it, the reader should take but one of the many journeys at a time, and then it will be his own fault if he does not fully appreciate his accomplished and intelligent fellow-traveller.

Mr. Hittell's "Resources of California"<sup>23</sup> is, in some respects, a curiosity. Paper, print, binding, and authorship are warranted Californian produce by an affidavit bound up with the volume. It is substantially a very full gazetteer of the State and its productions. Indeed, the sort of book any one should have with him on a voyage out. The jubilant and exulting preface wants no affidavit to support its claim to be thoroughly Californian. It is a fine specimen of that young and lusty tone which is often called spread-eagleism, but which has a foundation a little deeper than mere boasting, and exhibits in a most characteristic way that exuberant hopefulness which is one of the most enviable traits of American character, as it is one of the clearest consequences of their political and social condition.

In the preface to his "Eighty Years of Republican Government,"<sup>24</sup> Mr. Jennings says that his object "is to explain the original plan and design of the American Constitution, to review the changes which have been made in it in subsequent times, and to describe its present condition and mode of working." In so far as the first clause of this sentence is concerned, it must be admitted that he has been eminently successful, indeed, the first half of his book is admirably written, and contains on the whole one of the best accounts of the constitution of the United States anywhere to be found. But here we must stop our unqualified laudation. He constantly declares himself void of prejudice,

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<sup>22</sup> "Italian Journeys." By W. D. Howells, author of "Venetian Life." London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1868.

<sup>23</sup> "The Resources of California." By J. S. Hittell. San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1867.

<sup>24</sup> "Eighty Years of Republican Government in the United States." By L. J. Jennings. London: J. Murray. 1868.

and without any foregone conclusion on the questions he discusses, he insists upon the existence of facts which will support all he says; and the facts may be allowed without admitting that they are the most important ones, or that he is so entirely without bias as he represents himself to be. There can be no question that one of his unexpressed objects in writing this book was to warn his fellow-countrymen against the arguments of those who admire American institutions, by drawing a picture of democratic excess, in the composition of which he introduces every feature which, in a time of violent political conflict, can be brought forward to the detriment of republican institutions. The Americans are, at the present moment, substantially engaged in a conflict, which we as Englishmen carried on for many generations. When we boast of our liberties, we make them to repose on the ultimate and final victory which the legislative power has at last gained over the executive. To speak of the Northern Americans as tyrannizing over the Southern in a spirit of revenge, is at once to show that the heat of a particular conflict is mistaken for the general tone of feeling. No defeated party was ever offered milder or more just terms of reconciliation than were proffered to the South at the termination of the war. If the Republican party have committed any excesses, they have been driven to them by the President. The blows that have fallen on the South have been invited by him and forced in self-defence on men who approached their enemies with an open hand.

Under the title of "*Abyssinia and its People*,"<sup>25</sup> Mr. John C. Hotten has published a very useful and complete compilation, from the accounts of the earliest travellers in that country up to the full particulars sent home by Consul Plowden, together with a bibliography of all the known works relating to the country. It is impossible that any one can form a just judgment of the carelessness and mismanagement that have led to our present difficulty with the Emperor Theodore, who is unacquainted with the facts which are in this book made accessible to all. In particular is the description of the country and account of its various classes, government, and laws, compiled by the late Consul Plowden, most interesting and valuable. Before our differences with him, most persons at all acquainted with the Emperor's character were inclined to look upon him as a hero who had put down the divisions of his native country, and whose wish was to give it the benefit of the highest civilization within his reach. Indeed, what we have in our youth been taught to revere in Alfred the Great, could be found in the Abyssinian who is now often absurdly represented as a debased negro. Of undoubted valour, victorious over all his enemies, and with but very limited notions of the world which lay beyond his native hills, it is not surprising that he thought himself the favourite of Divine Providence, and entitled to some notice when he replied to the solicitations of a Government of which he knew only that it was powerful, and a long way off; but, not being of the family of European monarchs, it was thought in the mysterious recesses of our Foreign

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<sup>25</sup> "*Abyssinia and its People*." Edited by John C. Hotten. London: J. C. Hotten. 1868.

Office that he could be treated with any contempt that might suit official morgue or laziness. The dignity which was held so cheap in England he could not allow to be so insulted in Abyssinia—and hence these tears. The material guarantee which he has seized in the persons of all the Europeans in his country was the only one within his reach. But our dignity, which was not too great to give offence, cannot support the retaliation. The Consul we are in his country to liberate was never acknowledged by him as such. "I know," he said to M. Lejean, "the tactics of European Governments when they wish to take possession of an Eastern territory. They first of all send missionaries, then consuls to strengthen the missionaries, and finally, battalions to back up the consuls. I am not a Rajah of Hindostan, to be bamboozled in that manner. I prefer to deal with the battalions first." The only ignorance displayed in this speech is of the battalions he so lightly proposes to deal with. Of course, "we must vindicate our Sovereign's insulted dignity and the nation's honour on a haughty despot who has dared to outrage both the person of Her Majesty's representative and other of Her loyal subjects!" Would it not have been well if some consideration had been felt for the dignity of another Sovereign, and the honour of another country, which were first outraged by ourselves? What foolish talk prevails among us of bringing home in a cage the only man who has shown the will and ability to put an end to generations of anarchy in his own country! What Plowden wrote of him twelve years ago is as true at the present moment:—"Should he now or at any time fail in his designs, or fall in battle, the misrule and anarchy that will ensue will baffle all human calculation, and render peaceful interference impossible. Abyssinia must then be left to her destinies until some European power shall think it worth while to conquer and instruct the most fertile of the African provinces." And this is the result we profess our intention of bringing about. The whole quarrel is like nothing so much as a fine gentleman insulting a street boy, and revenging a handful of mud thrown on his clothes by threshing him within an inch of his life—a truly dignified and edifying spectacle. We all assume that we shall succeed in our intentions, but if we do so it will be by the self-command of the Emperor alone, for, were he half the barbarian he is commonly assumed to be, the captives would not be alive at Magdala at the present moment. We are accustomed to say we do not go to war for an idea, but what else is wounded vanity, and what other origin has our present lamentable and costly complication. The more any one makes himself acquainted with the manner in which we have drifted into this war, the greater must be his discontent with the intrusive mismanagement in which it originated.

Much inferior in value to Mr. Hotten's volume, but of more recent date, is Mr. Dufton's *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia in 1862-3*.<sup>26</sup> It was his original intention to reach the Galla countries to the south of Abyssinia, and explore as a field for Christianization

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<sup>26</sup> "Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia." By H. Dufton. London: Chapman & Hall. 1867.



and future colonization the healthy highlands which native report leads us to believe exist in that part of Africa; but robbery in the Baihouda desert, and detention at Sennaar, obliged him to strike through Abyssinia as an outlet to the Red Sea and home. Travelling on foot, with all his worldly possessions on the back of a single donkey, he was necessarily thrown upon his own resources, and the hospitality of the natives. He can hardly be said to have fared worse than he would have done in Europe with a similar equipment. His accounts of the beauty, mildness, and fertility of the country agree with those of all his predecessors. Much of his book is filled with accounts of the native politics, and with a history of the Emperor's life; but these particulars are more fully given in Mr. Hotten's compilation. His report, however, of Theodore's objection to consuls supports that quoted above:—

“The King's idea is, that the existence of no other power should be recognised in the country beside his own, and that all persons residing in his territories, natives or foreigners, must obey the laws of the land, and be subject to him entirely. If, therefore, a consul ventures into the country, he must not do so with the idea that his person will be considered sacred, or that the power represented by him will impose awe, but must be prepared to stand on the footing of a native of the country.”

Fortunately for Mr. Dufton, the Emperor was still expecting the answer to his letters when he requested to be allowed to proceed to the Red Sea. He was provided with an escort, and reached Massowah in safety. From that place he crossed over to Aden, of which he gives a good description. It is an unpleasing reflection to make, while we are engaged in Africa to deliver by an invading army some twenty Europeans, that there are about forty Englishmen in an exactly similar position detained in Paraguay by the Dictator Lopez, who holds a language about their liberation which is exactly that of our Abyssinian adversary.

The question of the “National Defences” has of late years risen to such importance, both as regards their ultimate object and the enormous sums which have been lavished upon them, that a work which should assist in the formation of an intelligent public opinion on the subject has become a desideratum. Captain Brackenbury<sup>27</sup> has very ably supplied this want, by the re-publication, in a compact form, of some letters written by him for the *Times*, in which, while describing the various classes of ordnance, small arms, and armour plating which were to be seen at the Paris Exhibition, he explains in clear and concise language, and without technicality, the principles on which they are designed, and gives good reasons for the moderately expressed, but decided judgment he forms on the relative value of the various inventions and manufactures which he has had the opportunity of comparing. It is very satisfactory to read—“In two plain sheds the ‘nation of shop-

<sup>27</sup> “European Armaments in 1867; based upon Letters reprinted, by permission, from the “*Times*.” By Captain C. B. Brackenbury, R.A., Assistant-Director of Artillery Studies. London: Chapman & Hall. 1867.

keepers' exhibits what is by common consent acknowledged to be by far the finest and most complete collection of modern military *matériel* that has ever been openly shown to admiring crowds," and will perhaps astonish those croakers who hold that we are unmeasurably behind every other nation in the science of war. Captain Brackenbury very modestly says, in a short preface—"The contents of this work are, from the necessity of the case, mere popular sketches of the subjects under consideration, and, while disclaiming any pretence of philosophical exactness or literary merit, the author hopes that they may prove useful to those who, without troubling themselves with scientific investigations, desire to know something of the reasons for the conclusions arrived at by artillerists;" and we have no hesitation in saying, that it is well worthy of a careful perusal by any non-professional man who wishes to follow, with an intelligent appreciation, the experiments in gunnery and ship-building which are constantly being carried on, and the debates which will, no doubt, shortly take place on them. Captain Brackenbury is evidently of opinion that even the *Hercules*, which a daily contemporary lately proclaimed as having restored to England "the Empire of the Sea," has not reached the limit of floatable weight and thickness; but it is to be hoped that there are in the House some advocates of economy, who may suggest that we have probably gone far enough in this direction by the construction of a ship which will scarcely cost less than 600,000*l.* by the time she is ready for sea, and which after all may be no more safe from penetration than an unarmoured wooden ship—that is, her safety may be found to depend more on the improbability of her being hit than on the strength of her armour. Heavily armoured floating fortresses would no doubt be found extremely valuable as home defences, but for sea-going purposes and the protection of British commerce in all parts of the world, we are inclined to think that light, unarmoured ships of great speed—say sixteen knots an hour—armed with a couple of the heaviest guns they can carry, would be not only cheapest, but best. The advocates of heavy armour talk of one of their unwieldy monsters destroying a whole fleet of unarmoured ships. Very likely, if the "fleet" would wait to be "rammed" and battered; but supposing the latter to have great speed, and to be manned by British sailors, how is the monster to catch them? and what are the chances that at long shots she ever hits one of them?

The volume of graphic "Sketches"<sup>28</sup> with which M. Vámbéry has fitly supplemented his "Travels" will delight the readers of the latter work, and satisfy those critics whose craving for more induced them to accuse its author of "scrappiness" in the narrative of his adventurous and perilous journey. In his first volume M. Vámbéry

<sup>28</sup> "Sketches of Central Asia; Additional Chapters on my Travels and Adventures, and on the Ethnology of Central Asia." By Arminius Vámbéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Pesth. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall. 1868.

remarked on the indifference shown by Englishmen to the doings of Russia in Central Asia, and pointed out the probable course of Russian progress, and its influence in British India. The last chapter of his second volume is devoted to enlarged considerations on the same subject. After expressing surprise that his previous remarks should have received such extensive notice from the English and Indian press, he points out how his prophecies have been fulfilled to the letter during the three years that have intervened between his two publications. When he first wrote the furthest Cossack outposts were thirty miles from Yashkend, while now the whole of the Eastern Khanat of Turkestan is occupied by the Russians, whose most advanced outpost, the fortress of Djissag, is but 150 geographical miles from Peshawar, and is on the boundary between Khokan and Bokhara. Russia's next stroke, he tells us, will fall upon Bokhara. Khokan will then voluntarily seek the protection of the "White Tzar," and the fall of Khiva will complete the conquest of Turkestan. Once established on the right bank of the Oxus, and in full possession of the three Khanats, and perhaps, Chinese Tartary, the Russian game of diplomacy will commence with a view to the invasion of India. The way is already smoothed indeed, if it be true, as M. Vámbéry tells us, that so strong is their faith in the trade with the North, that chiefs and princes, warriors and peasants, are eager for "a Russian alliance against the masters of Peshawar." The friendship of Persia has already been secured by the policy pursued by the Court of St. Petersburg "during the last ten years," which, as elsewhere, has outwitted that of St. James's. There will remain, therefore, but the formation of a Persian-Afghan alliance, and an advance into British India, either through the Bolan or Gulari passes, or, avoiding the snow-crowned peaks of the Hindu Kush, by the way of Northern Sindh. M. Vámbéry then points to Russia's gigantic ambition, and the apathy of English optimists. Russia wants India, first, as a crown jewel; next, to give her supreme power over the world of Islam; and lastly, to facilitate "her designs on the Bosphorus, in the Mediterranean, and indeed all over Europe." We sit still while this vast machine is in motion, relying upon our 70,000 British troops, behind whom we forget there lie the discontented populations of the Punjab, Kashmir, and Bhotan, and the thirty millions of fanatic Mahomedans, "conspiring for a Russian occupation." We are not of the optimists that see no menace in the progress of Russia in the East, and though our Russophobia is of a mild form in comparison with that of M. Vámbéry, we agree with him, that beyond the line of the Oxus we cannot suffer the advance of Russia with impunity. But however desirable it may be to secure the neutrality of Afghanistan, we think there are obstacles in the way of the scheme sketched out for Russia that would render our establishment of a permanent resident at the Court of Kabul, on the necessity for which M. Vámbéry so strongly insists, a measure that may be safely left to be effected, however tardily, by the conciliatory policy we are now pursuing. For if the Afghans have so astutely baffled us hitherto in the attainment of this object, we may fairly credit them

with sufficient discernment to read the right lesson from what they will have witnessed in Central Asia. "The fall of Bokhara will be a fearful example for the whole Islamite world; the dust of her ruins will penetrate the furthest distance like a mighty warning-cry." So impracticable, we are told, are Eastern alliances, that Khivans and Afghans will not unite, though thousands of the unhoused and frantic Mollahs, Ishans, and students of "noble Bokhara," spread themselves over the land, preaching a religious war against the infidel intruder who has trampled under his defiling foot the very holiest home of Islamism. Yet M. Vámbéry sees no difficulty in a Persian-Afghan alliance, an alliance between hereditary enemies, Shiites and Sunnites, whose hatred for each other exceeds that of both for the Kafir, but who together are to rally to the standard of the Czar and invade India to the cry of 'Death to the Infidel.' There would be an anomaly in such a Djihad as this that would startle, if it did not embarrass, the thirty millions of "fanatic Mahomedans" under British rule, even if conspiring as presumed in Russian interests. But we think we may doubt the existence of such a conspiracy, considering the error into which M. Vámbéry has fallen in his description of these thirty millions. The people he describes are not the Mussulmans of the plains, but the robber tribes of the hills on our frontier. The murders in the name of religion are perpetrated, not by the former but by the latter, who are, according to Mr. Temple and other writers, absolute savages and barbarians. Amongst the Mussulmans under British rule there is but a languid enthusiasm for the creed of the Prophet. The faith cherished by true believers in the irresistibility of a Djihad received a severe shock in the rebellion of 1857, from which the fall of Bokhara would scarcely assist them to recover. The influence of our civilization, though exhibiting itself more prominently amongst the Hindus, has not been lost upon the Mahomedans. Missionary teaching, though it has been unsuccessful in making converts to Christianity, has served to awaken in both peoples a philosophical scepticism which silently but surely is loosening the fetters that have so long bound them slaves to a narrow creed and degrading superstitions. As already enjoying liberty to an extent possible under no other but British rule, they chafe at the trammels still imposed upon thought and action by an oppressive bigotry and the rigid exactions of caste. Equally misinformed is M. Vámbéry when he writes of the discontent of the Punjab, Kashmir, and Bhotan. It was only in the last number of this Review that a writer whose authority is beyond dispute, described the population of the Punjab as the most thoroughly contented in all India. While we write, a telegram from India announces an outbreak on the frontiers of Kashmir. This is no doubt but one of the usual raids of the hill tribes, to prevent which, according to Mr. Temple before quoted, would require nothing less than a Chinese wall 800 miles in length, fully manned. Of anything more serious neither the Kashmirees nor Bhotanecs are capable, and they could only have been called in with the Armenians to add length to the list of our weaknesses, and glamour to the Russian phantom an excited fancy has conjured up. In every step Russia takes M. Vámbéry sees ulterior designs of both Asiatic

and European conquest. Her frontier in the Caucasus throws a shadow over Iran. "From the Japanese sea to the Circassian shore of the Black Sea . . . her aggressive policy hangs like the doomful sword of Damocles," and a position as conqueror beyond the Hindu Kush will render easier than from the Bosphorus the solution of the Eastern question. Even the *entente cordiale* with America is to further her designs. But for India it is some consolation to think "that the actual shock will follow only in some very distant future." That period will find us with our railways and telegraphs completed, our foreign policy (to whose straightforward character we owe it that we are the best colonizers in the world) crowned with success, *our frontier advanced to an impregnable line*, and the tremendous possibilities of Russian ambition still to be sought for in the charming pages of the volume we reluctantly close.

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#### SCIENCE.

IT may be inferred that the French Government takes rather more interest than ours in the doings of its scientific men, for we have now before us an elaborate report by M. Daubr e on the "Progress of Experimental Geology" in that country,<sup>1</sup> forming one of a series of similar reports on literature and science published under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Under the title of Experimental Geology M. Daubr e includes all those experiments made in the laboratory with the object of illustrating the mode in which certain geological phenomena have been produced in nature, such, more especially, as the artificial formation of crystalline and other minerals, in which department the French chemists have made considerable progress. In this as in the other sections of his report the author refers to the labours of scientific men of other nations, a course necessary for the due elucidation of the efforts of his compatriots; and by this means the report acquires a wider interest and usefulness than if it had been solely confined to its ostensible limits. Thus, in the second part, which treats of the experimental investigation of certain physical and mechanical geological phenomena, especially the lamination of schistose and slaty rocks, the movements of glaciers and the striation of rocks by glacial action, full justice is done to the important researches of our own countrymen, Tyndall and Sorby; and in the third part, which is devoted to the exposition of the present state of science on the subject of metamorphism, a whole host of German and English writers are cited. The fourth and last section of this report forms an excellent brief exposition of the present state of our knowledge of meteorites.

The study of crystallography finds but few earnest students, and

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<sup>1</sup> "Rapport sur le Progr s de la G ologie Exp rimentale." Par A. Daubr e. 8vo. Paris: Imprimerie Imp riale. 1867.

yet perhaps Dr. Knop is correct in regarding it as the most attractive part of mineralogy. In his work on the "Molecular Constitution and Growth of Crystals,"<sup>2</sup> he gives a sketch of the views of previous authors upon those matters, followed by an account of his own experiments and observations upon the crystallization of various bodies. The directions of growth coincide, according to him, with certain lines indicating the simplest position of equilibrium of the molecules; but these may vary in the same substance, or coincide in different substances, in accordance with the special conditions under which the crystallization is effected.

An excellent little manual of elementary chemistry has been lately published by Professor Roscoe.<sup>3</sup> Its contents are admirably arranged, and their treatment exceedingly clear and easily intelligible. Professor Roscoe has evidently determined to place his readers in the most advanced possible position; he adopts the new notation and nomenclature, the metric system of weights and measures, and the centigrade thermometric scale throughout his work. The illustrations consist of numerous well-executed woodcuts of apparatus, crystalline forms, &c., and a frontispiece containing coloured representations of the spectra of the metals of the alkalies and alkaline earths. The whole book is divided into forty-one lessons, and at the end the author gives a series of questions and exercises upon each lesson, adapted to fix its teaching in the mind of the student and to test his progress.

The magnificent garden established in the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, by the French Zoological Society of Acclimatization, is, like our own Zoological Gardens, not only a most admirable aid to the study of the natural history and habits of animals, but also apparently an exceedingly popular exhibition among the Parisians and visitors to Paris. As a guide for juvenile visitors, M. Barr<sup>4</sup> has lately published a thin octavo volume, containing, in the form of a dialogue, or rather a description of a visit to the garden in which dialogue forms the chief part, a general account of the more striking and interesting objects to be seen there. The natural history of the objects, although generally very sketchy, seems to be correctly given, and the work is beautifully got up, the woodcuts especially being very nicely executed.

Almost at the very close of his long and studious life, the late Dr. Daubeny, of Oxford, brought together and published a series of his scattered papers on various subjects.<sup>5</sup> They form two volumes, and include essays and memoirs on botanical and geological subjects and on matters connected with agriculture, and a few literary essays. These papers display in a striking manner the wide range of study through

<sup>2</sup> "Molekular-Constitution und Wachsthum der Krystalle." Von Adolf Knop. 8vo. Leipzig: H. Haessel. 1867.

<sup>3</sup> "Lessons in Elementary Chemistry; Inorganic and Organic." By Henry E. Roscoe, B.A., F.R.S. 12mo. London: Macmillan. 1868. (Sixth thousand.)

<sup>4</sup> "Visites au Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation." Par Maurice Barr. 8vo. Tours: Marne et Fils. 1867.

<sup>5</sup> "Miscellanies: being a Collection of Memoirs and Essays on Scientific and Literary Subjects, published at various times." By Charles Daubeny, M.D., F.R.S., &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford and London: Parker. 1867.

which their author passed, and perhaps not less remarkably the width and liberality of thought which characterized him. Although perfectly orthodox himself in his religious belief, he indignantly repudiates all introduction of theological arguments in scientific debates; and although evidently anti-Darwinian in his scientific tendencies, he treats Mr. Darwin's hypothesis with a tenderness such as it has rarely experienced at the hands of an opponent. These essays, notwithstanding the old date of several of them, will still be read with interest and profit.

M. Victor Meunier continues his lively comments upon the doings of the French scientific men,<sup>6</sup> and his attacks upon those whom he regards as faulty in any respect are sufficiently pungent. M. Pasteur comes in for a considerable share of M. Meunier's notice, both in respect of his dispute with M. Donné on the still unsettled question of spontaneous generation, and with reference to some new professional honours which he has attained. The longest article in the book is that devoted to the history of the French morality of the present day, chiefly with reference to the custom of farming out infants. There is also, of course, an article on the origin of species, and one or two on the antiquity of man, and a good analysis of the recent controversy on the comparative merits of Pascal and Newton in the discovery of the law of gravitation. The other articles, of which there are thirty-four in all, need not be particularized.

An interesting and lively popular account of mines and mineral productions of various kinds is furnished by Mr. William Jones's little book<sup>7</sup> on the "Treasures of the Earth." Its information seems to be truthful and carefully brought together, and the more solid information contained in it is interspersed with anecdotes connected with mines and miners that will serve to keep up the interest of the young folks, for whose especial benefit the book is intended.

The success of Mr. King's volume on gems and precious stones has led to the publication, not exactly of a second edition of that work, but of two separate treatises, taking up respectively the two branches of his original subject. In one of these volumes<sup>8</sup> Mr. King treats of the precious metals, silver and gold, and of those stones which possess a high value in themselves, independently of any operations performed upon them by the hand of man; in the second,<sup>9</sup> of those which, although in many cases they are scarcely inferior in beauty to the more precious objects of the first class, owe their chief value to the artistic treatment which they are capable of receiving. Throughout both these works the same mode of treatment is followed—the different subjects

<sup>6</sup> "La Science et les Savants en 1867." Par Victor Meunier. Quatrième année. 12mo. Paris: Germer-Baillière. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "The Treasures of the Earth; or Mines, Minerals, and Metals, with Anecdotes of Men connected with Mining." By William Jones, F.S.A. 12mo. London: F. Warne & Co. 1868.

<sup>8</sup> "The Natural History of the Precious Stones and of the Precious Metals." By C. W. King, M.A. 8vo. London: Bell and Daldy; Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "The Natural History of Gems and Decorative Stones." 8vo. Same author and publishers. 1867.

are arranged in the alphabetical order of their classical names, and in all cases the great mass of ancient lore brought together renders the articles particularly interesting, even from a purely literary point of view. As a matter of course and naturally, the diamond occupies a very large portion of the treatise on precious stones, and the historical interest attaching to most of the larger stones of this species makes up for the want of that classical element which so greatly adorns the articles on the other stones. In this work the author has greatly enlarged his history of the art of diamond-cutting, of which he gives a curious and interesting account. Some readers may probably object to the introduction of the pearl in a natural history of precious stones, where, at first sight, it does seem somewhat out of place; but considering the frequent combination of pearls with precious stones in jewellery, he seems to have exercised a sound judgment in inserting it. In separate sections of this volume Mr. King gives a brief account of the mineralogical notions of the ancients, and of their jewellery, a dissertation on sacred jewels, and on the Urim and Thummim; and some particulars as to the chemical composition of precious stones, their former and present values, and the weights of large diamonds and other precious stones. In the second treatise, that on the stones which, although often used by the jeweller, are especially valuable as furnishing materials for the exercise of the engraver's art, Mr. King also includes another animal production, namely, red coral, the title of which to figure in such company is perhaps hardly so strong as that of the pearl. Both volumes are illustrated with good woodcuts in outline, for the most part representing engraved gems of various kinds, but including in that on precious stones representations of remarkable diamonds in the rough state and cut, and illustrations of the mode of crystallization of the more important jewels.

On former occasions we have had to notice Mr. Edwards's works on subjects connected with heating and ventilation, and in a new publication<sup>10</sup> he now seeks to bring into a small compass some views upon these matters, which, if attended to by architects and builders, can hardly fail to be of advantage to the public. After a brief survey of the history of ventilation, Mr. Edwards proceeds to describe the various appliances by which ventilation has hitherto been effected, and especially notices those means by which the ventilation of our dwelling-houses is combined with the heating of the apartments. In some cases this is effected by the direct conducting of the vitiated air into the chimney, and in houses of the ordinary construction the full benefit of this system can only be attained where the fire belonging to the chimney is in action; but it has been proposed, and the plan evidently has Mr. Edwards's approval, to connect all the fireplaces of one side of the house with a common smoke flue, running up side by side with a ventilating flue, the air in which being heated by contact with the smoke-flue would naturally flow upwards and produce a current

<sup>10</sup> "On the Ventilation of Dwelling-Houses and the Utilization of Waste Heat from open Fireplaces." By Frederick Edwards, jun. 8vo. London: Hardwicke, 1868.



through the ventilators opening into it. Mr. Edwards' himself proposes another system, but rather for the purpose of utilizing the waste heat which escapes up the chimney from open fireplaces than with a view to increased ventilation, although the latter might easily be combined with it. His plan is to have, for each series of fireplaces, a wide smoke-flue of cast-iron surrounded by a large air-chamber in which fresh air, entering near the bottom of the house, may be heated, and then admitted to the different rooms in the usual way by apertures capable of being regulated by sliding doors or gratings. In this way the waste heat of the ordinary fires might be converted into an efficient warming apparatus, a source of comfort which has hitherto been within the reach only of the well-to-do classes of society. Mr. Edwards also indicates a means by which it may be possible to lay on a supply of warm air to all the houses of one side of a street, like gas or water, and discusses the proposal lately made of draining off our smoke into the sewers and purifying the whole system by means of great furnaces, from which, however, he does not seem to expect any practical results. In his concluding observations the author enters upon various sanitary matters besides those directly connected with smoke and ventilation, and dwells especially upon one of the most difficult questions of the day, at least in connexion with the enormous extension of London, namely, the mode of providing suitable accommodation for the crowds of working men and their families whose business lies in the metropolis.

The length of time which has elapsed since the appearance of the first volume of Dr. Reynolds's "System of Medicine" can hardly be attributed to any extraordinary excellence of the second volume.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, considering the interesting and important diseases with which it is mainly occupied, namely, nervous diseases, and the large scope for industrious research and philosophic handling which the subject afforded, we cannot help confessing to some sense of disappointment. There can be little doubt, however, that the volume will have a successful sale; the names of the contributors, and the fact that, notwithstanding defects, no other work in this country contains so full and scientific an account of the diseases of the nervous system, will insure its being a prosperous venture. For this reason we feel less compunction in expressing some feeling of disappointment.

Of course the articles in such a publication must differ considerably in value, and it is quite impossible for an editor to provide that they shall all be of the first quality. But one firm resolve he ought to be equal to, that is, to refer them back to their authors for consideration, or to reject them absolutely, unless they do reach a certain level of excellence, or rather, we ought to say in the present case, a certain character of completeness. Now there are one or two articles in this second volume which no doubt contain much valuable

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<sup>11</sup> "A System of Medicine." Edited by J. Russell Reynolds, M.D. Vol. II. Containing Diseases of the Nervous System and of the Stomach. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

information and suggestion, but which certainly do not contain— what was the presumed object of their presence in the volume— a full, exact, and systematic account of the diseases of which they treat. The writers have not been at the pains to make themselves acquainted with the entire literature of their subjects; accordingly they write as if their scanty observations, and the observations of one or two writers whom they happen to have read, really contained all about the disease that was worth communicating. In fact, they appear to have been so fully possessed by a sense of the importance of that which they had to say out of their own heads, as to have forgotten what it was they had to do. Another irritating phase of this spirit is exhibited by the writer, who, big with his favourite theory of a disease, or of some symptom of it, breaks out incontinently into a scarcely relevant exposition of his peculiar views, utterly and ludicrously blind the while to the very different appearance and magnitude which a wider knowledge and a larger view would give to them. This might be patiently borne if it were merely an excrescence on a good article; but when the excrescence eats up nearly all the body of the article, the disease not being systematically and impartially dealt with, then matters assuredly become very trying to those who are really thirsting for knowledge. There are two commendable ways of writing articles for such a volume: one is to make each article comprise an exact and complete account of all that is known concerning the disease, with a carefully weighed criticism of the different views entertained regarding it—in fact, to make it thoroughly complete; the other is to avoid disputed questions and doubtful points that are not of essential moment, to seize and set forth the broad features of the subject, to indicate the leading tendencies of research, and thus to furnish a general, but not therefore superficial, account of the disease. Of this method, which is made necessary by the exigencies of space in a work of the scope of this “System of Medicine,” the articles by the editor on Epilepsy, Hysteria, Muscular Anæsthesia, Congestion, and Softening of the Brain and Cerebritis, are good illustrations. It is a pity, however, that he has delegated the description of the pathology of these diseases to another writer, who, endowed seemingly with a greater appetite for details than of capacity to digest them, treats it with great elaboration, and makes no little show of authorities, but passes by sometimes the essential points, and now and then leaves unnoticed really important and valuable researches. Take, for example, the account of syphilitic growths in the brain, which are dismissed in a few lines. There is a reference to a case described by Dr. Wilks, and to a case mentioned by somebody else, but nothing is said of the important investigations of Virchow, and of the exhaustive treatment of the whole subject of syphilitic deposits by Wagner. However, the pathology of the diseases of the brain admits of no comparison with that of diseases of the spinal cord, the latter being of such a character as to be justly comparable with nothing but itself. But we have no space on this occasion to criticise the articles separately, and we refrain, therefore, from specifying those which should be set down as defective, as well as those which are specially deserving of commendation. It

is only necessary to add now, that the latter part of the volume is occupied with a description of the diseases of the stomach, by Dr. Wilson Fox.

The great advances which have been made in ophthalmology during the last few years, not only in regard to knowledge, but in regard to practice also, have certainly exceeded those made in any other branch of medical science. The natural result has been that diseases of the eye have become more and more a special subject of study and a special subject of treatment, by men who devote their attention to this department of medicine. Indeed, the records of recent progress are so much scattered in separate essays and in articles in periodicals, as to make it almost impossible for the ordinary student and practitioner to obtain a satisfactory knowledge of the latest researches and of the improved methods of treatment founded on them. The aim which the author of "*The Natural and Morbid Changes of the Human Eye and their Treatment*"<sup>12</sup> has had in view, is to supply the student and practitioner with a book containing, in a compact form, a faithful record of the present state of ophthalmology. The work has an eminently practical character, being specially designed to assist the reader to discover the nature and treatment of the particular case of disease which he may have to deal with in practice. The author, therefore, has not given any references in the body of the work to the labours of others, nor has he entered into any discussion of the different methods of treatment recommended in a particular disease; he has preferred to state concisely what appears to him the present state of knowledge, and the treatment which, as the result of considerable experience, he considers most suitable. There can be no question that, in a book designed specially for the use of students and practitioners, such a course was on the whole the most advisable. Whether the adoption of it need have excluded on all occasions the mention of other methods of treatment than those which have commended themselves to the author's judgment, is perhaps not so unquestionable. Apart from this, moreover, we are disposed to think that the directions for treatment are sometimes too brief and scanty to carry out adequately the practical purpose of the book. We may suggest too that its value would be increased by the addition of a preliminary chapter treating separately of the phenomena of vision and of the functions of the different structures and muscles of the eye in vision; not that these matters are not touched upon frequently in the course of the work, but that repetition would be thereby avoided, and the student or practitioner, whose ignorance the author probably underestimates, would be better prepared for understanding the concise and excellent descriptions of the phenomena of the disease. Of the general character of the book, however, and of the mode of its execution, we are able, after careful examination, to speak in terms of high praise; it embraces all the morbid changes of the human eye, and evinces on the author's part a thorough grasp of his subject. The

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<sup>12</sup> "*The Natural and Morbid Changes of the Human Eye, and their Treatment.*"  
By Charles Bader. Trübner & Co. 1868.

descriptions are clear, graphic, and practical; and they convey an immense amount of information in an unpretending but successful way. We have not met with any work on the subject in the English language which better fulfils the design of its publication. Six plates of chromolithographs, representing portions of the interior of the eye in health and disease, and four plates, one with lithographs of surgical instruments and three representing portions of retina, &c., are published in a separate volume. This has been done for the purpose of facilitating the use of the plates, and to admit of their being obtained in a separate form.

The author of this work "On the Diagnosis and Treatment of the Varieties of Dyspepsia" has bestowed much labour on the pathological investigation of morbid alterations of the stomach.<sup>13</sup> The results of his researches were published some years since, and they now form the backbone of a book treating of dyspepsia generally. We fear very much, however, that they have not been improved by their present setting. In the first place, the plan of the book is defective, and necessitates an amount of repetition which is tedious and unprofitable. We have a general account of the symptoms of dyspepsia, and afterwards a particular account in treating of its varieties; in like manner we have a general account of its causes, which is again repeated in the particular. Dr. Fox thinks that this plan will aid the better comprehension of the subject, but we do not agree with him. The author who requires his reader to go over the same ground twice in order to understand clearly what he is teaching, would himself do well to digest his subject further before he offers it to the public. Repetition does not give force or vividness to a descriptive picture; on the contrary, it confuses its features, weakens its force, and blunts the reader's attention. Worse, however, than the plan of the book is its style, which is singularly bad. The sentences are long, feeble, involved, not unfrequently confused, and sometimes positively ungrammatical. It is a great pity that a book containing the results of much genuine scientific research should be so grievously marred by faults of execution. For the matter of the work is deserving of praise; indeed, the author's treatment of his subject is painstaking, conscientious, learned, and thoroughly scientific in its aim. This has been to connect the morbid alterations of the stomach, which he has studied pathologically, with the various derangements of its function which are met with during life. The excellence of the aim and the degree of success with which it has been pursued may well cover, as they certainly need to do, a multitude of sins of execution.

Dr. Wise's two volumes,<sup>14</sup> printed on bad paper, constitute apparently the first instalment of a review of the history of medicine. They are concerned entirely with Asiatic medicine; by far the fullest and most particular account being given of the Hindu system

<sup>13</sup> "On the Diagnosis and Treatment of the Varieties of Dyspepsia, considered in relation to the pathological origin of the different forms of indigestion." By Wilson Fox, M.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1867. Second edition.

<sup>14</sup> "Review of the History of Medicine." By Thomas A. Wise, M.D. London: J. Churchill. 1867.

of medicine. The account of the Chinese system is not finished at the end of the second volume; and when it is finished, only one period—the *primitive oriental*—will have been exhausted. Four more periods are to follow—the *ancient* period, which is to include the Grecian and Roman systems; the *transition* period, to contain a sketch of the Egyptian and the Jewish systems; the *restorative* period, to include the time of the revival of learning and medicine in Europe; and the *philosophical* period, extending from the end of the last period to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The author is of opinion that up to the present time facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought too exclusively in the classical authors of Greece and Rome. It seems to have been overlooked that at one time the Hindus kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world, and that they attained as great a proficiency in medicine and surgery as any other people whose achievements are recorded. Indeed, not a little of the Grecian knowledge of medicine seems to have been obtained indirectly from the Hindus through the Egyptian priesthood. At any rate, the Charaka and the Susruta, the most ancient records of Hindu medical science and art, were written at a very early period, probably some time between the third and tenth centuries before the Christian era. In the Susruta it is said that a holy man should dissect, in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and a physician should not only know the external appearances, but the internal structure of the body, in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. These were good principles, but they were not carried out in practice with much success; for if we may judge from Dr. Wise's account, Hindu knowledge of anatomy was very scanty and imperfect. The mischief too was, that when their sages had reduced their medical opinions to an ingenious system, they pretended that this was of divine origin, and therefore unchangeable. Thus error was made sacred and the course of progress barred. It is interesting to observe how much stress was thought to have to do with the generation of disease, which was naturally, therefore, to be cured by penances and fees to the Brahmin as well as by the use of medicines. As an illustration of the elements of a Hindu physician's prognosis, we quote the following remarks:—

“Should the physician in passing to the patient see a woman with her son, or a cow with her calf, or a virgin well dressed and adorned with jewels; or see a fish, or unripe fruit, buttermilk, or flowers; or meet a rajah, or see a strong fire, or a horse running, or a goose walking, or see and hear peacocks, these prognosticate a favourable result to the patient's disease.”

Dr. Wise has supplied in these volumes an apparently complete summary of the anatomical knowledge possessed by the Hindus, of their materia medica, of their surgical instruments and appliances, of their theories of disease, and of their rules of treatment. Looking, however, at the execution of the volumes in relation to the general plan of the contemplated work, we are inclined to think that they do not contain sufficiently exact and original research to constitute a satisfactory history of medicine, much of the information having a

vague and secondhand look; while they are too full of particulars, and too deficient in the conceptions of leading tendencies, to make an instructive general review; they are rather the materials to serve for the construction of such a one.

Dr. Matthews Duncan has published in a handsome volume a collection of essays which have appeared in various medical and scientific periodicals.<sup>15</sup> All of them have been carefully revised, and some of them contain additional matter. They deal with a variety of instructive matters in connexion with obstetrics, some being of practical importance, others of physiological and pathological interest. The book, indeed, claims and merits the attention of those who are interested or engaged in the obstetrical branch of medical practice.

Dr. Burdon Sanderson's little volume on the sphygmograph, though thoroughly scientific in character, takes too much knowledge for granted on the reader's part to be entirely satisfactory as a handbook.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless it is extremely suggestive, and communicates much important information of a physiological character.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE Count de Montalembert resumes his narrative of the work of conversion among the English with an account of St. Oswald and the revival of Christianity in Northumbria, and closes it with a description of the life and manners of the Anglo-Saxon nuns. There is little in this portion of his work against which we feel inclined to enter a protest.<sup>1</sup> The author writes his annals of the good men and women who in the old days did so much to purify and soften society, in a spirit of quiet admiration, without partisanship, and with, so far as we can judge, a general fidelity to facts. However the monastic institution may have degenerated, or however it may have been superseded by the force of social circumstances, or by a theory of life more accordant with modern thought and actual needs, there can be no doubt that in a barbarous age it had a sufficient reason for its existence. The earlier Anglo-Saxon monks were not idle recluses. If they prayed and fasted, they also cultivated literature, and changed remote solitudes into cathedrals, cities, towns, and rural colonies. They consoled, they instructed, they elevated; they restrained from crime, they interposed between power and its victims, and favoured by their direct action

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<sup>15</sup> "Researches in Obstetrics." By J. Matthews Duncan, M.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "Handbook of the Sphygmograph: being a guide to its use in Clinical Research. To which is appended a Lecture on the Mode and Duration of the Contraction of the Heart in Health and Disease." By J. Burdon Sanderson, M.D., F.R.S. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1867.

<sup>1</sup> "The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard." By the Count de Montalembert, Member of the French Academy. Authorized translation. Vols. IV., V. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1867.

the gradual progress of humanity and justice in their national legislation. The virtues of the monk-bishop Aidan, of the great abbesses Hilda and Ebba, of Wilfrid, Theodore, and many others, the poetry of the frocked Cædmon, the translations of Aldhelm and writings of Bede, and the triumphs of agricultural industry in Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia, all testify that work of noble note was done by the cloister, in days when it could perhaps be done by no other agency. In his twelfth book, M. de Montalembert relates the history of St. Wilfrid, the institutor in England of Roman Unity and the Benedictine Order, and of the Greek monk Théodôre, the primate of England, to whom is traced the commencement of parochial organization. The contemporaries and successors of St. Wilfrid, "the eldest son of an invincible race," are celebrated, with more or less of legendary fame, in the next section, in which the figures of St. Cuthbert, Adamnan, Egbert, St. Aldhelm, pass before us. The Celtic heresy respecting Easter, the provincial form of a dispute which had occupied the Church for six centuries, was terminated not by Aldhelm, though he led back many Britons to the orthodox rule, but by Elbod, Bishop of Bangor, towards the end of the eighth century, "the Celtic element disappearing before the Roman element, as personified in the Order of St. Benedict." The venerable Bede has a chapter to himself, furnishing an estimate of the man and his writings. This is followed by a history of the royal monks, of Centwin, Ceadwalla, Ina, and others, almost every dynasty of the Heptarchy supplying its contingent. A commentary on the social and political influence of the monks is succeeded by a striking chapter on the Anglo-Saxon nuns. M. de Montalembert here points out the difference between the old English spirit which regarded the woman as an independent individuality, and the old Roman spirit which put her under the feet of her husband. He shows how among our ancestors the woman had a right of inheritance, distribution of property, deliberation, and government. Abbesses treated with kings, bishops, and nobles on equal terms. The signatures of five abbesses, at the Council of Beckingham, were attached to decrees intended to guarantee the inviolability of the property and freedom of the Church; while, according to the ancient laws of Cambria, for which our author refers to Palgrave and Lappenberg, "free women, married, and possessing five acres of land, voted in the public assemblies of the *clans* or tribes of Britain." In his estimate of the period ending in the eighth century, "the golden age of religion in England," M. de Montalembert acknowledges that though on the whole goodness had the advantage over evil, the deceivers and ill-doers were more numerous than the saints; in short, that "in true history there is no golden age." He insists on the general excellence of the monastic institution, but he allows that there were shortcomings—that there were sometimes sin and shame. There were contraband monasteries too, and we can hardly share the pious hope of our author that the excesses denounced by St. Boniface were confined to the abodes of these false monks and pretended nuns. The "*nefanda stupra consecratarum et velatarum sceminarum*" prohibit such an interpretation. Believing, however, in the essential goodness of these cloistered

maidens, it is pleasant that we can give them a word of praise at parting, pleasant to be able to report that while they did not forget the duties of the distaff and the needle, they almost all (!) knew Latin, some of them Greek, while others were enthusiastic students of poetry and grammar, and all that was then adorned with the name of science."

If the great Churchmen of the old English period worked in the spirit of the times, when they substituted for antique national use the Catholic rule and custom of Rome, the famous declaration of Henry VIII. and his counsellors, that the Pope of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England, was equally in the spirit of the times when the old order had changed and the Catholic and feudal régime was breaking up. An admirable version of that chapter of English history bids fair to be contributed by the editor of the State Papers illustrating the reign of the great Tudor king, if he continues the splendid summary of its events, of which so ample an instalment, covering more than four hundred pages, introduces the third volume to our notice.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Brewer resumes his narrative with the death of the Emperor Maximilian (A.D. 1519), and closes it, for the present, with the election of Clement VII., A.D. 1528. The struggle for empire, the finessing of Wolsey with the Pope, the interview of the French and English kings, the execution of the Duke of Buckingham, the conference at Calais, the contests for the Papacy, the conclave at Rome, the Parliament of 1523 (in which the editor discovers the dawn of the new spirit of independence), the political condition of Scotland, Albany's campaign, the siege of Rhodes, and the publication of the king's book against Luther, are the leading topics of this fine historical preface. Where the subject matter is so interesting, and our necessity for compression is so imperative, we can do no more than draw attention to some few points elucidated therein. The character of the statesmen of the period, in its moral aspect, is strikingly set forth. The atmosphere was then impregnated with deceit, trickery, and corruption; veteran craftsmen, schooled in these arts, pursued their ignoble vocation; shameless avarice, intrigue, duplicity, unscrupulous electioneering were almost universal. In the account of Buckingham's trial, Mr. Brewer corrects some erroneous impressions. In touching on Henry's controversial treatise, he claims for the king whatever merit belongs to it on the score of its Latinity; how far rightly we are unable to pronounce. In speaking of Anne Boleyn, he shows how historians have mistakenly identified her with her sister Mary, and denies, on grounds which he assigns, that there ever was any pre-contract between her and Lord Percy. Pace, Wolsey, Luther, are among the historical figures sketched by Mr. Brewer's skilful hand. To a praiseworthy research and discernment we find a power of pic-

<sup>2</sup> "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England." Arranged and Catalogued by J. L. Brewer, M.A., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of her Majesty's Secretaries of State. Vol. III. Parts I. and II. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.



torial description added in some passages, which evince an unquestionable talent for epical narration, as in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the stirring and fascinating episode of the Siege of Rhodes. The two bulky volumes which this excellent summary introduces contain 3695 abstracts of documents, a short appendix, a record of the king's disbursements, of materials used for the Court revels, and a general index of nearly two hundred pages. Mr. Brewer, we must remark, especially deserves our grateful recognition, for the long and valuable Introductions, written at leisure hours, "entail no expenses on the nation beyond the printing and paper."

One of the purest characters of the Reformation period was a Catholic, the fervent, eloquent, and devoted Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies.<sup>3</sup> For his one great error, the part he took in the introduction of negroes into the New World, he offered a touching and contrite apology. We say, following Mr. Helps, *the part he took*, for Las Casas was not the first to suggest the substitution of negro for Indian labour. From the earliest discovery of America, negroes had been sent there. The courtiers of the young king Charles had been licensed to import them into Hispaniola, and the Jeronomite fathers went quite as far as Las Casas when they counselled their introduction into that island. A pleasing, unaffected biography of this remarkable personage, at once a colonist, a missionary, a man of letters, a man of business, an acute observer, an active ruler, and a keen controversialist, has been produced by the united efforts of Mr. Arthur Helps and his son, who have derived the greater part of their subject matter from the "History of the Spanish Conquest in America," which the accomplished essayist published some years ago. The heroic thoughts and deeds of one who struggled through three generations of articulate-speaking men, confronting powerful kings and statesmen in defence of an injured, calumniated, and downtrodden race, are, with one sorrowful exception, worthy to be held in lasting remembrance.

About fourteen years before the death of Las Casas was born the adventurous, daring, and brilliant Raleigh. His renown in life and death is always dear to Englishmen, and perhaps to none more than his most recent biographer, Mr. James Augustus St. John.<sup>4</sup> Having examined various collections of papers—notably the manuscripts preserved in the various repositories of Madrid, and in the old castle of the Admiral at Simancas—Mr. St. John has produced a biography which has in it some new and interesting matter. Fresh information about the massacre of del Oro, or rather the conduct of Lord Grey of Wilton and of Queen Elizabeth in respect to that massacre; additional particulars relating to his attachment to Elizabeth Throgmorton, afterwards Lady Raleigh; to his contest with Essex; to his first imprisonment in the Tower; to that part of his career which extends from Elizabeth's death to his trial at Winchester, and third imprison-

<sup>3</sup> "The Life of Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies." By Arthur Helps, author of "The Spanish Conquest in America," &c. London: Bell and Daldy. 1868.

<sup>4</sup> "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1552-1618." By James Augustus St. John. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

ment, will be found in these pages. Mr. St. John also claims to have added a new chapter to Raleigh's early life, and to have shown that instead of being in obscurity before his services in Ireland, he passed his time in the company of the foremost men in England. With strong prepossessions in favour of the gallant and gloriously-gifted Raleigh, Mr. St. John does not attempt to draw his features as those of "a perfect monster whom the world ne'er saw." On the contrary, he points out his failings, condemns his errors, and even where he sympathizes does not refrain from censure. It is possible, however, that this very sympathy may in some instances have biassed him unduly against the opponents of his hero. In the case of a great historical, but in a more or less degree questionable character, a thorough sifting of the evidence is indispensable; and we are not always satisfied that this sifting process has been adopted. In certain instances we should have been glad to have chapter and verse for the statements in the text. On the whole, however, we agree with the author, that he has sought to describe and explain with truth and impartiality the conduct, motives, and misfortunes of perhaps the most illustrious of England's old sea-captains, and that the importance of much of his material justified the attempt to write a new life of such a man.

Late in the sixteenth century the great struggle which devastated France culminated in the memorable tragedy of St. Bartholomew's Day.<sup>5</sup> Of this tragedy Mr. Henry White has written a new and striking account. Differing from those inquiries typified by Mr. Allen in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1826—who regarded the massacre as the result of a long premeditated plot—Mr. White considers it to have been rather the consequence of a "momentary spasm of mingled terror and fanaticism, caused by the unsuccessful attempt to murder Coligny;" and in support of this view adduces evidence which in part at least consists of hitherto unnoticed material. According to Mr. White, though Charles IX. was responsible for the order, yet the true perpetrator of this fearful crime was the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, assisted by her Italian agents. The Church of Rome was, he insists, an accessory after the fact; and he refuses to admit the defence of the clergy which has lately been put forth, on the ground that their rejoicings were over punished rebels, and not murdered heretics, citing, among other evidence, the sermon of Muretus, a French priest, who in the presence of the Pope eulogized "that day when the Most Holy Father received the news, and went in solemn state to render thanks to God and St. Louis," the day "when the Seine rolled her waters more proudly to cast into the sea the corpses of those unholy men." If Mr. White bears hardly on the Catholics, he is at least not guilty of extenuating the frantic fanaticism and atrocious violence of the Huguenots. In writing of their leader, Coligny, however, he is scarcely satisfactory, holding his pen, in one instance at least, with a very unsteady hand. To his account of the massacre,

<sup>5</sup> "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew; preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX." By Henry White. With Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1868.

which occupies but four chapters of his book, he has prefixed a history of the religious wars in the reign of Charles IX. Beginning with a detail of the causes of the Reformation, the European character of which he tersely portrays in the first two or three pages, he notices the early persecutions of the Reformers, and glances at the career of Francis I.; depicts the reign of his successor, Henry II., the lover of Diana of Poitiers, the most beautiful woman of her age, and the victim of his own wilfulness in prosecuting the tilting-match which he had provoked with Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery. From the reign of Francis II., in the third chapter, he passes, in the fourth, to a consideration of the social condition of France at the accession of Charles IX., a graphic and instructive essay. The massacre of Passy; the prevalent anarchy; the first, second, and third religious wars; the welcome accorded Coligny, the Huguenot admiral, by the king; the treachery of the Court; the plot for Coligny's assassination, leading up to the grand topic of the book, are described by Mr. White with a spirit that makes a twice-told tale something more than endurable. The miracle of the blossoming thorn (p. 444), with Catherine's answer (p. 471) to Agincourt, Alva's agent, parodying the reply of Christ to John's disciples, "Ite et nunciate," &c., is an instance of superstition which is worth pondering; and the note on a rare pathological phenomenon, the bloody sweat (p. 492), from which the terror-stricken Charles IX. suffered, and which the Huguenots regarded as a mark of divine displeasure, is curious.

About twenty years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew we find Cardinal Allen sympathizing with the Roman Catholics in England; forbidding them to communicate in their services, but recommending indulgence to timid Rimmon-worshippers. About the same time various projects for the destruction of Queen Elizabeth, by the dagger or poison, coming to a head in the plot of Dr. Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, and her own physician, were continually exploding. In the "Calendar of Domestic Papers," which relate to her reign, will be found an account of this plot, and of Allen's address to his troubled coreligionists. The volume also contains letters to or from Thomas Philipps, the well-known interpreter of cipher papers and letters of or concerning Francis Bacon, Sir F. Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Essex, Burleigh, Camden, and others. The present Calendar, edited by Mrs. Everett Greene, is a continuation of the series commenced by the late Mr. Robert Lemon.<sup>6</sup> The events of about four years are comprised in its pages. It is introduced by a short preface, and closed by an index.

The successor of Elizabeth, and indeed the whole Stuart dynasty, incurs the mingled hatred and contempt of Mr. Andrew Bisset. To the great Revolution of the seventeenth century Mr. Bisset is favourable. The statesmen of the Commonwealth he considers very

<sup>6</sup> "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1591-1594, preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office." Edited by Mary Ann Everett Greene, author of "The Lives of the Princesses of England," &c. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans, Greene, Reader, and Dyer.

superior to those of the Elizabethan period; Blake he eulogizes for his magnificent seamanship, his simple, patriotic, and unambitious life. The great capacity of Cromwell, too, he thoroughly admits, but he renews the old, and as we had thought, exploded charge of base dissimulation and gigantic fraud and treachery against Milton's "Chief of Men." Sharing in Mr. Bisset's sentiments as regards the adoration of success, and having no preference for even a good despotism, we are not convinced that he has made out his case against Cromwell. Mr. Bisset allows that there was a corrupt party in the *Rump*, that even a large minority, the residue of the famous Long Parliament, was corrupt, but he disputes the truth of Cromwell's assertion that the corrupt party had so framed their bill for electing a new Parliament as to render it the instrument of their own official perpetuation. Unfortunately, the bill in question was never engrossed. Cromwell seized the only copy in existence on the day of the dissolution, and never produced it afterwards. Mr. Bisset not unnaturally draws his own inference from its non-production; but there may have been reasons for that non-production very different from the motive which Mr. Bisset imputes. Mr. Bisset considers it certain that, but for Cromwell's act, England might have been well governed, and have been spared the ignominy of the Stuart Restoration; but we do not think he has shown this. Of Cromwell's general sincerity we convinced ourselves some years ago, and an occasional "inscrutableness," however well brought home to him, would not, we think, alter our conviction. We are well satisfied, however, that the question should be re-opened and argued afresh from the old or new data supplied by the facts of the case. Mr. Bisset, in rewriting what he terms his "Omitted Chapters of the History of England,"<sup>7</sup> has largely consulted the documents in the State Paper Office—documents previously seen by Mr. Godwin, the well-known author of "A History of the Commonwealth;" but as Mr. Bisset alleges in a letter to the *Spectator*, only very partially examined by that gentleman. There are many interesting pages in the volumes before us. The most vigorous and most attractive are to be found in the fifth and sixth chapters of the first volume. On the whole, we feel no great admiration for this new "History of the Commonwealth." To us it is throughout disappointing; but we think it right to say, that Mr. Bisset claims originality for it, asserting that the narrative of the events of the period has never before been written [?], and that what has been written has been written inaccurately, all the English historians having given to Cromwell all the credit due to the good government of the statesmen of the Commonwealth, and to the statesmen of the Commonwealth all the discredit due to the bad government of Cromwell. The question is one that cannot be settled in a sentence, and the Lord Protector is in no want of champions to defend him against Mr. Bisset's strictures, though we cannot now undertake his vindication.

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<sup>7</sup> "History of the Commonwealth of England, from the Death of Charles I. to the Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, being Omitted Chapters of the History of England." By Andrew Bisset. In Two Vols. London: John Murray. 1867.

The history of the country of the Huguenot massacres, of the Dragonnades, of the September murders, the History of France in its terrible convulsions as in its peaceful triumphs, has been often told, and once at least succinctly, intelligently, and attractively by M. Emile de Bonnechose. The authorized translation of this national epic, as the history of a nation in its sublimated form tends to be, from the remotest time to the Revolution of 1848, edited by S. O. Beeton, is now in our hands.<sup>8</sup> Beginning with a sketch of Gaul before the Roman Conquest, and passing from the suppression of the Western Empire to the recital of the achievements of the kings of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, the author carries us to the true commencement of the history of France, towards the end of the ninth century, or later still, if we prefer the accession of Hugh Capet as the proper starting-point of French nationality, to the dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne, the holy Roman empire of the Germanic nation, which lasted from its foundation, A.D. 800, till its destruction in 1806. A series of chapters takes us through the France of the Middle Ages down to the reign of Henry IV., in the first volume of the work. The second volume opens with the reign of Louis XIII., and after a sufficiently detailed account of the administrations of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert under the Grand Monarque, and the general corruption and decay of the monarchy under his dissolute successor, closes with an ample narrative of the French Revolution of 1789, consular and imperial government, constitutional and parliamentary monarchy, and a rapid survey of the Revolution of 1848. We may call in question the accuracy of a statement here and there, as in the account of the Battle of Waterloo; reject an etymon like that of *können* for king; smile at the romance of the Guards, dying but not surrendering; or doubt the correctness of a narrative like that of the career of Danton; but on the whole, we must allow that M. de Bonnechose has furnished a trustworthy and instructive epitome of the History of France.

Another translation lies before us<sup>9</sup>—a translation by Mr. Walter Perry of Von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution." In this work, the production of a learned professor at Bonn, we have a calm, unimpassioned inquiry into the causes and progress of this appalling yet beneficent event; for, as the author observes, we may at will denounce the century in which it broke out as the "native soil of barbarity and selfishness," or applaud it as the "birthplace of a blissful futurity." Ever since the close of the Middle Ages the nations of Europe, he contends, had been struggling to reach the same object—the removal of all unfounded and imaginary authority, and the overthrow of all unnatural barriers. Columbus, Copernicus, and Luther

<sup>8</sup> "History of France to the Revolution of 1848." By Emile de Bonnechose. In Two Volumes. Authorized translation, edited by S. O. Beeton, from the Thirteenth Edition. London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler. 1868.

<sup>9</sup> "History of the French Revolution." By Heinrich von Sybel, Professor of History in the University of Bonn. Translated from the Third Edition of the original German work. By Walter C. Perry, Esq., author of "The Franks." In Four Volumes. London: John Murray. 1867.

were the pioneers and representatives of the criticising and progressive spirit. The aim of all nations was the same as that of the Constituent Assembly for France; the programme alone was different. The true work of the French Revolution was the annihilation of the Feudal system. The advantages gained on the memorable fourth of August—freedom of labour, equality before the law, and the unity of the State—were advantages won in the name of human dignity over the old system, which principle proclaimed the subjection and the natural worthlessness of our common nature. Considered as a statement of the views of the reformers of 1789, the Declaration of Rights, says our author, in spite of all its faults and imperfections, will ever remain a mighty landmark between two ages of the world, and will for ever indicate the source and direction of a new current in the political life of Europe. Politically regarded, however, Von Sybel thinks the declaration an error, not so much because the theory was false, as because the application was mischievous. One of these rights, as laid down by Lafayette, that all sovereignty has its origin in the people, is rather an ideal than an actual right. It is more and more the type to which modern Europe is tending; a right that ought to exist when the completing conditions are realized. Held as a right metaphysically inherent in all men and immediately applicable, whether the people are fit for power or not, its abuse seems inevitable. To be a sound principle, it requires to be differently enunciated. The same may be said of the two other principles of Lafayette, with some reservation and restriction of meaning. The immediate application of these principles was, Von Sybel asserts, pernicious, leading to great injustice, cruelty, and fraud; and as he constantly keeps this view before him, his history, notwithstanding his recognition of the great service rendered to humanity by the French Revolution, often reads like the indictment of an opponent. That the work thus produced is not a picturesque scenical history will readily be inferred. On the other hand, it is not a dry disquisition. It is a quiet, conscientiously written, but utterly inartistic narrative, showing sympathy with the good that underlies the movement, and antipathy for the evil that accompanies it. Composed after much research, after examination of numerous books and papers, some of which throw new light on the subject, it has unusual claims on our attention. There are three points only which we shall notice here. In estimating responsibilities, the historian makes France exclusively answerable for the revolutionary war, insisting that the declaration of hostilities was the result of the Girondins for party purposes, and seeing no sufficient justification in the menacing attitude of the Royalists, or in the Austrian ultimatum which was, we believe, the immediate occasion of the challenge to Europe. This is a view which apologists for the Revolution are bound to consider. Another point is that which concerns the secularization of ecclesiastical property. Von Sybel seems to condemn this appropriation unreservedly. It is quite true that some injustice must have been done to the actual recipients by the sweeping measures of the Revolution. Still, we hold that the State has a right under certain circumstances to resume national property, and apply it to national purposes other than those for

which it was originally intended. Moreover, not only was Feudalism, as our author allows, put on its trial by the French Revolution, but Catholicism, or plainly speaking, Christian Dogma and Supernaturalism were equally put on their trial. Now although all precipitate changes are impolitic, and although the indiscriminate legislation of the fourth of August may be censurable, yet, in our opinion, no historian can properly estimate the phenomena of the French Revolution who does not regard it as in some degree a legitimate antagonist of an antiquated creed. There is another question raised by the perusal of Von Sybel's history: that which relates to the career and character of Danton. Our historian depicts him as a coarse, vulgar, and extremely sensual man, without moral or physical courage, without faith in the goodness of his cause, without intellectual life save that which is inspired by animal energy, and as one of the accomplices in the September massacre. This portrait seems to us to be, in one or two points at least, manifestly out of drawing. There are educated men who would reject it entirely as a malignant misrepresentation. It is very well known that Auguste Comte regards Danton as a statesman; and Thomas Carlyle, long ago, said a favourable word of him. In 1859, Eugène Despois wrote a brief defence of Danton in the *Revue de Paris*; and Alfred Bougeard, in 1861, published a collection of documents, in which he denied the truth of the imputations brought against this hero of the Convention.

More recently, Dr. Robinet has given to the world an instalment of his perfected "Life of Danton," in which he attempts, and sometimes not without apparent success, to confute the charges of his adversaries.<sup>10</sup> We cannot here enter into details, but we may particularize one instance in which Dr. Robinet, following Bougeard, seems to have made out his case. Madame Roland declares that a circular was issued by the Committee of Surveillance, apologizing for the September massacres, and inviting similar orgies throughout France, bearing the signature of the Minister of Justice—that is, of Danton. Now M. Bougeard asserts that he has examined this circular, and that the signature of Danton is not to be found there. This in itself, indeed, does not prove that Danton was not implicated, but it does prove the non-existence of the most important piece of evidence against him, and it excites a suspicion as to the value of the testimony of Danton's political adversaries, especially when confronted with the counter testimony of his friends. Dr. Robinet's name is far from prepossessing us in favour of his conclusions; but we trust some competent inquirer will re-investigate this question when Danton's vindicator has accomplished his task.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, we would refer the champions of Danton to the pages in Von Sybel's History which reaffirm the old indictment against Danton, and in particular to a circular from the archives of Angers, vol. ii. p. 99, which, assuming it to be authentic, shows that, if Danton did not authorize the September

<sup>10</sup> "Danton: Mémoire sur sa Vie Privée. Appuyé des Pièces Justificatives." Par le Dr. Robinet, &c. Paris: 1865.

<sup>11</sup> See at the end of the present section a notice of Thiénot's "Rapport."

massacres, he at least sanctioned the "effusion of the blood of traitors" on another occasion.

In the two volumes of the German historian's work now before us, in addition to all the topics of interest already indicated, will be found valuable passages on the policy of Russia, and some excellent chapters in which the conduct of the partitioners of Poland, and the political and social antecedents of that unhappy country, are amply discussed, and where a sincere intention to pronounce an impartial sentence is foiled by the logic of patriotic selfishness.

In the general spirit of his appreciation of the French Revolution, Mr. John Morley,<sup>12</sup> in his really fine study of Edmund Burke, is in tolerable accordance with Herr von Sybel. Whether from the difference of conditions under which their respective literary labours have been executed, or from Mr. Morley's superior discriminativeness, or from our own prepossession, the English writer's judgment of that great catastrophe seems to us more satisfactory than the criticism passed on it in the two volumes which we have seen of the German author's "History." Condemning the doctrine of rights, and deploring the excesses of the Revolution, Mr. Morley insists strongly on the positive and fruit-bearing character of the great movement. He maintains that the Revolution "impregnated the political atmosphere with ethical ingredients;" that it originated a noble and elevating sense of public duty, the consciousness of deep moral obligation of which justice is the highest expression; that it favoured the generous and sublime sentiment of the brotherhood of men which had died out of a corrupt and persecuting Church; that the voice of the new time, as expressed in the articles on Slavery, Punishments, and Persecutions in the "Philosophical Dictionary," are what the voice of the Church should have been. He contends that even those who opposed the Revolution caught a measure of brightness and largeness from their adversary; that the influence of Rousseau, the eloquent proclaimer of the divine sentiment of human brotherhood, reappears in the pages of the "Génie du Christianisme;" that in spite of its many bad measures the Convention realized the work to be done and displayed full ability to do it. The redaction of the famous Civil Code in particular was executed at the instance of the Convention. It gave the Committee of Legislation three months to prepare it, and Cambacérès placed it on the table in one. In criticising Burke's attitude to the Revolution, Mr. Morley highly praises the prophetic sagacity which he displayed, freely pointing out, however, the mistakes of this eminent man, who recommended to the French the English scheme of government, the old order in Church and State, and comforted the famine-stricken by a vision of eternal justice! In making conformity to general utility the practical standard of right, Burke closely agreed with the criterion that, notwithstanding its metaphysical heresies and actual excesses, the Revolution established. Mr. Morley shows how, working in Burke's spirit, the Revolutionists might have made out a case for the sove-

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<sup>12</sup> "Edmund Burke; a Historical Study." By John Morley, B.A. Oxon. London: Macmillan and Co. 1867.



reignty of the people, grounded on the advantages derivable from the participation of the people in the government of the country. In applying his standard of utility Burke was generally consistent, denouncing abstractions and bringing men back to realities. It was in the name of utility that he deprecated war with America, that he impeached Hastings, thereby, says Mr. Morley, teaching the great lessons that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have obligations; that in Ireland he advocated a large and liberal tolerance. Burke, however, in one instance, that of his resistance to Pitt's commercial policy, was guilty of factious opposition, as Mr. Morley acknowledges. Of Burke's wisdom, of his goodness, of his contributions to the cause of the collective progress of mankind, of his general political conceptions, Mr. Morley has furnished instances in the various sections of his admirable study of this eminent statesman; in whom he considers a passionate enthusiasm for order a predominant characteristic. This was carried so far that Burke proclaimed his preference for peace to truth, and resolutely denounced all free thought with an unreasoning malignancy worthy of the dotage of Toryism. Those who would know more of Mr. Morley's critical estimate of the great Whig statesman must turn to his attractive volume. It is an essay of unusual merit. The thought is sound, the criticism judicious, the exposition luminous, the language manly and refined, and a spirit of artistic proportion pervades the whole literary structure.

M. Léon Faucher<sup>13</sup> expresses a sentiment similar to that of Mr. Morley on the modifying influence of new ideas on the champions of opinions passing into decay. In writing to one of his most intimate English friends, Mr. Henry Reeve, he tells him, that Le Maistre, like himself and all the enlightened men of the Tory party, was neither more nor less than a revolutionist employed in advocating old opinions; that the cause for which they combated was a lost cause, and that the translation of "De Tocqueville" would sooner or later assist the party of progress in constructing the future. The position in which this eminent man was placed, as a member of the Chamber of Deputies and as Minister of the Interior during the memorable crisis of the third great Revolution in France, renders his life and correspondence extremely valuable. His knowledge of the political and social arrangements of England, his intimacy with English friends well fitted to aid him in comprehending the institutions and idiosyncrasies of our insular nation, make any expression of opinion on the characteristics of our own country unusually valuable. His thoroughly disciplined mind, his patient inquisitiveness, his rich culture, the combination of strong confidence in the goodness of his cause with the growing sense of the perils inseparable from its sudden advance; his general distrust of the agents of revolutionary reform, united to his faithful allegiance to the inevitable and actual depositories of power; his sustained patriotism and great experience in public business, demonstrate that he was not simply a man of theoretical ability or brilliant political qualities, but of

<sup>13</sup> "Léon Faucher." Tome Premier, Correspondance; Tome Second, Vie Parlementaire. Paris: 1868.

real statesmanly aptitude, with his various mental faculties and accomplishments all existing in cohesion and consolidated into character. Such is the impression at least that an examination of the two volumes entitled "Léon Faucher" has left on our mind; and we do not think that any undue prepossession affects our estimate of this able and honest statesman, as our views are not always in harmony with his. Among Léon Faucher's leading characteristics we note a resolute promptitude of decision. Penetrating and self-reliant as he was, however, in one instance his judgment seems to have wavered, and the expectations he had formed of the conduct of a man who has since become famous, to have been in a great degree disappointed. Of the three conspicuous men who aspired to the Presidency of the Republic, Lamartine, Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon, he preferred the last, regarding the first two as incapable, and discerning in the future author of the *coup d'état* great political sagacity, mental elevation, and evidence of a loyal attachment to the new constitution. Yet he lived to discover that the President to whom he had given his suffrage had brought the country to the verge of an abyss, that he did not understand his situation, had no true comprehension of the representative system, and could not make the sacrifices which existing political exigencies demanded. When the fatal day arrived, and Léon Faucher found his name inscribed in the list of the notable men whom the great conspirator wished for his own purposes to form a commission, he protested vehemently, and when his protest was disregarded, wrote a proud and dignified rebuke to the triumphant Saviour of Society. Léon Faucher's opinions of other public men in France and in England will be read with interest. M. de Morny he stigmatizes as at once violent and hypocritical; Lord Russell he respected, but Palmerston and the Whigs he hated; occasional mention is made in his letters of Mill, Bright, Cobden, Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Grote, and other remarkable persons. De Tocqueville, Michel Chevalier, Michelet, Gustave de Beaumont, were among his acquaintances. In his correspondence the social and political question naturally predominates, and in writing to his friends he touches on a variety of interesting topics—the condition of the poor; the state of our great towns, with their two populations five hundred years apart; finance, police, war, literature. To exhibit in outline the range of this correspondence is all that we can do in our necessarily brief notice. The letters commence in 1821, and end with the year 1854. A large number are addressed to his friend Mr. Henry Reeve, others to M. Bellecour, under whose roof he once resided, some to M. Maldan, some to M. P. D. de Hauranne. Mignet, Changarnier, Michelet, Buffet, Odillon Barrot, and Reschid Pacha occur in the list of correspondents. Some letters were addressed to Dr. (now Sir John) Bowring during his parliamentary career. The letters of which Mrs. Grote was the recipient, evince how much he valued his English friends. In one of these letters we find him anticipating pleasure from the perusal of an essay on some social subject on which Mrs. Grote was then engaged; in another, referring to the great work of the historian of Greece; in a third, written immediately after the Revolution of February, 1848, endeavouring to moderate

what he considered the too enthusiastic welcome accorded to that Parisian millennium, painting its darker phases in hues of earthquake and eclipse, but always showing friendly interest and kindly appreciation. A sketch of the life of Léon Faucher precedes the Correspondence which is comprised in the first volume. The second volume is filled with speeches and with circulars addressed by Léon Faucher to official persons during his public career, and should be consulted by all who wish to study that portion of the history of France to which Léon Faucher was himself a living contributor. In the pleasing and informing Memoir which introduces these papers will be found an excellent survey of the incidents in the life of this patriotic statesman.

Born at Limoges on the 8th of September, 1803, Léon Faucher migrated with the rest of the household to Toulouse, where his father had accepted a situation in a mercantile house, when about nine years of age. In 1816 we find the young Léon strongly excited by his devotional feelings, and displaying a taste for verse writing, which his practical father discouraged. The youth, whose predilection was for art and science and not for commerce, obtained permission to complete his studies. Schooled by sorrow and poverty, the boy was not above helping his mother in her embroidery and so earning three francs a day, rising in the hours of darkness and plying an indefatigable needle by the light of candles abstracted from the store which his mother had vainly concealed. After this we find him promoted to the rank of a teacher in some educational establishment. From the family of M. Bellecour, with whom he resided till he was nineteen, he proceeded to Paris with a view to enlarging "the circle of his studies." Here he succeeded in getting employment as a tutor in a private family; but at twenty-three years of age, failing to obtain the professorial chair to which he was fairly entitled, he renounced the tutorial career and turned his attention to politics. In 1830 he sided with the revolutionary party, fighting, as he maintained, in the cause of order and liberty. Subsequently he became a journalist. Editor of the *Temps*, he contributed also to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue de Paris*, &c. In common with Bastiat, Horace Say, and Michel Chevalier, he advocated the principles of free trade. In 1844 he became a candidate for the representation of Rheims, and though unsuccessful on this occasion, he was returned for that great manufacturing city by a decided majority two years later. In 1847, when Paris was agitated with the excitement arising out of the question of the Reform Banquets, Léon Faucher was by no means opposed to their celebration; and we find him afterwards affirming that, but for the double fault committed by the Government on the one hand, and by Odillon Barrot and Duvergier on the other, these popular demonstrations would have terminated peaceably. When the Revolution of February had destroyed the monarchy he frankly accepted the Republic, resisting, however, those schemes of the Provisional Government which appeared to him anarchical or visionary. A political economist and expert financier, we see him now debating with energy the fiscal questions of the time, or discussing monetary operations, or national workshops, or investigating problems involving more general issues. In 1849 he was appointed

Minister of the Interior, an office which he subsequently resigned, to resume in 1851, and after the *coup d'état* again to resign. Withdrawing now from public life, the ex-minister henceforward occupied himself with financial investigations, scientific pursuits, political inquiries, archæology, and foreign travel. At this period we find him pronouncing in favour of the war with Russia, of the conservation of Turkey, and of the Eastern diplomacy of Louis Napoleon. In April, 1854, he was taken seriously ill, and on the 14th December in the same year he died at Marseilles, leaving a name that will always be respected.

A child of revolution, a mysterious and rebellious soul if ever there was one, was William Blake, poet and artist, in whose praise Mr. Swinburne has written a dithyrambic lyrical critique, with prodigal overflow of picturesque rhetoric and dazzling imagery.<sup>14</sup> Not a biography, but an essay, it is entitled only in courtesy to notice in this section; and not having read Mr. Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, nor the poems of Blake, to both of which Mr. Swinburne constantly refers, we are for these, if for no other reasons, incompetent to give anything like a complete or final verdict. William Blake, known to us only through a song or two of exquisite grace and Allan Cunningham's sketch of his life, is placed by his critic high among mystics and poets. We quite allow that some of the lyrical snatches, praised or cited it may be without praise, by Mr. Swinburne, have a rare delicacy of feeling and language—a strength and sweetness in one—that recal Milton's great twin lyrics, or with their golden ring and antique grace remind us of Keats, or have in them an echo of the wild brilliance and pure loveliness of Shelley. Other compositions, however, from Mr. Blake's pen seem to us to be little more than doggerel rhapsodies, born of impulses that show an undisciplined nature, impatient of "reasoned truth," and suggest, in spite of Mr. Swinburne's protest, that the sweet bells of the poet's mind were jangled and out of tune. If Mr. Cunningham's account of Blake be a correct one, the poet was subject to constant hallucinations. Is not this tendency to hallucination the peril of mysticism? Yet mysticism, or new creation through an intense imaginative sympathy, is the informing spirit of much of our finest poetry. As a religious insurgent Mr. Blake—and we may add, though it is hardly necessary to do so, that his interpreter sides with him—denounces not only the conventional and the commonplace, as generally understood, but moralities, respectabilities, and traditionary beliefs, that still retain a hold on minds that have some independence of thought. Blake inveighs against the Deism that selects and rejects, against natural religion and morality, against rational truth, against the doubt and experiment that await on science, against all emulation of physical pleasure, against the virtues and vices, whose reign, according to Mr. Blake's gospel, Jesus came to destroy. In opposition to all these orthodoxies he proclaims faith in universal forgiveness,

<sup>14</sup> "William Blake: a Critical Essay." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. With Illustrations from Blake's designs or facsimile, coloured and plain. London: John Camden Hotten. 1868.

in the liberty both of body and mind to exercise the divine arts of imagination, in the humanity of God and the deity of man, in a world where "every female delights to give her maiden to her husband." Something of prophecy there may be in Blake's poetic aspirations, for we have no right to assume that in some far-off possible age the relations of man may not admit of the reconciliation of the claims of spontaneous impulse, in a greater or less degree, with those of self-restricting duty. Still, with all allowance for poetical anticipation, the antinomianism of Blake is dangerous and his mysticism heretical, partial, and disintegrating. It seems that these doctrines were in Blake's case generally consistent with perfect purity in the practical sphere of life. Once only did the heresiarch in a patriarchal mood propose to add a second wife to his small and shifting household; but, though much perplexed, at the tears of his wife and the remonstrances of his friends, he yielded to the arguments of affection and reason. We are told, on what appears to be good authority, that the legend of Blake and his wife sitting as Adam and Eve in their garden is simply a legend. This heretical mystic poet was a hosier's son who, born in London, near Golden-square, on 20th November, 1757, died, after a "long dim life of labour," in the year 1827.

"Christ must be loved as the Son of man before he can be adored as the Son of God"—an aphorism which occurs in an unpublished sermon by the late Rev. Frederick Robertson, is quite in harmony with the humanitarian religion of Blake. An ardent, intellectual, admirable man, sympathizing with all goodness and loveliness in art and nature, Mr. Robertson was especially excellent in his readiness to welcome truth, even on that tabooed subject, Theology.<sup>15</sup> Thus, instead of having recourse to the evasions and violent perversions of sense and grammar to avoid an admission as to the eschatological belief of the first Christians, he boldly avows his conviction that "the Apostles lived in anticipation of an immediate end of the world," adding, that without this "delusion" the new religion would have appeared merely a philosophy and not a life; and that it was necessary as a motive to immediate and entire repentance, and to the exercise of that apostolic energy which crowded so much into so small a compass—an avowal that seems to draw with it more than Mr. Robertson would have willingly conceded. We are happy to find that a new edition of his *Life and Letters* has been required. Instead of two volumes we have now one only, but the Editor, the Rev. Stopford H. Brooke, assures us that the matter is in all essential respects identical with that of the book as originally published, none but secondary alterations having been admitted.

Of a good and wise woman of the olden times, admired alike by Nonconformist and Cavalier, Anna, first Countess of Balcarres, and afterwards of Argyll, Lord Lindsay has compiled a memoir fuller than that given in "*The Lives of the Lindsays*."<sup>16</sup> Anna, daughter of

<sup>15</sup> "*Life and Letters of Fredk. W. Robertson, M.A., Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton.*" Edited by Stopford H. Brooke, M.A., Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Edition. London: Smith and Elder. 1868.

<sup>16</sup> "*Memoir of Lady Anna Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, and afterwards of*

Colin the Red, Earl of Seaforth, chief of the great Highland clan of the Mackenzies, was born during the early and happier spring of the seventeenth century; her days extended over the stormy summer of the great civil wars, the chequered autumn that succeeded the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688; and she even survived the culminating epoch of the century for very nearly twenty years.

By the side of this lady of the olden time we may place one who carries us back into hoar antiquity, our first Christian queen, Bertha, the wife of Ethelbert. The little volume before us, "Queen Bertha and her Times," by E. H. Hudson, is compiled from the various sources supplied by Gregory of Tours, Auguste Thierry, Montalembert, Sharon Turner, Stanley, Hook, Wright, Thrupp, and Fairholt. It appears to be a very readable little volume, though we cannot in every instance accept the author's statements.<sup>17</sup> The story of the ruthless king that massacred the bards in Wales is referred to as if there were unimpeachable evidence for that picturesque transaction.

Our next step leads us fairly into the realm of fictitious biography. Arthur Middleton, fictitious as his tale may be, is yet of imagination not *all* compact.<sup>18</sup> In the fiction there is fact. This little volume belongs to the school of free religious thought, and shows how even the literature of Recreation is coloured by the spirit of the day. It undertakes to describe "the feelings and thoughts of a young man of the present time, at the age when the outside world begins to press most forcibly upon him, and his whole inward nature is in revolt and disturbance." The tale, if such it can be called, is related in a quiet meditative style. There is little or no argument in it. The protest is rarely, perhaps never, violent; and the reflections testify to the possession by the writer of a gentle and cultivated mind.

Borrowing the title of one of Emerson's books which appeared some years ago, Mr. Edward Walford has published a series of literary as well as literal photographs of "Representative Men in Literature, Science, and Art." The portraits are from life, and are nicely executed. Where we have been able to test the letterpress we have found it correct. Among the remarkable persons who have thus sat for their picture are Browning, Darwin, Faraday, Froude, Owen, Thackeray, Dickens, Thirlwall, Whewell, Burton, and Murchison. Men who are quite as much entitled as some of these celebrities to a place in this collection are not admitted; and there are some in it the motive for whose inclusion we cannot very well comprehend.<sup>19</sup>

To the first lady in England, the sovereign representative of imperial realms, we owe the simple records of domestic travel inscribed on

Argyll, 1621-1706." By Alexander Lord Lindsay, Master of Crawford and Balcarres. London: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

<sup>17</sup> "Queen Bertha and her Times." By E. H. Hudson, author of "Recollections of a Visit to British Caffraria." London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1868.

<sup>18</sup> "Arthur Middleton: a Biography." London: Trübner and Co. 1868.

<sup>19</sup> "Representative Men in Literature, Science, and Art." By Edward Walford, M.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. The Photographic Portraits from Life. By Ernest Edwards, B.A. London: Alfred William Bennett. 1868.

"Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands."<sup>20</sup> The volume contains an account of Earlier Visits to Scotland, as far back as the years 1842-1847; of Life in the Highlands between 1848-1861; of Tours in England and Ireland and Yachting Excursions, covering nearly the last-cited period of time. It is assuredly the exalted position of the writer that gives colouring and outline to those leaves. Not intended to challenge literary criticism, "The Journal" invites and satisfies respectful curiosity. Not affecting originality of thought it claims the sympathetic recognition of the people for whose gratification it has been published. It portrays the home life, the simple pleasures, the pure tastes of an English Queen. It discloses the aspect of her Court, it reveals the sympathy which the royal author feels for the sorrows and bereavements of the highest or of the lowest among her people. It gives us some glimpses of the Queen's home, letting us hear the wife reading poetry to her husband, or the mother teaching her daughter some lesson of English history. It shows us the Queen noting her impression of the character of an illustrious subject—lately dead—dwelling on the singleness of purpose, the straightforwardness, the courage of "the friend of the Sovereign," the "dear great" Duke, or visiting "the cottages where the poor people live," relieving their wants, and commenting on some homely phrase or kindly trait. The Queen's interest, while extended to human beings, is not limited to them. An almost child-like delight in fine scenery, in the sight of mountains, and in the pure air, is noted again and again in the "Journal." In one place we read of "splendid beeches feathering quite to the ground;" in another, of the "birch all golden" in the autumn; in a third, of the "mountains beautifully lit up with those very blue shades upon them like the bloom on a plum;" and in a fourth, of the lovely bay off the Devonshire coast, with "red cliffs and rocks, with wooded hills like Italy, and reminding one of a ballet or a play where nymphs are to appear." It is only as we care to see the portrait thus unconsciously sketched of a true-hearted sensible woman—woman at once and queen,—that we shall find any attraction in these "Leaves from the Journal of our Life." The circumstances which led to the publication of this volume have been explained by the editor. Having seen at Balmoral some extracts from the volume he expressed the interest he felt in them. It then occurred to Her Majesty to print them for private presentation to the members of the Royal Family, but a near relative of the Queen, and afterwards Mr. Helps, suggesting that the book would be interesting to others, its publication was eventually accorded.

The three books that still await our notice carry us back into a remote antiquity. The first volume of a "Collection of Historians of Armenia,"<sup>21</sup> edited by Victor Langlois, and published under the auspices

<sup>20</sup> "Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861, to which are prefixed and added Extracts from the same Journal, giving an Account of Earlier Visits to Scotland and Tours in England and Wales, and Yachting Excursions." Edited by Arthur Helps. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

<sup>21</sup> "Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes." Publié en Français sous les auspices de Son Excellence Nubar Pacha, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de

of his Excellency Nubar-Pacha, contains a French version of the extant fragments of Greek historians, translated into Armenian; of Syrian historians, also translated into Armenian; and of Greek authors preserved in the works of Armenian historians. Among these authors are Moses of Khorene; Bardesanes, the Gnostic; Leroubna, possibly the fabricator of a history of Abgarus; Ariston of Pella, the well-known Christian controversialist, who wrote his dialogue of Jason and Papiscus after the eighteenth year of Hadrian, and published it in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The volume is copiously annotated, and has an introductory preface on the literary treasures once possessed by Armenia. From it we learn not only that an Armenian version of Berossus existed in the twelfth century after Christ, but that a manuscript of Diodorus Siculus in the same language is still in existence and is the present object of close pursuit.

In the Reports of Historical Studies, drawn up by MM. Geffroy, Zeller, and Thiénot, allusion is made to the discovery of a work of Suetonius and various fragments of great writers in verse and prose. In the same paper, that by M. Geffroy on "Antiquity," we find a general survey of the progress of the literature of archæology in France, in relation to Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Etruria.<sup>22</sup> Speaking of Victor le Clerc's works, severally entitled "Des Journaux chez les Romains" and "Sur les Annales des Pôntifes," M. Geffroy expresses his conviction that their author has demonstrated the continued preservation of some of the old historical records of Rome, and that the traditional or legendary narrative of the regal period has in it elements of truth. To Etruria, Rome was, he thinks, indebted for its State religion and civil organization; to Samnium for its severe manners and warlike divinities; to Latium for its fetial law, its rural gods and its language; and he sees in the legend which makes Romulus and Tullus Latins, Numa and Brutus Sabines, Servius and the Tarquins Etruscans, a faithful expression of the formation of Roman Society. In M. Desverger's work on "Etruria and the Etruscans," he assures us proof will be found, if not of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, at least of the profound influence which a Lydian colony exercised over that people. M. Zeller has reviewed the literature illustrating the mediæval period. M. Thiénot, who contributes an essay on modern times, is among the number of those who most severely condemn Mary Stuart; regarding her as an accomplice in the assassination of Darnley, and pronouncing her disinheritor, not only of Elizabeth but of her own son, in favour of Philip II., an undoubted act of treason against the State. There are some very interesting pages in this paper, containing a summary appreciation of different histories of the French Revolution,

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S. A. le Vice-Roi d'Égypte, et avec le Concours des Membres de l'Académie Arménienne de Saint Lazare de Venise, et des Principaux Arménistes, Français et Étrangers. Par Victor Langlois. Tome premier. Première Période: Historiens Grecs et Syriens, traduit anciennement en Arménien. Paris: Firmin Didot. 1867.

<sup>22</sup> "Recueil des Rapports sur le Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences en France." "Rapports sur les Études Historiques." Par MM. Geffroy, Zeller, et Thiénot. Publication faite sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Paris. 1867.



in particular those of Carlyle, Michelet, and Louis Blanc. In Carlyle the author sees genius, but censurable cynicism and disbelief; in Michelet, a poet who sings; in Louis Blanc, an orator who pleads—in both admirable qualities, but also great defects. Louis Blanc's hero, Robespierre, is no hero with Michelet. If Michelet has a hero, it is Danton; and M. Thiénot's judgment of this impetuous person, is, in some important respects, favourable. As regards the September massacres, indeed, his verdict is not altogether exculpatory, for while he pronounces those atrocities to have been the crime of the whole people and not of a handful of wretches hired by the Commune, the author seems to intimate that Danton, who was then Minister of Justice, refused to injure his popularity by interference. As regards the charge of corruption, however, he entirely absolves Danton, in one place observing that M. Bougeard has incontrovertibly proved that he never received any money from the Court; in another place, in answer to Louis Blanc, who relies on the good faith of La Fayette, retorting that La Fayette was credulous, and pointing to his suspicious silence when he was publicly attacked by Danton, and a word from his lips would have sufficed to crush his adversary.

In the first of the papers in this attractive volume, M. Geffroy, in noticing Renan's "*Histoire Générale et système comparé des langues Sémitiques*," glances at the speculation which treats the Semitic race as pre-eminently and exclusively monotheistic, without questioning its validity. In the companion volume to which we now invite attention, on Egypt and the East,<sup>23</sup> the same work and the same speculation are made the subject of comment by M. Guigniant, who declares that the hypothesis, far from being supported by historical facts, is diametrically opposed to them. The volume in which this criticism occurs abounds in valuable information on the present condition of Egyptology; on the Cuneiform Inscriptions; on the progress of Semitic, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian studies; and on the study of Sanskrit, Zend, Pali, and comparative grammar of Indo-European languages. The section on Egypt has greatly interested us. An undoubted progress appears to have been made in the interpretation of papyrus records, &c. Among the more recent of the distinguished students of Egyptian antiquity, our countryman, Mr. Goodwin, has a prominent place accorded him.

We give two lines to a pamphlet on "*American Antiquities*,"<sup>24</sup> the object of which is to argue that "the Egyptian passed his childhood in America, and there learnt how to build his pyramid, and how to raise his obelisk and to dedicate it to the great god Deus Solis." M. Geffroy regards the Egyptian as a branch of the Syro-Aramaic family, detached in a very remote period from the great family tree. Can Mr. Heaviside reconcile this theory with his daring hypothesis?

<sup>23</sup> "*Recueil des Rapports sur le Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences en France*." "*Sciences Historiques et Philologiques*." "*Progrès des Etudes relatives à l'Égypte et à l'Orient*." Publication faite sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Paris. 1867.

<sup>24</sup> "*American Antiquities*; or, the New World the Old, and the Old World the New." By John T. C. Heaviside. London: Trübner and Co. 1868.

The first volume of Mr. Talboys Wheeler's "History of India"<sup>25</sup> has been already the subject of comment in one of our editorial articles of the present number of the *Westminster Review*. We revert to it here because the great importance of this work makes it desirable that its contents should be specified with some more detail than could find its place in the article to which we are alluding. The object of Mr. Wheeler's "History of India" is "not so much to draw up a history of the literature or religion of the Hindus, or to exhibit the results of comparative philology, as to delineate the civilization and institutions of the people with especial reference to their present condition and prosperity, and to the political relations of the British Government with the great Indian feudatories of the Crown." With this view he has devoted the first volume of his work to a short outline of the oldest period of Hindu civilization—the Vedic—and a full account of the leading story of the Mahābhārata, the greatest Hindu epos. The second volume "will exhibit the traditions to be found in the Rāmāyana,"—the second great epos; the third "will include the results of the first and second volumes, as well as those which are to be drawn from the more salient points in Sanskrit and Mussulman literature, and will thus form a *resumé* of the history of India from the earliest period to the rise of British power." The remainder of the work is intended "to comprise the whole period of British administration, from the middle of the last century to the present day." There is no doubt that if Mr. Wheeler accomplishes the task he thus has proposed to himself, his history of India will be the completest in existence; and judging from the manner in which he has dealt with his subject matter in the first volume, we entertain the best hopes of its success. "All matters of mere antiquarian or philological or literary interest" not falling within his scope, the account he gives, in this first volume, of the Vedic period, and that represented by the Mahābhārata, must be judged from the political and historical standpoint which he assumes. For this reason, the Vedic period, as yielding the least material for the historian, has been dealt with by him merely as an introduction to the epic period, which opens up the really historical ground of ancient India. In spite of its conciseness, however, this introduction is in itself a valuable summary of some of the last Vedic researches of Sanskrit philologists, giving a miniature picture of the social and religious condition of the earliest ages of Hindu civilization, as inferable from the hymns of the Rigveda. Since, in our editorial article, a brief outline of the leading story of the Mahābhārata has already been given, we will here merely subjoin the headings under which Mr. Wheeler has analysed the great epos. In the first chapter he treats of the family traditions of the house of Bharata; in the second, of the early feuds at Hāstinapur; in the third, of the first exile of the Pāndavas; in the fourth, of the marriage of the Pāndavas; in the fifth, of the reign of the Pāndavas in Khāndava-

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<sup>25</sup> "The History of India from the Earliest Ages." By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. I.: The Vedic Period and the Mahābhārata. London: N. Trübner and Co. 1867.

prastha; in the sixth, of the Râjasûya, or royal sacrifice of Yudhishtira; in the seventh, of the gambling match at Hâstinapur; in the eighth, of the second exile of the Pândavas—the twelve years in the jungle; in the ninth, of their thirteenth year of exile in the city of King Virâta. The tenth chapter gives an account of the negotiations for the restoration of the Pândavas; the eleventh, of the preparations for the great war; the twelfth, of the eighteen days of this war; the thirteenth describes the revenge of Asvatthâman; the fourteenth, the reconciliation of the living and burial of the dead; the fifteenth, the installation of Râja Yudhishtira; the sixteenth, the horse sacrifice of Râja Yudhishtira; and the seventeenth, “the final tragedies.” And the whole account of the great epos, as contained in these seventeen chapters, is followed by four chapters, the first of which is devoted to the legends of Krishna, the second to the beautiful episode of Nala and Damayantî, the third to that of Devayâni, and the fourth to that of Chandrahâsa and Vishayâ. As already observed in our remarks on the Mahâbhârata, the story of the horse sacrifice of Yudhishtira, though in the main agreeing with the narrative of the Mahâbhârata, is in substance that contained in the *Asvamedha*, a legendary work ascribed to a saint Jaimini; and to this work also the beautiful romance of Chandrahâsa and Vishayâ belongs. It will be seen that, in this account, Mr. Wheeler has faithfully followed the order of the original, and thus has materially aided the student of Hindu antiquity in a proper appreciation of the work of the Brahmanical compilers. For whatever results Sanskrit philology may in future arrive at, in regard to the chronological order in which the various portions of the great epos have to be conceived, the only correct method of dealing with its contents *at present*, is to leave them in the order in which tradition has handed them down to us. The traditions themselves have been reproduced by Mr. Wheeler in a condensed form, but, barring some unimportant exceptions, with great correctness and artistical skill; and in this respect too, therefore, he has proved to be a reliable guide. That his critical remarks and conclusions will not always carry assent is obvious, for as Mahâbhâratean studies themselves are but in their infancy, an immense deal of literary jungle must first be cleared by the critical work of Sanskrit philology before any individual opinions relating to the obscurities of the great poem can claim the value of scientific positiveness. The good common sense, however, and the ingenuity with which Mr. Wheeler has throughout applied his criticisms to the subject matter under his review, will insure to them a special attention, even on the part of Sanskritists who may have to investigate the authenticity of the Mahâbhârata as a record of history.

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## BELLES LETTRES.

QUALIS ab incepto. In Mrs. Pender Cudlip we still see the Miss Annie Thomas of former novels. The same old slang meets us. The same old grandiloquent expressions jar upon us. In the second page of her new performance<sup>1</sup> we read of "a spiral staircase which curved into space." This description, we suppose, is meant to overwhelm us with a sense of grandeur; but it simply conveys to us the idea that the house had not a roof. At page 9 we have the following account of the heroine—"A bright, brave, thoroughbred creature." At the Council at Mascon, A.D. 1285, it was gravely debated whether women were human creatures. Mrs. Pender Cudlip certainly writes of them as if they were horses or dogs. At page 26 we meet the following ethical sentence:—

"A character lacking in energy,—perhaps in the energy, that is, that belongs to this period, urging each one to the fore, at any cost of conscience as regards the manner of his work, under the impression, not so much that the devil will take the hindmost, as that the hindmost must be a poor and pitiful failure, whom the devil will not find it worth his while to take."

This is quite in the old Devil vein of former days. But probably Mrs. Pender Cudlip uses the word Devil just as the Kingsleys apparently use the word God—when they do not know what to say. As a matter of taste, we prefer the Kingsleian method. At page 20 in the same volume we have the following bit of dialogue:—"Her hair used to be loose and soft, and to hang over her face a good deal.' 'I have no doubt it did,' Edgar answered, as a vision of what used to strike his tight, neat young mind as untidyness in his mother crossed his memory." At the first reading we were inclined to put the word "tight" down to a printer's error. This, however, does not appear to be the case, as we meet with it again in another conversation in the second volume—" 'Talbot looks as if he had a tight time of it,' Frank Bathurst muttered to Lionel."—page 108. We must plead guilty to being ignorant of the precise meaning of "tight" in these two passages. We have looked the word out in the "Lexicon Balatronicum" and in Pierce Egan's edition of "Grose's Slang Dictionary"—the *editio princeps* of Grose—but can derive no help from either of these authorities. The word "tight" is evidently modern. Some faint glimmering of its meaning, however, has been afforded us by the new "Modern Slang Dictionary" lately published. There we are informed that, among other significations, "tight" means drunken. And this interpretation certainly seems to fit the passages. One more specimen of Mrs. Cudlip's style, and we have finished. In the second volume we read "circumstantial evidence was strongly in favour of Blanche having gathered in the bloom he had wasted, but circumstantial evidence is false frequently, and 'women are rum animals,' he

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<sup>1</sup> "High Stakes." A Novel. By Annie Thomas (Mrs. Pender Cudlip). In three volumes. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868.

reflected."—p. 90. This is simply coarse and vulgar, without being redeemed by a sparkle of wit. Nature, it has been said, never gives us a poison without providing us with an antidote; and in novels luckily the same law holds good. As an antidote to such a book as "High Stakes" we would strongly recommend Miss Parr's new novel, "Basil Godfrey's Caprice."<sup>2</sup> It is womanly, in the best sense of the word. The novel, however, ought not to have been named after the hero, but the heroine. Joan Abbot is a real creation. Basil Godfrey is not exactly a King Cophetua, but Joan is a true specimen of the poet's rustic maid. Everything in the book is in keeping. Whether Miss Parr is describing Whinmoss, or writing Basil Godfrey's or Joan Abbot's letters, the tone is the same. And the beauty of the tale is enhanced by the setting. We are taken to places which most of us have either seen or else know something about. Under very faint disguises we have Ashbourne, close to the Dove and Dovedale, and the well dressing at Tissington, and Eyam, where the plague raged so fearfully, where dwelt the noble-hearted Mompesson, who will live for ever in the modern *Aurea Legenda*; and all these places are described in a manner worthy of the scenes. The story is decidedly the best which Miss Parr has yet written.

The career of Mr. Shirley Brooks as a novelist suggests one or two questions. No one will deny his brilliancy, or question his undoubted ability. But how comes it that he is never quoted? The sayings of Dickens's characters have passed into proverbs. Men quote Thackeray and George Eliot, and even Lord Lytton. But Mr. Brooks's characters and their jokes pass into silence. Much the same fate befel Douglas Jerrold. And the moral we draw is, that mere brilliancy of writing—mere sparkle of style—however pleasant to read at the moment, can by no means atone for the deficiency of the higher qualities of poetry and imagination. Even Miss Austen, who, in her own line, is without a rival, suffers from the same grave defects. She, too, is seldom quoted. Mr. Brooks at all events fails in good company. His new work<sup>3</sup> certainly does not reveal those higher qualities which we could wish to see in his writings. Thus his description of Naybury Castle shows a want of sympathy. No true lover of Nature could have written it. This absence of poetry is painfully felt even in his best characters in the book. On the other hand, it is but justice to say that Mr. Brooks, like Mr. Trollope, thoroughly knows his ground. His characters for the most part speak and act as people speak and act in real life, except that the latter are seldom so amusing. In his preface Mr. Brooks tells us that he has been charged with introducing improper incidents and characters. The charge cannot in our opinion be sustained. A much more reasonable ground of offence is the flippancy with which Mr. Brooks occasionally introduces Scripture. From a literary point of view we must object also to the newspaper

<sup>2</sup> "Basil Godfrey's Caprice." By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

<sup>3</sup> "Sooner or Later." By Shirley Brooks. With Illustrations by G. Du Maurier. London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co. 1868.

style into which Mr. Brooks often falls. We constantly meet phrases like "fictile beauty," meaning china, and words like "otiosity." Further, has Mr. Brooks any philological reasons for spelling "sill" of a window "cill?" But these are, after all, very small blemishes. Dudley is one of the worst, or rather one of the best scoundrels we have had for a long time, and Magdalen the most winning of heroines. It is no slight praise to say this. Most moralists can only draw one type. Mr. Brooks can sketch both saints and sinners. For the rest, we must briefly say that the conversations are natural and easy, the scenes, as at the Dorcas meeting, witty without being extravagant, and that the "padding" is far above that of Mr. Trollope.

We cannot congratulate Mr. Sutherland Edwards<sup>4</sup> on a success. For the first time we have found him somewhat dull. But he has hampered himself with such conditions that it would be impossible for the greatest genius in the world to be amusing. The "Three Louisas" led us to hope great things from Mr. Edwards, and we still trust we shall not be disappointed. But in the present story he has wasted his great gifts. His talent lies in satirising, in an easy, good-natured way, the foibles and follies of English social life. In the present story, however, he has introduced us to a number of Russians and Poles, about whom few English people know or care anything. Further, Mr. Edwards appears to have written the story for the special amusement of the readers of the "People's Journal." We know nothing of the journal in question. But we should imagine that giving such an employment to Mr. Edwards was like using a razor to chop blocks of wood. Success was impossible from this very condition. We do not think that the readers of the "People's Journal" are quite the persons to understand Mr. Edwards's incisive style and subtle irony. The consequence is, that Mr. Edwards has written down to their level. As a story, it is, as far as our experience goes, in the main true. Some of the scenes, and one at least of the characters, appear to have been drawn from actual life.

We suppose we must class "Springdale Abbey"<sup>5</sup> among novels. But neither in outward or inward appearance is it like the genuine Mudie novel. We are not conservatives as regards novels. We are glad to welcome any improvement. But a bulky octavo volume, the first part of which is taken up with a diary, is more than we can really manage. We candidly confess, and we will give the reason, that we have not read it all through, though, on the other hand, we think that there are many persons who will find some instruction. But the author writes in what has well been called the worst of styles—the dull. For fear, however, that we may do him unintentional injustice, we quote a passage which is meant to be amusing. It is an extract from an examination paper.

"Write out in Syriac a minute account of the Diophantine Analysis, and

<sup>4</sup> "The Governor's Daughter," a novel. By H. Sutherland Edwards. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> "Springdale Abbey: Extracts from the Diaries and Letters of an English Preacher." Longmans, Green, and Co. 1868.

prove your illustration by copious citations from the Targum Yerushlemey." "A hapless geometrician, in taking a post-prandial walk along the *pons asinorum*, was unlucky enough to meet the old asinus himself, behind which there was a frisky *asina*, and in the dim prospective there was a *puellus asininus*; trace the connexion between these donkeys, and show where they differ from the biped species, such as *stultus*, *insulsus*, *stupidus*, and *fungus*; and then trace the connexion between the whole of them and that ancient onager usually called Balaam's ass."—p. 65.

This is meant to be amusing. Is there any wonder that we broke down?

"The Connells of Castle Connell"<sup>6</sup> is, we suppose, a first attempt. The author has needlessly increased her difficulty by choosing a period of history of which a most intimate acquaintance with the time and the characters was needed to give an air of reality to the story. As a tale it is most unequal. Power, however, is the chief characteristic, and a power, too, of no ordinary kind. We might quote some really tragic passages. But mere fine passages scattered here and there will not make a novel. But these passages certainly do give indication that the authoress is capable of far better things. She has, however, the whole machinery of novel writing to learn.

Mr. Gilbert's new volume<sup>7</sup> will be welcomed by many readers who do not relish that Defoe-like manner in which he draws pictures of squalor and vice. Many of his present tales are perfectly fairy-like, notwithstanding his realistic treatment. Nothing, for instance, can be better told than the story of "Tomaso and Pepina" in the first volume. A grave humour pervades it, whilst the moral is most subtly enforced. Mr. Gilbert has struck a new vein, which we hope he will continue to work.

"Norwood"<sup>8</sup> has many excellent qualities. Village life in New England is picturesquely described. Dr. Beecher possesses a true love for the country, and his sketches of rustic scenes are often very happy. The great fault of the work is the long semi-theological and semi-metaphysical disquisitions which are introduced. They really serve no practical purpose, whilst they only weary the reader. Some of the characters, as Tommy Taft and Hiram Beers, are amusingly sketched. In America we should imagine that the book would be very popular, especially in the North. To English readers who would wish to know something of various phases of American social life, and to learn the political feelings of the day in the Northern States, we can strongly recommend "Norwood."

Space compels us to deal very briefly with the remaining novels of the quarter. The "Brownlows"<sup>9</sup> is worthy of the reputation of the

<sup>6</sup> "The Connells of Castle Connell." By Janet Gordon. London: Macmillan and Co. 1868.

<sup>7</sup> "The Wizard of the Mountain." By William Gilbert. London: Strahan and Co. 1867.

<sup>8</sup> "Norwood; or, Village Life in New England." By Henry Ward Beecher. London: Sampson Low and Son. 1867.

<sup>9</sup> "Brownlows." By Mrs. Oliphant. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1868.

authoress of the "Chronicles of Carlingford." Mrs. Oliphant is filling the space which was left vacant in English literature by Mrs. Gaskell's sad death. Her new novel is precisely the one for the circulating library—good in tone, and full of quiet humour and observation. "Proved in the Fire"<sup>10</sup> will have considerable attraction for those who know nothing of German life, while those who read German will find something different from the ordinary German novel. "Johnny Robinson"<sup>11</sup> deserves high praise for its evident truthfulness. The writer draws from experience, which gives a real character and a high value to his narrative. He does not possess, of course, the power and skill which makes such a character as Adam Bede stand out as a real creation; but his book should be studied by others besides novel-readers.

The conclusion of Martial's epigram may, as usual, be applied to the volumes of poetry of the quarter. A few are good, many mediocre, but the majority very bad. The title of "The Book-keeper; and Song of the Bell,"<sup>12</sup> is decidedly more attractive than its contents. It is nearly as taking as the publican's advertisement, "A glass of beer and an electric shock for twopence." The author is eminently realistic. The book-keeper—the blasphemy is the author's, not ours—is the recording angel, who is depicted as a kind of clerk with wings, making double entries of our good or bad actions, and at the last striking a balance. The story is made up of natural history Tupperisms of the following kind:—

"The beaver constructeth its dwellings with skill."

And

"The bee is not slothful, and toils not alone."

"The Song of the Bell" is simply a weak translation of Schiller's poem.

"The Holy Child, and other Poems"<sup>13</sup> belong to that class of religious poetry which is best left untouched by criticism. The author is evidently a most sincere man, with a greater command of words than of thoughts. Throughout the book there breathes a reverent tone which disarms any severe judgment. Of the general spirit we can say, as Lope de Vega said of the Orfeo, "There is much to praise, and little to find fault with."

"Poems written for a Child"<sup>14</sup> show that the authors are capable

<sup>10</sup> "Proved in the Fire;" a Story of the Burning of Hamburg. By William Duthie. London: W. C. Wood. 1867.

<sup>11</sup> "Johnny Robinson; the Story of the Childhood and School-days of an Intelligent Artisan." By the Journeyman Engineer. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1868.

<sup>12</sup> "The Book-keeper; and Song of the Bell." By Mercator. Dawson Brothers. 1868.

<sup>13</sup> "The Holy Child;" a Poem in Four Cantos. Also, "An Ode to Silence; and other Poems." By Stephen Jenner. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1867.

<sup>14</sup> "Poems written for a Child." By two Friends. London: Strahan and Co. 1868.



of much higher things. We doubt whether a child could enter fully into the grace and delicacy of thought which so constantly meets us. Whenever the authors write of the sea, the birds, and the woods we are sure to find some happy fancy. "The Wives of Brixham" is really dramatic. Here, too, are some lines which are Shelleyian in their conception:—

## IN THE FIELDS.

"Airy budding Ash-tree,  
You have made a throne,  
And the sweetest thrush in all the world  
Is sitting there alone;  
Drawn in tints of tender brown  
Against a keen blue sky,  
He sings up, and he sings down,  
Who can pass him by?"

"Through the thin leaves thrilling,  
Goes each glittering note,  
Hearts of all happy trees are drawn  
Into this one bird-throat;  
And all the growing blooms of morn  
(This music is so strong)  
Are reach'd, and blended, and upborne,  
And uttered into song.

\* \* \* \* \*

"He pleads, he laughs, he argues,  
He shouts to sky and earth;  
The wild notes trip each other up  
In ecstasies of mirth;  
He drinks the azure of the air,  
He tosses song about,  
Like a girl's tangle of gold hair,  
Spray wet and shaken out.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Airy budding Ash-tree,  
Try to show your power;  
Make a leaf for each gay note  
He makes in half an hour!  
Wild flowers in the grass, be taught  
The music of your parts;  
Make a bud for each wild thought  
He gives to passing hearts."

There are certainly some touches here which remind us of the feeling and power in Shelley's "Skylark," though without leaving any traces of mere imitation. The great danger which, in our opinion, the "Two Friends" must especially guard against, is that of allowing their fancy to run riot. One or two ugly notes rather jar, such as "fever of the grasses." The weakest pieces, as usual, are the didactic

such as "Disobedience," at page 131. We must also remind the "Two Friends," with regard to the opening piece, "Crowns for Children," of Shakespeare's adage, "wishers were ever fools."

"Clotted nonsense" is the note which Mr. Howell<sup>15</sup> most frequently strikes. In his Proem, or whatever it may be called, with which he introduces "Pocahontas," he gracefully informs us that his Muse is "belched by no trump." This simile appears to be a favourite one with him; for we meet with it again in his second volume, where, under the heading of "Dust," we read of "a human soul belching freedom." In the Proem he also informs us that "planets have lips," which appears to us as sensible as another of his phrases, which we find elsewhere, "a splinter of a rod."—vol. ii. p. 343. The poem we like best is "Antæus," for it is the most nonsensical. Here is a stanza from it:—

"But for some bold confessor,  
Who, from the blazing faggot,  
Baptizes his successor,  
A flame winged from a maggot."—(Vol. i. p. 230.)

Is this a riddle, or is it sheer madness ?

Year by year Mr. Macdonald is winning his way to a high place among contemporary poets. Each new volume reveals fresh powers. In one sense Mr. Macdonald stands by himself. He alone shows any of that spiritual insight and fervour of mysticism which distinguishes some of our older poets, like Herbert. His present volume<sup>16</sup> contains, we think, some of the finest pieces he has written. It is both broader and manlier in tone and sentiment. From an artistic point of view, too, it shows an increase of mastery of language and clearness of thought. Mr. Macdonald exhibits here that last and most difficult art,—self-restraint. On some of the descriptions of nature, it is evident that he has lavished those *ultima basia*, those last loving touches, of the true artist. Here, for instance, is a stanza which brings the whole scene vividly before us by one or two strokes :

"Across the stubble glooms the wind ;  
High sails the lated crow ;  
The west with pallid green is lined,  
Fog tracks the river's flow."

There is a quiet power about this and other similar descriptions which is deserving of all praise. Mr. Macdonald never writes for mere effect. He evidently describes just what he sees and feels. And this simplicity gives great effect to the Scotch songs and ballads which conclude the series. Further, in the present volume Mr. Macdonald stretches a wider octave than he has done before. Nothing can be more different than the "Songs of the Days and the Nights," "The Parables," and "Songs for Children," and yet each in their own way are equally

<sup>15</sup> "Poems." By John Edward Howell. In Two Volumes. New York: John F. Trow and Co. 1867.

<sup>16</sup> "The Disciple; and other Poems." By George Macdonald. London: Strahan and Co. 1867.

beautiful. The most powerful poem, however, is that from which the volume takes its title. One or two small blemishes might easily be pointed out. For instance, we might remind Mr. Macdonald that rooks do not build in steeples (p. 264). Mr. Macdonald means jackdaws, but this is a mistake which other poets have fallen into.

So high a standard has been set by Mr. Tennyson in respect to all that regards King Arthur, that we prefer to judge Mr. Westwood's powers not by his "Quest of the Sangreal,"<sup>17</sup> but by his own miscellaneous pieces. These last reveal him as a true lover of Nature. He is always happy when singing about primroses, and Chaucer's daisy, and Shakspeare's Arden. Further, he is an enthusiastic fisherman, and one of his pieces, partly written in the North Country dialect. "Hey for Coquet"—the Coquet river, which every north countryman loves—certainly deserves a place in all future Northumberland garlands and fishermen's anthologies.

Somebody has said that the present age has quite enough to do to read the epics of the past, without writing any more. Mr. Atherstone thinks differently. He has written two thick octavo volumes, each consisting of more than three hundred pages, and each page consisting of about forty lines.<sup>18</sup> We are obliged to give this realistic account of "The Fall of Nineveh:" for in no other way can we do justice to its length. Some playwright once took Elliston a tragedy, and justified his demand for its performance on the ground that it was the same length as *Hamlet*. We have not counted the lines, but we should think that "The Fall of Nineveh" was longer than "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" put together—at all events, it would take a longer time to read Mr. Atherstone's poem. We stick fast in long speeches, and break down in tedious descriptions. Everywhere we find the same common-place level. We are never arrested by any happy touches of pathos, or tempted to linger over any felicities of language—we do not find even any *splendida vitia*—all is tame and lifeless. The printer is the real "maker" of "The Fall of Nineveh:" it is a poem in nothing else except in the length of the lines. Here is a piece, for instance, which may pass for prose—"All this time, also, on Assyria's king hung a thick darkness; neither with his queen, nor with his children, nor his concubines, nor with his captains spake he; but alone with his wizards and astronomers conferred" (vol. ii. p. 120). Let the printer divide this into lines of five feet, and it comes out Mr. Atherstone's blank verse. Still critics are fallible. Steevens declared that an Act of Parliament could not make people read Shakspeare's sonnets, and Waller sneered at the "Paradise Lost." So we may be wrong, after all, about Mr. Atherstone's powers. We perceive, however, by an advertisement at the end of his second volume, that he is the author of "Israel in Egypt," a poem, and the

<sup>17</sup> "The Quest of the Sangreal, The Sword of Kingship, and other Poems." By T. Westwood. London: John Russell Smith. 1868.

<sup>18</sup> "The Fall of Nineveh." A Poem. By Edwin Atherstone. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1868.

"Last Days of Herculaneum," a poem, neither of which we have ever heard of or seen quoted. We fear that "The Fall of Nineveh" will be as quickly forgotten as Mr. Atherstone's other performances.

Amongst the miscellaneous little volumes of verse, which every quarter produces in such abundance, we have to acknowledge the acting edition of the "Duke's Daughter," a Classic Tragedy.<sup>19</sup> We think it would have been more classic if the author had avoided such a word as "spilth," and had spelt "syren" (*sic*) correctly. In the series of little verse-books—they cannot by any figure of speech be called poems—entitled "Loving," "Doubting," "Learning,"<sup>20</sup> we wish we could accept the will for the deed. The author is evidently a well-intentioned man. We should strongly advise him for the future to put his thoughts into prose. This method would probably save both him and his readers a great deal of labour.

We are very glad indeed to see the "Collection of Legendary Ballads of England and Scotland,"<sup>21</sup> which Mr. Roberts has compiled. The volumes of Percy, Ellis, Ritson, and Jamieson are, from their price, quite inaccessible to the general public; but in the present collection will be found whatever is best in them. The editor possesses a very catholic taste, and every reader is sure to find some favourite piece. Since the appearance of Mr. Palgrave's "Golden Treasury" we have not seen so good a compilation. In fact, it may be used as a companion volume, for the books in no way clash or interfere with one another. Finally, we must add a word of praise to the publishers for the good taste with which they have ornamented the book, both externally and internally.

Still better, as a school-book, than Mr. Roberts's Collection, is Mr. Payne's "Studies in English Prose."<sup>22</sup> One work, however, might be used in, and the other out of school—or better still, the first might be made a prize for proficiency in the second. Mr. Payne knows what he is writing about. Here is a passage from his preface, which may be useful to others besides boys and girls:—

"The epithet Anglo-Saxon, so frequently applied to our forefathers who lived before the Norman Conquest, is a misnomer of modern invention. There never was, strictly speaking, either an Anglo-Saxon nation or an Anglo-Saxon language. The use of this term has led to the disconnexion, in popular estimation, of modern Englishmen from their true and noble ancestors, and to forgetfulness of the fact that our present national character, our most valued

<sup>19</sup> "The Duke's Daughter." A classic tragedy. Acting edition. London: Trübner and Co. 1867.

<sup>20</sup> "I. Loving. One of a Series of Poems. II. Doubting. One of a Series of Poems. III. Learning. One of a Series of Poems." London: A. W. Bennet. 1868.

<sup>21</sup> "The Chandos Poets. The Legendary Ballads of England and Scotland." Compiled and Edited by John S. Roberts. London: Frederick Warne and Co. 1868.

<sup>22</sup> "Studies in English Prose." Consisting of specimens of the Language in its Earliest, Succeeding, and Latest Stages. With Notes, Explanatory and Critical. Together with a sketch of the History of the English Language, and a Concise Anglo-Saxon Grammar. Introduced as a Text-Book for Schools and Colleges. By Joseph Payne. London: Virtue and Co. 1868.

institutions, our tone, spirit, and language, are but developments of germs which began growing in this soil thirteen hundred years ago. We are too prone to speak of the Norman Conquest as the beginning of our national life, whereas that event, all-important as it was, was only an episode in our history. The Norman Conquest did indeed threaten the entire English nation with destruction; but the result, as we know, was, that the spirit of the native population proved to be indomitable, that the conquerors were themselves made captive, that they adopted the English name and language as their own, and spontaneously took their part in laying the deep and strong foundations of modern English renown."

We think that some of the *Times'* writers who are so perpetually talking about the "Anglo-Saxon language" had better study this passage, and then proceed to Mr. Freeman's "Norman Conquest." Mr. Payne has evidently consulted the best authorities, and used them with real knowledge. His work is, in fact, a handbook to English literature. His extracts are made with discrimination and taste. What Marsh is to the grown-up scholar, Mr. Payne is to the younger student. We would direct the attention of all schoolmasters to this excellent compilation, which will not only instruct, but really interest any intelligent boy.

Etymology is at length beginning to deserve the name of a science. The labours of Grimm, Max Müller, and Wedgwood are showing their good results in every direction. Hitherto etymology has only been so much guess work. Just as the old herbalists used to ascribe specific virtues to certain plants from their mere outward form, and imagined that lungwort would cure consumption, and hartstongue disease of the heart, so the old etymologists formed their derivations. Hart, we were solemnly assured by the disciples of Junius and Minshew, was derived from heart, because all timid animals possessed large hearts, or because all animals that lived to a great age had large hearts. It is easy enough to see at whose feet the author of "Chambers's Etymological English Dictionary"<sup>23</sup> has sat, without reading his preface, where Mr. Donald expresses his great obligations to Wedgwood. But we think he might with advantage have followed Wedgwood even more closely than he has done. For example, Mr. Donald, forgetting his master, tells us that forest is "probably from the Latin *foras, foris*, out of doors," which has always appeared to us a fair example of the thoroughly vicious, uncritical, and unphilosophical style of derivation. On the other hand, Wedgwood shows that the word is identical with the Welsh "*gores, gorest*, waste ground, waste, open; *gorستا*, to lie open, lie waste; whence English *gorse, gorst*, furze, the growth of waste land"—a derivation which at once explains the reason why we meet with so many forests where no timber grows, or probably ever has grown. So, too, Mr. Donald, keeping to old etymological traditions, tells us that butterfly is so called from "the butter colour of one of the species." Mr. Wedgwood's derivation, although not so poetical, is, we think, far truer, and should at all events have been given. But on the whole, Mr. Donald's work is excellently

<sup>23</sup> "Chambers' Etymological Dictionary of the English Language." Edited by James Donald. London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers. 1867.

compiled. Taking into consideration its size and price, we do not know a more compendious or a sounder etymological dictionary.

Professor Stirling has done himself great injustice by republishing the ephemeral essays of which his new volume is composed.<sup>24</sup> We dare say they answered the requirements of the hour. People do not read a paper in a Magazine with much critical care. A book is a very different matter. And we do expect something very different to the contents of the present volume from the author of the "Secret of Hegel." Most of Professor Stirling's essays are disfigured by both faults of style and taste. We will take the first, upon Douglas Jerrold. Here is a sample of fine writing: "The solemn thought, too, sighs round us like a ghost." (p. 2). Did Professor Stirling or anybody else ever hear a ghost sigh? Here is another example: "He can descry, away over the unsightly houses, the sea, and on its glittering bosom, frigates quencing it, or mightier bulks of war-ships glooming, solid, fast, like castellated keeps of founded stone." (p. 4). How a floating ship can look like founded stone is indeed a mystery. The bad taste is as frequently seen as the fine writing. Professor Stirling, in language which might be permitted in another age, allows himself to speak of the late Mr. Laman Blanchard as a woman, and carries out a disagreeable simile through half a page. He is possessed, too, with a kind of automania, or excess of self-love. He chronicles for us every word that Douglas Jerrold said to him. He pours forth a quantity of twaddle about the *Shilling Magazine*, and the size of Mr. Douglas Jerrold's handwriting, and gravely informs us that Mr. Jerrold did not wear whiskers, but straps and patent leather boots. We expect this kind of writing from Jeames, certainly not from Professor Stirling. The best thing in the book is "De Quincey and Coleridge upon Kant."

"How now, Simple!" says Slender, "you have not the book of riddles about you?" "Book of riddles!" replies Simple, "why did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake?" Simple now, however, in the person of the Hon. Hugh Rowley, has compiled a book of riddles.<sup>25</sup> We know nothing so intensely wearisome as reading a collection of jokes. We cannot even with patience read "The Hundred Merry Tales," the "good wit" of which Shakespeare praises in "Much Ado about Nothing." Riddles are the worst kind of jokes. They are simply puns put in the form of a query. They are popular, we believe, amongst farmers and grocers, who can understand no other kind of wit but a play upon words. They may be made by the machinery of a dictionary. Further, the Hon. Hugh Rowley, besides forming the collection, plays the part of a *terræ filius*. His remarks are worthy of his riddles.

<sup>24</sup> "Jerrold, Tennyson, and Macaulay. With other Critical Essays." By James Hutchison Stirling. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868.

<sup>25</sup> "Puniana. Thoughts Wise, and Other-Wise. A New Collection of the Best Riddles, Conundrums, Jokes, Sells," &c. Newly told by the Hon. Hugh Rowley. With nearly one hundred designs from his pencil. London: John Camden Hotten, 1867.

The translation of Don Juan Manuel's "Count Lucanor,"<sup>26</sup> by Dr. York, will be welcome to many readers for many reasons, but especially to the Shakespeare student, as it contains the earliest known version of the "Taming of the Shrew." Shakespeare, it is generally admitted, borrowed much, both of his characters and sentiments in that play, from Gascoigne's "The Supposes," which was first acted in 1564, whilst the story of the "Induction to the Taming of the Shrew" is to be found in the "Epistolarum Farrago" of J. L. Vivis, 1556. Don Manuel, however, died in 1347, although "Count Lucanor" was not published till 1575, or eleven years after the first representation of Gascoigne's play. A translation of "What Happened to a Young Man on his Wedding Day," as the title of the old story of the "Taming of the Shrew" runs in "Count Lucanor," was made last year by Mr. F. W. Cosens. Unfortunately, only ten copies of this translation were printed by Mr. Halliwell, a proceeding which, as far as the world goes, is equivalent to not printing it at all. We have therefore a double debt of gratitude to pay to Dr. York for his new version, which every one can afford to buy. The tale, as it stands in "Count Lucanor," is evidently, from the internal evidence of the language and the brutality of the incidents, a very early version. But we should not be at all surprised to hear that the same tale was to be met with even still earlier, and in some other part of the globe. It is, too, one of those stories which form a portion of the common literary property of a nation. For the present, however, Don Manuel must be considered as its inventor. But even the editor admits, from the evidence of the Arabic phrases scattered up and down in "Count Lucanor," that Don Manuel was probably acquainted with some of the various collections of Eastern Tales of the day, and that he may have drawn much from this source. As far as our judgment goes, without being acquainted with the original, the editor appears to have performed his task most creditably. His English possesses both grace and force. We cannot, however, at all approve of his sneers in his preface about "analysis of character," nor of the rather windy Kingsleian talk which follows.

Another translation which will find a still wider audience is Mr. Lockwood's version of Tegnér's "Axel," and other pieces by various Swedish poets.<sup>27</sup> About the characteristics of no nation do opinions differ so much as about those of the Swedes. The picture which Acerbi and the older travellers draw is not flattering as to their morality. The Roman Catholics and our own High Church party at this day are never weary of casting reproaches at their social life. These poems, however, certainly reflect much of what we have personally observed in their character, a gentleness, simplicity, and love of nature. When compared with that of Athens or of Rome, of Germany, Italy, or our own country, Swedish poetry is decidedly weak and

<sup>26</sup> "Count Lucanor, or the Fifty Pleasant Stories of Patronio." Written by the Prince Don Juan Manuel, A.D. 1335-1347. First done into English from the Spanish by James York, Doctor of Medicine. London: B. M. Pickering. 1868.

<sup>27</sup> "Axel, and other Poems: Translated from the Swedish." By Henry Lockwood. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1867.

thin. The character is essentially feminine and pretty. A Swedish poet is weakest when he attempts most. This is the case with Tegnér, as far as we can judge by Mr. Lockwood's translations. He is always happiest when describing the quieter feelings of life, and the scenes of his own native land. We regret that we have no space to give a specimen of Mr. Lockwood's powers as a translator. He evidently himself possesses, as an original writer, gifts of no ordinary kind. We trust he may be induced to carry out the design which he promises in his preface, and introduce us to some more specimens of the Swedish poets.

Every one who has at heart the interests of the lighter English literature of the day will be thankful to Mrs. Craik for her translation from Madame de Witt.<sup>28</sup> She has by her own writings done much to give a higher and purer tone to the novel-reading portion of the public. Although we could wish that her stories were a little more lively and exciting, yet we believe that they have exercised an immense amount of good on the younger minds of the present generation, by inculcating lessons of the broadest charity. Madame de Witt's story, in many points, especially in its teaching, resembles some of Mrs. Craik's own tales. This fact, we trust, will induce many persons who have a horror of all French novels to turn to its pages. We think it ought to be as popular, with both old and young, as one of Mrs. Craik's own novels.

Of translations from the classics, we must put Mrs. Webster's first.<sup>29</sup> Just a year and a half since, when noticing Mr. Cartwright's version of the "Medea," we expressed a hope that Mrs. Webster might be induced to undertake the task in which he had broken down. We have no reason to repent of our wish. Mrs. Webster's translation surpasses our utmost expectations. It is a photograph of the original, without any of that harshness which so often accompanies a photograph. She has combined, what is the despair of the translator, accuracy with freedom. Take, for instance, the opening speech of the old nurse. Here we find *διωπτάσθαι* in the first line rendered by such an apt equivalent as "fetched her flight," which both preserves the original metaphor, and yet retains an English sea term. Equally happy, too, is the rendering of the seventeenth line—

*Nῦν δ' ἔχθρὰ πάντα, καὶ νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα,*

by

"Now all's ajar, and dearest love is sick,"

where the metaphor is again preserved. Again, in the twenty-fifth line of the same speech we find the phrase, *σῶμ' ὑφέισ' ἀλγηδόσι* reappearing, different but still the same, as "body anguish-prone." But the reader will better comprehend Mrs. Webster's real powers as a trans-

<sup>28</sup> "A French Country Family." By Madame de Witt, *née* Guizot. Translated by the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." London: Alexander Strahan, Publisher. 1867.

<sup>29</sup> "The Medea of Euripides." Literally translated into English Verse. By Augusta Webster. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1868.



lator by a longer passage. Here, for instance, is her version of the famous chorus beginning—

*"Ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωρῶσσι παγαί,*

in which Mr. Cartwright so lamentably failed to bring out the full beauty and power.

STROPHE I.

The hallowed rivers backward stream  
Against their founts: right crooks awry  
With all things else: man's every scheme  
Is treachery.

Even with gods faith finds no place.  
But fame turns too: our life shall have renown:  
Honour shall come to woman's race,  
And envious fame no more weigh women down.

ANTISTROPHE I.

No more the staid songs shall be heard  
Of Muses hymning our deceit:  
For Phœbus not on us conferred  
The lyre, heaven-sweet,

Lest we a counter strain should sing  
Against the race of men: but ages old  
Have in their keeping many a thing,  
Not of us only but of men to unfold.

We really do not know where to find another translation in which the spirit is rendered with such fidelity and beauty. And to us in these days, when the whole question of woman's position is being discussed, this passage has a peculiar significance. We can only echo the wish so well rendered in Mrs. Webster's translation, and hope for a solution by the means expressed in the last lines—a solution again hinted at in the chorus with which the play concludes:—

Zeus in Olympus parts out many lots,  
And the gods work to many undreamed-of ends,  
And that we looked for is never fulfilled;  
And to things not looked for the gods make a way:  
Even so hath this issue been.

And though the third line contradicts a favourite saying of Goethe's, yet still it is only time that can bring aid, of which now we do not dream. This must be the consolation for those who faint and despair of any better order of things than the present—a consolation which has supported so many noble spirits in all ages. Euripides's own fate, however, points a sad moral. He was misappreciated in his own day, and is still misunderstood in ours. Mrs. Webster has it in her power to do away with some at least of this injustice. We trust that she will not shrink from the task of translating some more of his plays, and allowing the English reader to feel the beauty of one of the most ethical and pathetic of dramatists. Richter, somewhere or

another, compares translators to wine-carriers, who when they start carry pure wine, but as they approach the end of their journey have unaccountably watered it down. By our last quotation it will be seen that Mrs. Webster is not one of this class. The concluding portion, especially the choruses, is marked by the same beauties and felicities as the first.

Mr. Brodie has added one more to the many translations of Horace.<sup>30</sup> His translation, it is needless to add, possesses all the graces which scholarship can give. But we think there is often a stiffness about his English. He lacks that freedom and happiness of expression which characterize Mrs. Webster's "Medea." He has, in our judgment, sacrificed too much to literalness. His preface is, however, excellent. It has been noticed that in the unreformed Parliament of 1830, nearly every member had been to either Oxford or Cambridge. Probably in the new Parliament of 1869 the balance will be reversed. We are not questioning the advantages or disadvantages of the change. But we think, judging by the criticism and general tone of Mr. Brodie's preface, that he is capable of writing a most useful handbook upon either the Greek or Roman poets, for the benefit of those who have not had the time or the opportunity of studying them in the original. Here, for instance, is a sample of his criticism:—

"The lighter vein of Horace does, it seems to me, find, not anything like a parallel, but some sort of counterpart in the songs of our later Elizabethan and Stuart lyrists. Horace, doubtless, has neither the Teutonic mystery nor tenderness, true native ingredients in the minds of such men as our Jonsons, Herricks, Wottons, and others, even without the Christian leaven; and the exquisite vignettes of rural life scattered through his Odes reflect rather the habitual intercourse of one familiar from a child with outdoor life in a beautiful land than the English poet's brooding sentiment and passionate attachment."—p. xv.

Now, this is really good, sound criticism, and gives an English reader Horace's note, which would be made still plainer to him could we afford room for a further extract. This is precisely, too, the kind of criticism which is much needed. One of the most delightful books for a mere English reader is Professor Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic." We think that Mr. Brodie is capable of writing a companion volume on some other period of Roman history.

"Justice without mercy," is the French definition of a photograph. This, however, cannot be said of the newly published volume of "Photographs of Scenes in the County of Wicklow."<sup>31</sup> These photographs are remarkable for their depth and delicacy of shade and light, and softness of outline. Wicklow has often been called the "Garden of Ireland;" and the scenes remind us of many parts of England. Glendalough, however, with its round tower, and the two lochs in the distance, over-

<sup>30</sup> "Translations from the Lyrics of Horace in English Verse." By F. H. Brodie, M. A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1868.

<sup>31</sup> "Photographs of Co. Wicklow." With Descriptive Letterpress. Glasgow: Andrew Duthie. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. Dublin: W. H. Smith and Son. 1867.

shadowed by the treeless mountains, is essentially Irish; but Glenmalur is like many a glen in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The hills round Clara remind us of those in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The banks of the Dargle are like those of many a Devonshire stream. The letterpress, we must add, is in keeping with the photographs, and smacks much less of the guide-book style than usual. The legends of St. Kevin, the great saint of the County of Wicklow, which are interspersed with the descriptions, are certainly amusing. Hagiographers have long since remarked that the Irish saint is peculiar to the soil, and always acts differently to any other saint. St. Kevin is no exception to the rule.

From the same enterprising Glasgow publisher we have also a series of photographs of Killarney.<sup>32</sup> These will be of still greater interest to all Englishmen, as being photographs of scenes totally unlike anything in England. But these photographs, whilst bringing the most beautiful Irish scenery into England, will, we trust induce Englishmen to go to it. Who has not seen Innisfallen and the Purple Mountains has not seen some of the most beautiful scenery in the united kingdom. Of the photographs before us, those of the Lower Lake, the Old Weir Bridge, the Meeting of the Waters, the View from Innisfallen, and Ross Castle, are the best. They possess too the additional charm of being taken when the trees are in full foliage. Most photographers, unable to cope with the difficulty of the foliage, give us a winter piece. Perhaps it would be as well to take the same scene under the different aspects of each season. As in the companion volume, the letter-press is sensible and to the point.

For the purpose of representing architecture photography is invaluable. We therefore heartily welcome a tastefully ornamented work upon the Fen and Marshland churches.<sup>33</sup> The churches of the fen districts of England are generally considered the one attraction. Yet this is not quite true. The fen scenery, after all, is very beautiful. Nowhere in England is such a breadth of corn, waving in billows before the wind, ever seen. Nowhere, also, are there such peculiar aerial effects; nowhere, perhaps, the same cloud-forms; and nowhere, certainly, the same rich sunsets. The student of Tennyson will best know what we mean. Tennyson's poetry, especially in the earlier volumes, is full of touches of fen and marshland landscapes. We say this because one of the writers, who especially deserves a hearing, remarks:—"In the absence of all features of natural scenery of any kind, or of any other objects of interest, the only thing we have to pride ourselves in with any satisfaction in the fens of Cambridgeshire is the magnificence and beauty of our parish churches." To the first part of the sentence we must take exception. The boast, however, of the beauty of the marshland parish churches is not a vain one; and the inhabitants may

<sup>32</sup> "Photographs of Irish Scenery; with Descriptive Letterpress.—Killarney." Glasgow: Andrew Duthie. 1867.

<sup>33</sup> "The Fen and Marshland Churches." A Series of Photographs. With short Historical and Architectural Descriptive Notes. The Photographic Illustrations by E. Johnson. London: A. W. Bennet. 1868.

indeed feel a pride in them. Upon looking over those in the present volume, the absence of spires, like those of the churches in Somersetshire and Lincolnshire, is sensibly felt. And the defect is singular; for the dweller in a flat country always delights in whatever strikes the eye from afar. He always loves poplars: that favourite tree of the lowlands. The fenman in Lincolnshire plants the tall hollyock in his cottage garden. With the exception of the exquisite spire at Leverington, we find nothing that is deserving of the name. But in all other architectural features, these fen and marshland churches are particularly rich. They, in fact, present a history of English architecture in all its stages. At Walsoken we have some most lovely Norman work in the nave, and a remarkable pointed chancel arch, enriched with Norman mouldings, showing the transitional period. In the nave and exquisite campanile of West Walton, standing apart from the church, and forming both tower and lych gate, we have magnificent specimens of Early English. In the tower of Walpole we have the Decorated; whilst at Walpole St. Peter's, we meet with the Perpendicular. To all these churches both the photographs and the descriptions do equal justice. The book must form a necessary handbook, not merely to all inhabitants of and travellers in the districts, but to all architectural students and lovers of English church architecture.

Amongst miscellaneous books we must not forget to notice Mr. Morgan's "*Bibliotheca Canadensis*,"<sup>34</sup> which is invaluable to all libraries and public institutions. It, in fact, forms a supplement to Lowndes and Watt, and gives special information, which can be found nowhere else, on a special subject. It gives not only titles in full of all books and pamphlets written in or by natives of Canada, but of all works which bear upon the history and affairs of the province. The enormous utility of such a work is at once obvious. The book carries its own recommendation. It only requires to be known in order to be appreciated.

Lastly, we have to acknowledge two books of a very opposite kind. Mr. Jebb's edition of the "*Ajax of Sophocles*,"<sup>35</sup> in the excellent *Catena Classicorum* series; and a new edition of Mr. Yates' "*Forlorn Hope*."<sup>36</sup> The first is written by a scholar.

<sup>34</sup> "*Bibliotheca Canadensis, or a Manual of Canadian Literature.*" By Henry J. Morgan. Ottawa: G. F. Desbarats.

<sup>35</sup> "*Sophocles.*" Edited by R. C. Jebb, M.A. "*The Ajax.*" London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1866.

<sup>36</sup> "*The Forlorn Hope.*" A novel by Edmund Yates. New edition. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.



## INDEX.

*All Books must be looked for under the Author's name.*

- ABYSSINIA.** See Dufton, H., and Hotten, John C.
- Abyssinian Difficulty,** Tho, 169—196. Introduction, 169; on a *casus belli*, 170; our knowledge of Abyssinia, 170; recent works upon, 171 (foot note); Bruce's travels in, 171; derivation of the word Abyssinia, 172; its ancient history, 172; its connexion with Portugal, 172; Jesuit missionaries, 173; its ecclesiastical history, 173; its church, 173; the *Abuna*, or primate, 173; Gibbon's reflections, 173; subsequent history, 174; Ras Gooksa, 175; description of North Abyssinia, 176; Beke's and Plowden's accounts, 177 (foot note); Amhara, 178; Abyssinian civilization, 179; Mr. Salt's mission, 179; Major Harris's, 180; Plowden, 180; Bell, 180; Plowden as consul, 181; his difficulties and position, 181; report to Lord Clarendon, 181; complications, 182; Ras Ali, 183; Kassai, 184; crowned Negus, under the name of Theódros, 185; his victory over the Shorns, 185; his plans of reform, 186; treaties with England, 186; Cameron as consul, 187; Lord Clarendon's despatch, 187; counter-statements, 188; Mr. Cameron's and Mr. Dufton's account of the king, 188, 189; the king's letters, 189; Consul Cameron's position, 190; the French reply, 190; Cameron's interview with the king, 191; the king's treatment of the French consul 191; trial of the missionaries, 191; Earl Russell's conduct, 192; blunders, 193; Mr. Rassam, 193; reception of by the king, 194; further blunders of the Foreign Office, 194; Mr. Rassam arrested, 194; Lord Stanley's despatch, 195; military preparations, 195; Zulla, 195; Plowden's testimony as to the general character of the Abyssinians, 196
- Alford, Henry, D.D.,** Dean of Canterbury, "Meditations on Advent, on Creation, and on Providence," 530
- Anstey, Thomas Chisholm,** "Notes on Representation of the People Act, 1867," 249
- Atherstone, Edwin,** "The Fall of Nineveh," 602
- "Atlas of the British Empire," 553
- "Atlas, School, of Classical Geography," 553
- BADER, Charles,** "The Natural and Morbid Changes of the Human Eye, and their Treatment," 570
- Bakerwell, F. C.,** "A Dynamical Theory of the Figure of the Earth, proving the Poles to be elongated," 261
- Barr, Maurice,** "Visites au Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation," 565
- Beecher, Henry Ward,** "Norwood; or, Village Life in England," 598
- Beeton, S. O.** See Bonnechose, Emile de
- Bisset, Andrew,** "History of the Commonwealth of England, from the Death of Charles I. to the Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell. Being Omitted Chapters in the History of England," 579
- Blackley, Rev. W. L., M.A.,** "The Critical English Testament; being an adaptation of Bengel's Gnomon. With numerous Notes, showing the precise results of modern criticism and exegesis," by the Rev. James Hawes, M.A., 532
- Blake, Sophia J.,** "A Visit to some American Schools and Colleges," 252
- Blanford, H. F.,** "Report of the Calcutta Cyclone of the 5th of October, 1864," 261

- Bonnechose, Emile de, "History of France to the Revolution in 1848," by; edited by S. O. Beeton, 580
- "Boys, one of the." "School Days at Saxonhurst," by, 293
- Brackenbury, Captain C. B., R.A., "European Armaments in 1867, based upon Letters reprinted by permission from the *Times*," 560
- Brewer, J. L., M.A., "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England," arranged and catalogued by, 575
- Brodie, F. H., M.A. See Horace
- Brook, Stopford H., "Life and Letters of W. F. Robertson," 583
- Brooks, Shirley, "Sooner or Later," 596
- Brown, John P., "The Dervishes; or, Oriental Superstition," 234
- Raudon, "Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries in Northern Italy," 268
- Bruce, John, F.S.A., "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II., 1686, 1687," edited by, 268
- Bunsen, C. C. J., Baron, "God in History, or the Progress of Man's Faith in the Moral Order of the World," by; and translated by Susanna Winkworth, 524
- Burns, Robert, "Poems and Songs," 297
- Business, A Man of, "Social Duties considered with Reference to the Organization of Effect in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility," by, 253
- CARLYLE, John A., M.D. See Dante
- Cartwright, W. C., "On Papal Conclaves," 534
- Cary, Sir Stafford, M.A., "The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Galatians," 237
- Cavendish, "Laws and Principles of Whist," 553
- Child, Gilbert W., M.D., "Essays on Physiological Subjects," 540
- Church System of Ireland and Canada, The, 442—445; importance of the question, 442; confiscation in Ireland, 442; anomaly between the landowners and tenants, 442; Lord Clare's and Mill's testimony, 442; Irish tithes, 443; the Commutation Act, 443; the oppressiveness of tithes, 444; arguments in favour of, 445; their fallacies, 445; a supposed case in England, 445, 446; its consequences, 446; other arguments in defence of the Irish Church Establishment, 447; professed ministers of Christ, 448; their tactics, 448; the case of Canada, 449; the clergy reserves, 450; legislation upon in 1854, 451; beneficial results, 452; the Fenians and the Irish Church Establishment, 453; absolute religious liberty necessary for Ireland, 453; religion a matter of conscience, not an affair of the State, 454; justice to Ireland, 455
- "Churches, Fen and Marshland, Photographs of," 610
- Claretie, Jules, "Les derniers Montagnards, Histoire de l'Insurrection de Prairial an III," 277
- Claus, Dr. Carl, "Grundzüge der Zoologie zum Gebrauche an Universitäten und höheren Lehranstalten," 263
- "Congregational Year Book, 1868, containing the proceedings of the Congregational Union for 1867, 536
- Cox, E. W., Recorder of Helston, "The Arts of Writing, Reading, and Speaking," 254
- Cudlip, Mrs. Pender. See Thomas, Annie
- Cumming, Rev. J., M.A., F.G.S., "The Great Stanley, or James seventh earl of Derby, and his noble countess Charlotte de la Tremouille," 282
- Cunningham, John, D.D., "The Quakers, from their origin till the present time," 537
- DANTE, "the Divine Comedy of," "The Inferno," a literal prose translation by John A. Carlyle, D.D., 291
- Daubeny, Charles, M.D., F.R.S., "Miscellanies," 565
- Daubrée, A., "Rapport sur le progrès de la Géologie expérimentale," 564
- Delamere, Edmund S. and Ellen, "Wholesome Fare," 554
- Democracy, Dangers of, 1—37. Democracy as "a state of society," and as "a form of government," 1; types of political characters, 2; two opposed germs of political feeling, 3; recent legislation, 4; the present situation of affairs, 5; the new electors, 5; their characters, 6, 7; moral aspects, 7; moral condition of the new class of electors, 8; a picture of English society, 9; Humboldt's "Sphere and Duties of Government," 10, 11; spe-

- cific dangers from the preponderating influence of the new class of voters, 11; present state of political economy, 12; the State and individual freedom, 12, 13; the limits of government interference, 13; "liberty," 14; the real meaning of, 14, 15; modern ideas, 16; self-reliance, 17; quotation from Humboldt, 17; government and moral results, 18; principles of criminal legislation, 19; the fields of action for government, 20; government and pauperism, 21; future difficulties with regard to pauperism, 22; government and railways, 23; government and education, 23; views of the new constitutions, 24; prejudices of the new electors, 25; counterpoises, 26; ignorance of the new electors on political economy, 27; safeguards, 28, 29; the condition of Victoria, 29; political machinery in Victoria, 30; condition of its population, 30; protection in Victoria, 30, 31; conservatism in Victoria free traders, 31; the Government Land Act in Victoria, 31; other political blunders, 31, 32; prospects and hopes, 33; the case of the United States, 33; remedies for the dangers, 34; Mr. Carlyle's remedy, 35; education, 35, 36; religious teaching, 37; the press, 37
- "Dominoes, a Book about," 548
- Donald, James, "Chambers' Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," 605
- Donaldson, James, LL.D., "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., 532. *See* Irenæus and Hippolytus.
- "Doubting, one of a Series of Poems," 603
- Dufton, H., "Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia," 559
- "Duke's, The, Daughter," 603
- Duthie, William, "Proved in the Fire; a Story of the Burning of Hamburg," 599
- Dyce, Rev. William. *See* Shakespeare.
- Dyer, Thomas Henry, LL.D., "The History of the Kings of Rome, with a Prefatory Dissertation on its sources and evidence," 275
- EDUCATION, Popular, 421—441; public opinion upon, 421; character of teachers, 422; Scotland and education, 422; Robert Raikes, 422; Lancaster and Bell, 423; the Lancastrian system, 423; the National Society, 423; Mechanics' Institutes, 424; chief promoters of, 424; the Church and education, 424, 425; the Factory Education Act, 425; action of Government, 426; Government grants, 427; the Established Church and dissenters, 428; the voluntaries, 429; the Church of Rome, 429; Dr. Watts and the secular system, 429; a royal commission appointed in 1859, 430; report of in 1861, 430; the revised code, 431; our education compared with that of other countries, 431; reports of the inspectors, 431; education in Manchester, 432, 433; in other large towns in England and Scotland, 433, 434; necessity of further education, 434, 435; the Education Aid Society, 436; the Manchester conference, 437; proposals of, 438; Denison's Act, 439; primary schools, 440; advanced or trade schools, 440, 441; schemes of, 441
- Edwards, Frederick, jun., "On the Ventilation of Dwelling-Houses, and the Utilisation of Waste Heat from Open Fireplaces," 567
- H. Sutherland, "The Governor's Daughter," 597
- Electricity, The Origin of, 130—147. The origin and form of, 130; the term electro-motive force, 131; cause and effect, 131, 132; three electro-motives, 133; heat as an electro-motive, 134; M. Magnus and M. Gaugain, 135; thermo-electrical action, 1.6; experiments of Yelin and Seebeck, 136; of M. Becquerel, 137; of Sturgeon, 137; of Professor Faraday, 138; friction, 139; the three acts which constitute the essence of friction, 139, 140; lateral movement, 140; experiments of Bergman, Äpinus, Coulomb, M. Gaugain, and M. Becquerel, 141; quicksilver electrical, 142; the laws of thermo-electricity, 143; Daniell's pile, 144; Volta's original discovery, 144; observations of Professor Kohlrausch, 145; general conclusion, 145; experiments of Volta, 146; summary, 147
- Ellis, W., "What Stops the Way," 549
- Elton, J. F., "With the French in Mexico," 260
- Etoniana, author of, "The Public Schools," by the, 253
- Euripides, "Medea" of, literally translated into English Verse by Augusta Webster, 607
- Ewald, Heinrich, "The History of Israel to the Death of Moses," by,



- translated and edited by Russell Martineau, M. A., 227
- Ewing, Alexander, D C. L. (Bishop of Argyll and the Isles), "Union. A Sermon during the Conference," 241
- Extradition, 110—130. Opinions of Lord Coke and Chancellor Kent, 110; what is meant by crimes, 111; piracy, 112; recent treaties, 113; effects of the treaties, 113; existing anomalies, 113; are they right or expedient? 114; a supposed case, 115; the precedent set by Mr. Seward, 116; claims for immunity examined, 117; the case of China, 118; public opinion at present, 119; France and her Extradition Treaty, 119; a supposed case, 120; the French criminal code, 121; other supposed cases, 122; another class of cases, 123; alterations which are needed, 124; suggestion, 125; gain and loss, 126; the present principle of treaties, 127; anomalies, 128; the case of piracy considered, 128; a change in our law necessary, 129; objections and fears answered, 129, 130
- FARRER, Rev. F. W., F.R.S., "Essays on a Liberal Education," 547
- "Faucher, Léon," 584
- Ffoulkes, Edmund S., B. D., "An Historical Account of the addition of the word 'Filioque' to the Creed of the West," 239
- Field, Horace, B. A., "Heroism; or, God our Father, Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent," 539
- Fitzpatrick, H. J., "Ireland before the Union," 269
- Fox, Wilson, M. D., "On the Diagnosis and Treatment of the Varieties of Dyspepsia, considered in relation to the Pathological Origin of the different Forms of Indigestion," 571
- Friends, Two, "Poems Written for a Child," 599
- GARBETT, Edward, M. A., "The Dogmatic Faith. An Inquiry into the Relation subsisting between Revelation and Dogma," 238
- Gardner, W. F., M. D., "On Certain Moral Aspects of Money Getting," 549
- Garret, Edward, M. A., "Æsop's Fables," edited by, 298
- Gaselli, Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. See Blanford
- Geffroy, M., "Recueil des Rapports sur le Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences en France," par et M. M. Zeller et Thienot, 591
- Gilbert, William, "The Washerwoman's Foundling," 298
- "The Wizard of the Mountain," 598
- "Goethe's Werke," 295
- "Golden Thoughts from Golden Fountains," 298
- Gordon, Janet, "The Castles of Castle Connell," 598
- Government, Modern Notions of. See Irish Question, The
- Gray, Samuel Octavius, "British Seaweeds. An Introduction to the Study of the Marine Algae of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands," 264
- Greene, Mary Anne Everett, "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1591-1594, preserved in her Majesty's Public Record Office," 578
- Guizot, M., "M. de Barante; A Memoir Biographical and Autobiographical," by, and translated by the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," 278
- "HALIFAX, John, Gentleman," the author of. See Guizot, and Witt, Madame de
- "Havelaar, Max." See Multatuli.
- Hawes, Rev. James, M. A. See Blackley, Rev. W. L.
- Hearn, W. E., LL. D., "Plutology, or the Theory of the Effort to supply Human Wants," 246
- "The Government of England, its Structure and Development," 247
- Heavside, John T. C., "American Antiquities, or the New World the Old, and the Old World the New," 592
- Helps, Arthur, "The Life of Las Casas the Apostle of the Indies," 576
- "Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861," edited by, 590
- Henderson, E., LL. D., "Life of James Ferguson, F.R.S., in a brief Autobiographical Account and further extended Memoir," 281
- Hill, Odell Travers, F.R.G.S., "English Monasticism; its Rise and Influence," 237
- Hindu Epic Poetry; the Mahābhārata, 380-420. What is the Veda, 381, 382; the Veda and Sanscrit scholars,

- 381; the Mahābhārata, 382; what it is, 382, 383; translation of, 384; by M. Fauche, 385, 386; Mr. Talboys Wheeler's investigation of the Mahābhārata, 385; Professor Wilson's translations, 385, 386; Mr. Wheeler's method, 386; the character and contents of the Mahābhārata, 387, 388; the plan, 388; extract, 389; the threefold aspect of the Mahābhārata, 390; its leading story, 391; analysis of, 392, 393; historical events in the life of Karṇavas and Pandavas, 393; the Pandavas, 395; history of, 395; exile of, 396; assume disguises, 397; enter the service of Virāta, 397; events and complications, 398; expiration of the contract, 399; battles, 400; the Karṇavan army destroyed, 401; the reign of Yudhishtira, 402; conclusion of the story, 402, 403; the miraculous element in the Mahābhārata, 404; the separation of it from the main story, 405; Professor Lassen's view, 406; Mr. Wheeler's view, 407; difference between the two, 408; Mr. Wheeler's criticism, 409; the characteristics of Hindu Poetry, 410; by whom the Mahābhārata, 411; polyandry in the Brahminical code, 411, 412; results, 413; other considerations, 414, 415; marriage laws, 416; further analysis, 417; conclusions, 418; law of inheritance, 418; state of society in the Mahābhārata, 419; deductions from, 419; antiquity of the Mahābhārata, 420
- Hippolytus, "The Refutation of all Heresies," translated by the Rev. J. H. McMahon, M. A., 532
- Hittell, J. S., "The Resources of California," 557
- Hood, Edwin Paxton, "Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets: Lectures delivered to Students for the Ministry on the Vocation of the Preacher," 237
- Hopps, John Page, The "Parables of Jesus, Being Twenty Sunday-morning Meditations thereupon," 538
- "Horace, Lyrics of," translated into English Verse by F. H. Brodie, M. A., 609
- Hotten, J. C., "Abyssinia and its People," 558
- Howell, W. D., "Italian Journal," 557
- Hudson, E. H., "Queen Bertha and her Times," 589
- Hulley, John, "A Handbook of Gymnastics and Athletics," by, and E. G. Ravenstein, F. R. G. S., 255
- Huppe, Siegfried, Dr., "Verfassung der Republik Polen," Dargestellt von 260
- INDIA, Land Tenures of British, 197—223; the condition of English opinion upon India, 197; our policy in India, 198; an Indian village, 199; land-owners, 199, 200; tenants, 200; Sir Charles Metcalfe on Indian Village communities, 200, 201; Akbar's survey, 201; the British land tenures, 202; the Zemindar, 202, 203; Mr. Robinson upon, 203; Lord Cornwallis and the Zemindars, 204; Sir John Shore, 204; results of Lord Cornwallis's changes, 205; the "Jaghirdars," 206; forgery of titles to land, 206; the ryots, 207; law suits, 207; picture of the ryot, 208; Mr. Robinson upon the permanent settlement, 209; Hyder Ali's method of collecting the revenue, 210; Munro's evidence, 210; commission appointed by Lord Cornwallis, 211; character of Munro, 212; the character of the Hindoo, 213; the Indian mutiny, 213; Sir Charles Napier's legislation, 213; the greased cartridges, 214; Munro's success, 214; Mr. Dykes' evidence, 215; Munro's testimony, 215; other reforms of Munro, 216; the Madras ryot, 217; the North-West Provinces, 218; Mr. Robert Murtins Bird, 218; the Government assessment, 219; Mr. Bird's other reforms, 220; their good results, 220, 221; mineral wealth of the valley of the Nerbudda, 221; Mr. Robinson's account of the land tenures of India, 222; our responsibilities, 222; our duties, 223
- Indian Worthies, 148—163. Character of Mr. Kaye's book, 148, 149; its faults, 149; Cornwallis, 149; in America, 150; his tactics, 150; Bülow's opinion, 150; the Governor-generalship of India, 150; Cornwallis's task in India, 152, 153; Dundas's conduct, 154; Cornwallis's exercise of patronage, 155; on military matters, 156; letter of, 157; his hospitality, 158; the Revenue Settlement, 158, 159; Cornwallis in Ireland, 159; policy of Wellesley, 160; death of Cornwallis, 160; Sir John Malcolm, 161; the Malcolm of Mr. Kaye, 161; Malcolm's early days, 162; at Madras, 163; at Hyderabad, 163; as Resident of Mysore, 165; disappointments, 165; Laurence and Elphinstone, 166; Nicholson, 167; his death, 168

- Ireland. *See* Wicklow and Photographs.  
 Ireneus, "The Writings of," translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and Rev. W. H. Rambaut, A.B., 532  
 Irish Question, the; Modern Notions of Government, 344—380; necessity of some general agreement of opinion, 344, 345, the province of government, 345; the three theories, 346; the æsthetic, 346, 347; the patriarchal, 348; fallacies in the theory, 349; the utilitarian, 350; analysis of, 351; the problem stated, 352, 353; marks of a transitional epoch, 353; consideration, 354; the true solution, 355; current opinions, 356; their unsoundness, 357; freedom, notions of, 359; true freedom, 359; functions of the government, 360, 361; restrictions and limitations, 362; present state of the law, 363; interference of the government, 364; the case of the Bank of England, 365; the act of 1844, 365, 366; state academics, 367; the case of the Royal College of Physicians, 368; other instances, 369; the Post Office, 370, 371; other questions, 372; Mill, 373; the history of the misgovernment of Ireland, 373; the Irish question, 374; the demands of Ireland, 374; Mill upon Ireland, 375; the land tenure in Ireland, 376; the Irish and the Hindoo character compared, 376; the feelings of Irishmen with regard to land, 377; Mill's proposals examined, 378; Irish railways, 379; the difficulty of governing Ireland, 379; the true policy, 379, 380  
 Irons, William J., D.D., "On Miracles and Prophecy, being a Sequel to the Argument of the Bible and its Interpreters," 230
- JAYATI Satyam. *See* Kalidasa  
 Jobb, K.C., M.A. *See* Sophocles  
 Jenner, Stephen, "The 'Holy Child. An Ode to Silence, and other Poems," 599  
 Jennings, L. J., "Eighty Years of Republican Government in the United States," 557  
 Jones, Iloyd, "The Progress of the Working Classes," 1832—1867, by, and J. M. Ludlow, 251  
 ——— William, F.S.A., "The Treasures of the Earth, or Mines, Minerals and Metals, with Anecdotes of Men connected with Mining," 666  
 Juglar, Clément, "Du Change et de la Liberté d'Emission," 552  
 Juvenalis, Decii Junii, Satiræ xiii., with Notes and Introduction, by G. A. Simcox, M.A., 294
- KALIDASA, "Ritu Sinhara, or Assemblage of Seasons," ascribed to, translated into English from the Sanscrit, by Satyam Jayati, 291  
 Keane, Marcus, M.R.I.A., "The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland" 358  
 Keim, Dr. Theodor, "Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben seines Volkes frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt," 534  
 King, C.W., M.A., "The Natural History of the Precious Stones and of the Precious Metals," 566  
 ——— "The Natural History of Gems and Decorative Stones," 566  
 Kingsley, Henry, "Silcote of Silcotes," 285  
 Kirkus, Rev. William, LL.B., "Miscellaneous Essays," 236  
 Klopp, Ouno, "Die Preussische Politik des Fredricianismus nach Friedrich II." 270  
 Knop, Adolf, "Molekular Constitution und Wachsthum der Krystalle," 565
- LAING, John, "The Theory of Business," 552  
 Langford, John Alfred, "A Century of Birmingham Life; or, a Chronicle of Local Events from 1741 to 1841," compiled and edited by, 280  
 Langlois, Victor, "Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes," 591  
 Latham, Henry, M.A., "Black and White: a Journal of a Three Months' Tour in the United States," 255  
 Lawrie, Simon S., A.M., "On Primary Instruction in Relation to Education," 252  
 Lee, Holme, "Basil Godfrey's Caprice," 596  
 "Learning, One of a series of Poems," 603  
 Lepsius, R., "Aelteste Texte des Totenbuchs nach Sarkophagen des Alt-Ægyptischen Reichs in Berliner Museum," Herausgegeben von, 271  
 Lever, Charles, "Sir Brook Fosbrook," 288  
 Liefde, John de, "The Romance of Charity," 254  
 "Life's Masquerade," 237  
 "Lilliput Levée, Poems of Childhood, Child-fauncy and Child-like Moods," 298  
 Lindsay, Alexander, Lord, "Memoir of

- Lady Anna Makenzie, Countess of Balcarras, and afterwards of Argyle," 589
- Lockwood, Henry, "Axel, and other Poems," translated from the Swedish by, 606
- Lonsdale, John James, "Songs and Ballads," 288
- "Loving, one of a Series of Poems," 603
- Ludlow, J. M. See Jones, Lloyd
- Lyra Germanica. See Winkworth, Catherine
- Litton, Robert (Owen Meredith), *Chronicles and Characters*," 289. See Meredith
- MACDONALD, George, "The Disciple and other Poems," 601
- Mackay, R. W. M. A., "The Sophistes of Plato; a Dialogue on True and False Teaching," translated by, 541
- Macleod, Norman, D. D., "The Starling. A Scotch Story," 286
- Madden, Richard Robert, M. R. I. A., "The History of Irish Periodical Literature from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth Century," 269
- Mahābhārata, The. See Hindu Epic Poetry
- Manuel, Prince Don Juan, "Count Lucanor, or the fifty Pleasant Stories of Patriots," by, and translated by James York, M. D., 606
- Mariano, Raphael, "La Philosophie Contemporaine en Italie," 245
- Marshman, John Clark, "The History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration," vol. III., 283
- Martin, Frederick, "The Statesman's Year Book," 553
- Martineau, Russell, M. A. See Ewald, H.
- Mercator, "The Book Keeper and Song of the Bell," 599
- Meredith, Owen, "Lucile," 295. See Lytton, Robert
- Merivale, Herman, M. A., "Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K. C. B. With Correspondence and Journals," commenced by the late Joseph Parkes, Esq. and completed and compiled by, 276
- Meunier, Victor, "La Science et les Savants en 1867," 566
- "Middleton, Arthur," 589
- Montalembert, Count de, "The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard," 573
- Morell, J. R., "Scientific Guide to Switzerland," 261
- Morgan, Henry J., "Bibliotheca Canadensis, or a Manual of Canadian Literature," 611
- Morley, John, B. A., "Edmund Burke. A Historical Study," 583
- Motley, John Lothrop, D. C. L., "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609," 264
- Müller, Max, M. A., "Chips from a German Workshop," 223
- Multatuli, "Max Havelaar, or the Coffee Plantations of the Dutch Trading Company," translated by Baron Alphonse Nahuys, 554
- Munro, Rev. E., "Edwin's Fairing," 298
- NAHUYS, Baron Alphonse. See Multatuli.
- OCTOGENARIAN, "Rambles with a Philosopher; or, Views at the Antipodes," 556
- Oliphant, Mrs., "Brownlows," 598
- PAGE, David, LL. D., "Introductory Text Book of Geology," 262
- Page, David, LL. D., "Man. Where, Whence, Whither; being a Glance at Man in his Natural History Relation," 262
- Parkes, Joseph. See Merivale, Herman
- Pattison, Mark, B. D. (Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford) "Suggestions on Academical Organization, with especial Reference to Oxford," 543
- Payne, Joseph, "Studies in English Prose," 603
- Pedestrian, a "A Peep at the Pyrenees," 260
- Perry, Walter C. See Sybel, Heinrich von
- "Photographs of Co. Wicklow," 609
- "Photographs of Irish Scenery, Kilmarney," 610
- "Photographs of the Fen and Marshland Churches," 610
- Pilgrim, The, and the Shrine, 327, 344; date of its publication, 327; history of, 327, 328; movements of the day, 328; Newman, Arnold, Parker, Hennell, the translator of the "Leben Jesu," and Mill, 328; plot interest in, 329; characters in, 329; merits of the book, 329, 330; compared with the Nemesis of Faith, 330; character of Markham Sutherland in the Nemesis, 330; character of Herbert Ainslie in the Pilgrim, 330, 331; his doubts, 331; his decision, 332; on the sea, 333; in California, 333; in Aus-

- tralia, 333; description of the Southern Isles, 334; disenchantment, 335; rest, 335; the inward development of Herbert Ainslie, 336; popular theology, 337; recent concessions, 338; Herbert Ainslie's critical and theological studies, 339; his social views and opinions, 340; his creeds, 341; his idealistic tendencies, 341; the character of the speculation of the present day, 342; the prevalence of unbelief, 342; the problem of life, 343; general character of the book, 343; its style, 344
- Pirie, Rev. W. R., D.D., "Natural Theology; an Inquiry into the Fundamental Principles of Religious, Moral, and Political Science," 538
- Plato, "Sophistes" of, *see* Mackay, R. W.; "Apology" of, *see* Riddle, Rev. James
- "Poetry of the Year," 297
- Powers, Two Temporal, 65—101; meaning of temporal power, 69; tithes first introduced in Ireland, 66; attempt by the English Government to force Episcopacy upon Scotland, 66; the number of Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, 67; increase of Catholics, 67; Pitt's policy, 67; the Irish Tithe Commutation Act, 68; the Irish State Church, 69; the case of Lower Canada, as an illustration, 70; the question of the tithes, 71; value of the benefices, 72; the great wealth of Irish prelates, 73; might *versus* right, 74; hopes of reform, 75; Fenianism, 76; the parallel case in the United States, 77; the temporal power of Rome, 78; the progress of opinion upon, 79; the Papal Government in 1859, 80; its present existence, 81; supported by bayonets, 82; result of such a policy, 83; Dante upon, 84; Napoleon III. and the Papal Government, 85; the "Antibes Legion," 86; Marshal Niel's letter, 87; Comments on, 88, 89; the defeat of Garibaldi, 90; their conduct, 91; passage of the frontier by Italian troops, 91; the conduct of France with regard to Italy and Mexico compared, 92, 93; England's conduct, 93, 94; Victor Immanuel, 94; prospects for Italy, 95; the course of Garibaldi, 96, 97, Italy's regeneration, 98; prospects for Ireland and Italy, 99; hopes for the future 100, 101. (For concluding note to this article, *see* 224, 225, 226.)
- Psychology, Physiological, 37—65; the progress of, 37, 38; the aim of Dr. Maudsley's book, 38; religion and belief, 39; Hamilton upon, 39; views upon consciousness, 39, 40; divergence of opinion, 40; mental and physical results, 40; further instances, 41; conclusions from anatomy, 42; the nervous system, 43; in the lower mollusca, 44; in articulated animals, 45, 46; the cerebrum, 47; the lines of evidence, 47; the spinal cord, 48; the sensory ganglia, 49; corpora quadrigemina, 50; the brain proper, 50; experimental evidence, 51; Dr. Carpenter on the "Principles of Human Physiology," 52; his theory, 53; the function of the cerebrum, 54; the nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu theory, 55; cases of Coleridge or Mozart, 56; automatic process of the cerebral lobes, 56; nerve cells, 57; progress of physiology, 58; subjects requiring illustration, 58, 59; Dr. Maudsley's works 60; Dr. Maudsley and the "ideational cell," 61; the last four chapters of Dr. Maudsley's book, 61; his conclusions, 63; present relation of physiology to psychology, 63; the two views, 64; the third course, 65.
- QUIXOTE, Don, 299—327; new editions of, 299; character of, 299, 300; its morality, 300, 301; Sheldon's translation, 301; Smollett's translation, 301, 302; Dr. Howles' edition, 302; extracts, 302—308; the object of Cervantes, 308; the interdict of Carolus Magnus, 309; the change wrought by Cervantes, 309; Cervantes and the Inquisition, 310; the Index Expurgatorius of 1667, 311; Philip the Second, 311; Landor's criticism, 311, 312; Philip the Third's criticism, 313; Lope de Vega, 313; the satire of Cervantes, 314; his loss of liberty, 315; proverbs in "Don Quixote," 316; scenery and description in, 317; the language in, 318; its sweetness and power, 318; extracts from Philip's translation, 319, 320; Don Quixote's madness, 322; Ignatius Loyola, 322; the prototype of Don Quixote, 323; analysis of, 324; comparison between the two, 325; parallelisms, 325; the philosophy of Cervantes, 326; his times, 327
- RAMBAUT, Rev. W. H. *See* Irenæus Rawlinson, George, M.B., "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World," 272

- Ravenstein, E. G., F.R.G.S. *See* Hulley
- "Recueil des Rapports sur le Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences en France," 592
- Reichard, Konrad, "Die Maritime Politik des Hapzburger in siebzehnten Jahrhundert," 270
- Reynolds, J. Russell, M.D., "A System of Medicine," 508
- Riddle, Rev. James, M.A., "The Apology of Plato; with a Revised Text and English Notes, and a Digest of Platonic Idioms," 542
- Riley, Henry Thomas, M.A., "Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani à Thomas Walsingham, regnante Richardo Secundo ejusdem ecclesie precentore compilata," edited by, 263
- Roberts, Rev. Alexander. *See* Irenæus
- John S., "The Chandos Poets. The Legendary Ballads of England and Scotland," edited by, 603
- Robinet, Dr., "Denton: Memoirs sur sa Vie Privée," 582
- Roscoe, Henry E., B.A., F.R.S., "Lessons in Elementary Chemistry; Inorganic and Organic," 565
- Rowley, Hon. Hugh, "Puniana. Thoughts Wise and Other-Wise. A New Collection of the Best Riddles, Conundrums, Jokes, &c.," 605
- SANDERSON, J. Burdon, M.D., F.R.S., "Handbook of the Sphygmograph," 573
- "Schiller's Sämmtliche Werke," 295
- Schmidt, Adolphe, "Tableaux de la Révolution Française. publiés sur les Papiers inédits du Département et de la Police Secrète de Paris," 278
- Scholten, J. H., "Das Evangelium nach Johannes; Kritisch historische Untersuchung," 533
- Schwegler, Dr. Albert, "Handbook to the History of Philosophy," by, translated and annotated by James Hutchinson Stirling, LL.D., 244
- Scotland, The Church in: Its Relation to the People, 101-110; general considerations, 101; the language of the clergy, 102; the spirit of the Church, 103; the case of Hugh Macdonald in 1756, 104; former power of the Church, 104; strict observance of the Sabbath, 105; fines for non-attendance at church, 105; punishments for various offences, 106; present spirit of the Church, 106, 107; attitude of the clergy, 107; position of a Scotch minister, 108; Dr. Hamilton's pictures of, 109; the services of the Scotch Church, 109; exceptions, 109, 110
- "Scotland; her Songs and Scenery," 297
- Scratchley, Arthur, M.A., "Treatise on Benefit Building Societies and Life Assurance Societies, with Suggestions for the Formation of Local Enterprise Encouragement Societies," 254
- Shakespeare, William, the Works of, the Text revised by the Rev. William Dyce, 292
- "Shaksperian Creations," 296
- Shiple, Rev. Orby, M.A., "Tracts for the Day. Essays on Theological Subjects," edited by, 240, 528
- Simcox, G. A., M.A. *See* Juvenalis
- Skeats, Herbert S., "A History of the Free Churches of England, from A.D. 1688 to A.D. 1851," 535
- Smiles, Samuel, "The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland," 266
- Smith, Goldwin, "The Re-organization of the University of Oxford," 545
- Smith, Rev. W., Ph.D., "The Book of Moses; or, the Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization," 525
- Sophocles, "Ajax" of, edited by R. C. Jebb, M.A., 611
- Speight, Thomas, "Foolish Margaret," 287
- "Springdale Abbey; Extracts from the Diaries and Letters of an English Preacher," 597
- Sproat, G. M., "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," 556
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, D.D., "Scripture Portraits and other Miscellanies, collected from the published Writings of," 235
- Stephenson, E., "Maximilian's Execution Discussed, in a Brief Review of Mexican History," 270
- Stevenson, John, M.A., "Calendar of State Papers. Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562," edited by, 267
- Stirling, James Hutchinson, LL.D. *See* Schwegler, Albert
- Jerrold, Tennyson and Macaulay, with other "Critical Essays," 605
- St. John, James Augustus, "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1552-1618," 57
- Swinburne, Algernon, Charles, "William Blake a Critical Essay," 537
- Sybel, Heinrich von, "History of the

- French Revolution," by, and translated by Walter C. Perry, 580
- TAYLER, John James, "A Catholic Christian Church the Want of our Times," 242
- Thackeray W. M., "Denis Duval," 288  
"Vanity Fair," 288
- Thiénot, M. *See* Geoffroy
- Thirlwall, Connop, D.D., Bishop of St. David's, "A Reply to a Letter of the Lord Bishop of Cape Town," 243
- Thomas, Annie (Mrs. Pender Cudlip), "High Stakes," 595
- Thompson, D'Arcy W., "Wayside Thoughts," 549
- Townsend, G. H., "Men of the Time," 553
- VALENTINE, Mrs. R., "Sea Fights from Sluys to Navarino," 283  
"Warne's Christmas Annual, Gold, Silver, Lead," edited by, 298
- Vámbery, Arminius, "Sketches of Central Asia. Additional Chapters on my Travels and Adventures, and on the Ethnology of Central Asia," 561
- Vickers, John, "Imaginism and Rationalism. An Explanation of the Progress and Origin of Christianity," 232
- Victoria, Democratic Government in, 480-523; ignorance about Australia, 480; the English tone of thought in Australia, 481; a Melbourne mob, 482; the gold-digger, 482; Mr. William Charles Wentworth, 483; constitution of Victoria, 484; of Queensland, 485; the Australian colonies practically self-governing, 485; the case of Victoria, 486, 487; prices, 487; exports, 487; the Queen and the crown lands of Victoria, 488; the ballot in Victoria, 489; manhood suffrage in, 490; the Electoral Bill of 1857, 491; the faults of such a constitution, 492; their effect upon political morality, 493; evil results, 494; the delegation system, 495; bribery, 496, 497; Ballarat, 497; Mr. Pearson's essay, 498; the special kind of bribery, 499; of corruption, 499; the Legislative Assembly, 501; the influence of the Government upon the people, 502; its latest acts, 503; conservatives and radicals, 504; the Liberal Press, 504; the present Attorney-General, 504; his recent acts, 505; the material prosperity of Victoria, 506; its boundaries on the discussion, 506, 507; the gold-fields, 507; population, 507; immigration, 507, 508; the land system, 508, 509; Mr. Pearson on, 509; the present Land Act, 509; the Government land lotteries, 511; the Victorian contrasted with the American land system, 511; the tariff, 511; taxes, 512; Government expenditure, 512; Public Works, 513; Debt, 513; Protection, 513; the Macculloch ministry, 514; its acts, 515, 516; its conflict with the Legislative Council, 517, 518; results, 518; conduct of the Attorney-General, 519; of the banks, 519; Sir Chas. Darling, 520; grant to Lady Darling, 521; returned by the Upper House, 522; conflict between the two Houses, 522; the duty of our Government, 523  
"Voyage en Zigzag," Pictures in Tyrol and Elsewhere," by the author of, 259
- Voysey, Charles, B.A., "The Sling and the Stone," 538
- WALFORD, Edward, M.A., "Representative Men in Literature, Science and Art," 589
- "Warne's Model Cookery and House-Keeping Book," 254
- "Warne's Christmas Annual." *See* Valentine, Mrs.
- Webster, Mrs. *See* Euripides
- "Wellington—Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of," Vol. II., 269
- Westwood, T., "The Quest of the Sanguinal, the Sword of Kingship, and other Poems," 602
- Wheeler, J. Talboys, "The History of India from the Earliest Ages," 593
- White, Henry, "The Massacres of St. Bartholomew, preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the reign of Charles IX.," 577
- Whiting, Sydney, "The Romance of a Garret. A Tale of London Life," 285
- Whitney, William Dwight, "Language and the Study of Language," 291
- "Wicklow, Photograph of," 609
- Wilde, Sir William R., M.D., "Lough Corrib: Its Shore, and Islands, with notices of Lough Mask," 258
- Wilson, J. M., "The Imperial Gaze-ter," 553
- Winkworth, Susanne. *See* Bunsen, C. C. J.
- Wise, John R., "The New Forest: its History and its Scenery," 259  
Thomas A., M.D., "Review of the History of Medicine," 571

- Wives, Spiritual, 456—479. Mr. Hepworth Dixon's Book, 476; blemishes of, 457; the "Amber City," 458; revivals, 459; the Battle-axe-letter, 461; the Agapemone, 461; revival in the States of Massachusetts and New York, 461; women, 462; American girls of the Northern States, 462, 463; the vision of preacher Stone, 463; Father Noyes, 463; Mary Lincoln and Maria Brown, 463, 464; Brother Prince, 464; the "hieropathic affections" of the female heart, 464; Mr. Dixon's researches, 465; morbid condition of women, 465; Dale Owen's teaching, 466; a trial in Cincinnati, 467; Professor Newman's opinions, 468; Chloe and Sambo, 469; infallibility, 470; woman's position at different times, 470, 471; the Bible and women, 472; present position of women, 473; their relation to men, 474; in England, 474; in America, 475; divorce in Hungary, 476; marriage in Austria, 477; Humboldt on marriage contracts, 477, 478; future prospects, 478; the Pope and the Bishop of Orleans on the education of girls, 479
- Winkworth, Catherine, "Lyra Germanica, the Christian Life," translated from the German by, 295
- Witt, Madame de, "A French Country Family," translated by the author of "John Halifax," 607
- Wood, Mrs. Henry, "A Life's Secret," 286
- YATES, Edmund, "The Forlorn Hope," 611
- Yorke, James, M.D. *See* Manuel, Don Juan.
- ZELLER, M. *See* Geoffroy, M.



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